

MARX
ENGELS
Gesamt-
Ausgabe

MARX/ENGELS GESAMTAUSGABE

11

1

12

Werke
Januar 1853
bis
Dezember 1853

M

584 705

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
GESAMTAUSGABE
(MEGA)

ERSTE ABTEILUNG

WERKE · ARTIKEL · ENTWÜRFE

BAND 12

Herausgegeben vom Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus
beim Zentralkomitee der
Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion
und vom Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus
beim Zentralkomitee der
Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE ARTIKEL
ENTWÜRFE
JANUAR
BIS DEZEMBER 1853

TEXT



DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

1984

Redaktionskommission der Gesamtausgabe:
Günter Heyden und Anatoli Jegorow (Leiter),
Erich Kundel und Alexander Malysch (Sekretäre),
Georgi Bagaturija, Rolf Dlubek, Heinrich Gemkow, Lew Golman,
Michail Mtschedlow, Richard Speri

Redaktionskommission der Ersten Abteilung:
Rolf Dlubek (Leiter),
Erich Kundel, Alexander Malysch, Richard Speri, Inge Taubert

Bearbeitung des Bandes:
Hans-Jürgen Bochinski (Leiter),
Ute Emmrich, Rosemarie Müller, Ingolf Neunübel, Brigitte Rieck
und Käte Schwank,
unter Mitarbeit von Angelika Bernecker
Gutachter: Rolf Dlubek, Artur Schnickmann, Velta Pospelowa
und Jelena Arshanowa

Text und Apparat
Mit 9 Abbildungen und 1 Karte
© Dietz Verlag Berlin 1984
Lizenznummer 1
LSV0046
Technische Redaktion: Friedrich Hackenberger, Heinz Ruschinski
und Waltraud Schulze
Korrektur: Rosemarie Giese, Jutta Knopp, Renate Kröhnert
und Annelies Schwabe
Einband: Albert Kapr
Typografie: Albert Kapr/Horst Kinkel
Schrift: Times-Antiqua und Maxima
Printed in the German Democratic Republic
Gesamtherstellung: INTERDRUCK Graphischer Großbetrieb Leipzig,
Betrieb der ausgezeichneten Qualitätsarbeit
Papierherstellung: VEB Druck- und Spezialpapiere Golzern
Best.-Nr.: 7448080

13500

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|--|------|---------|
| Einleitung | 13* | |
| Editorische Hinweise | 42* | |
| Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Siglen und Zeichen | | 661 |
| Die publizistische Tätigkeit von Marx und Engels und ihren Mitkämpfern im Jahre 1853 | | 667 |
| Marx' und Engels' Mitarbeit an der „New-York Tribune“ | | 669 |
| Die Mitarbeit von Marx und seinen Kampfgefährten am Organ der linken Chartisten „The People's Paper“ | | 687 |
| Marx und Engels und die „Reform“ in New York | | 702 |
| KARL MARX · FRIEDRICH ENGELS: WERKE · ARTIKEL ENTWÜRFE · JANUAR BIS DEZEMBER 1853 | | |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · A Superannuated Administration—Prospects of the Coalition Ministry, etc. | 3 | 719 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Political Prospects—Commercial Prosperity—Case of Starvation | 8 | 723 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Elections—Financial Clouds—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery | 16 | 727 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Capital Punishment—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet—Regulations of the Bank of England | 24 | 733 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Defense—Finances—Decrease of the Aristocracy—Politics | 31 | 738 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · The Italian Insurrection—British Politics | 37 | 742 |
| | | 5* |

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|--|------|---------|
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Attack on Francis Joseph—The Milan Riot—British Politics-Disraeli's Speech-Napoleon's Will | 42 | 746 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Parliamentary Debates—The Clergy against Socialisms-Starvation | 50 | 755 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Forced Emigration—Kossuth and Mazzini—The Refugee Question—Election Bribery in England—Mr. Cobden | 56 | 761 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Kossuth and Mazzini—Intrigues of the Prussian Government—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty—"The Times" and the Refugees | 62 | 766 |
| <i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • British Politics—Disraeli—The Refugees—Mazzini in London—Turkey | 68 | 772 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Kossuth and General Pierce—The Refugees and the London Police | 76 | 779 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • The Real Issue in Turkey | 77 | 781 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The London Press—Policy of Napoleon on the Turkish Question | 81 | 783 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • The Turkish Question | 84 | 786 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Berlin Conspiracy | 89 | 792 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • What is to Become of Turkey in Europe? | 92 | 796 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Berlin Conspiracy—London Police—Mazzini—Radetzky | 97 | 799 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Hirschs Selbstbekenntnisse | 100 | 801 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Achievements of the Ministry | 104 | 809 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies | 110 | 814 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Feargus O'Connor—Ministerial Defeats—The Budget | 115 | 817 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Riot at Constantinople—German Table Moving—The Budget | 120 | 822 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Political Position of the Swiss Republic | 127 | 826 |
| <i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • The Rocket Affair—The Swiss Insurrection | 133 | 830 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Affairs in Holland—Denmark—Conversion of the British Debt—India, Turkey and Russia | 137 | 835 |

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|---|------|---------|
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Mazzini—Switzerland and Austria—The Turkish Question | 142 | 839 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Revolution in China and in Europe | 147 | 844 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Turkish Question—"The Times"—Russian Aggrandizement | 154 | 849 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Russian Humbug—Gladstone's Failure—Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms | 157 | 851 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The British Rule in India | 166 | 856 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • English Prosperity—Strikes—The Turkish Question -India | 174 | 859 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Turkey and Russia—Connivance of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia—The Budget—Tax on Newspaper Supplements—Parliamentary Corruption | 181 | 863 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The East India Company—Its History and Results | 186 | 867 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Indian Question—Irish Tenant Right | 194 | 871 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Russian Policy against Turkey—Chartism | 200 | 873 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Turkish War Question—"The New-York Tribune" in the House of Commons—The Government of India | 210 | 878 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Layard's Motion—Struggle over the Ten Hours' Bill | 220 | 882 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Russo-Turkish Difficulty—Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet—Nesselrode's Last Note—The East-India Question | 226 | 884 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • War in Burma—The Russian Question—Curious Diplomatic Correspondence | 234 | 892 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The War Question—Doings of Parliament—India | 241 | 899 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Future Results of British Rule in India | 248 | 903 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Financial Failure of Government—Cabs—Ireland—The Russian Question | 254 | 906 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • In the House of Commons—The Press on the Eastern Question—The Czar's Manifesto—Denmark | 263 | 914 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Advertisement Duty—Russian Movements—Denmark—The United States in Europe | 269 | 919 |

Inhait

| | Text | Apparat |
|---|------|---------|
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · The War Question—British Population and Trade Returns—Doings of Parliament | 275 | 925 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Urquhart—Bern—The Turkish Question in the House of Lords | 286 | 930 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · The Turkish Question in the Commons | 293 | 933 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Affairs Continental and English | 304 | 937 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of the "Morning Advertiser" | 310 | 941 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Rise in the Price of Corn—Cholera—Strikes-Sailors' Movement | 312 | 945 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · To the Editor of the "People's Paper" | 315 | 948 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · The Vienna Note—The United States and Europe—Letters from Shumla—Peel's Bank Act | 317 | 950 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Political Movements—Scarcity of Bread in Europe | 326 | 957 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · The Western Powers and Turkey—Imminent Economic Crisis—Railway Construction in India | 333 | 961 |
| <i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> · The Western Powers and Turkey—Symptoms of Economic Crisis | 340 | 965 |
| <i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> · Panic on the London Stock Exchange—Strikes | 347 | 969 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> · The Russians in Turkey | 352 | 971 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Lord Palmerston (As published in the "New-York Tribune") | 357 | 974 |
| Palmerston | 357 | |
| Palmerston and Russia | 367 | |
| A Chapter of Modern History | 374 | |
| England and Russia | 386 | |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Lord Palmerston (As published in the "People's Paper") | 393 | 974 |
| First Article | 393 | |
| Second Article | 399 | |
| Third Article | 403 | |
| Fourth Article | 413 | |
| Fifth Article | 419 | |
| Sixth Article | 424 | |
| Seventh Article | 429 | |
| Eighth Article | 435 | |

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|---|------|---------|
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The War Question-Financial Matters—Strikes | 443 | 1033 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Turkish Manifesto—France's Economic Position | 451 | 1037 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Movements of the Armies in Turkey | 455 | 1040 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Arrest of Delescluze—Denmark—Austria—"The Times" on the Prospects of War against Russia | 460 | 1042 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • The Holy War | 462 | 1045 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · War-Strikes-Deearth | 466 | 1047 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Persian Expedition in Afghanistan and Russian Expedition in Central Asia—Denmark—The Fighting on the Danube and in Asia—Wigan Colliers | 474 | 1051 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • The Progress of the Turkish War | 479 | 1055 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> · The Russian Defeats | 485 | 1057 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> - The Labor Question | 488 | 1059 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Prosperity—The Labor Question | 491 | 1061 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Progress of the Turkish War. About November 17, 1853 | 497 | 1063 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein | 503 | 1067 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • Manteuffel's Speech—Religious Movement in Prussia—Mazzini's Address—London Corporation—Russell's Reform-Labor Parliament | 530 | 1 092 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Bemerkungen über den russisch-türkischen Krieg | 539 | 1096 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> · The War on the Danube | 540 | 1098 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Turkish War—Industrial Distress | 546 | 1100 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Quadruple Convention—England and the War | 549 | 1103 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> • The Russian Victory—Position of England and France | 557 | 1107 |
| <i>Karl Marx</i> · Palmerston's Resignation | 563 | 1111 |
| <i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Progress of the Turkish War. December 22, 1853 | 566 | 1114 |

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|---|------|---------|
| ANHANG | | |
| Artikel, die mit Marx' oder Engels' Hilfe verfaßt wurden | 573 | 1119 |
| <i>Ernest Jones</i> - The Storm's First Thunder | 575 | 1121 |
| <i>Ernest Jones</i> • A Pamphlet on the "Revelations Concerning the Trial of the Communists at Cologne" | 579 | 1125 |
| <i>Joseph Weydemeyer</i> • Prosperität in Europa — Lohnkämpfe der Arbeiter — Bonapartismus — Der preußisch-österreichische Handelsvertrag | 580 | 1127 |
| <i>Wilhelm Pieper</i> • L.S.D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them | 583 | 1130 |
| <i>Wilhelm Pieper</i> • Soap for the People, a Sop for "The Times"-The Coalition Budget | 586 | 1133 |
| <i>Joseph Weydemeyer</i> · Die Parteien in der Emigration in England | 592 | 1137 |
| <i>Wilhelm Pieper</i> • The Ten Hours Bill, Parliament, "The Times" and the "Men" | 599 | 1141 |
| <i>Wilhelm Pieper</i> • A Palm-Leaf from the Czar | 602 | 1144 |
| <i>Johann Georg Eccarius</i> • The State of France | 605 | 1147 |
| <i>Adolf Cluß</i> • Das „beste Blatt der Union" und seine „besten Männer" und Nationalökonomien | 618 | 1150 |
| <i>Adolf Cluß</i> · Szemere und die ungarischen Kroninsignien | 627 | 1161 |
| <i>Johann Georg Eccarius</i> • Eine russische Niederlage — Aberdeens Friedenspredigt — Die englische Arbeiterbewegung | 629 | 1163 |
| <i>Adolf Cluß</i> • David Urquhart | 632 | 1165 |
| <i>Ernest Jones</i> · Secret Intrigue of Russian Tools, and Scandalous Doings of "Our" Cabinet in the East | 634 | 1167 |
| Dubiosa | 637 | 1171 |
| Kossuth and the London "Times" | 639 | 1173 |
| Persia and England | 641 | 1175 |
| Verzeichnis nicht überlieferter Arbeiten | | 1177 |

Inhalt

| | Text | Apparat |
|---|-------------------|---------|
| REGISTER | | |
| Literaturregister | | 1181 |
| I. Arbeiten von Marx und Engels | | 1181 |
| II. Arbeiten anderer Autoren | | 1183 |
| III. Periodica | | 1216 |
| Namenregister | | 1223 |
| Geographisches Register | | 1264 |
| Sachregister | | 1276 |
| | | |
| Verzeichnis der Abbildungen | | |
| | | |
| Ankündigung von Marx' Artikel „The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery“. The People's Paper. London. Nr.451, 12. März 1853. Titelseite | 17 | |
| Karte des Türkischen Reiches. London 1853 | zwischen 80 u. 81 | |
| Köpfe der drei Ausgaben der „New-York Tribune“, in denen Marx' Artikel „The British Rule in India“ erschien | 167 | |
| Karl Marx' Schrift „Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein“. Titelblatt | 505 | |
| Friedrich Engels' „Bemerkungen über den russisch-türkischen Krieg“. Handschrift mit Zeichnung | 537 | |
| Beginn von Joseph Weydemeyers Artikel „Die Parteien in der Emigration in England“. Die Reform. New York. Nr. 13, 14. Mai 1853. Titelseite | 593 | |
| Jenny Marx' Notizbuch. Seite [20] | | 675 |
| Karikatur von Carl Heinrich Schmörlze aus der New-Yorker „Lokomotive“ | | 709 |
| Ankündigung des Abdrucks zweier Artikel aus Marx' Serie „Lord Palmerston“. Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets. London 1855. Titelblatt | | 981 |
| Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung. Nr.33, 28. Oktober 1853. Titelseite | | 1065 |

schließlich der Varianten. Es umfaßt vor allem Begriffe, die den wesentlichen Inhalt der betreffenden Arbeiten widerspiegeln. Im Prinzip ist das Sachregister in der Redaktionssprache und moderner Orthographie abgefaßt. Die Schlagworte und Unterschlagworte lehnen sich weitgehend dem Edierten Text an. In einigen Fällen steht daher hinter dem Schlagwort in der Redaktionssprache der originalsprachige Begriff in runden Klammern. Die Bezeichnungen von Organisationen, staatlichen Einrichtungen, Gesetzen u.a. werden in der Originalsprache gebracht.

Der vorliegende Band wurde bearbeitet von Hans-Jürgen Bochinski (Leitung), Ute Emmrich, Rosemarie Müller, Ingolf Neunübel, Brigitte Rieck und Käte Schwank; an der Vorbereitung des Bandes wirkten mit: Angelika Bernecker und Jakow Rokitjanski. Die wissenschaftlich-technischen Arbeiten wurden ausgeführt von Sabine Tietz und Birgit Jarchow. Das Literaturregister wurde von Käte Schwank, das Namenregister von Angelika Bemecker, das Geographische Register von Rosemarie Müller und das Sachregister von Brigitte Rieck erarbeitet.

Der Band wurde seitens der Redaktionskommission betreut und begutachtet von Rolf Dlubek und Artur Schnickmann. Gutachter des IML beim ZK der KPdSU waren Velta Pospelowa und Jelena Arshanowa. Teilgutachten zu einzelnen Arbeiten sowie Stellungnahmen zu bestimmten Sachgebieten erfolgten durch Allan Merson (Landhurst, Hampshire), Diethelm Weidemann (Berlin), Alan Winnington t (Berlin) und Reiner Müller (Berlin).

Die Herausgeber danken allen wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen, die bei der Vorbereitung des Bandes Unterstützung gewährten. Die Einsichtnahme in die Originale von Marx und Engels ermöglichte das Internationale Institut für Sozialgeschichte in Amsterdam. Verschiedene Archivmaterialien stellten darüber hinaus zur Verfügung: das Staatsarchiv Potsdam, das Public Record Office London und die Butler Library der Columbia University New York. Ferner ist zu danken der Staatsbibliothek Berlin, der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig und der British Library London.

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE · ARTIKEL · ENTWÜRFE
JANUAR BIS DEZEMBER 1853

Karl Marx
A Superannuated Administration-
Prospects of the Coalition Ministry, etc.

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3677, 28. Januar 1853

A Superannuated Administration- Prospects of the Coalition Ministry, etc.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Jan. 11, 1853.

5 "We have now arrived at the commencement of the *political millennium* in which party-spirit is to fly from the earth, and genius, experience, industry and patriotism are to be the sole qualifications for office. We have got a Ministry which seems to command the approval and support of men of every class of opinion. Its principles command universal assent and support."

10 Such are the words with which *The Times*, in their first excitement and enthusiasm, have ushered in the Aberdeen Administration. From their tenor one would imagine that England is henceforth to be blessed with the spectacle of a Ministry, composed entirely of new, young, and promising characters, and the world will certainly be not a little puzzled when it shall have
15 learned that the new era in the history of Great Britain is to be inaugurated by all but used-up decrepit octogenarians. Aberdeen, an octogenarian; Lansdowne, with a foot already in the grave; Palmerston, Russell, fast approaching a similar state; Graham, the bureaucrat, who served under almost every Administration since the close of the last century; other
20 members of the Cabinet—twice dead of age and exhaustion and only resuscitated into an artificial existence; on the whole a half score of centenarians, such is the stock of which, by a simple sum of addition, the new millennium appears to have been made up by the writer in *The Times*.

25 In this millennium then we are promised the total disappearance of party warfare, nay even of parties themselves. What is the meaning of *The Times*? Because certain portions of the Aristocracy have hitherto enjoyed the privilege of assuming the appearance of national or parliamentary parties, and

have now come to the conclusion that the farce cannot be continued for the future, because, on the ground of that conviction and in virtue of the hard experiences lately undergone, these aristocratic coteries mean now to give up their little quibbles and to combine into one compact mass for the preservation of their common privileges—is the existence of all parties to cease from this hour? Or is not the very fact of such a "coalition" the most explicit indication that the time has arrived when the actually grown-up and yet partially unrepresented fundamental classes of modern society, the industrial bourgeoisie and the working class, are about to vindicate to themselves the position of the only political parties in the nation? 5 10

The Tories, under the Administration of Lord Derby, have once for ever denegated their old Protectionist doctrine and professed themselves Free-traders. The Earl of Derby, on announcing the resignation of his Cabinet, said: "I, My Lords, remember, and probably your Lordships will remember, that the noble Earl (Aberdeen) has, upon more than one occasion, declared in this house that, the question of free trade excepted, he knew of *none* upon which there was *any* difference between himself and the present Government." Lord Aberdeen, in confirming this statement, goes still further in his remarks: "He was ready to unite with the noble Earl (Derby) in resisting the encroachments of Democracy, but he was at a loss to see where this Democracy existed." On both sides it is granted that there is no longer any difference between Peelites and Tories. But this is not all. With regard to the foreign policy, the Earl of Aberdeen observes: "For thirty years, though there have been differences in execution, the principle of the foreign policy of the country has never varied." Accordingly, the whole struggle between Aberdeen and Palmerston, from 1830 till 1850, when the former insisted on the alliance with the Northern Powers, and the latter on the "entente cordiale" with France, when the one was against and the other for Louis Philippe, the one against and the other in favor of intervention; all their quarrels and disputes, even their late common indignation on Lord Malmesbury's "disgraceful" conduct of the foreign affairs—all this is confessed to have been mere humbug. And yet, is there anything in the political relations of England that has undergone a more radical change than her foreign policy? Up to 1830—alliance with the Northern Powers; since 1830—union with France (quadruple alliance); since 1848—complete isolation of England from the whole Continent. 15 20 25 30 35

Lord Derby having first assured us that there exists no difference between Tories and Peelites, the Earl of Aberdeen further assures us that there is also no difference between Peelites and Whigs, Conservatives and Liberals. In his opinion: "The country is tired of distinctions without meaning, and which have no real effect on the conduct or principles of public men. No Govern- 40

ment is possible except a Conservative Government, and it is equally true that none is possible except a Liberal Government."

"These terms had no very definite meaning. The country was sick of these distinctions without meaning."

5 The three factions of the Aristocracy, Tories, Peelites and Whigs, consequently agree, that they possess no real marks of distinction. But there is still another subject on which they agree. Disraeli had declared that it was his intention to carry out the principle of Free Trade. Lord Aberdeen says:
10 "The great object of the Queen's present ministers, and the great characteristic of their Government would be the maintenance and prudent extension of Free Trade. That was the mission with which they were peculiarly entrusted." In a word, the entire Aristocracy agree, that the Government has to be conducted for the benefit, and according to the interests of the middle-class, but they are determined that the bourgeoisie are not to be themselves
15 the governors of this affair; and for this object all that the old Oligarchy possess of talent, influence and authority are combined, in a last effort, into one Administration, which has for its task to keep the bourgeoisie, as long as possible, from the direct enjoyment of governing the nation. The coölied Aristocracy of England intend, with regard to the bourgeoisie, to act on the
20 same principle upon which Napoleon I professed to act in reference to the people: "*Tout pour le peuple, rien par le peuple.*"

"There must, however," as Ernest Jones observes in *The People's Paper*, "be some disguise to the evident object of excluding the middle-class, and this they (the ministers) hope is afforded by an admixture in subordinate and
25 uninfluential places of aristocratic Liberals, like Sir William Molesworth, Bernal Osborne, etc. But let them not imagine that this dandified Mayfair-Liberalism will satisfy the stern men of the Manchester school. They mean business, and nothing less. They mean pounds, shillings, pence—place, office, and the gigantic revenues of the largest empire of the world, placed with all
30 its resources subservient to the disposal of their one class-interest."

Indeed, a glance at *The Daily News*, *The Advertiser*, and more particularly *The Manchester Times*, that direct organ of Mr. Bright, is sufficient to convince any one, that the men of the Manchester school, in provisionally promising their support to the Coalition Government, intend only to observe
35 the same policy on which the Peelites and Whigs had acted in reference to the late Derby Cabinet; *i.e.* to give ministers a fair trial. What the meaning of a "fair trial" may be, Mr. Disraeli has recently had occasion to learn.

The defeat of the Tory Cabinet having been decided by the Irish Brigade, the new Coalition-Government, of course, considered it necessary to take
40 steps for securing the Parliamentary support of that party. Mr. Sadleir, the broker of the brigade, was soon seduced by a Lordship of Treasury.

Mr. Keogh had the offer of the Irish Solicitor-Generalship, while Mr. Monsell was made Clerk of Ordnance. "And by these three purchases," says *The Morning Herald*, "the brigade is supposed to be gained." However, there is ample reason for doubting the effectuality of these three purchases in securing the adhesion of the entire brigade, and in *The Irish Freeman's Journal* 5 we actually read : "This is the critical moment for Tenant Right and Religious Liberty. The success or failure of these questions depend not now on ministers, but on the Irish members. Nineteen votes have overthrown the Derby Administration. Ten men, by walking from one side to the other, would have altered the event. In this state of parties the Irish members are omni- io potent."

At the conclusion of my last letter I had stated it as my opinion, that there was no other alternative but that of a Tory Government or a Parliamentary Reform. It will interest your readers to become acquainted with Lord Aberdeen's views on the same subject He says: "The improvement of the 15 condition of the people could not exclude (sic!) the amendment of the representative system; for unquestionably, the events of the last election had not been such as to render any man enamoured of it." And at the elections consequent on their acceptance of office, Lord Aberdeen's colleagues declared unanimously, that reforms in the representative system were called 20 for; but in every instance they gave their audiences to understand, that such reforms must be "moderate or rational reforms, and made not rashly, but deliberately and with caution." Consequently the more rotten the present representative system turns out and is acknowledged to be, the more desirable is it that it should be altered neither rashly nor radically. 25

On the occasion of the late réélections of Ministers there has been made a first trial of a new invention for public men to preserve their character under all circumstances, whether *out* or *in*. The invention consists in a hitherto unpracticed application of the "*open question*." Osborne and Villiers had pledged themselves on former occasions upon the ballot. They now declare 30 the ballot an open question. Molesworth had pledged himself to Colonial Reform—open question. Keogh, Sadleir, etc., were pledged on Tenant Right—open question. In a word, all the points which they had always treated as settled, in their quality of members, have become questionable to them as Ministers. 35

In conclusion I have to mention another curiosity, resulting from the coalition of Peelites, Whigs, Radicals and Irishmen. Each of their respective notabilities has been turned out of that department for which alone they were supposed to possess some talent or qualification, and they have been appointed to places wondrously ill-suited them. Palmerston, the renowned 40 Minister of Foreign Affairs, is appointed to the Home Department, from

which Russell has been removed, although grown old in that office, to take the direction of Foreign Affairs. Gladstone, the Escobar of Puseyism, is nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer. Molesworth, who possessed a certain reputation for his having copied or adopted Mr. Wakefield's absurd
5 colonization system, is appointed Commissioner of Public Works. Sir Charles Wood, who as a Minister of Finances, enjoyed the privilege of being upset either with a deficit or a surplus in the treasury, is entrusted with the Presidentship of the Board of Control of Indian Affairs. Monsell, who hardly knows to distinguish a rifle from a musket, is made Clerk of Ordnance. The
10 only personage who has found his proper place, is Sir James Graham, the same who, in the capacity of First Lord of the Admiralty, has already on a former occasion, gained much credit for having first introduced the rotten worm into the British Navy.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Political Prospects—Commercial Prosperity—
Case of Starvation

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3681, 2. Februar 1853

Political Prospects—Commercial Prosperity— Case of Starvation.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Jan. 14, 1853.

Lord John Russell, in receiving the diplomatic body, at the Foreign Office, told them that he held the seals of that Department ad interim only, and that in no great length of time the Foreign Office would be transferred to the Earl of Clarendon. The fact is, that Russell has always been a perfect foreigner in the Foreign Department, in which he never made himself conspicuous, except by an insipid compilation on the history, I believe, of the treaties concluded since the time of the peace of Nymwegen, a book which, to confess the truth, is at least as entertaining as the "tragedy" with which the same Russell once surprised the world. Lord John will, in all probability, be entrusted with the Leadership of the House of Commons, with a seat in the Cabinet, where his entire activity is likely to be absorbed in framing the new Reform Bill. Parliamentary Reform is Russell's traditional field of action, since, by his measures in 1831, he proved such a masterly hand in dividing the rotten boroughs between Tories and Whigs.

My predictions on the probable inefficiency of the three Irish purchases made by the Ministry for securing the enlistment of the whole "Brigade" in the cause of the Coalition Government, have already been fulfilled to the very letter. The attitude of *The Freeman's Journal* and *The Tablet*—the tenor of the letters and declarations of Messrs. Lucas, Moore, and Duffy—lastly, the resolution adopted against Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh, at the last meeting of the Tenant-Right Association, sufficiently indicate that the Aberdeen Administration will only dispose of a very small fraction of the Irish troops.

It is known that Lord Aberdeen, the Chief of the Cabinet, will take his seat in the House of Lords. Now, Mr. Bright, in a speech recently delivered

at a banquet at Manchester to your new Ambassador, Mr. Ingersoll, has seized an opportunity to explain how the total suppression of the House of Lords is the *conditio sine qua non* for the "advancement" of the industrial middle-class. This first official declaration of the Manchester school since
 5 the formation of the Coalition Ministry will do something toward enabling Lord Aberdeen in discovering where that Democracy, so much redoubted by Lord Derby, exists.

Thus the party warfare declared to have been abolished for ever, by a sanguine writer in *The Times*, has already burst forth, notwithstanding that
 10 the era of the "Millennium" had opened with the adjournment of Parliament until the 10th of February.

The continuation and increase of the commercial, and industrial prosperity has been loudly and unanimously proclaimed at the beginning of the New-Year, and confirmed by the publication of the revenue accounts down to the
 15 5th inst., by the returns of the Board of Trade for the month, and the 11 months ending Dec. 5, 1852, by the reports of the Inspectors of Factories, and lastly by the annual trade circulars issued at the commencement of every New-Year, and giving a general survey of all the commercial transactions of the past year.

20 The Revenue Returns show a total increase on the year of £978,926, and on the quarter of £702,776. There is an increase in every item on the year with the exception of *Customs*. The total sum placed into the Exchequer amounted to £50,468,193.

The *Excise*, which is supposed to indicate the well-being
 25 of the people, amounted to £13,093,170 in the year ending Jan. 5, 1852.

In the year ending Jan. 5, 1853, it amounted to 13,356,981

The *Stamps*, which indicate the increase of commercial activity,
 30 as in 1851-'52, yielded 5,933,549
 Amounted in the years 1852-'53, to 6,287,261

The *Property-Tax*, which indicates the increase of wealth of the upper classes,
 amounting in 1851-'52, to 5,304,923
 35 Yielded in the year 1852-'53, 5,509,637

The Board of Trade Returns for the month and eleven months ending Dec. 5, 1852, show:

| | 1852. | 1851. | 1850. |
|--|------------|------------|------------|
| 40 Value of exports for the month ending Dec. 5, | £6,102,694 | £5,188,216 | £5,362,319 |
| For the eleven months ending Dec. 5, | 65,349,798 | 63,314,272 | 60,400,525 |

Consequently, there is an increase of nearly £1,000,000 on the month, and upward of £2,000,000 on the eleven months. Yet, in the absence of all value of the imports, we know not how far it is met or surpassed by the increased value of the latter.

Passing to the reports of the Inspectors of Factories, Mr. Horner, Inspector 5 for the Lancashire District, in his report on the half year ending Oct. 31, 1852, which has just been published, writes as follows:

"In my district, very little change has taken place in the last year as regards woolen, worsted and silk factories, and flax mills remain as they were on the 1st of November, 1851. But the increase in cotton mills has been very 10 large. After deducting those which are at present unoccupied (and many of them will, in all probability, be soon again at work, especially those from which the machinery has not been removed,) there have been set to work in the last two years 129 new mills, with an aggregate of 4,023 horse power; and there have been 53 instances of additions to existing mills, with an 15 aggregate of 2,090 horse power, so that there has been an increase of 6,113 horse power, which must have given employment to probably not fewer than 24,000 additional hands in the cotton trade. Nor is this all ; for many new mills are at present being built. In the limited area which includes the towns of Ashton, Staleybridge, Oldham and Lees, there are eleven, which it is 20 estimated will have an aggregate power of 620 horses. The machine-makers are said to be overwhelmed with orders; and a very intelligent and observing mill-owner told me lately that many of the buildings now going up would in all probability not be at work before 1854, from the impossibility to get machinery to them. But the above returns and those that will be given 25 by my colleagues on the present occasion, however they may indicate a great increase, still they by no means give the whole; for there is a large and very fertile source of increase of productions of which it would be very difficult to obtain any account. I allude to the modern improvements in steam-engines, by which old engines and even new engines are made to do 30 an amount of work far beyond their nominal horse power, and to an extent formerly believed to be impossible."

Mr. Horner then quotes a letter from the eminent civil-engineer, Mr. Nasmyth, of Birmingham, describing the gain of power by working the engines at greater speed, and by adapting to them the high-pressure double 35 cylinders of Woolf, the result of which is, that at least fifty per cent, more work is done by the identical engines still in use than was done before the improvement.

It appears from a summary of the reports of all the Inspectors, that in the year ending Oct. 31, 1852, the total number of new factories occupied was 40 229, with a steam power of 4,771 horses, and a water-power of 586 horses, and the addition to existing factories amounted to 69, with a steam power

of 1,532 horses, and a water-power of 28 horses, making a grand total of 6,917 horse power.

Passing next to the annual trade circulars, we find them all breathing the same enthusiastic style in which *The Times* predicted the political millen-
5 nium, and having at any rate, this advantage, that they are based on facts and not on mere expectations, as far as they refer to the past year.

The agricultural interest has no cause for complaint. On the opening of the year the weekly average price of wheat was 37s 2d; at the close of the year it has reached 45s lid. The rise in the prices of grain has been ac-
10 companied by a rise in the price of cattle, meat, butter and cheese.

In August, 1851, an unprecedented fall in the prices of produce was known to have taken place, chiefly in the prices of sugar and coffee, and it did not cease with that year, for the panic in Mincing Lane did not reach its high-
15 till the first month of the past year. The annual circulars indicate now a considerable advance in the prices of most articles of foreign production, especially of Colonial produce, sugar, coffee, etc.

As to the movement in raw materials it will be seen from the following:

"The state of the Wool trade" is described in Messrs. Hughes & Ronald's circular, "as having been throughout the past year in the highest degree
20 satisfactory ... The home demand for wool has been unusually large... The export of woollen and worsted goods has been on a very extensive scale, even exceeding the year 1851, the highest rate ever before attained... Prices have been steadily looking up, but it is only during the last month, that any decided advance has taken place, and at present they may be quoted, on the
25 average, about 15 to 20 per cent, above the corresponding period last year. "

"The Wood trade," say Messrs. Churchill & Sim, "has largely partaken in the commercial prosperity of the country during 1852... The importation into London exceeded 1,200 cargoes during 1852—closely parallel to 1851.
30 Both years were 50 per cent, in advance of those preceding, which average about 800 cargoes. While the quantity of hewn timber stands at the average of several years; the use of deals, battens, etc.; or the sawn wood, has taken an immense start during 1852, when 6,800,000 pieces replaced the previous average of 4,900,000 pieces."

With regard to Leather, Messrs. Powell & Co. say:

35 "The year just concluded has doubtless been a favorable one for leather manufacturers in almost every department. Raw goods, at the commencement of the year, were at low rates, and circumstances have taken place which have given leather an increased value in a greater degree than for several past years."

40 The Iron trade is particularly flourishing, the price of iron having risen from £5 per tun to £10 10s per tun; and more recently to £12 per tun, with

the probability of a rise to £15, and more furnaces continually coming into operation.

Of the Shipping, Messrs. Offor & Gamman, say:

"The year just closed has been of remarkable activity to British shipping, chiefly caused by the stimulus given to business by the gold discovery in Australia ... There has taken place a general rise in freights."

The same movement has taken place in the Ship-building department. In reference to this branch, the circular of Messrs. Tonge, Curry & Co., of Liverpool, contains the following:

"On no occasion have we been able to report so favorably for the year past of the sale of ships at this port—both of the amount of tonnage sold, and the prices that have been obtained; prices of Colonial ships having advanced fully 17 per cent., with a continuing tendency upwards; while stocks have been reduced to 48 sail against 76 in 1852, and 82 in 1851, without any immediate supplies being expected... The number of vessels that have come into Liverpool within the year and sold, is 120; equal to 50,000 tuns. The number of ships launched, and in course of construction, in our port this year, is 39, computed at 15,000 tuns, against 23, computed at 9,200 in 1851. The number of steamers built, and in the course of construction here, amount to 13, equal to 4,050 tuns___As regards iron built sailing vessels, the most remarkable feature of our trade is the very increasing favor they are growing into, and which are now occupying the builders both here, in the Clyde, New-Castle and elsewhere, to an unprecedented extent."

As regards *railways*, Messrs. Woods & Stubbs write:

"The returns exceed the most sanguine expectations, and far outstrip all previous calculations. The returns for last week show an increased mileage over 1851 of 348 miles, or **5V2** per cent., and an increased traffic of £41,426, or 14 per cent."

Lastly, Messrs. Du Fay & Co.'s Circular (Manchester) records the transactions with India and China for the month of December, 1852, as extensive, and the abundance of money alluded to as having favored undertakings to distant markets, and as having enabled those interested in them to make up for losses sustained in the early part of the year on goods and produce. "Various new land, and mining, and other schemes attract speculators and capitalists just now."

The prosperity of the manufacturing districts in general, and particular of the cotton districts, has been shown from the reports of the Inspectors of factories. In reference to the cotton manufacture, Messrs. John Wrigley & Son, of Liverpool, have the following:

"Viewed as a test of the general prosperity of the country, the progress of the cotton-trade, during the year now closed, affords results the most

gratifying ... It has presented many striking features, but none more prominent and noteworthy than the extreme facility with which so unprecedentedly large a crop as upward of 3,000,000 of bales, the produce of the United States of America, has been disposed of... Preparations are making
 5 in many districts for an extension of manufacturing powers, and we may expect a larger aggregate quantity of cotton to be worked up during the approaching year than any previous one."

Most other branches of industry are in the same position. "We refer," say Messrs. McNair, Greenhow & Irving (of Manchester), "to Glasgow as
 10 connected with its cotton and iron manufacture; to Huddersfield, Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Wolverhampton etc., as connected with their various productions—all seem in a high state of prosperity."

The only exceptions to the general prosperity are the silk-trade and the
 15 wool-combers in Yorkshire; and the general aspect of trade may be resumed in the words of a Manchester circular: "Our apprehensions are those of over-speculation, rather than of inactivity and want of means."

In the midst of this universal prosperity, a step recently taken by the Bank of England has raised a general consternation among the commercial world.
 20 On the 22d of April, 1852, the Bank of England had lowered the rate of discount to 2 per cent. On the morning of January 6, 1853, notice was given that the discount would be raised from 2 to 27, per cent, an increase in the charges of 25 per cent. Attempts have been made to explain this increase by the large liabilities contracted lately by some extensive railway contractors, whose bills are known to be afloat in heavy amounts. In other
 25 quarters it was believed, as for instance by *The London Sun*, that the Bank of England intended, in their turn, to take advantage of the existing prosperity by increasing discounts. On the whole, the act has been reprobated as "uncalled for." In order to appreciate it in its true light, I subjoin the following
 30 statements from *The Economist*:

| <i>Bank of England.</i> | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|
| 1852. | <i>Bullion.</i> | <i>Securities.</i> | <i>Minimum rate of Discount.</i> |
| April 22.. | £19,587,670 | £23,782,000 | Reduced to 2p.ct. |
| July 24.. | 22,065,349 | 24,013,728 | 2p.ct. |
| 35 Dec. 18.. | 21,165,224 | 26,765,724 | 2p.ct. |
| Dec. 24.. | 20,794,190 | 27,545,640 | 2p.ct. |
| 1853. | | | |
| Jan'y- 1.. | 20,527,662 | 29,284,447 | f 2 p.ct, but raised to \ 2 1/2 p.cent. Jan'y. 6. |

40 There is, accordingly, a million of gold more in the Bank than in April, 1852, when the rate of interest was reduced to 2 per cent., but the difference is

very marked between the two periods; for it has changed in regard to the movements of gold from a flowing to an ebbing tide. The efflux is peculiarly powerful, from its overbearing all the imports from America and Australia of the last month. Besides, securities were five and a half millions less in April than at present. Consequently, in April, 1852, the supply of loanable capital was larger than the demand, while now the reverse is the case. 5

The emigration of bullion was accompanied by a marked decline in the foreign exchanges, a circumstance which must be accounted for, partly by the considerable advance in the prices of most articles of import, partly by the large speculations in imports. To this must be added the influence of the unfavorable autumn and winter on farmers, the consequent doubts and fears respecting the next harvest, and, as a result of the latter, immense operations in foreign grains and farines. Lastly, English capitalists have very largely engaged in the formation of railway and other companies in France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany and Belgium, and partake very much in the general swindle now going on at the Paris Bourse. Paper on London is therefore more abundant in all markets of Europe than at any former period, in consequence of which there has been a continued fall in the rate of Exchanges. On July 24th the Exchange on Paris was 25 f. 30 c. for the pound sterling; on the 1st of January it had fallen to 25 francs. Some transactions have even been made below 25 francs. 10 15 20

In so far as the demand for capital has increased in proportion to the supply, the late measure adopted by the Bank of England, appears to be perfectly justified. In so far as it was intended to put a check upon speculation and upon the emigration of capital, I venture to predict, that it will be thoroughly ineffectual. 25

Your readers having accompanied us to such a length, through all the testimonials of the growing prosperity of England, I request them to stop a moment and to follow a poor needle maker, Henry Morgan, who started out from London, on his journey to Birmingham, in search of work. Less I should be charged with exaggerating the case, I give the literal account of *The Northampton Journal*. 30

"Death from Destitution.—Cosgrove—About nine o'clock on the morning of Monday, two laboring men, while seeking shelter from the rain in a lone barn, occupied by Mr. T. Slade, in the parish of Cosgrove, were attracted by groans, which were found to come from a poor man, lying in a heap hole, in a state of extreme exhaustion. They spoke to him, kindly offering him some of their breakfast, but without receiving any answer; and upon touching him, found his body almost cold. Having fetched Mr. Slade, who was near by, this gentleman, after some time had elapsed, sent him, by a boy, in a cart, with a bed and covering of straw, to the Yardley-Gobion 35 40

union-house about a mile distant, where he arrived just before one o'clock, but expired a quarter of an hour afterward. The famished, filthy, and ill-clad condition of the poor creature presented a most frightful spectacle. It appears that this unhappy being, on the evening of Thursday, the 2d, obtained a
5 vagrant's order for a night's lodging at the Yardley-house, from the relieving officer at Stony Stratford, and, having then walked to Yardley, a distance of three miles and upward, was accordingly admitted ; he had food given him, which he eat heartily, and begged to be allowed to remain the next day and night, which was granted, and upon leaving on Saturday morning early, after
10 his breakfast (most likely his last meal in this world,) took the road back to Stratford. It is probable that, being weak and footsore, for he had abad place on one heel, he was soon glad to seek the first friendly shelter he could find, which was an open shed, forming part of some outfarming-buildings, a quarter of a mile from the turnpike-road. Here he was found lying in the straw
15 on Monday, the 6th, at noon, and, it not being wished that a stranger should remain on the premises, he was desired to go away. He asked leave to stay a little longer, and went off about four o'clock, once more to seek at nightfall the nearest place of rest and shelter, which was this lone barn, with its thatch partly off, with its door left open, and in the coldest possible situation, into
20 the heap-hole of which he crept, there to lie without food for seven *days* more, till discovered, as has been described above, on the morning of the 13th. This ill-fated man had given his name as Henry Morgan, a needlemaker, and appeared between thirty and forty years of age, and in person, a good-framed man."

25 It is hardly possible to conceive a more horrible case. A stalwart, strong-framed man, in the prime of life—his long pilgrimage of martyrdom from London to Stoney-Stratford—his wretched appeals for help to the "*civilization*" around him—his seven days fast—his brutal abandonment by his fellow men—his seeking shelter and being driven from resting-place to resting-
30 place—the crowning inhumanity of the person named Slade and the patient, miserable death of the worn-out man—are a picture perfectly astonishing to contemplate.

No doubt he invaded the rights of property, when he sought shelter in the shed and in the lone barn!!!

35 Relate this starvation case in midst of prosperity, to a fat London City man, and he will answer you with the words of *The London Economist* of Jan. 8th:

"Delightful is it thus to see, under Free Trade, all classes flourishing; their energies are called forth by hope of reward; all improve their productions,
40 and all and each are benefited."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Elections—Financial Clouds—
The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3687, 9. Februar 1853

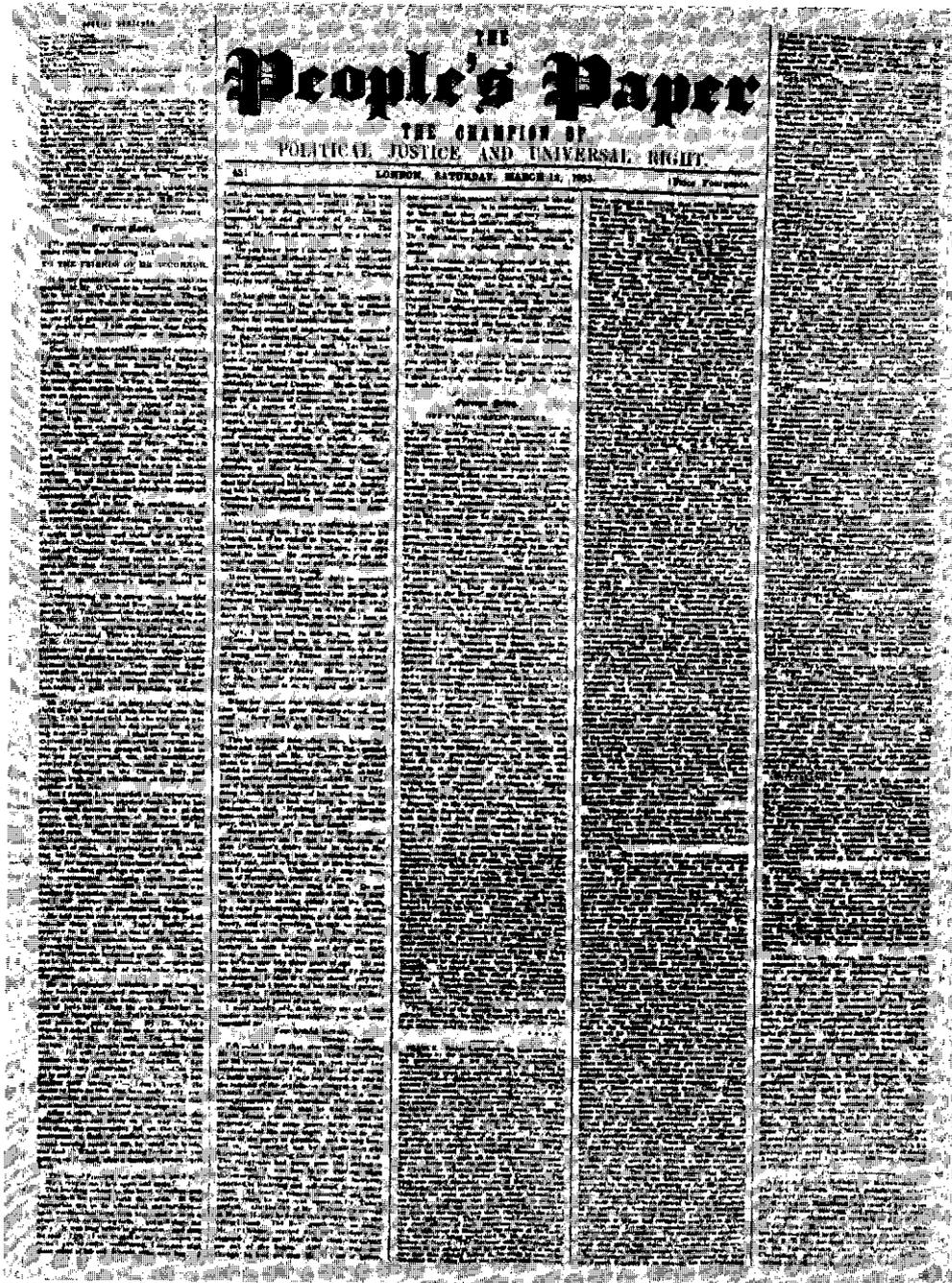
**Elections—Financial Clouds—
The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery.**

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune

London, Friday, Jan. 21, 1853.

The réélections consequent upon the new ministerial arrangements are finished. Ministers have suffered a defeat, Mr. Sadleir, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and hitherto considered the chief of the "Irish Brigade," having been beaten by Mr. Alexander, who was elected by a majority of six votes. Mr. Alexander owes his election to a coalition of the Orangemen and the Catholics. On the other hand, Ministers were victorious at Oxford University, where the poll lasted fifteen days and the struggle was extremely animated. Gladstone carried the day by a majority of 124 against Dudley Perceval, the candidate of the High Church Party. To amateurs of Hudibrasian logic we can recommend the leaders of the two contending journals in this struggle, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Morning Herald*. 5
io
15

Yesterday, after a long debate, the Directors of the Bank of England again raised the minimum rate of discount from 2½ to 3 per cent. This circumstance had an immediate effect upon the Paris Bourse, where all sorts of securities had to submit to another decline.—But if the Bank of England should succeed in checking speculation at Paris, there will remain open another outlet for the drain of bullion: the imports of corn. The last harvest both in England and on the Continent is estimated at one-third below the average. Besides, there exists some doubt as to the quantity of food available for consumption until next harvest, in consequence of the delay in sowing the seed caused by the wet state of the soil. Therefore, large imports of grain are arranged for, and will continue to keep the course of exchange unfavorable for England. The gold-ships from Australia cannot keep pace with the sudden augmentation of grain imports. 20
25



Ankündigung von Marx' Artikel
„The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery". The People's Paper.
London. Nr.451, 12.Marz 1853. Titelseite

In one of my late letters I mentioned the speculation going on in iron. The first raising of the rate of discount, by the Bank, from 2 to 2½ per cent, had already had its effect upon this branch of trade. Scotch Pigs, for the last fortnight selling at 78s, on the 19th inst. dropped down to 61s. The Railway
5 Share market, too, will probably be depressed, since the raising of the rate of interest, by forced sales of shares hitherto deposited as securities for loans, and the commencement of these operations has already taken place. My opinion, however, is that the drain of bullion is not caused by exportation of gold alone, but that the brisk home trade, especially in the manufacturing
10 districts, has a full share in it.

During the present momentary slackness in political affairs, the address of the Stafford House Assembly of Ladies to their sisters in America upon the subject of negro-slavery, and the "affectionate and Christian address of many thousands of the women of the United States of America to their
15 sisters, the women of England," upon white slavery, have proved a god-send to the press. Not one of the British papers was ever struck by the circumstance that the Stafford House Assembly took place at the palace and under the Presidency of the Duchess of Sutherland, and yet the names of Stafford and Sutherland should have been sufficient to class the philanthropy of the
20 British Aristocracy—a philanthropy which chooses its objects as far distant from home as possible, and rather on that than on this side of the ocean.

The history of the wealth of the Sutherland family is the history of the ruin and of the expropriation of the Scotch Gaelic population from its native soil. As far back as the tenth century, the Danes had landed in Scotland,
25 conquered the plains of Caithness, and driven back the aborigines into the mountains. Mhoir-Fhear-Chattaibh, as he was called in Gaelic, or the "Great Man of Sutherland," had always found his companions in arms ready to defend him at the risk of their lives against all his enemies, Danes or Scots, foreigners or natives. After the revolution which drove the Stuarts from
30 Britain, private feuds among the petty chieftains of Scotland became less and less frequent, and the British Kings, in order to keep up at least a semblance of dominion in these remote districts, encouraged the levying of family regiments among the chieftains, a system by which these *lairds* were enabled to combine modern military establishments with the ancient *clan*
35 system in such a manner as to support one by the other.

Now, in order to distinctly appreciate the usurpation subsequently carried out, we must first properly understand what the *Clan* meant. The *Clan* belonged to a form of social existence which, in the scale of historical development, stands a full degree below the feudal state; viz., the *patriarchal*
40 state of society. „*Klaen*, " in Gaelic, means children. Every one of the usages and traditions of the Scottish Gaels reposes upon the supposition that the

members of the *clan* belong to one and the same family. The "great man," the chieftain of the clan, is on one hand quite as arbitrary, on the other quite as confined in his power, by consanguinity, etc., as every father of a family. To the clan, to the family, belonged the district where it had established itself, exactly as in Russia, the land occupied by a community of peasants belongs, not to the individual peasants, but to the community. Thus the district was the common property of the family. There could be no more question, under this system, of private property, in the modern sense of the word, than there could be of comparing the social existence of the members of the clan to that of individuals living in the midst of our modern society. The division and subdivision of the land corresponded to the military functions of the single members of the clan. According to their military abilities, the chieftain intrusted to them the several allotments, cancelled or enlarged according to his pleasure the tenures of the individual officers, and these officers again distributed to their vassals and under-vassals every separate plot of land. But the district at large always remained the property of the clan, and, however the claims of individuals might vary, the tenure remained the same; nor were the contributions for the common defense, or the tribute for the Laird, who at once was leader in battle and chief magistrate in peace, ever increased. Upon the whole, every plot of land was cultivated by the same family, from generation to generation, under fixed imposts. These imposts were insignificant, more a tribute by which the supremacy of the "great man" and of his officers was acknowledged, than a rent of land in a modern sense, or a source of revenue. The officers directly subordinate to the "great man" were called "Taksmen," and the district intrusted to their care, "Tak." Under them were placed inferior officers, at the head of every hamlet, and under these stood the peasantry.

Thus you see, the *clan* is nothing but a family organized in a military manner, quite as little defined by laws, just as closely hemmed in by traditions, as any family. But the land is the *property of the family*, in the midst of which differences of rank, in spite of consanguinity, do prevail as well as in all the ancient Asiatic family communities.

The first usurpation took place, after the expulsion of the Stuarts, by the establishment of the family Regiments. From that moment, pay became the principal source of revenue of the *Great Man*, the Mhoir-Fhear-Chattaibh. Entangled in the dissipation of the Court of London, he tried to squeeze as much money as possible out of his officers, and they applied the same system to their inferiors. The ancient tribute was transformed into fixed money contracts. In one respect these contracts constituted a progress, by fixing the traditional imposts; in another respect they were a usurpation, inasmuch as the "great man" now took the position of landlord toward the "taksmen"

who again took toward the peasantry that of farmers. And as the "great man" now required money no less than the "taksmen," a production not only for direct consumption but for export and exchange also became necessary; the system of national production had to be changed, the hands superseded by
5 this change had to be got rid of. Population, therefore, decreased. But that it as yet was kept up in a certain manner, and that man, in the 18th century, was not yet openly sacrificed to net-revenue, we see from a passage in Steuart, a Scotch political economist, whose work was published 10 years before Adam Smith's, where it says (vol. 1 chap. 16): "The rent of these lands
10 is very trifling compared to their extent, but compared to the number of mouths which a farm maintains, it will perhaps be found that a plot of land in the highlands of Scotland feeds ten times more people than a farm of the same extent in the richest provinces." That even in the beginning of the 19th century the rental imposts were very small, is shown by the work of Mr. Loch
15 (1820), the steward of the Countess of Sutherland, who directed the improvements on her estates. He gives for instance the rental of the Kintradawell estate for 1811, from which it appears that up to then, every family was obliged to pay a yearly impost of a few shillings in money, a few fowls, and some day's work, at the highest.

20 It was only after 1811 that the ultimate and real usurpation was enacted, the forcible transformation of *clan property* into the *private property*, in the modern sense, *of the Chief*. The person who stood at the head of this economical revolution, was a female Mehemet Ali, who had well digested her Malthus—the *Countess of Sutherland*, alias *Marchioness of Stafford*.

25 Let us first state that the ancestors of the Marchioness of Stafford were the "great men" of the most northern part of Scotland, of very near three-quarters of Sutherlandshire. This County is more extensive than many French *Departements* or small German Principalities. When the Countess of Sutherland inherited these estates, which she afterward brought to her
30 husband, the Marquis of Stafford, afterward Duke of Sutherland, the population of them was already reduced to 15,000. My lady Countess resolved upon a radical economical reform, and determined upon transforming the whole tract of country into sheep-walks. From 1811 to 1820, these 15,000 inhabitants, about 3,000 families, were systematically expelled and ex-
35 terminated. All their villages were demolished and burned down, and all their fields converted into pasturage. British soldiers were commanded for this execution, and came to blows with the natives. An old woman refusing to quit her hut, was burned in the flames of it. Thus my lady Countess appropriated to herself seven *hundred and ninety-four thousand acres of land*,
40 which from time immemorial had belonged to the clan. In the exuberance of her generosity she allotted to the expelled natives about 6,000 acres—

2 acres per family. These 6,000 acres had been laying waste until then, and brought no revenue to the proprietors. The Countess was generous enough to sell the acre at 2s. 6d. on an average, to the clan-men who for centuries past had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the unrightfully appropriated clan-land she divided into 29 large sheep farms, each of them 5 inhabited by one single family, mostly English farm-laborers; and in 1820 the 15,000 Gaels had already been superseded by 131,000 sheep.

A portion of the aborigines had been thrown upon the sea-shore, and attempted to live by fishing. They became amphibious, and, as an English author says, lived half on land and half on water, and after all did not half 10 Uve upon both.

Sismondi, in his "*Études Sociales*," observes with regard to this expropriation of the Gaels from Sutherlandshire—an example, which, by-the-by, was imitated by the other "great men" of Scotland:

"The large extent of seignorial domains is not a circumstance peculiar to 15 Britain. In the whole Empire of Charlemagne, in the whole Occident, entire provinces were usurped by the warlike chiefs, who had them cultivated for their own account by the vanquished, and sometimes by their own companions in arms. During the 9th and 10th centuries the Counties of Maine, Anjou, Poitou were for the Counts of these provinces rather three large 20 estates than principalities. Switzerland, which in so many respects resembles Scotland, was at that time divided among a small number of *Seigneurs*. If the Counts of Kyburg, of Lentzburg, of Habsburg, of Gruyères had been protected by British laws, they would have been in the same position as the Earls of Sutherland; some of them would perhaps have had the same taste 25 for improvement as the Marchioness of Stafford, and more than one republic might have disappeared from the Alps in order to make room for flocks of sheep. Not the most despotic monarch in Germany would be allowed to attempt anything of the sort."

Mr. Loch, in his defense of the Countess of Sutherland, (1820,) replies to 30 the above as follows:

"Why should there be made an exception to the rule adopted in every other case, just for this particular case? Why should the absolute authority of the landlord over his land be sacrificed to the public interest and to motives which concern the public only?" 35

And why, then, should the slaveholders in the Southern States of North America sacrifice their private interest to the philanthropic grimaces of her Grace, the Duchess of Sutherland?

The British aristocracy, who have everywhere superseded man by bullocks and sheep, will, in a future not very distant, be superseded, in turn, by 40 these useful animals.

The process of *clearing estates* which, in Scotland, we have just now described, was carried out in England in the 16th, 17th und 18th centuries. Thomas Morus already complains of it in the begmning of the 16th century. It was performed in Scotland in the beginning of the 19th, and in Ireland it
5 is now in full progress. The noble Viscount Palmerston, too, some years ago cleared of men his property in Ireland, exactly in the. manner described above.

If of any property it ever was true that it was *robbery*, it is literally true of the property of the British aristocracy. Robbery of Church-property,
10 robbery of commons, fraudulent transformation, accompanied by murder, of feudal and patriarchal property into private property—these are the titles of British aristocrats to their possessions. And what services in this latter process were performed by a servile class of lawyers, you may see from an English lawyer of the last century. Dalrymple, who, in his "History of Feudal
15 Property," very naively proves that every law or deed concerning property was interpreted by the lawyers, in England, when the middle class rose in wealth, in favor of the *middle class*-in Scotland, where the nobility enriched themselves, in favor of the *nobility*—*ia* either case it was interpreted in a sense hostile to the *people*.

20 The above Turkish reform by the Countess of Sutherland was justifiable, at least, from a Malthusian point of view. Other Scottish noblemen went further. Having superseded human beings by sheep, they superseded sheep by game, and the pasture grounds by forests. At the head of these was the Duke of Atholl. "After the conquest, the Norman Kings afforested large
25 portions of the soil of England, in much the same way as the landlords here are now doing with the Highlands." (R. Somer's Letters on the Highlands, 1848.)

As for a large number of the human beings expelled to make room for the game of the Duke of Atholl, and the sheep of the Countess of Sutherland,
30 where did they fly to, where did they find a home?

In the United States of North America.

The enemy of British Wages-Slavery has a right to condemn Negro-Slav-
ery; a Duchess of Sutherland, a Duke of Atholl, a Manchester Cotton-lord—
never!

35

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Capital Punishment—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet-
Regulations of the Bank of England

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3695, 18. Februar 1853

**Capital Punishment—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet-
Regulations of the Bank of England.**

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune.

London, Friday, Jan. 28, 1853.

The Times of Jan. 25 contains the following observations under the head of "Amateur Hanging:"

"It has often been remarked that in this country a public execution is generally followed closely by instances of death by hanging, either suicidal or accidental, in consequence of the powerful effect which the execution of a noted criminal produces upon a morbid and unmatured mind."

Of the several cases which are alleged by *The Times* in illustration of this remark, one is that of a lunatic at Sheffield, who, after talking with other lunatics respecting the execution of Barbour, put an end to his existence by hanging himself. Another case is that of a boy of 14 years, who also hung himself.

The doctrine to which the enumeration of these facts was intended to give its support, is one which no reasonable man would be likely to guess, it being no less than a direct apotheosis of the hangman, while capital punishment is extolled as the *ultima ratio* of society. This is done in a leading article of the "leading journal."

The Morning Advertiser, in some very bitter but just strictures on the hanging predilections and bloody logic of *The Times*, has the following interesting data on 43 days of the year 1849:

Capital Punishment—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet—Regulations of the Bank of England

| | Executions of | | Murders and Suicides. | |
|----|---------------|----------|---|----------|
| | Millan | March 20 | Hannah Sandles | March 22 |
| | | | M. G. Newton | March 22 |
| 5 | Pulley | March 26 | J. G. Gleeson—4 Murders at Liverpool | March 27 |
| | Smith | March 27 | Murder and Suicide at Leicester | April 2 |
| | Howe | March 31 | Poisoning at Bath | April 7 |
| | | | W. Bailey | April 8 |
| 10 | Landick | April 9 | J. Ward murders his mother | April 13 |
| | Sarah Thomas | April 13 | Yardley | April 14 |
| | | | Doxey, parricide | April 14 |
| | | | J. Bailey kills his two children and himself | April 17 |
| | J. Griffiths | April 18 | Chas. Overton | April 18 |
| | J. Rush | April 21 | Daniel Holmsden | May 2 |

This table, as *The Times* concedes, shows not only suicides, but also murders of the most atrocious kind, following closely upon the execution of criminals. It is astonishing, that the article in question does not even
 20 produce a single argument or pretext for indulging in the savage theory therein propounded; and it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to establish any principle upon which the justice or expediency of capital punishment could be founded, in a society glorying in its civilization. Punishment in general has been defended as a means either of ameliorating
 25 or of intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for the amelioration or intimidation of others? And besides, there is history—there is such a thing as statistics—which prove with the most complete evidence that since Cain the world has neither been intimidated nor ameliorated by punishment. Quite the contrary. From the point of view of abstract right, there is only one theory
 30 of punishment which recognizes human dignity in the abstract, and that is the theory of Kant, especially in the more rigid formula given to it by Hegel. Hegel says:

"Punishment is the *right* of the criminal. It is an act of his own will. The violation of right has been proclaimed by the criminal as his own right. His
 35 crime is the negation of right. Punishment is the negation of this negation, and consequently an affirmation of right, solicited and forced upon the criminal by himself."

There is no doubt something specious in this formula, inasmuch as Hegel, instead of looking upon the criminal as the mere object, the slave of justice,
 40 elevates him to the position of a free and self-determined being. Looking, however, more closely into the matter, we discover that German idealism here, as in most other instances has but given a transcendental sanction to

the rules of existing society. Is it not a delusion to substitute for the individual with his real motives, with multifarious social circumstances pressing upon him, the abstraction of "free-will"—one among the many qualities of man for man himself? This theory, considering punishment as the result of the criminal's own will, is only a metaphysical expression for the old "jus talio- 5
ids": eye against eye, tooth against tooth, blood against blood. Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now, what a state of society is that, which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and 10
which proclaims, through the "leading journal of the world" its own brutality as eternal law?

Mr. A. Quételet, in his excellent and learned work, "*l'Homme et ses Facultés*," says:

"There is a *budget* which we pay with frightful regularity—it is that of 15
prisons, dungeons and scaffolds ... We might even predict how many individuals will stain their hands with the blood of their fellow men, how many will be forgers, how many will deal in poison, pretty nearly the same way as we may foretell the annual births and deaths."

And Mr. Quételet, in a calculation of the probabilities of crime published 20
in 1829, actually predicted with astonishing certainty, not only the amount but all the different kinds of crimes committed in France in 1830. That it is not so much the particular political institutions of a country as the fundamental conditions of modern *bourgeois* society in general, which produce an average amount of crime in a given national fraction of society, may be seen 25
from the following tables, communicated by Quételet, for the years 1822—24. We find in a number of one hundred condemned criminals in America and France:

| Age. | Philadelphia. | France. | |
|------------------------|---------------|------------|----|
| Under twenty-one years | 19 | 19 | 30 |
| Twenty-one to thirty | 44 | 35 | |
| Thirty to forty | 23 | 23 | |
| Above forty | 14 | 23 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | |

Now, if crimes observed on a great scale thus show, in their amount and 35
their classification, the regularity of physical phenomena—if, as Mr. Quételet remarks, "it would be difficult to decide in respect to which of the two (the physical world and the social system) the acting causes produce their effect with the utmost regularity"—is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting 40
upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of glorify-

ing the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?

One of the topics of the day is the publication of a pamphlet by Mr. Richard Cobden- "1793 and 1853, in three Letters," (140 pages.) The first part of this
5 pamphlet, treating of the time of and previous to, the revolution of 1793, has the merit of attacking openly and vigorously the old English prejudices respecting that epoch. Mr. Cobden shows that England was the aggressive party in the revolutionary war. But here he has no claim to originality, as he does but repeat, and in a much less brilliant manner, the statements once
10 given by the greatest pamphleteer England has ever possessed, viz: the late William Cobbett. The other part of the pamphlet, although written from an economical point of view, is of a rather romantic character. Mr. Cobden labors to prove that the idea of Louis Napoleon's having any intention of invading England is a mere absurdity; that the noise about the defenseless
15 state of the country has no material foundation, and is propagated only by persons interested in augmenting the public expenditure. By what arguments does he prove that Louis Napoleon has no hostile intentions toward England? Louis Napoleon, he contends, has no *rational* ground for quarreling with England. And how does he prove that a foreign invasion of this country is
20 impossible? For 800 years, says Mr. Cobden, England has not been invaded. And what are his arguments to show that the cry about the defenseless state is a mere interested humbug? The highest military authorities have declared that they feel quite safe!

Louis Napoleon has never met, even in the Legislative Assembly, with
25 a more credulous believer in his faith and peaceable intentions, than he finds now, rather unexpectedly, in Mr. Richard Cobden. *The Morning Herald* (in yesterday's number), the habitual defender of Louis Napoleon, publishes a letter addressed to Mr. Cobden, and alleged to have been written under the immediate inspiration of Bonaparte himself, in which the prince-hero of
30 Satory assures us that he will only come over to England, if the Queen, threatened by rising Democracy, should want some 200,000 of his *de-cembraillards* or bullies. But this Democracy, according to *The Herald*, is nobody else than Messrs. Cobden & Co.

We must confess that, having perused the pamphlet in question, we begin
35 to feel an apprehension of something like an invasion of Great-Britain. Mr. Cobden is no very happy prophet. After the repeal of the corn-laws he made a trip to the Continent, visiting even Russia, and after his return stated that all things were right, that the times of violence had passed, that the nations deeply and eagerly involved in commercial and industrial pursuits,
40 would now develop themselves in a quiet business-like manner, without political storms, without outbreaks and disturbances. His prophecy had

scarcely reached the Continent, when the Revolution of 1848 burst forth over all Europe, and gave a somewhat ironical echo to Mr. Cobden's meek predictions. He talked peace, where there was no peace.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the peace doctrine of the Manchester School has a deep philosophical bearing. It only means, that the feudal method of warfare shall be supplanted by the commercial one-cannons by capital. The Peace-Society yesterday held a meeting at Manchester, where it was almost unanimously declared, that Louis Napoleon could not be supposed as intending anything against the safety of England, *if the press would but discontinue its odious censures on his Government, and become mute!* Now, with this statement, it appears very singular, that the increased army and navy estimates have been voted in the House of Commons without opposition, none of the M.P.'s present at the Peace-Conference having had anything to say against the proposed addition to the military force.

During the political calm, produced by the adjournment of Parliament, there are two principal topics which occupy the press, viz.: The coming *Reform bill*, and the last *Discount Regulations* of the Bank of England.

The Times of the 24th inst, informs the public that a new Reform bill is on the stocks. What kind of a Reform bill it will be, you may infer from Sir Charles Wood's election-speech at Halifax, in which he declared against the principle of *equal electoral districts*; from Sir James Graham's at Carlisle, where he rejected the *ballot*; and from the confidentially circulated statement, that even the small Reform pills prescribed in Feb. 1852 by Johnny Russell, are considered as far too strong and dangerous. But there is something which looks yet more suspicious. The mouth-piece of the Coalition Ministry, *Tfie Economist*, in the number of Jan. 22, states, not only:

"That the reform of our representative system stands not very early on the list of topics of pressing or immediate importance," but also, that "we want the raw materials for legislative action. The extension, adjustment, purification, protection and re-distribution of the Franchise, are branches of the question, each of which demands profound reflection, and much inquiry ... It is not that several of our statesmen may not have a good deal of useful information on all or some of these points, but it is *picked up*, not *worked out*; it is miscellaneous, partial, and incomplete... The obvious mode of remedying this, is by issuing a *Commission of Inquiry*, charged, to investigate all points of fact directly or remotely connected with the subject-

Thus the Methusalem Ministry will again begin their political studies, *coram publico*. The colleagues of Peel, the colleagues of Melbourne, the subaltern of Canning, the lieutenant of the elder Grey, men who served under

Lord Liverpool, others who sat in the cabinet of Lord Grenville, all neophytes of half-a-century back, are unable, from want of experience, to propose to Parliament any decisive measure on Electoral Reform. Thus, the old proverb, that experience comes with age, appears to be refuted. "This
5 coyness in a coalition of veteran partisans is something too comical to be easily described," exclaims *The Daily News*, asking: "Where is your Reform Bill?" The *Morning Advertiser* replies:

"We should be inclined to the opinion that there will be no Reform Bill at all during the present session. There may be some attempt at legislating
10 for the prevention and punishment of bribery at elections, and with regard to some other matters of minor importance, an effort maybe made to remedy evils connected with the parliamentary representations of the country, but such legislation will not be deserving the name of a new Reform Bill."

With regard to the late discount regulations of the Bank of England, the
15 panic at first called forth by them, has now subsided, and business men alike with theorists, have assured themselves that the present prosperity will not be seriously interrupted or checked. But read the following extract from *The Economist*:

"This year, upon an immense extent of our wheat lands, there is no plant
20 at all. On a very large proportion of our heavy soils, much of the land which should have been in wheat, remains unsown, and some of that which has been sown, is in no better plight, for the seed has either perished, or the plant has come up so thinly, or has been so destroyed by slugs, that the prospects of the occupiers are not better than those of the unsown lands. It has now
25 become nearly impossible to plant all the wheat land."

Now the crisis, temporarily protracted by the opening of the Californian and Australian markets and mines, will unquestionably become due, in the event of a bad harvest. The discount regulations of the Bank are only the first forebodings. In 1847 the Bank of England altered its rate of discount
30 13 times. In 1853 there will be a full score of such measures. In conclusion, I wish to ask the English Economists, how it happens that modern Political Economy commenced its warfare against the mercantile system by demonstrating that the influx and efflux of gold in a country are indifferent, that products are only exchanged against products, and that gold is a product like
35 all others. While the very same Economy, now at the end of its career, is most anxiously watching the efflux and influx of gold? "The real object to be accomplished by the operations of the Bank," says *The Economist*, "is to prevent an exportation of capital." Now, would *The Economist* prevent an exportation of capital in the shape of cotton, iron, woolen yarns and stuffs?
40 And is gold not a product like all other products? Or has *The Economist* turned, in his old days, a Mercantilist? And after having set free the im-

Karl Marx

portation of foreign capital, does he aim at checking the exportation of British capital? After having freed himself from the civilized system of protection, will he recur to the Turkish one?

I am just concluding my letter, as I am informed, that a report is prevalent in political circles, that Mr. Gladstone is at variance with several of the leading members of the Aberdeen Ministry, on the subject of the *Income Tax*, and that the result of the misunderstanding will probably be the resignation of the Right Hon. gentleman. In that case, Sir Francis Baring, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Melbourne, will probably become his successor.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Defense—Finances—
Decrease of the Aristocracy—Politics

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3699, 23. Februar 1853

**Defense—Finances—
Decrease of the Aristocracy—Politics.**

Correspondence of the N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Feb. 8, 1853.

5 *The Daily News* states that the establishment of a defensive coast-militia is under the serious consideration of the Government.

The Bank accounts shew a further decrease of bullion to the amount of £362,084. There have been shipped, during the last fortnight, about £1,000,000 partly for the continent and partly in coin, for Australia. As the
10 bullion in the Bank of France continues to also decrease, in spite of the large importation of gold from England, there has apparently sprung up a system of private hoarding, which strongly indicates the general distrust in the stability of Napoleonic government.

At present there is manifested a general demand for higher wages, on the
15 part of workingmen, especially shipwrights, colliers, factory-operatives and mechanics. This demand is owing to the prevailing prosperity and cannot be considered as a very particular event. A fact which deserves more notice, is a regular strike amongst agricultural laborers, a thing which has never taken place before. The laborers of South Wilts have struck for an advance of
20 2 shillings, their weekly wages amounting now only to 7s.

According to the quarterly returns of the registrar-general, emigration from Great Britain was going on through the past year, at the rate of 1,000 a-day, the increase of population being somewhat slower. Simultaneously there was a large increase of marriages.

25 The deaths of Viscount Melbourne and the Earl of Tyrconnel, with that of the Earl of Oxford, make no less than three peerages, that have become extinct within the last fortnight. If there be any class exempt from the Malthusian law of procreation in a geometrical progression, it is that of the hereditary aristocracy. Take for instance, the peers and baronets of Great

Britain. Few, if any, of the Norman nobility exist at this time and not much more of the original baronet families of King James I. The great majority of the House of Lords were created in 1760. The order of baronets commenced in 1611, under James I. There are at present only thirteen surviving out of the number of baronet-families then created, and of those created in 1625 there remain but 39. The extraordinary decrease of the Venetian nobility affords another instance of the prevalence of the same law, notwithstanding that *all* the sons were ennobled by birth. *Amelot* counted in his time 2,500 nobles at Venice, possessing the right of voting in the council. At the commencement of the 18th century there remained only 1,500, in spite of a later addition of several families. From 1583—1654, the sovereign council of Berne admitted into the hereditary patricia 487 families, of which 379 became extinct within the space of two centuries while in 1783 there survived only 108. To recur to remoter periods of history, Tacitus informs us that the Emperor Claudius created a new stock of patricians, "*exhaustis etiam, quas dictator Caesar lege Cassia, et princeps Augustus, lege Saenia, sublegere.*" It is evident from these facts, that nature does not like hereditary aristocracy, and it may safely be asserted that but for a continual infusion of new blood, and an artificial system of propping up, the English House of Lords would ere this have died its natural death. Modern physiology has ascertained the fact, that fertility decreases among the higher animals, inversely with the development of the nervous system, especially with the growing bulk of the brain. But no one will venture to affirm that the extinction of the English aristocracy has anything to do with an exuberance of brain.

It appears that the "millennium" is already considered as broken down by the same parties who predicted and originated it, even before the House of Commons has taken place. *The Times*, in its number of Feb. 4, says:

"While Manchester has been fulminating her indignation against the Government of Lord Aberdeen, ... Irish Popery and Socialism (?) are bestowing their questionable praises on Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli."

As to the *Msh Socialism* alluded to in *The Times*, this term applies, of course, to the Tenant Right agitation. On a future occasion I intend to show that the theories of all modern English bourgeois-economists are in perfect accordance with the principle of Tenant-Right. How little the tenor of *The Times* article just quoted is shared in by other newspapers, may be seen from the following contained in *The Morning Advertiser*:

"We should despise the Irishmen, could we believe them capable of deserting the principle of Tenant-Right."

The wrath of the Aberdeen organ is explained by the fact of the Millenarian Ministry being completely disappointed. Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh were the acknowledged leaders of the Brigade—the one in the Cabinet, the other

in the field. Mr. Sadleir directed and managed, while Mr. Keogh made the speeches. It was supposed that the purchase of these two would bring over the whole lot. But the members of the Brigade were sent to Parliament pledged to stand in opposition to, and to remain independent of every
 5 Government that would not establish perfect religious equality, and realize the principle of Sharman Crawford's bill on the rights of the Irish tenants. *The Times*, therefore, is indignant at these men being unwilling to break their faith. The immediate cause of the outbreak of this angry feeling was given by a meeting and banquet at Kells, County of Meath. The circular
 10 invited those to whom it was addressed, to express their indignation at "the recent desertion from the Irish Parliamentary party," and a resolution was passed in that sense.

This failure in the calculations of the Ministry with regard to the Brigade could have been anticipated; but a transformation is now going on in the
 15 character and position of Irish parties, of the deep bearing of which neither they nor the English press appear yet to be aware. The bishops and the mass of the clergy approve of the course taken by the Catholic members, who have joined the Administration. At Carlow, the clergy afforded their entire support to Mr. Sadleir, who would not have been defeated but for the efforts of the
 20 Tenant-Leaguers. In what light this schism is viewed by the true Catholic party, may be seen from an article in the French *Umvers*, the European organ of Jesuitism. It says:

"The only reproach which can, with good foundation, be objected to Messrs. Keogh and Sadleir, is, that they suffered themselves to be thrown
 25 into connection with two Associations (the Tenant-League and the Religious Equality Association) which have no other object than to make patent the anarchy which consumes Ireland."

In its indignation, the *Umvers* betrays its secret:

"We deeply regret to see the two Associations put themselves in open
 30 opposition to the bishops and clergy, in a country where the prelates and dignitaries of the Church have hitherto been the safest guides of popular and national organization."

We may infer that, should thé Tenant-Leaguers happen to be in France, the *Umvers* would cause them to be transported to Cayenne. The Repeal
 35 agitation was a mere political movement, and therefore, it was possible for the Catholic clergy to make use of it, for extorting concessions from the English Government while the people were nothing but the tools of the priests. The Tenant-Right agitation is a deep-rooted social movement which, in its course, will produce a downright scission between the Church and the
 40 Irish Revolutionary party, and thus emancipate the people from that mental thralldom which has frustrated all their exertions, sacrifices, and struggles for centuries past.

I pass now to the "Reunion" of the leading reformers of the County of Lancaster and its representatives, which was held at Manchester on the 3d inst. Mr. George Wilson was in the chair. He spoke only of the iniquitous representation of the commercial and industrial compared with the agricultural districts, upon which he expressed himself in the following terms:

"In the five Counties of Buckingham, Dorset, Wilts, Northampton, and Salop, 63 members were returned by 52,921 voters, while only the same number were returned by Lancashire and Yorkshire, with 89,669 county and 84,612 borough voters, making a total of 174,281. So that, if they returned members in proportion to voters alone, those five counties could only claim 19; while, if Lancashire took their proportion, it would be entitled to 207. There were twelve large cities or boroughs (taking London as a double borough) returning 24 members, with 192,000 voters, and a population of 3,268,218, and 383,000 inhabited houses. On the other side, 24 members were returned by Andover, Buckingham, Chippenham, Cokermonth, Totnes, Harwich, Bedford, Lymington, Marlborough, Great Marlow and Richmond; but they had only 3,569 voters, 67,434 inhabitants, and 1,373 inhabited houses ... The most timid reformer and most moderate man would hardly object to the disfranchisement of those boroughs which had a population less than 5,000, and to handing over the 20 members to those large constituencies."

Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., took up the subject of National Education, and the Taxes on Knowledge. With regard to the Reform bill, the only passage in his speech deserving notice, is his declaration on the point of equal electoral districts:

"It may be, if you please, a great *class-question*."

Mr. Brotherton, another M.P., said:

"No Reform bill would be satisfactory, at this time, which did not propose to equalize the distribution of the representation."

But by far the most memorable speech was that of Mr. Bright, M.P., the real man among the "Manchester men." He said:

"The Government is a coalition Government, composed of Whigs and Peelites ... There is no great cause for throwing up of caps, as if we had in the Government men of new principles, and of a new policy, who are about to take a great start, and who would not require to be urged on by all those who are favorable to Reform, in every part of the country." (Hear.)

In reference to Parliamentary Reform he said:

"If Louis Napoleon had started with a Representation like ours, in France, if he had given all the Members to the rural districts, where the Bonaparte family are so popular, and had not allowed Members to be returned from Paris, and Lyons, and Marseilles, all the Press of England would have

denounced the sham Representation which he was establishing in that country. (Hear! hear!)... We have one-eighth of the population of England here in Lancashire; we have one-tenth of its rateable property, and we have one-tenth of the whole number of houses ... We begin to know where we
5 are now. (Loud cheers.) ... There is another little difficulty, which is the difficulty of the ballot. (Hear! hear!) I read Lord John Russell's speech at his election, and really these London electors were in capital humor, or they could not have allowed such an argument to pass without saying something against it. 'He was against secrecy everywhere;' and when I read the para-
io graph, I said to myself 'Very well; if I had been one of your supporters, I should have recommended you to take a reporter from *The Times* Office to the next Cabinet-meeting with you.'" (Hear! laughter.)

Now we come to Sir James Graham's argument:

"He did not think secret voting could be made compulsory."

15 Why can it not be made compulsory? Open voting is made compulsory, and secret voting could be made compulsory. It is compulsory, at any rate, in the State of Massachusetts, if not in the other States of North America; and Sir James Graham knows perfectly well that there was no force in what he was saying to 2,000 or 3,000 of the people of Carlisle, on a rainy day, when,
20 I suppose, people did not weigh matters under their umbrellas very carefully.

"We must not forget," concluded Mr. Bright, "that everything the country has gained since the Revolution of 1688—and especially everything of late years—has been gained in a *manly contest of the industrial and commercial*
25 *classes against the Aristocracy and the privileged classes of this country.* We must carry on the same conflict; there are great things yet to be done." (Hear! hear! and cheers.)

The resolution unanimously agreed to was:

"That this meeting requests the Liberal Members connected with the
30 County of Lancaster to consider themselves a committee for the purpose of aiding in any proceedings with reference to Parliamentary reform, with a view to secure such additional representation for the County, as its population, industry, wealth and intelligence require."

The Manchester school have repeated at this meeting their battle cry: the
35 industrial Bourgeoisie against the Aristocracy; but, on the other hand, they have also betrayed the secret of their policy, viz.: the exclusion of the people from the representation of the country, and the strict maintenance of their particular class-interest. All that was said with regard to the ballot, national education, taxes on knowledge, etc., is nothing but rhetorical flourishes; the
40 only serious object being the *equalization of Electoral Districts*—at the least the only one upon which a resolution was passed and a pledge taken by the

members? Why this? With equal electoral districts the town interest would become the commander of the country-interest—the bourgeoisie would become master of the House of Commons. If it were given to the Manchester men to obtain equal electoral districts, without a necessity of making serious concessions to the Chartists, the latter would find instead of two enemies, 5 mutually trying to outbid each other in their appeals to them, one compact army of foes, who would concentrate all their forces to resist the people's demands. There would be, for a while, the unrestricted rule of capital, not only industrially but also politically.

A bad omen for the coalition Ministry may be found in the eulogiums 10 bestowed at Kells and at Manchester on the fallen Administration. Mr. Lucas, M.P., said at Kells;

"There were no greater enemies to Tenant Right than the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, Sidney Herbert, etc ____ Had they not had the Whig Ministry and the Grahamites nibbling at the Tenant question? They 15 had on the other hand the Tory officials; and he would leave it to the conscience of any man, who read the propositions that emanated from the various parties, to say whether the treatment of the subject on the side of the Derby Government was not a thousand times more honest than that of the Whigs." 20

At the Manchester Reunion, Milner Gibson said:

"Although the Budget of the late Ministry, as a whole, was bad, still there were indications of future policy in that budget—(Hear! hear!) At least the late Chancellor of the Exchequer has broken the ice. I mean with regard to the Tea Duties. I have heard from good authority that it was the intention 25 of the late Government to repeal the Advertisement Duty."

Mr. Bright went still further in his eulogium:

"The late Government did a bold thing with regard to the Income Tax. For the country gentlemen of England, themselves the owners of a vast portion of the fixed landed property of the country, for them to come forward and 30 support a proposition which made a distinction in the rate charged on fixed property, and that on income derived from trade and other precarious sources, was a step that we ought not to lose sight of, and that we, in this district, are bound to applaud. But there was another point to which Mr. Disraeli referred, and for which I must say I feel grateful to him. In the speech 35 introducing his budget, and in the speech in which he contended for three hours, with that mass of power opposed to him, on the night of his final defeat, he referred to the taxes on successions, which is what we understand by the legacy and probate duties, and he admitted that it required to be 40 adjusted." (Loud cheers.)

Karl Marx.



Karl Marx
The Italian Insurrection—British Politics

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3701, 25. Februar 1853

The Italian Insurrection—British Politics.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Feb. 11, 1853.

The political torpor which, under the protection of nature's dullest fog, has
5 for so long a time prevailed here, has been suddenly interrupted by the arrival
of revolutionary news from Italy. Intelligence has been received by electric
telegraph, that an insurrection took place at Milan on the 6th; that proclama-
tions had been posted up, one by Mazzini, the other by Kossuth, exhorting
the Hungarians in the Austrian army to join the revolutionists; that the
10 insurrection had been at first suppressed, but had afterwards recommenced;
that the Austrians stationed in the arsenal had been massacred, etc. ; that the
gates of Milan were shut up. The French Government papers, it is true,
communicate two further dispatches, dated Berne the 9th, and Turin 8th,
which report the definitive suppression of the outbreak on the 7th. But the
15 non-arrival of any direct information at the English Foreign office for two
days, is regarded as a favorable symptom by the friends of Italy.

Rumors are current in Paris, that great excitement prevailed at Pisa, Lucca
and in other towns.

At Turin the ministry met in haste, in consequence of a communication
20 from the Austrian Consul, in order to deliberate on the aspect of affairs in
Lombardy. The day, on which the first information reached London, was
the 9th of February, which day, curiously enough, is also the anniversary
of the proclamation of the Roman Republic in 1849, of the decapitation of
Charles I. in 1649, and of the deposition of James II. in 1689.

25 As regards the chances of the present insurrection at Milan, there can be
little hope of success, unless some of the Austrian regiments pass over to
the revolutionary camp. Private letters from Turin, which I expect will

shortly reach me, will probably enable me to furnish you a detailed account of the whole affair.

Several statements as to the character of the amnesty lately granted by Louis Napoleon, have been published on behalf of the French refugees. Victor Frondes (a former officer) declares in the *Nation*, a Brussels paper, 5 that he was surprised to see his name in the list of the amnestied, he having already amnestied himself, five months ago, by making his escape from Algiers.

The *Moniteur* announced at first, that 3,000 exiles were to be amnestied, and that only about 1,200 citizens would remain under the ban of pro- 10 scription. A few days later the same authority stated, that 4,312 persons had been pardoned, so that Louis Napoleon actually forgave 100 persons more than he had previously condemned. Paris and the Department of the Seine alone numbered about 4,000 exiles. Of these only 226 are included in the amnesty. The Department of the Hérault counted 2,111 exiles; 299 are 15 amnestied. The Nièvre furnished 1,478 victims among whom there were 1,100 fathers of families averaging three children each; 180 have been amnestied. In the Department of the Var 687 out of 2,281 have been released. Among the 1,200 republicans transported to Cayenne, only a few have been 20 pardoned, and precisely such as have escaped already from that penal settlement. The number of persons transported to Algeria and now released, is large, but still in no proportion to the immense mass of people that have been carried over to Africa, which is said to amount to 12,000. The refugees now living in England, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain, with very rare exceptions, are entirely excluded from the decree. On the other hand, the amnesty lists 25 actually contain a large number of persons who have never quitted France, or who have long since been permitted to reenter it; nay, more, there are names which figure in the list several times. But the most monstrous fact is, that the list is swelled with the names of a large number of persons well known to have been slaughtered during the sanguinary "*battues*" of De- 30 cember.

The new Parliamentary session commenced yesterday. As a worthy introduction to the future performances of the Millenarian Ministry, the following scene was produced in the House of Lords: The Earl of Derby asked the Earl of Aberdeen what measures the Government proposed to submit 35 to the consideration of Parliament; upon which the latter replied that he had already, on a former occasion, explained his principles, a repetition of which would be inconvenient; and that any further statement, before the communication to be made in the House of Commons, would be premature. And now ensued a most curious dialogue, in which the Earl of Derby spoke, and 40 the Earl of Aberdeen, only bowed significantly:



The Earl of Derby—'He would ask the noble Lord what measures he intended to submit to their Lordships in the course of the Session?'

After a few seconds' pause, no noble Lord having risen—

The Earl of Derby—"Does silence mean no measures?" (A laugh.)

5 *The Earl of Aberdeen*—(Muttering some inaudible words.)

The Earl of Derby—"May I be permitted to ask what measures will be introduced in this House?"

No answer.

The question of adjournment being put by the Lord Chancellor, their
10 Lordships adjourned.

Passing from the House of Lords to "Her Majesty's liege Commons," we shall observe that the Earl of Aberdeen has expounded the programme of the Ministry much more strikingly by his silence than Lord John Russell by his long and grave speech last night. The short *resumé* of the latter was: "No
15 Measures, but Men;" adjournment of all questions of Parliamentary importance for one year; and strict payment of the salaries of her Majesty's Ministers during that time. Lord John Russell stated the intention of the Government in nearly these words:

"With regard to the number of men to be voted for the Army, the Navy,
20 and Ordnance, there will be no increase beyond the number voted before the Christmas holidays. With regard to the amounts in the various estimates, there will be found a considerable increase upon the estimates of last year... A bill will be brought in to enable the Legislature of Canada to dispose of the Clergy Reserves in Canada... The President of the Board of Trade will
25 move for the introduction of a Pilotage bill... The disabilities of her Majesty's Jewish subjects will be removed ... Propositions will be made on the subject of Education. I am not prepared to say that I am about to introduce, on the part of her Majesty's Government, a very large plan on that subject. It will include educational measures for the poorer classes, and propositions
30 with respect to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge... Transportation to Australia will cease ... There will be made a proposal with respect to the system of secondary punishments ... Immediately after the Easter recess, or as soon as possible after that period, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will propose the financial statement for the year ... The Lord Chancellor will
35 state in a few days what are the measures he proposes to bring in for the improvement of the law ... It is the intention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a few days, to move the appointment of a select Committee with regard to the law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland ... Ministers would endeavor to effect a renewal of the Income-Tax for the present year, without
40 any observation or discussion whatever."

In reference to Parliamentary Reform, Lord John Russell declares that it

may perhaps be taken into consideration in the next session. Accordingly, no Reform bill at present. Nay more, Johnny was at great pains to disclaim the idea of ever having promised to give a more liberal measure of representative reform than his bill of last session. He was even indignant that words to that effect should have been ascribed to him. He never said nor meant 5 anything of the kind. Nor does he promise that his intended bill of next session will be as comprehensive as that of 1852. With respect to bribery and corruption, he said:

"I think it better to defer giving an opinion as to whether any further measures may be necessary to check bribery and corruption. I will only say 10 that the subject is one of the highest importance."

It is impossible to describe the cool amazement with which this speech of finality-John was received by the House of Commons. It would be difficult to state, which was greater, the perplexity of his friends, or the hilarity of his foes. All seemed to regard his speech as a complete refutation of Lucretius's doctrine, that *"Nil de nihilo fit."* Lord John at least made something 15 out of nothing; a dry, long and very tedious speech.

There were two subjects upon which Ministers were supposed to mean to stand or fall—a new assessment of the Income Tax and a new Reform bill. Now as to the Income Tax it is proposed to continue it for a year in its present 20 form. As to a reform bill, even of Whig dimensions, it is declared that Ministers intend to introduce it only on the condition that they remain in office for a whole year. It is altogether the programme of the late Russell Administration, minus the Reform Bill. Even the financial statement is postponed till after the Easter recess, so that Ministers may be able, in any 25 event to touch their quarterly pay.

The particular reform propositions are nearly all of them borrowed from Mr.D'Israeli's programme. Thus for instance, the law amendment, the 30 abolition of transportation to Australia, the Pilotage bill, the Committee on the Tenant-Right question, etc. The only points belonging properly to the present Ministry, are the proposed educational reform which Lord John assures us will be of no larger size than himself, and the removal of Baronet Lionel Rothschild's disabilities. It may be questioned, whether the English people will be very contented with this extension of the suffrage to a Jewish 35 usurer, who was notoriously one of the accomplices of the Bonapartist coup d'état.

This impudence of a Ministry, composed of two parties that were completely beaten at the late general elections, it would be difficult to explain, 40 were it not for the circumstance that any new Reform bill would necessitate a dissolution of the present House of Commons, the majority of which stick to their dearly-bought seats, gained by narrow majorities.



Nothing is more delightful than the manner in which *The Times* attempts to comfort its readers:

"Next session is not quite so uncertain an epoch as *to-morrow*; *f* or to-morrow depends not only on the will, but even on the life of the procrastinator, while if the world endures, next session will certainly arrive. Then put off to next session—the whole Parliamentary reform—give the Ministry a rest for one year?"

I, for my part, am of opinion, that it is highly beneficial to the people, that no Reform bill is to be *octroyed* by Ministers, in the present dull state of the public mind, and "under the cold shadow of an aristocratic Coalition Cabinet." It must not be forgotten that Lord Aberdeen was a member of the Tory Cabinet, which, in 1830, refused to agree to any measure of reform. National reforms must be won by National agitation, and not by the grace of my Lord Aberdeen.

In conclusion let me mention that, at a special meeting of the General Committee of the *National Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital*, held in the South-Sea House, on Monday last, under the Presidency of the Duke of Richmond, this Society wisely resolved to dissolve itself.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx

The Attack on Francis Joseph—The Milan Riot—
British Politics—Disraeli's Speech—Napoleon's Will

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3710, 8. März 1853

The Attack on Francis Joseph— The Milan Riot-British Politics- Disraeli's Speech—Napoleon's Will.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Feb. 22, 1853. ⁵

The electric telegraph brings the following news from Stuhlweissenburg:

"On the 18th inst., at 1 o'clock, the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, was walking on the ramparts of Vienna, when a Hungarian journeyman tailor named Lasslo Libenyi, formerly a hussar from Vienna, rushed upon him in a moment and struck him with a poniard. The blow was warded off by an aid-de-camp, the Count O'Donnell. Francis Joseph was wounded below the occiput. The Hungarian, 21 years of age, was struck down by a blow of the aid-de-camp's sword and was arrested immediately." 10

According to other accounts, the weapon employed was a musket.

A very extensive conspiracy for the overthrow of the Austrian rule has just been discovered in Hungary. 15

The *Wiener Zeitung* publishes several sentences passed by courts martial on thirty-nine individuals, accused principally of conspiracy with Kossuth and Ruzsak, from Hamburg.

Immediately after the revolutionary outbreak in Milan had been crushed, Radetzky gave orders to intercept all communication with Piedmont and Switzerland. You will ere this have received the scanty information that has been allowed to find its way from Italy to England. I call your attention to one characteristic feature in the Milan affair. 20

Lieutenant-Marshal Count Strassoldo, in his first decree of the 6th inst., although imposing the severest state of siege upon Milan, plainly admits that 25



the bulk of the population took no part whatever in the late insurrection. Radetzky, in his subsequent proclamation of the 9th inst., dated from Verona, subverts the statement of his inferior, and takes advantage of the rebellion to obtain money under false pretenses. He subjects all persons not notoriously belonging to the Austrian party to fines of unlimited extent, for the benefit of the garrison. In his proclamation of the 11th inst. he declares "that the generality of the inhabitants, with a few praiseworthy exceptions, are unwilling to submit to the Imperial rule," and he instructs all judicial authorities, i.e. the courts martial, to sequester the property of all the accomplices, explaining this term in the following manner:

"Che tale complicità consista semplicemente nella omissione della denuncia a cui ognuno è tenuto."

He might as well have confiscated all Milan at once under the pretense that, the insurrection having broken out on the 6th, its inhabitants failed to denounce it on the 5th. Whoever will not become a spy and informer for the Hapsburg shall be liable to become the lawful prey of the Croat. In a word, Radetzky proclaims a new system of wholesale plunder.

The Milan insurrection is significant as a symptom of the approaching revolutionary crisis on the whole European continent. As the heroic act of some few proletarians—the sons of Mammon were dancing, and singing, and feasting amid the blood and tears of their debased and crucified nation-proletarians who, armed only with knives, marched to attack the citadel of a garrison and surrounding army of forty thousand of the finest troops in Europe, it is admirable. But as the finale of Mazzini's eternal conspiracy, of his bombastic proclamations and his arrogant capucinades against the French people, it is a very poor result. Let us hope that henceforth there will be an end of *révolutions improvisées*, as the French call them. Has one ever heard of great improvisators being also great poets? They are the same in politics as in poetry. Revolutions are never made to order. After the terrible experience of '48 and '49, it needs something more than paper summonses from distant leaders to evoke national revolutions. Kossuth has seized the opportunity for publicly disavowing the insurrection in general, and the proclamation published in his name in particular. It looks, however, rather suspicious that he claims for himself a post-factum superiority to his friend Mazzini as a politician. *The Leader* remarks on this subject:

"We deem it necessary to caution our readers that the matter in question lies exclusively between Mr. Kossuth and Mr. Mazzini, the latter of whom is absent from England."

Della Rocca, a friend of Mazzini, says in a letter addressed to *The Daily News*, with regard to Mr. Kossuth's and Mr. Agostini's disavowals:

"There are persons who will suspect that they were waiting the definitive

news of the success or the failure of the insurrection, as ready to share the honor of the former as to repel the responsibility of the latter." *B. Szemere*, Ex-Minister of Hungary, protests in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, "against the illegitimate usurpation of the name of Hungary by Kossuth." He says: "Let those who are desirous of forming a judgment of him as a statesman, read attentively the history of the last Hungarian Revolution, or of learning his skill as a conspirator, cast a retrospective glance on the unhappy Hamburg expedition of last year." 5

That the revolution is victorious even in its failures, one may see from the terrors the Milan *échauffourée* has thrown in the very heart of continental potentates. Look only at the following letter published in the official *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung*: 10

"Berlin, Feb. 13—The events at Milan have produced a deep impression here. The news reached the King by telegraph on the 9th, just as the court was in the middle of a ball. The King immediately declared that the movement was connected with a deep conspiracy, which had its ramification everywhere, and that it showed the necessity for the close union of Prussia and Austria in presence of these revolutionary movements—A high functionary exclaimed: 'We may thus have to defend the Prussian crown on the banks of the Po.'" 20

So great was the alarm created in the first moment, that about twenty inhabitants of Berlin were arrested without any other cause than the "deep impression." The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, the ultra Royalist paper, was confiscated for publishing the document purporting to be from Kossuth. On the 13th the Minister von Westphalen presented to the first chamber a hasty bill for empowering the Government to seize all papers or pamphlets published outside the frontiers of Prussia. Arrests and domiciliary visits are the order of the day at Vienna. Negotiations immediately took place between Russia, Prussia and Austria, for a joint remonstrance to be addressed to the British Government on the subject of political refugees. So weak, so powerless are the so-called "powers." They feel the thrones of Europe vibrate to their foundations at the first forebodings of the revolutionary earthquake. In the midst of their armies, their gallows and their dungeons, they are trembling at what they call "the subversive attempts of a few paid miscreants." 25 30

"Quiet is restored." It is. The ominous and dreadful quiet that intervenes between the first burst of the tempest and its returning roar. 35

From the agitated scenes of the Continent I pass to quiet England. It would seem as if the spirit of little Finality-John had obtained the whole of the official sphere for its dominion; as though the nation throughout had become as paralytic as the men who now govern it. Even *The Times* exclaims with despair: 40

"It may be the calm before a storm; it may be the smoke before the fire. ... For the present it is dullness."

Business has been resumed in Parliament, but till now the three times repeated bowing of Lord Aberdeen has been the most dramatic, and the only
5 conspicuous act of the Coalition-Ministry. The impression Lord John's programme has made on his enemies has been best described by the professions of his friends:

"Lord John Russell," says *The Times*, "has made a speech with rather less spirit than an ordinary auctioneer would put into his preliminary remarks
10 before a sale of old furniture, damaged goods, or shop fittings... Lord John Russell creates mighty little enthusiasm."

You know that the new Reform bill has been postponed under the presence of more urgent practical reforms calling upon the more immediate attention of legislators. Now an instance has already been given of what nature these
15 reforms must turn out to be, while the instrument of reforming, viz., Parliament, remains itself unreformed.

On Feb. 14, Lord Cranworth laid his programme of legal reform before the House of Lords. By far the greater part of his prolix, tedious, and indecisive speech consisted in the enumeration of the many things he was expected, but not at all prepared to do. He excused himself with being only
20 seven weeks on the woolsack, but, as *The Times* observes, "Lord Cranworth has been 63 years in this world, and 37 at the Bar." In the true spirit of Whiggery, he infers from the comparatively great results obtained by the small legal reforms hitherto made, that it would be an infraction of the laws
25 of modesty to go on reforming in the same strain. In the true spirit of Aristocracy, he abstains from dealing with Ecclesiastical Law, as "It would interfere too much with vested interests." Interests vested in what? In public nuisances. The only measures of any importance prepared by Lord Cranworth are the following two: Firstly, a "Bill to facilitate the transfer of land," the
30 principal features of which are, that it renders the transfer of land only more difficult, by increasing the expenses thereon, and augmenting the technical obstructions, without shortening the length, or diminishing the complexity of conveyances. Second, a proposition to form a commission for digesting the statute law, the whole merit of which will be restricted to the compilation
35 of an index for the 40 quarto volumes of statutes at large. Lord Cranworth certainly may defend his measures against the most inveterate opponents to law-reform with the same excuse which was offered by the poor girl to her Confessor, namely: that, though it was true that she had had a child, it was but a very little one.

40 Up to this day the only interesting debate in the House of Commons was that in which Mr. Disraeli, on the 18th inst., interpellated the Ministers on

the relations of the country with France. Disraeli began with Poitiers and Agincourt, and ended with the hustings at Carlisle, and the Cloth-Hall at Halifax, his object being to denounce Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Wood for irreverent remarks made on the character of Napoleon III. Disraeli could not have rendered the utter decay of the old Tory party more evident, 5 than by his throwing himself up as the apologist of the Bonapartes, the hereditary enemies of the very political class whose chief he himself is. He could not have opened his opposition career in a more inappropriate manner, than by this justification of the actual *regime* in France. The weakness of this part of his speech may be seen from a short analysis of it. 10

Attempting to explain the causes of the uneasiness felt by the public on the state of England's present relations with France, he was compelled to admit that the principal motive was just derived from the large armaments, which were commenced under his own administration. Nevertheless he endeavored to prove, that the increasing and completing the defenses of 15 Great Britain had their only reason in the great changes occasioned by the modern application of science to the art of war. Competent authorities, he says, had ere this recognized the necessity of such measures. In 1840, under the Ministry of M. Thiers, there had been made some efforts by the Government of Sir Robert Peel, at least to commence a new system with regard to 20 the public defenses. But in vain. Again, at the outbreak of the Continental revolutions in 1848, an opportunity had been offered to the Government of the day to lead popular opinion in the direction which it desired, as far as the defense of the country was concerned. But again without result. The question of national defenses had not become ripe before he and his col- 25 leagues were placed at the head of the Government. The measures, adopted by them were as follows:

- I. A Militia was established.
- II. The Artillery was placed in an efficient state.
- III. Measures were introduced which will completely fortify the Arsenal 30 of the country, and some important strong posts upon the coast.
- IV. A proposition was made by which will be added to the Navy 5,000 sailors and 1,500 marines.
- V. Arrangements were made for the establishment of the ancient force in the form of a Channel Fleet of 15 or 20 sail of the line with an adequate 35 number of frigates and smaller ships.

Now, from all these statements, it is evident that Disraeli established exactly the contrary of what he wanted to prove. The Government was unable to effect an increase of armaments, when the Syrian and Tahitian questions menaced the *entente cordiale* with Louis Philippe; it was equally 40 unable to do so when Revolution spread all over the Continent and seemed

to threaten British interests at their very root. Why, then, has it become possible to do so now, and why was it done by Mr. Disraeli's Government? Exactly because Napoleon III. has raised more fears for the security of England than have existed at any time since 1815. And further, as Mr. Cobden
5 justly observed:

"The proposed increase in the naval force was not an increase of steam-machinery, but one of men, and the transition from the use of sailing-vessels to that of steamers did not imply the necessity of a larger number of sailors, but quite the contrary."

io Disraeli said:

"Another cause for the belief in an impending rupture with France was the existence in France of a military government. But when armies were anxious for conquests, it was because their position at home was uneasy; and France was now governed by the army, not in consequence of the
15 military ambition of the troops, but in consequence of the disquietude of the citizens."

Mr. Disraeli seems entirely to overlook that the question is just, how long the army will feel easy at home, and how long the entire Nation will bow, out of deference to the egotistical disquietude of a small class of citizens,
20 to the actual terrors of a military despotism, which after all is but the instrument of exclusive class interests.

The third cause alleged by Mr. Disraeli was:

"The considerable prejudice in this country against the present ruler of France. ... It was understood that in acceding to power he had terminated
25 with what was here esteemed a Parliamentary Constitution and that he had abrogated the liberty of the press."

There is, however, but little which Mr. Disraeli knew of to oppose to that prejudice. He said "it was extremely difficult to form an opinion on French politics."

30 It is simply common-sense which tells the English people, although less deeply initiated into the mysteries of French politics than Mr. Disraeli, that the reckless adventurer, being neither controlled by a Parliament nor a press, is the very man to make a piratical descent upon England, after his own exchequer has become exhausted by extravagance and dissipation.

35 Mr. Disraeli then records some instances, in which the cordial understanding between Bonaparte and the late Administration had greatly contributed toward the maintenance of peace, as in the case of an impending conflict between France and Switzerland, in the opening of the South America rivers, in the case of Prussia and Neufchatel, in pressing upon the United States
40 the Tripartite renunciation of Cuba, in the common action in the Levant with regard to the *Tanzimat* in Egypt, in the revision of the Greek Succession

Treaty, in the cordial cooperation with regard to the Regency of Tunis, etc. Now this reminds me of a certain member of the French party of order, who made a speech at the end of November, 1851, on the cordial understanding between Bonaparte and the majority of the Assembly which had enabled the latter so easily to dispose of the Suffrage, the Association, and the Press 5 questions. Two days later the coup d'état had been carried out.

Weak and inconsistent as was this part of Disraeli's speech, his attacks on the Coalition Ministry formed a brilliant conclusion:

"There is one other reason," he concluded, "why I am bound to pursue this inquiry at the present moment, and I find that reason in the present state 10 of parties in this House. It is a peculiar state of things. We have at this moment a Conservative Ministry, and we have a Conservative Opposition. (Cheers.) Where the great Liberal party is, I pretend not to know. (Cheers.) Where are the Whigs, with their great traditions? ... There is no one to answer. (Renewed cheering.) Where, I ask, are the youthful energies of 15 Radicalism? Its buoyant expectations—its expanded hopes? Awakened, I fear, from the dreams of that ardent inexperience which attend sometimes the career of youth, it finds itself at the same moment used and discarded. (Cheers.) Used without compunction, and not discarded with too much decency. (Cheers.) Where are the Radicals? Is there a man in the House who 20 declares himself a Radical? (Hear, hear!) No, not one. He would be afraid of being caught and turned into a Conservative Minister. (Roars of laughter.) Well, how has this curious state of things been brought about? Where is the machinery by which it has been effected, this portentous political calamity? I believe I must go to that inexhaustible magazine of political devices, the 25 First Lord of the Admiralty (Graham) to explain the present state of affairs. The House may recollect that some two years ago the First Lord of the Admiralty afforded us, as is his wont, one of those political creeds in which his speeches abound. He said: 'I take my stand on progress.' Well, Sir, I thought at the time that progress was an odd thing to take one's stand upon. 30 (Much laughter and cheering.) I thought at the time that this was a piece of oratorical slip-slop. But I apologize for the momentary suspicion. I find that it was a system perfectly matured and now brought into action. For we have now a Ministry of progress, and every one stands still. (Cheers.) We never hear the word Reform now; it is no longer a Ministry of Reform; it is a 35 Ministry of Progress, every member of which resolves to do nothing. All difficult questions are superseded. All questions which cannot be agreed upon, are open questions."

The opponents of Disraeli had but little to say in reply to him, with the exception of that very "inexhaustible magazine of political devices," Sir 40 James Graham, who, at least, conserved his dignity in not wholly retracting

the offensive words against Louis Napoleon, of which he had been accused.

Lord John Russell charged Mr. Disraeli with making a party-question of the country's foreign policy, and assured the Opposition:

"That after the contentions and struggles of last year the country would gladly see a short time at least of peaceable progress, without any of those great convulsive struggles of parties."

The result of the debate is, that the whole of the navy-estimates will be voted by the House, but to the comfort of Louis Napoleon, not from a warlike but only a scientific view of the matter. *Suaviter in modo, farther in re.* On Thursday morning last, the Queen's Advocate, appearing before Sir J. Dodson, in the Prerogative Court, requested, on behalf of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that the original will and codicil of Napoleon Bonaparte should be delivered up by the Register to the French Government; which desire was complied with. Should Louis Bonaparte proceed to open and endeavor to execute this testament, it might prove the modern box of Pandora.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Parliamentary Debates—
The Clergy against Socialism—Starvation

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3716, 15. März 1853

**Parliamentary Debates—
The Clergy against Socialism—Starvation.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Feb. 25, 1853.

The Parliamentary debates of the week offer but little of interest. On the 22d 5
inst. Mr. Spooner moved, in the House of Commons, the repeal of the money
grants for the Catholic College at Maynooth, and Mr. Scholefield proposed
the amendment "to repeal all enactments now in force whereby the revenue
of the State is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purpose
whatever." Mr. Spooner's motion was lost by 162 to 192 votes. Mr. Schole- 10
field's amendment will not come under discussion before Wednesday next;
it is, however, not improbable that the amendment will be withdrawn alto-
gether. The only remarkable passage in the Maynooth debate is an observa-
tion that fell from Mr. Duffy (Irish Brigade:) "He did not think it wholly
impossible that the President of the United States or the new Emperor of 15
the French, might be glad to renew the relations between those countries and
the Irish Priesthood."

In the session of last night Lord John Russell brought before the House
of Commons his motion for the "removal of some disabilities of Her Ma- 20
jesty's Jewish subjects." The motion was carried by a majority of 29. Thus
the question is again settled in the House of Commons, but there is no doubt
that it will be once more unsettled in the House of Lords.

The exclusion of Jews from the House of Commons, after the spirit of
usury has so long presided in the British Parliament, is unquestionably an
absurd anomaly, the more so as they have already become eligible to all the 25
civil offices of the community. But it remains no less characteristic for the
man and *for his times*, that instead of a Reform bill which was promised to

remove the disabilities of the mass of the English people, a bill is brought in by Finality John for the exclusive removal of the disabilities of Baron Lionel de Rothschild. How utterly insignificant an interest is taken in this affair by the public at large, may be inferred from the fact that from not a
5 single place in Great Britain a petition in favor of the admission of Jews has been forwarded to Parliament. The whole secret of this miserable reform farce was betrayed by the speech of the present Sir Robert Peel.

"After all, the House were only considering the noble Lord's private affairs. (Loud cheers.) The noble Lord represented London with a Jew,
10 (cheers) and had made the pledge to bring forward annually a motion in favor of the Jews. (Hear!) No doubt Baron Rothschild was a very wealthy man, but this did not entitle him to any consideration, especially considering how his wealth had been amassed. (Loud cries of "hear, hear," and "Oh! Oh!" from the Ministerial benches.) Only yesterday he had read in the papers that
15 the House of Rothschild had consented to grant a loan to Greece, on considerable guaranties, at 9%. (Hear!) No wonder, at this rate, that the house of Rothschild were wealthy. (Hear!) The President of the Board of Control had been talking of gagging the Press. Why, no one had done so much to depress freedom in Europe as the house of Rothschild (Hear, hear!) by the
20 loans with which they assisted the despotic powers. But even supposing the Baron to be as worthy a man as he was certainly rich, it was to have been expected that the noble Lord who represented in that House a government consisting of the leaders of all the political factions who had opposed the late Administration, would have proposed some measure of more importance
25 than the present."

The proceedings on election-petitions have commenced. The elections for Canterbury and Lancaster have been declared null and void, under circumstances which proved the habitual venality on the part of a certain class of electors, but it is pretty sure that the majority of cases will be adjusted by
30 way of compromise.

"The privileged classes," says *The Daily News* "who have successfully contributed to baffle the intentions of the Reform Bill and to recover their ascendancy in the existing representation, are naturally alarmed at the idea of full and complete exposure."

35 On the 21st inst., Lord John Russell resigned the seals of the Foreign Office, and Lord Clarendon was sworn in as his successor. Lord John is the first Member of the House of Commons admitted to a seat in the Cabinet without any official appointment. He is now only a favorite adviser, without a place—and without salary. Notice, however, has already been given by
40 Mr. Cayley of a proposition to remedy the latter inconvenience of poor Johnny's situation. The Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs is at the present

juncture the more important, as the Germanic Diet has bestirred itself to ask the removal of all political refugees from Great Britain, as the Austrians propose to pack us all up and transport us to some barren island in the South Pacific.

Allusion has been made, in a former letter, to the probability of the Irish 5
 Tenant-Right agitation becoming, in time, an anti-clerical movement, notwithstanding the views and intentions of its actual leaders. I alleged the fact, that the higher Clergy was already beginning to take a hostile attitude with regard to the League. Another force has since stepped into the field which 10
 presses the movement in the same direction. The landlords of the north of Ireland endeavor to persuade their tenantry, that the Tenant League and the Catholic Defense Association are identical, and they labor to get up an opposition to the former under the pretense of resisting the progress of Popery.

While we thus see the Irish landlords appealing to their tenants against the 15
 Catholic clergy we behold on the other hand the English Protestant clergy appealing to the working classes against the mill-lords. The industrial proletariat of England has renewed with double vigor its old campaign for the Ten hours Bill and against the *truck and stoppage system*. As the demands of this kind shall be brought before the House of Commons, to which numer- 20
 ous petitions on the subject have already been presented, there will be an opportunity for me to dwell in a future letter on the cruel and infamous practices of the factory-despots, who are in the habit of making the press and the tribune resounding with their liberal rhetorics. For the present it may suffice to recall to memory that from 1802 there has been a continual strife 25
 on the part of the English working people for legislative interference with the duration of factory labor, until in 1847 the celebrated Ten-hours Act of John Fielden was passed, whereby young persons and females were prohibited to work in any factory longer than ten hours a day. The liberal mill-lords speedily found out that under this act factories might be worked by shifts 30
 and relays. In 1849 an action of law was brought before the Court of Exchequer, and the Judge decided, that to work the relay or shift-system, with two sets of children, the adults working the whole space of time during which the machinery was ranning, was legal. It therefore became necessary to go to Parliament again, and in 1850 the relay and shift-system was condemned 35
 there, but the Ten Hours act was transformed into a Ten and a Half Hours act. Now, at this moment, the working-classes demand a restitution *in integrum* of the original Ten-Hours bill; yet, in order to make it efficient, they add the demand of a restriction of the moving power of machinery.

Such is, in short, the exoteric history of the Ten Hours act. Its secret 40
 history was as follows: The landed Aristocracy having suffered a defeat from

the bourgeoisie by the passing of the Reform bill of 1831, and being assailed in "their most sacred interests" by the cry of the manufacturers for free-trade and the abolition of the Corn-Laws, resolved to resist the middle-class by espousing the cause and claims of the working men against their masters, 5 and especially by rallying around their demands for the limitation of factory labor. So-called philanthropic Lords were then at the head of all Ten-Hours meetings. Lord Ashley has even made a sort of "renommée" by his performances in this movement. The landed aristocracy having received a deadly blow by the actual abolition of the Corn-laws in 1846, took their 10 vengeance by forcing the Ten Hours bill of 1847 upon Parliament. But the industrial bourgeoisie recovered by judiciary authority, what they had lost by Parliamentary legislation. In 1850, the wrath of the Landlords had gradually subsided, and they made a compromise with the Mill-lords, condemning the shift-system, but imposing, at the same time, as a penalty for the en- 15 forcement of the law, half an hour extra work *per diem* on the working-classes. At the present juncture, however, as they feel the approach of their final struggle with the men of the Manchester school, they are again trying to get hold of the short-time movement; but, not daring to come forward themselves, they endeavor to undermine the Cotton-lords by directing the 20 popular force against them through the medium of the *State Church Clergymen*. In what rude manner these holy men have taken the anti-industrial crusade into their hands, may be seen from the following few instances. At Crompton a Ten-Hours meeting was held, the Rev. Dr. Brammall, (of the State Church) in the chair. At this meeting, Rev. J. R. Stephens, Incumbent 25 of Staleybridge, said:

"There had been ages in the world when the nations were governed by Theocracy ... That state of things is now no more ... Still the spirit of law was the same... The laboring man should, first of all, be partaker of the fruits 30 of the earth, which he was the means of producing. The factory-law was so unblushingly violated that the Chief Inspector of that part of the factory district, Mr. Leonard Horner, had found himself necessitated to write to the Home-Secretary, to say that he dared not, and would not send any of his Sub-Inspectors into certain districts until he had police protection ... And protection against whom? Against the factory-masters! Against the richest 35 men in the district, against the most influential men in the district, against the magistrates of the district, against the men who hold her Majesty's Commission, against the men who sat in the Petty Sessions as the Representatives of Royalty ... *And did the masters suffer for their violation of the law?*... In his own district, it was a settled custom of the male, and to 40 a great extent of the female workers in factories, to be in bed till 9, 10 or 11 o'clock on Sunday, because they were tired out by the labor of the week.

Sunday was the only day on which they could rest their wearied frames ... It would generally be found that, the longer the time of work, the smaller the wages ... *He would rather be a slave in South Carolina, than a factory operative in England.*"

At the great ten hours meeting, at Burnley, Rev. E. A. Verity, Incumbent of Habergham Eaves, told his audience among other things: 5

"Where was Mr. Cobden, where was Mr. Bright, where were the other members of the Manchester School, when the people of Lancashire were oppressed? ... What was the end of the rich man's thinking? Why, he was scheming how he could defraud the working classes out of an hour or two. 10 That was the scheming of what he called the Manchester School. That made them such *cunning hypocrites*, and such *crafty rascals*. As a minister of the Church of England, he protested against such work."

The motive, that has so suddenly metamorphosed the gentlemen of the Established Church into as many knight-errants of labor's rights, and so 15 fervent knights too, has already been pointed out. They are not only laying in a stock of popularity for the rainy days of approaching Democracy, they are not only conscious, that the Established Church is essentially an aristocratic institution, which must either stand or fall with the landed Oligarchy—there is something more. The men of the Manchester School are Anti-State 20 Church-men, they are Dissenters, they are, above all, so highly enamored of the £13,000,000 annually abstracted from their pockets by the State-Church in England and Wales alone, that they are resolved to bring about a separation between those profane millions and the holy orders, the better to qualify the latter for heaven. The reverend gentlemen, therefore, are 25 struggling *pro aris et focis*. The men of the Manchester School, however, may infer from this diversion, that they will be unable to abstract the political power from the hands of the Aristocracy, unless they consent, with whatever reluctance, to give the people also their full share in it.

On the Continent, hanging, shooting and transportation is the order of the 30 day. But the executioners are themselves tangible and hangable beings, and their deeds are recorded in the conscience of the whole civilized world. At the same time there acts in England an invisible, intangible and silent despot, condemning individuals, in extreme cases, to the most cruel of deaths, and driving in its noiseless, every day working, whole races and whole classes 35 of men from the soil of their forefathers, like the angel with the fiery sword who drove Adam from Paradise. In the latter form the work of the unseen social despot calls itself *forced emigration*, in the former it is called *starvation*.

Some further cases of starvation have occurred in London during the 40 present month. I remember only that of Mary Ann Sandry, aged 43 years,

who died in Coal-lane, Shadwell, London. Mr. Thomas Peene, the surgeon, assisting the Coroner's inquest, said the deceased died from starvation and exposure to the cold. The deceased was lying on a small heap of straw, without the slightest covering. The room was completely destitute of furniture, firing and food. Five young children were sitting on the bare flooring, crying from hunger and cold by the side of the mother's dead body.

On the working of "*forced emigration*" in my next.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Forced Emigration—Kossuth and Mazzini—
The Refugee Question—Election Bribery in England—
Mr. Cobden

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3722, 22. März 1853

**Forced Emigration—Kossuth and Mazzini—
The Refugee Question—
Election Bribery in England—Mr. Cobden.**

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

London, Friday, March 4, 1853.

From the accounts relating to trade and navigation for the years 1851 and 1852, published in Feb. last, we see that the total declared value of *exports* amounted to £68,531,601 in 1851, and to £71,429,548 in 1852; of the latter amount, £47,209,000 go to the export of cotton, wool, linen and silk manufactures. The quantity of *imports* for 1852 is below that for the year 1851. The proportion of imports entered for home consumption not having diminished, but rather increased, it follows that England has reexported, instead of the usual quantity of colonial produce, a certain amount of gold and silver.

The Colonial Land Emigration Office gives the following return of the emigration from England, Scotland and Ireland to all parts of the world, from Jan. 1, 1847, to June 30, 1852:

| Year. | English. | Scotch. | Irish. | Total. |
|-------------------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 1847 | 34,685 | 8,616 | 214,969 | 258,270 |
| 1848 | 58,865 | 11,505 | 177,719 | 248,089 |
| 1849 | 73,613 | 17,127 | 208,758 | 299,498 |
| 1850 | 57,843 | 15,154 | 207,852 | 280,849 |
| 1851 | 69,557 | 18,646 | 247,763 | 335,966 |
| 1852 (till June). | 40,767 | 11,562 | 143,375 | 195,704 |
| Total | 335,330 | 82,610 | 1,200,436 | 1,618,376 |

"Nine tenths," remarks the Office, "of the emigrants from Liverpool are assumed to be Irish. About three fourths of the emigrants from Scotland are Celts, either from the Highlands, or from Ireland through Glasgow."

Nearly four fifths of the whole emigration are, accordingly, to be regarded
5 as belonging to the Celtic population of Ireland and of the Highlands and islands of Scotland. *The London Economist* says of this emigration:

"It is consequent on the breaking down of the system of society founded on small holdings and potato cultivation;" and adds: "The departure of the redundant part of the population of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland
10 is an indispensable preliminary to every kind of improvement... The revenue of Ireland has not suffered in any degree from the famine of 1846-47, or from the emigration that has since taken place. On the contrary, her *nett revenue* amounted in 1851 to £4,281,999, being about £184,000 greater than in 1843."

Begin with pauperizing the inhabitants of a country, and when there is no
15 more profit to be ground out of them, when they have grown a burden to the revenue, drive them away, and sum up your Net Revenue! Such is the doctrine laid down by Ricardo, in his celebrated work, *The Principles of Political Economy*. The annual profits of a capitalist amounting to £2,000, what does it matter to him whether he employs 100 men or 1,000 men? "Is
20 not," says Ricardo, "the real interest of a nation similar?" The net real income of a nation, rents and profits, remaining the same, it is no subject of consideration whether it is derived from 10 millions of people or from 12 millions. Sismondi, in his *Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique*, answers that, according to this view of the matter, the English nation would
25 not be interested at all in the disappearance of the whole population, the King (at that time it was no Queen, but a King) remaining alone in the midst of the island, supposing only that automatic machinery enabled him to procure the amount of *Net Revenue* now produced by a population of 20 millions. Indeed, that grammatical entity, the "national wealth," would in this case
30 not be diminished.

In a former letter I have given an instance of the clearing of estates in the Highlands of Scotland. That emigration continues to be forced upon Ireland by the same process you may see from the following quotation from *The Galway Mercury*:

35 "The people are fast passing away from the land in the West of Ireland. The landlords of Connaught are tacitly combined to weed out all the smaller occupiers, against whom a regular systematic war of extermination is being waged ... The most heart-rending cruelties are daily practiced in this province, of which the public are not at all aware."

40 But it is not only the pauperised inhabitants of Green Erin and of the Highlands of Scotland that are swept away by agricultural improvements,

and by the "breaking down of the antiquated system of society." It is not only the able-bodied agricultural laborers from England, Wales, and Lower Scotland, whose passages are paid by the Emigration Commissioners. The wheel of "improvement" is now seizing another class, the most stationary class in England. A startling emigration movement has sprung up among the smaller English farmers, especially those holding heavy clay soils, who, with bad prospects for the coming harvest, and in want of sufficient capital to make the great improvements on their farms which would enable them to pay their old rents, have no other alternative but to cross the sea in search of a new country and of new lands. I am not speaking now of the emigration caused by the gold mania, but only of the compulsory emigration produced by landlordism, concentration of farms, application of machinery to the soil, and introduction of the modern system of agriculture on a great scale. 5 10

In the ancient States, in Greece and Rome, compulsory emigration assuming the shape of the periodical establishment of colonies, formed a regular link in the structure of society. The whole system of those States was founded on certain limits to the numbers of the population, which could not be surpassed without endangering the condition of antique civilization itself. But why was it so? Because the application of science to material production was utterly unknown to them. To remain civilized they were forced to remain few. Otherwise they would have had to submit to the bodily drudgery which transformed the free citizen into a slave. The want of productive power made citizenship dependent on a certain proportion in numbers not to be disturbed. Forced emigration was the only remedy. 15 20

It was the same pressure of population on the powers of production, that drove the barbarians from the high plains of Asia to invade the Old World. The same cause acted there, although under a different form. To remain barbarians they were forced to remain few. They were pastoral, hunting, war-waging tribes, whose manner of production required a large space for every individual, as is now the case with the Indian tribes in North-America. By augmenting in numbers they curtailed each other's field of production. Thus the surplus population was forced to undertake those great adventurous migratory movements which laid the foundation of the peoples of ancient and modern Europe. 25 30

But with modern compulsory emigration the case stands quite opposite. Here it is not the want of productive power which creates a surplus population; it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population, and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration. It is not population that presses on productive power; it is productive power that presses on population. 35 40

Now I share neither in the opinions of Ricardo, who regards "Net-Reve-

nue" as the Moloch to whom entire populations must be sacrificed, without even so much as complaint, nor in the opinion of Sismondi, who, in his hypochondriacal philanthropy, would forcibly retain the superannuated methods of agriculture and proscribe science from industry, as Plato expelled
5 poets from his Republic. Society is undergoing a süent revolution, which must be submitted to, and which takes no more notice of the human existences it breaks down than an earthquake regards the houses it subverts. The classes and the races, too weak to master the new conditions of life, must give way. But can there be anything more puerile, more short-sighted, than
10 the views of those Economists who believe in all earnest that this woful transitory state means nothing but adapting society to the acquisitive propensities of capitalists, both landlords and money-lords? In Great Britain the working of that process is most transparent. The application of modern science to production clears the land of its inhabitants, but it concentrates
15 people in manufacturing towns.

"No manufacturing workmen," says *The Economist*, "have been assisted by the Emigration Commissioners, except a few Spitalfields & Paisley hand-loom weavers, and few or none have emigrated at their own expense."

20 *The Economist* knows very well that they could not emigrate at their own expense, and that the industrial middle-class would not assist them in emigrating. Now, to what does this lead? The rural population, the most stationary and conservative element of modern society, disappears while the industrial proletariat, by the very working of modern production, finds itself
25 gathered in mighty centers, around the great productive forces, whose history of creation has hitherto been the martyrology of the laborers. Who will prevent them from going a step further, and appropriating these forces, to which they have been appropriated before? Where will be the power of resisting them? Nowhere! Then, it will be of no use to appeal to the "rights
30 of property." The modern changes in the art of production have, according to the Bourgeois Economists themselves, broken down the antiquated system of society and its modes of appropriation. They have *expropriated* the Scotch clansmen, the Irish cottier and tenant, the English yeoman, the hand-loom weaver, numberless handicrafts, whole generations of factory
35 children and women; they will expropriate, in due time, the landlord and the cotton-lord.

On the Continent heaven is fulminating, but in England the earth itself is trembling. England is the country where the real revulsion of modern society begins.

40 In my letter of the 1st inst. I told you that Mazzini would remonstrate publicly with Kossuth. On the 2d inst. there appeared actually in *The Morning*

Advertiser, *Morning Post* and *Daily News* a letter from Mazzini. As Mazzini himself has now broken the ice, I may as well state that Kossuth disowned his own document under the pressure of his Paris friends. In the past career of Kossuth we find many such symptoms of vacillating weakness, inextricable contradictions and duplicity. He possesses all the attractive virtues, but also all the feminine faults of the "artiste" character. He is a great artist "en paroles." I recommend Mr. Szemere's lately published biographies of *Louis Batthyány*, *Arthur Görgey* and *Louis Kossuth* to those who, unwilling to bow to popular superstition, are anxious to form a matter-of-fact judgment.

As to Lombardy, you may be sure that, if Mazzini has failed to draw the Italian middle-classes into the movement, Radetzky will not fail therein. At this moment he is preparing to confiscate the property of all emigrants, even those who emigrated with Austrian permission, and have been naturalized in other countries, *unless they prove they are unconnected with the late rising*. The Austrian papers calculate the amount of confiscable property at £12,000,000.

Upon a question put by Lord Dudley Stuart, Lord Palmerston stated in the Session of the House of Commons of March 1:

"That no application for the expulsion of the political refugees had been made by the Continental Powers, or that, if made, it would meet with a firm and decided refusal. *The British Government had never undertaken to provide for the internal security of other countries.*"

That such an application, however, was intended to be made, you may see from the stock-jobbing *Moniteur* and the *Journal des Débats*, which, in one of its last numbers, supposes England already bowing to the joint demands of Austria, Russia, Prussia and France. That journal adds:

"If the Swiss Confederation should refuse to allow Austria to exercise a *surveillance* over the Cantons on her frontiers she will probably violate the Swiss territory and occupy the Canton of Tessin; in which case France, to preserve a political equilibrium, would force her armies into the Swiss Cantons on her frontiers."

In substance, the *Journal des Débats* gives with regard to Switzerland, that simple solution of the question jocosely proposed by Prince Henry of Prussia to the Empress Catherine in 1770, with regard to Poland. In the mean time the venerable body called the German Diet, is gravely discussing on "the application about to be made to England," and expends as much breath on this solemn matter, as would suffice to swell the sails of the whole German fleet.

In the Session of the House of Commons of the 1st inst., there occurred a very characteristic incident. The representatives of Bridgenorth and Black-

burn having been declared unduly elected on the ground of bribery, Sir J. Shelley moved that the evidence taken before their respective Committees, should be laid upon the table of the House, and that the writs for reelection be suspended until the 4th of April. The Right Hon. Baronet Sir J. Trollope
5 remarked with regard to this: "That 14 Committees had already been appointed to try boroughs for corrupt practices, and that about 50 more remained to be appointed," and he spoke of the difficulty in finding members enough in the House to constitute tribunals to judge the disputed elections, and at the same time to form Committees for the ordinary business of the House.
10 Sifting a little deeper into its own foundation, a breaking down of the House must ensue, and the parliamentary machinery come to a dead lock.

In his recent pamphlet, as well as in his *harangues*, at the Manchester Peace Congress, and at various Educational Meetings, Mr. Cobden has amused himself with censuring the Press. The whole Press has retaliated upon him;
15 but the most heavy blow strikes him from the hands of the "Englishman," whose letters on Louis Napoleon elicited such a sensation at the time of the *Coup d'Etat*, and who has since turned round upon the silken Barons and cotton Lords. He concludes a letter, addressed to Mr. Cobden, with the following epigrammatic characterization of the West-Riding oracle:

20 "Elated and *unbalanced* by one single triumph, he would compass a popular autocracy. The prophet of a *clique*, restlessly agitating, greedy of notoriety, chafed of opposition, crotchety, illogical, Utopian, stubborn of purpose, arrogant of bearing, a quarrelsome peace-preacher and acrimonious proselyte of universal brotherhood, with liberty upon his lips, but despotism
25 in his dogmas, he is exasperated with a press that will neither be bullied nor bamboozled—would geld its influence, intelligence, and independence, and would sink a profession of accomplished gentlemen, to a gang of penny-a-liners, with himself for the only *Leader*."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Kossuth and Mazzini—
Intrigues of the Prussian Government—
Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty—
"The Times" and the Refugees

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3733, 4. April 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, March 18, 1853.

Parliament will adjourn to-day, for the Easter recess, until April 4th.

In a former letter I reported, according to a generally accredited rumor, that Libeny's wife had been flogged by the Austrians at Pesth. I have since 5
ascertained that he was never married, and likewise that the story circulated in the English press, saying that he had attempted to revenge his father, who had been ill-treated by the Austrians, is wholly unfounded. He acted exclusively under the influence of political motives, and retained to the last 10
hour a firm and heroic demeanor.

You will, ere this, have received with the English papers the reply of Kossuth to Mazzini's declaration. For my part, I am of opinion that Kossuth has only made a bad case still worse. The contradictions in his first and his last declaration are so palpable that I need not insist on urging them here. Besides, there is a repulsive heterogeneousness in the language of the two 15
documents, the former being written in the Oriental hyperbolics of the Prophet, and the latter in the casuistic pleading-style of a lawyer.

Mazzini's friends affirm now, to a man, that the Milanese insurrection was forced upon him and his associates by circumstances which it was beyond 20
his power to control. But, on one side, it belongs to the very nature of conspiracies to be driven to a premature outbreak, either by treason or by accidents. On the other side, if you cry, during three years, *action, action, action*—if your entire revolutionary vocabulary be exhausted by the one word "Insurrection," you cannot expect to hold sufficient authority for dictating, at any given moment: *there shall be no insurrection*. Be this as it may, 25
Austrian brutality has turned the Milanese failure into the real commencement of a national revolution. Hear, for instance, the well-informed organ of Lord Palmerston, *The Morning Post*, of to-day:

"The people of Naples wait for a movement which is sure to take place in the Austrian Empire. Then, the whole of Italy, from the frontiers of 30

Piedmont to Sicily, will be in revolt, and sad disasters will follow. The Italian troops will disband—the so-called Swiss soldiers recruited from the revolution of 1848, will not save the sovereigns of Italy. An *impossible republic* awaits Italy. That will assuredly be the next act of the drama which began
5 in 1848. Diplomacy has exhausted all its power for the princes of Italy."

Aurelio Saffi, who countersigned Mazzini's proclamation, and who made a tour through Italy before the outbreak, avows, in a letter addressed to *The Daily News*, that "the *upper classes* were sunk in listless indifference or despair," and that it was the "people of Milan," the proletarians, who,
10 "abandoned without direction to their own instincts, preserved their faith in the destiny of their country, in the face of the despotism of Austrian Proconsuls and the judicial assassinations of military commissions, and had unanimously made ready for vengeance."

Now, it is a great progress of the Mazzini party to have at last convinced
15 themselves that, even in the case of national insurrections against foreign despotism, there exists such a thing as class-distinctions, and that it is not the upper classes which must be looked to for a revolutionary movement in modern times. Perhaps they will go a step further and come to the understanding that they have to seriously occupy themselves with the material
20 condition of the Italian country population, if they expect to find an echo to their "*Dio e popolo*." On a future occasion I intend to dwell on the material circumstances in which by far the greater portion of the rural inhabitants of that country are placed, and which have made them till now, if not reactionary, at least indifferent to the national struggle of Italy.

25 Two thousand copies of a pamphlet which I published some time ago at *Basle*, entitled "Revelations on the Trial of the Communists at Cologne," (Enthüllungen über den Cölner Communisten-Prozess) have been seized at the Baden frontier and burned, on the request of the Prussian Government. According to the new Press Law imposed on the Swiss Bund by the Continental Powers, the publisher, Mr. Schabelitz, his son, and the printer will
30 be persecuted by the Basle Government, which has already confiscated a number of copies still in possession of the publisher. This will be the first trial of this kind in Switzerland, and the affair has become already a matter of controversy between the Radicals and the Conservative party. How
35 anxious the Prussian Government is to conceal its infamies during the Cologne trial from publicity, you may infer from the fact that the Minister of the Exterior has issued orders for the seizure (Fahndebriefe) of the pamphlet wherever it should appear, but does not even dare to call it by its title. In order to mislead the public, he gives as its name "*A Theory of*
40 *Communism*," while it contains nothing but revelations of the Prussian state mysteries.

Karl Marx

The only "progress" made in official Germany since the year 1848, is the conclusion of the Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty—*et encore!* That Treaty is surrounded with so many *clausulae*, retrenched behind so many exceptions, and reserves so many chief questions to the future adjustment of yet unborn commissions, while the actual diminution in the tariffs is so small, that it amounts to a mere aspiration towards a real Commercial Union of Germany, and is, practically speaking, utterly insignificant. The most striking feature of the Treaty is the victory Austria has again won over Prussia. This perfidious, this base, this cowardly, this vacillating sham-power, has bowed again before its more brutal, but more straightforward rival. Not only has Austria forced a treaty on Prussia which the latter was most unwilling to accept, but Prussia has been compelled to renew the old *Zoll-Verein* with the old tariff, or to promise not to change, for twelve years, anything in her Commercial policy without the unanimous consent of the minor *Zoll-Verein* States i.e., without the permission of Austria (the South-German States being not only politically, but also commercially, the vassals of Austria, or the antagonists of Prussia.) Since the restoration of "Divine Power," Prussia has marched from degradation to degradation. Her king, "a wise man in his times," appears to think that his people may derive a comforting compensation in the infernal despotism they are subject to from the debasement their Government has to suffer abroad.

The refugee-question is not settled yet. The semi-official *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* contradicts the statement, that Austria had addressed at this moment a fresh note to the English Government, because "recent events having shown that Lord Palmerston has recovered his influence, the Imperial Government could not expose its dignity to a certain check." I have written you before on Palmerston's declaration in the House of Commons. From the English papers you know the philo-Austrian declaration of Aberdeen in the House of Lords, that the English Government would make itself the spy and Attorney-General of Austria. Palmerston's journal now remarks on the observation of his colleague:

"Even on the modified concession which Lord Aberdeen appears inclined to make, we cannot say that we look with much confidence to success.... No one will dare to propose to a British Government to attempt its conversion into an engine of foreign police and a political man-trap."

You see what good understanding there is in the councils of the Methusalem ministry between "antiquated imbecility and liberal energy." In the whole London press there was a unanimous cry of indignation against Aberdeen and the House of Lords, *with one base exception*, that of *The Times* newspaper.

The Times, you will remember, commenced by denouncing the refugees



and inviting the Foreign Powers to ask for their expulsion. Then, having ascertained that a renewal of the Alien Bill would be refused with scorn to the Ministry in the House of Commons, it at once overflowed with rhetorically framed descriptions of the sacrifice it was ready to make—oh dear!—for the preservation of the right of asylum. Finally, after the amiable conversation between my Lords of the Upper House, it revenged itself on its own high-sounding civism, with the following angry explosion in its leading article of March 5th:

"It is believed in many parts of the Continent that we delight in this country of a menagerie of refugees—ferocious characters of all nations, and fit for all crimes ... Do these foreign writers who denounce the presence of their own outlawed countrymen in England, suppose that the existence of a refugee in this country is an enviable fate? Let them be undeceived. *This wretched class of beings* live, for the most part, in squalid poverty, *eating the salt of the stranger*, when they can get it, sunk, as it were, beneath the turbid waves of this vast metropolis ... *Their punishment is exile in its harshest form.*"

As to the last point, *The Times* is right; England is a delightful country to live out of.

In the "heaven of Mars" Dante meets with his ancestor, Cacciaguیدا di Elisei, who predicts to him his approaching exile from Florence in these words:

"Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com'è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l'altrui scale."

"Thou shalt prove how salt the savour is
Of others bread, how hard the passage,
To descend and climb by others' stairs."

Happy Dante, another "being of that wretched class called political refugees," whom his enemies could not threaten with the misery of a rimes-leader! Happier "Γ/mes," that escaped a "reserved seat" in his "*Inferno!*"

If the refugees eat the salt of the stranger, as *The Times* says, getting it at strange prices, too, which it forgot to say, is *The Times* itself not feeding on the strangers' flesh and blood? How many leaders and how many pounds have its anonymous Pythias not made out of French revolutions, German insurrections, Italian outbreaks and Hungarian wars, of French "fusillades," of Austrian gallows, of confiscated heads and beheaded property? Unhappy *Times*, if there were no "ferocious characters" on the Continent, if it were to grow older day by day on the coarse food of Smithfield Market, London chimney smoke, dirt, *ferocious* cabmen, the six bridges of the Thames,

intermural interments, pestilential church yards, filthy drink-water, railway accidents, crippled pint and quart bottles, and other interesting topics, which form its regular stock-in-trade, in the intervals of continental dullness. *The Times* is unchanged since the epoch when it called upon the British Government to *murder* Napoleon I. "Is it considered," it said, in its number of 5
July 27, 1815, "what effect the knowledge of his being in existence must necessarily have on the disaffected in every part of Europe? They will think, and think with truth, that the allied sovereigns are *afraid* to touch the life of a man who has so many adherents and admirers." It is still the same paper which preached the crusade against the United States of America: 10

"No peace should be made with America, *until that mischievous example of successful democratic rebellion* has been done away."

In *The Times* editorial office there are no "ferocious" continental characters. Quite the contrary. There is, for example, a poor little man, a Prussian, named *Otto von Wenckstern*, once editor of a little German newspaper, 15
afterward sunk in Switzerland, in squalid poverty, appealing to the pockets of *Freiligrath* and other refugees, and lastly finding himself at the same time in the service of the Prussian Ambassador in London—the far-famed *Bunsen*—and an integral member of the Printing-House-square oracle. There are more such conciliatory continental characters in *The Times* Office, forming 20
the connecting link between the Continental Police and the leading journal of England.

The liberty of the Press in England is exemplified by the following case: At the Bow-st. Police Office, in London, Mr. E. Truelove, of the Strand, appeared on an information laid at the instance of the Commissioners of 25
Inland Revenue, under 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 76, for having sold a newspaper, called *The Potteries Free Press*, and printed on paper not duly stamped. Four numbers of this paper had been published at Stoke-upon-Trent, the nominal proprietor being Collet Dobson Collet, Secretary of the *Society for the Abolition of Taxes on Knowledge*, who have issued it in 30
"Conformity with the practice of the Stamp-Office, which permits records of current events and comments thereon, to be published without a stamp in *The Athen&um*, *Builder*, *Punch*, *Racing Times*, etc.;" and with the avowed intention of inviting a Government prosecution, in order that a Jury might determine what description of news is to be entitled to exemption from the 35
penny stamp. Mr. Henry, the magistrate, has reserved his decision. Much, however, will not depend on the decision, for the paper in question is not issued in defiance of the Stamp Law, but merely to avail itself of a still doubtful quibble in the law.

The English papers of to-day have a telegraphic dispatch from Con- 40
stantinople, of March 6th, according to which, Fuad Effendi, the Minister

of Foreign Affairs, has been replaced by Rifaat Pasha. This concession has been extorted from the Porte by the Extraordinary Russian Envoy, Prince Menchikoff. The affair of the Holy Places is not settled yet between Russia, France, and the Porte, as L. Napoleon, highly irritated at the intrigues of Russia and Austria for the prevention of his coronation by the Pope, intends indemnifying himself at the expense of the Turk. In my next letter, I shall treat of this eternally-recurring Eastern question, the *pons asiniorum* European Diplomacy.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
British Politics—Disraeli—The Refugees—
Mazzini in London—Turkey

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3736, 7. April 1853

British Politics—Disraeli—The Refugees— Mazzini in London—Turkey.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, March 22, 1853.

The most important event in the cotemporaneous history of parties is Disraeli's deposition from the leadership of the "great Conservative" minority. Disraeli, it has transpired, was himself prepared to throw overboard his former allies eight or nine weeks before the dissolution of the Tory Cabinet, and desisted from his resolution only at the urgent instance of Lord Derby. He in his turn, is now dismissed and has been formally replaced by Sir John Pakington, a safe character, cautious, not altogether wanting in administrative ability, but a mournful man otherwise, the very incarnation of the worn-out prejudices and antiquated feelings of the old English squireocracy. This change in leadership amounts to a complete, and perhaps to the final transformation of the Tory party. Disraeli may congratulate himself on his emancipation from the landed humbugs. Whatever be our opinion of the man, who is said to despise the aristocracy, to hate the *bourgeoisie*, and not to like the people; he is unquestionably the ablest member of the present Parliament, while the flexibility of his character enables him the better to accommodate himself to the changing wants of society.

In reference to the Refugee question I told you in my last, that after Lord Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons, the Austrian journals declared it to be useless to ask for redress from a Cabinet corrupted by Palmerstonian influence. But scarcely was Aberdeen's declaration in the House of Lords telegraphed to Vienna when the aspect of things changed again. The same journals now assert that "Austria trusts to the honor of the English Cabinet," and the semi-official *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* publishes the following from its Paris Correspondent:

"Lord Cowley, on his return to Paris, stated to the Emperor of the French, that the diplomatic representatives of England at the Northern Courts had been formally instructed to employ all their efforts to deter the Northern Powers from forwarding a collective note to the British Government, and
5 to urge, as the ground for such abstention, that that Government would be the better enabled to *comply with the demand of those powers*, the more it could keep up, in all eyes of England, the appearance of *acting freely and voluntarily in the matter...*

The British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, urged the Emperor of the French
10 to place implicit confidence on the British Cabinet, the more so as the Emperor would always be at liberty to take any steps he might consider proper in the event of that confidence not having been justified ... The Emperor of the French, while reserving to himself full freedom of action for the future, was induced *to put the sincerity of the British Cabinet to the proof*,
15 and he is now endeavoring to persuade the other powers to follow his example."

You see what is expected from "*ce cher Aberdeen*," as Louis Philippe used to call him, and what promises he must have made. These promises are actually already followed up by deeds. Last week the English Police drew
20 up a list of the Continental refugees residing in London. Several detectives, in plain clothes, walked from square to square, from street to street, and from house to house, making notes on the personals of the refugees, addressing themselves in the majority of cases to the publicans in the neighborhood, but entering in some instances, under the pretense of the pursuit of criminals,
25 the very domiciles and searching the papers of some exiles.

While the Continental Police is vainly hunting after Mazzini, while at Nuremberg the magistrates have ordered the closure of the gates in order to catch him—no man being hanged there before he is caught, according to the old German proverb—while the English press publishes reports after
30 reports as to his supposed sojourn, Mazzini has for the past few days been safe and sound at London.

Prince Menchikoff, after reviewing the Russian forces stationed in the Danubian principalities, and after an inspection of the army and fleet at Sebastopol, where he caused manœuvres of embarking and disembarking
35 troops to be executed under his own eyes, entered Constantinople in the most theatrical style on Feb. 28, attended by a suite of 12 persons, including the Admiral of the Russian squadron in the Black Sea, a General of Division, and several staff officers, with *M. de Nesselrode, Jr.*, as Secretary of the Embassy. He met with such a reception from the Greek and Russian in-
40 habitants as he were the orthodox Czar himself entering *Tsarigrad* to restore it to the true faith. An enormous sensation was created here and at Paris,

by the news that Prince Menchikoff, not satisfied with the dismissal of Fuad Effendi, had demanded that the Sultan should abandon to the Emperor of Russia, not only the protection of all the Christians in Turkey, but also the right of nominating the Greek patriarch; that the Sultan had appealed to the protection of England and France ; that Colonel Rose, the British Envoy, had 5 dispatched the steamer Wasp in haste to Malta to request the immediate presence of the English fleet in the Archipelago, and that Russian vessels had anchored at Kili, near the Dardanelles. The Paris *Moniteur* informs us that the French squadron at Toulon had been ordered to the Grecian waters. Admiral Dundas, however, is still at Malta. From all this, it is evident, that 10 the Eastern Question is once more on the European "ordre du jour," a fact not astonishing for those who are acquainted with history.

Whenever the revolutionary hurricane has subsided for a moment, one ever-recurring question is sure to turn up: the eternal "*Eastern Question.*" 15 Thus, when the storms of the first French revolution had passed, and Napoleon and Alexander of Russia had divided, after the peace of Tilsit, the whole of Continental Europe betwixt themselves, Alexander profited by the momentary calm to march an army into Turkey, and to "give a lift" to the forces that were breaking up from within that decaying empire. Again, no sooner had the revolutionary movements of Western Europe been quelled 20 by the Congresses of Laibach and Verona, than Alexander's successor, Nicholas, made another dash at Turkey. When a few years later, the revolution of July, with its concomitant insurrections in Poland, Italy, Belgium, had had its turn, and Europe, as remodeled in 1831, seemed out of the reach of domestic squalls, the Eastern question, in 1840, appeared on the point of 25 embroiling the "great Powers" in a general war. And now, when the short-sightedness of the ruling pigmies prides itself in having successfully freed Europe from the dangers of anarchy and revolution, up starts again the everlasting topic, the never-failing difficulty: What shall we do with Turkey? 30

Turkey is the living sore of European legitimacy. The impotency of legitimate, monarchical government, ever since the first French Revolution, has resumed itself in the one axiom: Keep up the *status quo*. A *testimonium paupertatis*, an acknowledgment of the universal incompetence of the ruling powers, for any purpose of progress or civilization, is seen in this universal 35 agreement to stick to things as by chance or accident they happen to be. Napoleon could dispose of a whole continent at a moment's notice; aye, and dispose of it, too, in a manner that showed both genius and fixedness of purpose; the entire "collective wisdom" of European legitimacy, assembled in Congress at Vienna, took a couple of years to do the same job, got at 40 loggerheads over it, made a very sad mess, indeed, of it, and found it such

a dreadful bore that ever since they have had enough of it, and have never tried their hands again at parceling out Europe. Myrmidons of mediocrity, as Béranger calls them, without historical knowledge or insight into facts, without ideas, without initiative, they adore the *status quo* they themselves
5 have bungled together, knowing what a bungling and blundering piece of workmanship it is.

But Turkey no more than the rest of the world remains stationary; and just when the reactionary party has succeeded in restoring in civilized Europe what they consider to be the *status quo ante*, it is perceived that in
10 the meantime the *status quo* in Turkey has been very much altered, that new questions, new relations, new interests have sprung up, and that the poor diplomatists have to begin again where they were interrupted by a general earthquake some eight or ten years before. Keep up the *status quo* in Turkey! Why, you might as well try to keep up the precise degree of putridity into
15 which the carcass of a dead horse has passed at a given time, before dissolution is complete. Turkey goes on decaying, and will go on decaying as long as the present system of "balance of power" and maintenance of the "status quo" goes on, and in spite of Congresses, protocols and ultimatums it will produce its yearly quota of diplomatic difficulties and international
20 squabbles quite as every other putrid body will supply the neighborhood with a due allowance of carburetted hydrogen and other well-scented gaseous matter.

Let us look at the question at once. Turkey consists of three entirely distinct portions: the vassal principalities of Africa, viz. Egypt and Tunis;
25 Asiatic Turkey, and European Turkey. The African possessions, of which Egypt alone may be considered as really subject to the Sultan, may be left for the moment out of the question; Egypt belongs more to the English than to anybody else, and will and must necessarily form their share in any future partition of Turkey. Asiatic Turkey is the real seat of whatever strength there
30 is in the Empire; Asia Minor and Armenia, for four hundred years the chief abode of the Turks, form the reserved ground from which the Turkish armies have been drawn, from those that threatened the ramparts of Vienna, to those that dispersed before Diebitsch's not very skillful manœuvres at Kulewsha. Turkey in Asia, although thinly populated, yet forms too compact a mass
35 of Mussulman fanaticism and Turkish nationality to invite at present any attempts at conquest; and in fact whenever the "Eastern Question" is mooted, the only portions of this territory taken into consideration, are Palestine and the Christian valleys of the Lebanon.

The real point at issue always is, Turkey in Europe—the great peninsula
40 to the south of the Save and Danube. This splendid territory has the misfortune to be inhabited by a conglomerate of different races and nationalities,

of which it is hard to say which is the least fit for progress and civilization. Slavonians, Greeks, Wallachians, Arnauts, twelve millions of men, are all held in submission by one million of Turks, and up to a recent period it appeared doubtful whether, of all these different races, the Turks were not the most competent to hold the supremacy which, in such a mixed population, 5 could not but accrue to one of these nationalities. But when we see how lamentably have failed all the attempts at civilization by Turkish authority—how the fanaticism of Islam, supported principally by the Turkish mob in a few great cities, has availed itself of the assistance of Austria and Russia invariably to regain power and to overturn any progress that might have been 10 made; when we see the central, *i.e.* Turkish authority weakened year after year by insurrections in the Christian provinces, none of which, thanks to the weakness of the Porte and to the intervention of neighboring States, is ever completely fruitless; when we see Greece acquire her independence, parts of Armenia conquered by Russia—Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, suc- 15 cessively placed under the protectorate of the latter power,—we shall be obliged to admit that the presence of the Turks in Europe is a real obstacle to the development of the resources of the Thraco-Illyrian Peninsula.

We can hardly describe the Turks as the *ruling class* of Turkey, because the relations of the different classes of society there are as much mixed up 20 as those of the various races. The Turk is, according to localities and circumstances, workman, farmer, small freeholder, trader, feudal landlord in the lowest and most barbaric stage of feudalism, civil officer, or soldier; but in all these different social positions he belongs to the privileged creed and nation—he alone has the right to carry arms, and the highest Christian has 25 to give up the footpath to the lowest Moslem he meets. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina, the nobility, of Slavonian descent, has passed over to Islam, while the mass of the people remain Rayahs, *i.e.* Christians. In this province, then, the ruling creed and the ruling class are identified, as of course the Moslem Bosnian is upon a level with his co-religionist of Turkish descent. 30

The principal power of the Turkish population in Europe, independently of the reserve always ready to be drawn from Asia, lies in the mob of Constantinople and a few other large towns. It is essentially Turkish, and though it finds its principal livelihood by doing jobs for Christian capitalists, it maintains with great jealousy the imaginary superiority and real impunity 35 for excesses which the privileges of Islam confer upon it as compared with Christians. It is well known that this mob in every important *coup d'état* has to be won over by bribes and flattery. It is this mob alone, with the exception of a few colonized districts, which offers a compact and imposing mass of Turkish population in Europe. And certainly there will be, sooner or later, 40 an absolute necessity of freeing one of the finest parts of this continent from

the rule of a mob, compared to which the mob of Imperial Rome was an assemblage of sages and heroes.

Among the other nationalities, we may dispose in a very few words of the Arnauts, a hardy aboriginal mountain people, inhabiting the country sloping
5 toward the Adriatic, speaking a language of their own, which, however, appears to belong to the great Indo-European stock. They are partly Greek Christians, partly Moslems, and, according to all we know of them, as yet very unprepared for civilization. Their predatory habits will force any neighboring government to hold them in close military subjection, until industrial
10 progress in the surrounding districts shall find them employment as hewers of wood and drawers of water, the same as has been the case with the Gallegos in Spain, and the inhabitants of mountainous districts generally.

The Wallachians or Daco-Romans, the chief inhabitants of the district between the Lower Danube and the Dniester, are a greatly mixed population,
15 belonging to the Greek Church and speaking a language derived from the Latin, and in many respects not unlike the Italian. Those of Transylvania and the Bukowina belong to the Austrian, those of Bessarabia to the Russian Empire; those of Moldavia and Wallachia, the two only principalities where the Daco-Roman race has acquired a political existence, have Princes of their
20 own, under the nominal *suzeraineté* of the Porte and the real dominion of Russia. Of the Transylvanian Wallachians we heard much during the Hungarian War; hitherto oppressed by the feudalism of Hungarian landlords who were, according to the Austrian system, made at the same time the instruments of all Government exactions, this brutalized mass was in like
25 manner as the Ruthenian serfs of Galicia in 1846, won over by Austrian promises and bribes, and began that war of devastation which has made a desert of Transylvania. The Daco-Romans of the Turkish Principalities have at least a native nobility and political institutions; and in spite of all the efforts of Russia, the revolutionary spirit has penetrated among them, as the in-
30 surrection of 1848 well proved. There can hardly be a doubt that the exactions and hardships inflicted upon them during the Russian occupation since 1848 must have raised this spirit still higher, in spite of the bond of common religion and Czaro-Popish superstition which has hitherto led them to look upon the imperial chief of the Greek Church as upon their natural protector.
35 And if this is the case, the Wallachian nationality may yet play an important part in the ultimate disposal of the territories in question.

The Greeks of Turkey are mostly of Slavonic descent, but have adopted the modern Hellenic language; in fact, with the exception of a few noble families of Constantinople and Trapezunt, it is now generally admitted that
40 very little pure Hellenic blood is to be found even in Greece. The Greeks, along with the Jews, are the principal traders in the seaports and many inland

towns. They are also tillers of the soil in some districts. In all cases, neither their numbers, compactness, nor spirit of nationality, give them any political weight as a nation, except in Thessaly and perhaps Epirus. The influence held by a few noble Greek families as dragomans (interpreters) in Constantinople, is fast declining, since Turks have been educated in Europe and European legations have been provided with attachés who speak Turkish. 5

We now come to the race that forms the great mass of the population and whose blood is preponderant wherever a mixture of races has occurred. In fact it may be said to form the principal stock of the Christian population from the Morea to the Danube, and from the Black Sea to the Arnaut Mountains. This race is the Slavonic race, and more particularly that branch of it which is resumed under the name of Ulyrian (Ilirski,) or South Slavonian (Jugoslavenski.) After the Western Slavonian (Polish and Bohemian,) and Eastern Slavonian (Russian,) it forms the third branch of that numerous Slavonic family which for the last twelve hundred years has occupied the East of Europe. These southern Slavonians occupy not only the greater part of Turkey, but also Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and the south of Hungary. They all speak the same language, which is much akin to the Russian, and by far to western ears, the most musical of all Slavonic tongues. The Croats and part of the Dalmatians are Roman Catholics, all the remainder belong to the Greek Church. The Roman Catholics use the Latin alphabet, but the followers of the Greek Church write their language in the Cyrillic character, which is also used in the Russian and old Slavonic or Church language. This circumstance connected with the difference of religion, has contributed to retard any national development embracing the whole south Slavonic territory. A man in Belgrade may not be able to read a book printed in his own language at Agram or Betch, he may object even to take it up, on account of the "heterodox" alphabet and orthography used therein; while he will have little difficulty in reading and understanding a book printed at Moscow, in the Russian language, because the two idioms, particularly in the old Slavonic etymological system of orthography, look very much alike, and because the book is printed in the "orthodox" (pravoslavni) alphabet. The mass of the Greek Slavonians will not even have their bibles, liturgies and prayer books printed in their own country, because they are convinced that there is a peculiar correctness and orthodoxy and odor of sanctity about anything printed in holy Moscow or in the imperial printing establishment of St. Petersburg. In spite of all the panslavistic efforts of Agram and Prague enthusiasts, the Serbian, the Bulgarian, the Bosnian Rayah, the Slavonian peasant of Macedonia and Thracia, has more national sympathy, more points of contact, more means of intellectual intercourse with the Russian than with the Roman Catholic south Slavonian who speaks the same language. What- 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

ever may happen, he looks to St. Petersburg for the advent of the Messiah who is to deliver him from all evil; and if he calls Constantinople his *Tsarigrad* or Imperial City, it is as much in anticipation of the orthodox Tsar coming from the north and entering it to restore the true faith, as in recollection of
5 the orthodox Tsar who held it before the Turks overran the country.

Subjected in the greater part of Turkey to the direct rule of the Turk, but under local authorities of their own choice, partly (in Bosnia) converted to the faith of the conqueror, the Slavonian race has, in that country, maintained or conquered political existence in two localities. The one is Serbia, the valley
10 of the Morava, a province with well defined natural lines of frontier, which played an important part in the history of these regions six hundred years ago. Subdued for a while by the Turks, the Russian war of 1806 gave it a chance of obtaining a separate existence, though under the Turkish supremacy. It has remained ever since under the immediate protection of
15 Russia. But, as in Moldavia and Wallachia, political existence has brought on new wants, and forced upon Serbia an increased intercourse with Western Europe. Civilization began to take root, trade extended, new ideas sprang up; and thus we find in the very heart and stronghold of Russian influence, in Slavonic, orthodox Serbia, an anti-Russian, progressive party, (of course,
20 very modest in its demands of reform,) headed by the ex-Minister of Finances Garashanin.

There is no doubt that, should the Greco-Slavonian population ever obtain the mastery in the land which it inhabits and where it forms three-fourths of the whole population (seven millions,) the same necessities would by and
25 by give birth to an anti-Russian, progressive party, the existence of which has been hitherto the inevitable consequence of any portion of it having become semi-detached from Turkey.

In Montenegro, we have not a fertile valley with comparatively large cities, but a barren mountain country of difficult access. Here a set of robbers have
30 fixed themselves, scouring the plains and storing the plunder in their mountain fastnesses. These romantic but rather uncouth gentlemen have long been a nuisance in Europe, and it is but in keeping with the policy of Russia and Austria that they should stick up for the rights of the Black Mountain people (Tsernogorci) to burn down villages, murder the inhabitants and carry off
35 the cattle.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Kossuth and General Pierce—The Refugees
and the London Police

The People's Paper.
Nr. 47, 26. März 1853

Special Communication.
(Not electric Telegraph.)

Kossuth and General Pierce.

The present "Count" Pulski has arrived in Washington, accompanied by Count Vass, and Mr. Asbot (formerly Secretary of Kossuth) as ambassadors from the latter to General Pierce, the President, to make disclosures to him, relative to the secret plans of Russia in Turkey, and to obtain from Pierce a realisation of Kossuth's expectations. The "New York Herald," a presidential paper, has already stated that M. Pulski had better remained at home. The inaugural message of the President shows how unfounded were the expectations. Another secret object of the mission is to win back General Vetter, who, wherever he has been in America, has expressed himself very bitterly in relation to Kossuth.

The Refugees and the London Police.—The police have during the last few days been from street to street drawing up the Statistics of the Refugees—principally their inquiries were made of the neighbouring publicans. In some cases they penetrated into private houses under false pretences—and made researches. The Austrian "Correspondent," the official paper, has stated that the "good Aberdeen" had begged the northern powers to save appearances and not press publicly in relation to the fugitives, as he would then be able to do their will. Napoleon has said, in reply to similar representations, that "he would give England time to show its good faith in the matter."

Friedrich Engels
The Real Issue in Turkey

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3740, 12. April 1853

The Real Issue in Turkey.

We are astonished that in the current discussion of the Oriental Question the English journals have not more boldly demonstrated the vital interests which should render Great Britain the earnest and unyielding opponent of

5 the Russian projects of annexation and aggrandizement. England cannot afford to allow Russia to become the possessor of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Both commercially and politically such an event would be a deep if not a deadly blow at British power. This will appear from a simple statement of facts as to her trade with Turkey.

10 Before the discovery of the direct route to India, Constantinople was the mart of an extensive commerce. And now, though the products of India find their way into Europe by the overland route through Persia, Turan and Turkey, yet the Turkish ports carry on a very important and rapidly increasing traffic both with Europe and the interior of Asia. To understand

15 this, it is only necessary to look at the map. From the Black Forest to the sandy heights of Novgorod Veliki, the whole inland country is drained by rivers flowing into the Black or Caspian Sea. The Danube and the Volga, the two giant-rivers of Europe, the Dniester, Dnieper and Don, all form so many natural channels for the carriage of inland produce to the Black Sea—

20 for the Caspian itself is only accessible through the Black Sea. Two-thirds of Europe—that is, a part of Germany and Poland, all Hungary, and the most fertile parts of Russia, besides Turkey in Europe, are thus naturally referred to the Euxine for the export and exchange of their produce; and the more so, as all these countries are essentially agricultural, and the great bulk of

25 their products must always make water-carriage the predominant means of transport. The corn of Hungary, Poland, Southern Russia, the wool and the hides of the same countries appear in yearly increasing quantities in our Western markets, and they all are shipped at Galatz, Odessa, Taganrog, and

other Euxine ports. Then there is another important branch of trade carried on in the Black Sea. Constantinople, and particularly Trapezunt, in Asiatic Turkey, are the chief marts of the caravan trade to the interior of Asia, to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, to Persia, and Turkestan. This trade, too, is rapidly increasing. The Greek and Armenian merchants of the two towns just named import large quantities of English manufactured goods, the low price of which is rapidly superseding the domestic industry of the Asiatic harems. Trapezunt is better situated for such a trade than any other point. It has in its rear the hills of Armenia, which are far less impassable than the Syrian desert, and it lies at a convenient proximity to Bagdad, Schiraz, and Teheran, which latter place serves as an intermediate mart for the caravans from Khiwa and Bokhara. How important this trade, and the Black Sea trade generally is becoming, may be seen at the Manchester Exchange, where dark-complexioned Greek buyers are increasing in numbers and importance, and where Greek and South-Slavonian dialects are heard along with German and English.

The trade of Trapezunt is also becoming a matter of most serious political consideration, as it has been the means of bringing the interests of Russia and England anew into conflict in Inner Asia. The Russians had, up to 1840, an almost exclusive monopoly of the trade in foreign manufactured goods to that region. Russian goods were found to have made their way, and in some instances even to be preferred to English goods, as far down as the Indus. Up to the time of the Affghan war, the conquest of Scinde and the Punjaub, it may be safely asserted that the trade of England with Inner Asia was nearly null. The fact is now different. The supreme necessity of a never-ceasing expansion of trade—this *fatum* which, specter-like, haunts modern England, and, if not appeased at once, brings on those terrible revulsions which vibrate from New-York to Canton, and from St. Petersburg to Sidney—this inflexible necessity has caused the interior of Asia to be attacked from two sides by English trade: from the Indus and from the Black Sea; and although we know very little of the exports of Russia to that part of the world, we may safely conclude from the increase of English exports to that quarter, that the Russian trade in that direction must have sensibly fallen off. The commercial battle-field between England and Russia has been removed from the Indus to Trapezunt, and the Russian trade, formerly venturing out as far as the limits of England's Eastern Empire, is now reduced to the defensive on the very verge of its own line of custom-houses. The importance of this fact with regard to any future solution of the Eastern question, and to the part which both England and Russia may take in it, is evident. They are, and always must be, antagonists in the East.

But let us come to a more definite estimate of this Black Sea trade.

According to *The London Economist*, the British exports to the Turkish dominions, including Egypt and the Danubian Principalities, were:

| | | |
|---|---------|------------|
| | In 1840 | £1,440,592 |
| | In 1842 | £2,068,842 |
| 5 | In 1844 | £3,271,333 |
| | In 1846 | £2,707,571 |
| | In 1848 | £3,626,241 |
| | In 1850 | £3,762,480 |
| | In 1851 | £3,548,959 |

10 Of these amounts, at least two-thirds must have gone to ports in the Black Sea, including Constantinople. And all this rapidly increasing trade depends upon the confidence that may be placed in the power which rules the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the keys to the Black Sea. Whoever holds these can open and shut at his pleasure the passage into this last recess of the
15 Mediterranean. Let Russia once come into possession of Constantinople, who will expect her to keep open the door by which England has invaded her commercial domain?

So much for the commercial importance of Turkey, and especially the Dardanelles. It is evident that not only a very large trade, but the principal
20 intercourse of Europe with Central Asia, and consequently the principal means of re-civilizing that vast region, depends upon the uninterrupted liberty of trading through these gates to the Black Sea.

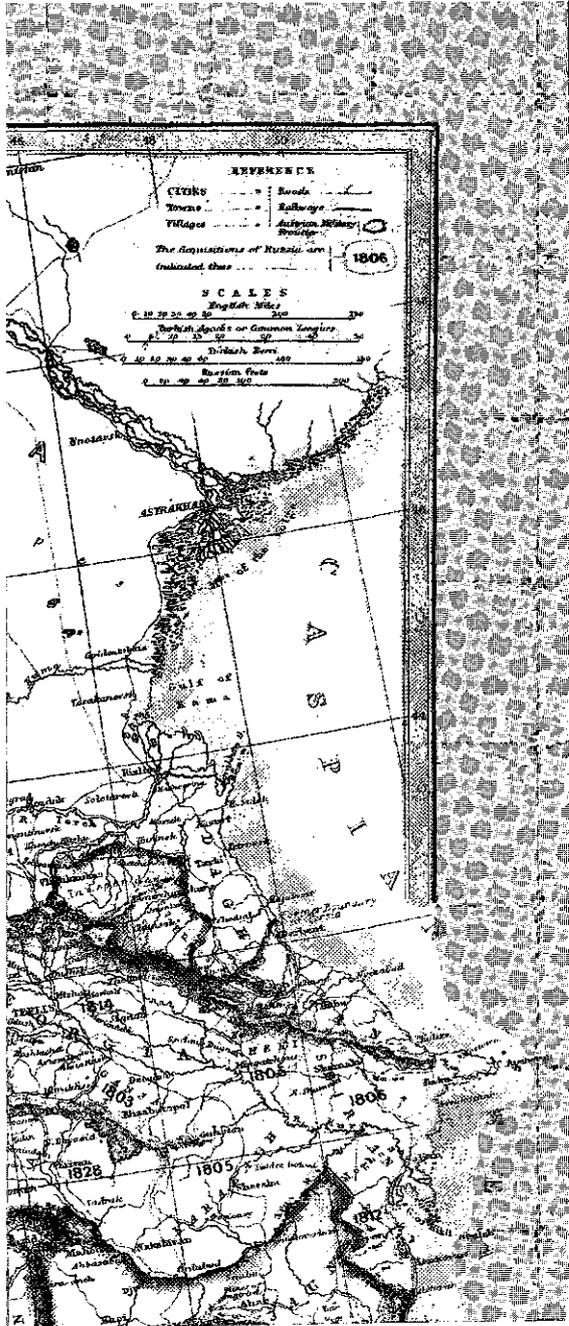
Now for the military considerations. The commercial importance of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus at once make them first-rate military positions,
25 that is, positions of decisive influence in any war. Such a point is Gibraltar, and such is Helsingör in the Sound. But the Dardanelles are, from the nature of their locality, even more important. The cannon of Gibraltar or Helsingör cannot command the whole of the straits on which they are situated, and they require the assistance of a fleet in order to close them; while the narrowness
30 of the strait at the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus is such that a few properly-erected and well-armed fortifications, such as Russia, once in possession, would not tarry an hour to erect, might defy the combined fleets of the world if they attempted a passage. In that case, the Black Sea would be more properly a Russian lake than even the Lake of Ladoga, situated in
35 its very heart. The resistance of the Caucasians would be starved out at once; Trapezunt would be a Russian port; the Danube a Russian river. Besides, when Constantinople is taken, the Turkish Empire is cut in two; Asiatic and

- European Turkey have no means of communicating with or supporting each other, and while the strength of the Turkish army, repulsed into Asia, is
40 utterly harmless, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, outflanked and cut off from the main body, will not put the conqueror to the trouble of subduing them;

they will have nothing left but to beg for mercy and for an army to maintain internal order.

But having come thus far on the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic and swollen power will pause in the career? Circumstances, if not her own will, forbid it. With the annexation of Turkey and Greece she has excellent seaports, while the Greeks furnish skillful sailors for her navy. With Constantinople, she stands on the threshold of the Mediterranean; with Durazzo and the Albanian coast from Antivari to Arta, she is in the very center of the Adriatic, within sight of the British Ionian islands, and within 36 hours' steaming of Malta. Flanking the Austrian dominions on the North, East and South, Russia will already count the Hapsburgs among her vassals. And then, another question is possible, is even probable. The broken and undulating western frontier of the Empire, ill-defined in respect of natural boundaries, would call for rectification, and it would appear that the natural frontier of Russia runs from Dantzic or perhaps Stettin to Trieste. And as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so sure would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and for the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire which certain fanatical Panslavistic philosophers have dreamed of.

Russia is decidedly a conquering nation, and was so for a century, until the great movement of 1789 called into potent activity an antagonist of formidable nature. We mean the European Revolution, the explosive force of democratic ideas and man's native thirst for freedom. Since that epoch there have been in reality but two powers on the continent of Europe—Russia and Absolutism, the Revolution and Democracy. For the moment the Revolution seems to be suppressed, but it lives and is feared as deeply as ever. Witness the terror of the reaction at the news of the late rising at Milan. But let Russia get possession of Turkey, and her strength is increased nearly half, and she becomes superior to all the rest of Europe put together. Such an event would be an unspeakable calamity to the revolutionary cause. The maintenance of Turkish independence, or in case of a possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation is a matter of the highest moment. In this instance the interests of the revolutionary Democracy and of England go hand in hand. Neither can permit the Czar to make Constantinople one of his Capitals, and we shall find that when driven to the wall, the one will resist him as determinedly as the other.



Karl Marx
The London Press-
Policy of Napoleon on the Turkish Question

New-York Daily Tribune,
Nr.3739, 11.April 1853

**The London Press-
Policy of Napoleon on the Turkish Question.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, March 25th, 1853.

5 Until this morning no further authentic news has been received from Turkey.
The Paris Correspondent of *The Morning Herald*, of to-day, asserts that he
has been informed by responsible authority that the Russians have entered
Bucharest. In the *Courrier de Marseille* of the 20th inst. we read: "We are
in a position to convey to the knowledge of our readers the substance of the
10 note which has already been presented to the Sublime Porte by M. d'Oseroff
immediately after the departure of Count Leiningen, and before the brutal
'sortie' of the Prince Menchikoff in the midst of the Divan. The following
are the principal points referred to in this diplomatic note. The Count de
Nesselrode complained in the most lively terms that the Porte, in spite of
15 its formal promise not to attack the Montenegrins, had carried on a sangui-
nary war against that people, which had given the greatest dissatisfaction
to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. In order, now, to secure a sufficient protec-
tion to the Montenegrins, and for their preservation from new disasters,
Russia would invite the Porte to recognize the *independence of Montenegro*.
20 The note contained also a protest against the blockade of the Albanian Coast,
and in conclusion it pressed the demand upon the Sultan to *dismiss* those
ministers whose doings had always occasioned misunderstandings between
the two governments. On the receipt of this note Turkey is said to have shown
a disposition to yield, although with regret, to that one point relating to the
25 dismissal of ministers, particularly of Fuad Effendi, the Sultan's brother-
in-law, who has actually been replaced by Rifaat Pasha, a partisan of Russia.
The Porte, however, refused to acknowledge the independence of Monte-
negro. It was then that Prince Menchikoff, without previously paying the

usual compliments to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented himself in the Divan, to the neglect of all diplomatic forms, and intimated in a bullying manner to that body to subscribe to his demands. In consequence of this demand the Porte invoked the protection of England and France."

In ancient Greece, an orator who was paid to remain silent, was said to have an *ox on his tongue*. The *ox*, be it remarked, was a silver coin imported from Egypt. With regard to *The Times*, we may say that, during the whole period of the revived Eastern Question, it had also an ox on its tongue, if not for remaining silent, at least for speaking. At first, this ingenious paper defended the Austrian intervention in Montenegro, on the plea of Christianity. But afterwards, when Russia interfered, it dropped this argument, stating that the whole question was a quarrel between the Greek and Roman Churches, utterly indifferent to the "subjects" of the Established Church of England. Then, it dwelt on the importance of the Turkish commerce for Great Britain, inferring from that very importance, that Great Britain could but gain by exchanging Turkish Free-Trade for Russian prohibition and Austrian protection. It next labored to prove that England was dependent for her food upon Russia, and must therefore bow in silence to the geographical ideas of the Czar. A gracious compliment this to the commercial system exalted by *The Times*, and a very pleasant argumentation, that to mitigate England's dependence on Russia, the Black Sea had to become a Russian lake, and the Danube a Russian river. Then, driven from these untenable positions, it fell back on the general statement that the Turkish Empire was hopelessly falling to pieces,—a conclusive proof this, in the opinion of *The Times*, that Russia presently must become the executor and heir of that Empire. Anon, *The Times* wanted to subject the inhabitants of Turkey to the "pure sway" and civilizing influence of Russia and Austria, remembering the old story that wisdom comes from the East, and forgetting its recent statement that "the state maintained by Austria in the provinces and kingdoms of her own Empire, was one of arbitrary authority and of executive tyranny, regulated by no laws at all." In conclusion and this is the strongest bit of impudence, *The Times* congratulates itself on the "brilliancy" of its Eastern leaders!

The whole London Press, Morning Press and Evening Press, Daily Press and Weekly Press rose, as one man against the "leading journal." *The Morning Post* mocks at the intelligence of its brethren of *The Times*, whom it accuses of spreading deliberately false and absurd news. *The Morning Herald* calls it "our Hebraeo-Austro-Russian contemporary," *The Daily News* more shortly the "Brunnow organ." Its twin-brother, *The Morning Chronicle* heaves at it the following blow: "The journalists who have proposed to surrender the Turkish Empire to Russia, on the score of the commercial

eminence of a dozen Anglo-Greek firms, are quite right in claiming for themselves the monopoly of brilliancy!" *The Morning Advertiser* says: "*The Times* is right in stating that it is isolated in its advocacy of Russian interests... It is printed in the English language. But that is the only thing English
5 about it. It is, where Russia is concerned, Russian all over."

There is no doubt that the Russian bear will not draw in his paws, unless he be assured of a momentary "entente cordiale" between England and France. Now mark the following wonderful coincidence. On the very day
10 that *The Times* was trying to persuade my lords Aberdeen and Clarendon, that the Turkish affair was a mere squabble between France and Russia, the "roi des drôles" as Guizot used to call him, M. Granier de Cassagnac, happened to discover in the *Constitutionnel*, that it was all nothing but a quarrel between Lord Palmerston and the Czar. Truly, when we read these papers, we understand the Greek orators with Macedonian oxen on their tongues,
15 at the times when Demosthenes fulminated his Philippics.

As for the British aristocracy represented by the Coalition Ministry, they would, if need be, sacrifice the national English interests to their particular class interests, and permit the consolidation of a juvenile despotism in the East in the hopes of finding a support for their valetudinarian oligarchy in
20 the West. As to Louis Napoleon he is hesitating. All his predilections are on the side of the Autocrat, whose system of governing he has introduced into France, and all his antipathies are against England, whose parliamentary system he has destroyed there. Besides, if he permits the Czar's plundering in the East, the Czar will perhaps permit him to plunder in the West. On the
25 other hand he is as quite sure of the feelings of the Holy Alliance with regard to the "parvenu Khan." Accordingly he observes an ambiguous policy, striving to dupe the great powers of Europe as he duped the parliamentary parties of the French National Assembly. While fraternizing ostentatiously with the English ambassador for Turkey, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, he
30 simultaneously cajoles the Russian Princess de Lieven with the most flattering promises, and sends to the court of the Sultan M. De la Cour, a warm advocate of an Austro-French alliance, in contradistinction to an Anglo-French one. He orders the Toulon fleet to sail to the Grecian waters, and then announces the day afterward, in the *Moniteur*, that this had been done
35 without any previous communication with England. While he orders one of his organs, the *Pays*, to treat the Eastern question as most important to France, he allows the statement of his other organ, the *Constitutionnel*, that Russian, Austrian and English interests are at stake in this question, but that France has only a very remote interest in it, and is therefore in a wholly
40 independent position. Which will outbid the other, Russia or England? That is the question with him.

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
The Turkish Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3746, 19. April 1853

The Turkish Question.

It is only of late that people in the West of Europe and in America have been enabled to form anything like a correct judgment of Turkish affairs. Up to the Greek insurrection Turkey was, to all intents and purposes a *terra incognita*, and the common notions floating about among the public were based 5 more upon the Arabian Nights' Entertainments than upon any historical facts. Official diplomatic functionaries having been on the spot, boasted a more accurate knowledge; but this, too, amounted to nothing, as none of these officials ever troubled himself to learn Turkish, South Slavonian, or modern Greek, and they were one and all dependent upon the interested 10 accounts of Greek interpreters and Frank merchants. Besides, intrigues of every sort were always on hand to occupy the time of these lounging diplomats, among whom Joseph von Hammer, the German historian of Turkey, forms the only honorable exception. The business of these gentlemen was not with the people, the institutions, the social state of the country; it was 15 exclusively with the Court, and especially with the Fanariote Greeks, wily mediators between two parties either of which was equally ignorant of the real condition, power and resources of the other. The traditional notions and opinions, founded upon such paltry information, formed for a long while, and strange to say, form to a great extent even now, the ground-work for 20 all the action of Western diplomacy with regard to Turkey.

But while England, France, and for a long time even Austria, were groping in the dark for a defined Eastern policy, another power outwitted them all. Russia herself semi-Asiatic in her condition, manners, traditions and institutions, found men enough who could comprehend the real state and 25 character of Turkey. Her religion was the same as that of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe; her language almost identical with that of seven millions of Turkish subjects; and the well-known facility with which a Russian learns to converse in, if not fully to appropriate a foreign tongue,

The Turkish Question

made it an easy matter for her agents, well paid for the task, to acquaint themselves completely with Turkish affairs. Thus at a very early period the Russian Government availed itself of its exceedingly favorable position in the South-east of Europe. Hundreds of Russian agents perambulated Turkey, pointing out to the Greek Christians, the Orthodox Emperor as the head, the natural protector, and the ultimate liberator of the oppressed Eastern Church, and to the South Slavonians especially, pointing out that same Emperor as the almighty Czar who was sooner or later to unite all the branches of the great Slavic race under one sceptre, and to make them the ruling race of Europe. The clergy of the Greek Church very soon formed themselves into a vast conspiracy for the spread of these ideas. The Servian insurrection of 1804, the Greek rising in 1821 were more or less directly urged on by Russian gold and Russian influence; and wherever among the Turkish pachas the standard of revolt was raised against the Central Government, Russian intrigues and Russian funds were never wanting; and when thus, internal Turkish questions had entirely perplexed the understanding of Western diplomatists who knew no more about the real subject than about the man in the moon, then war was declared, Russian armies marched toward the Balkan, and portion by portion the Ottoman Empire was dismembered.

It is true that during the last thirty years much has been done toward general enlightenment concerning the state of Turkey. German philologists and critics have made us acquainted with the history and literature, English residents and English trade have collected a great deal of information as to the social condition of the Empire. But the diplomatic wiseacres seem to scorn all this, and to cling as obstinately as possible to the traditions engendered by the study of Eastern fairy-tales, improved upon by the no less wonderful accounts given by the most corrupt set of Greek mercenaries that ever existed.

And what has been the natural result? That in all essential points Russia has steadily, one after another, gained her ends, thanks to the ignorance, dullness, and consequent inconsistency and cowardice of Western governments. From the battle of Navarino to the present Eastern crisis, the action of the Western powers has either been annihilated by squabbles among themselves, mostly arising from their common ignorance of Eastern matters, and from petty jealousies which must have been entirely incomprehensible to any Eastern understanding-or that action has been in the direct interest of Russia alone. And not only do the Greeks, both of Greece and Turkey, and the Slavonians, look to Russia as their natural protector; nay, even the Government at Constantinople, despairing, time after time, to make its actual wants and real position understood by these Western ambassadors, who pride themselves upon their own utter incompetency to judge

by their own eyes of Turkish matters, the very Turkish Government has in every instance been obliged to throw itself upon the mercy of Russia, and to seek protection from that power which openly avows its firm intention to drive every Turk across the Bosphorus and plant the cross of St. Andrew upon the minarets of the Aya-Sofiyah. 5

In spite of diplomatic tradition, these constant and successful encroachments of Russia have at last roused in the Western Cabinets in Europe a very dim and distant apprehension of the approaching danger. This apprehension has resulted in the great diplomatic nostrum, that the maintenance of the *status quo* in Turkey is a necessary condition of the peace 10 of the world. The magniloquent incapacity of certain modern statesmen could not have confessed its ignorance and helplessness more plainly than in this axiom which, from having always remained a dead letter, has, during the short period of twenty years, been hallowed by tradition, and become as hoary and indisputable as King John's Magna Charta. Maintain the *status 15 quo!* Why, it was precisely to maintain the status quo that Russia stirred up Servia to revolt, made Greece independent, appropriated to herself the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia, and retained part of Armenia! England and France never stirred an inch when all this was done, and the only time they did move was to protect, in 1849, not Turkey, but the Hungar- 20 ian refugees. In the eyes of European diplomacy, and even of the European press, the whole Eastern question resolves itself into this dilemma, either the Russians at Constantinople, or the maintenance of the *status quo*—anything beside this alternative never enters their thoughts.

Look at the London press for illustration. We find *The Times* advocating 25 the dismemberment of Turkey, and proclaiming the unfitness of the Turkish race to govern any longer in that beautiful corner of Europe. Skilfull as usual, *The Times* boldly attacks the old diplomatic tradition of the *status quo*, and declares its continuance impossible. The whole of the talent at the disposal of that paper is exerted to show this impossibility under different aspects, 30 and to enlist British sympathies for a new crusade against the remnant of the Saracens. The merit of such an unscrupulous attack upon a time-hallowed and unmeaning phrase which, two months ago, was as yet sacred to *The Times*, is undeniable. But whoever knows that paper, knows also that this unwonted boldness is applied directly in the interest of Russia and Austria. 35 The correct premises put forth in its columns as to the utter impossibility of maintaining Turkey in its present state, serve no other purpose than to prepare the British public and the world for the moment when the principal paragraph of the will of Peter the Great, the conquest of the Bosphorus, will have become an accomplished fact. 40

The opposite opinion is represented by *The Daily News*, the organ of the

The Turkish Question

Liberals. *The Times* at least seizes a new and correct feature of the question, in order afterwards to pervert it to an interested purpose. In the columns of the Liberal journal, on the other hand, reigns the plainest sense, but merely a sort of *household sense*. Indeed, it does not see farther than the very
5 threshold of its own house. It clearly perceives that a dismemberment of Turkey *under present circumstances* must bring the Russians to Constantinople, and that this would be a great misfortune for England; that it would threaten the peace of the world, ruin the Black Sea trade, and necessitate new armaments in the British stations and fleets of the Mediterranean.
10 And in consequence, *The Daily News* exerts itself to arouse the indignation and fear of the British public. Is not the partition of Turkey a crime equal to the partition of Poland? Have not the Christians more religious liberty in Turkey than in Austria and Russia? Is not the Turkish Government a mild, paternal government, which allows the different nations and creeds and local
15 corporations to regulate their own affairs? Is not Turkey a paradise compared to Austria and Russia? Is not life and property safe there? And is not British trade with Turkey larger than that with Austria and Russia put together, and does it not increase every year? And then goes on in dithyrambic strain, so far as *The Daily News* can be dithyrambic, an apotheosis of Turkey, the
20 Turks and everything Turkish, which must appear quite incomprehensible to most of its readers.

The key to this strange enthusiasm for the Turks is to be found in the works of David Urquhart, Esq., M.P. This gentleman, of Scotch birth, with medieval and patriarchal recollections of home, and with a modern British civilized
25 education, after having fought three years in Greece against the Turks, passed into their country and was the first thus to enamour himself of them. The romantic Highlander found himself at home again in the mountain ravines of the Pindus and Balkan, and his works on Turkey, although full of valuable information, may be summed up in the following three paradoxes,
30 which are laid down almost literally thus: If Mr. Urquhart were not a British subject, he would decidedly prefer being a Turk; if he were not a Presbyterian^ Calvinist, he would not belong to any other religion than Islamism; and thirdly, Britain and Turkey are the only two countries in the world which enjoy self-government and civil and religious liberty. This same Urquhart
35 has since become the great Eastern authority for all English Liberals who object to Palmerston, and it is he who supplies *The Daily News* with the materials for these panegyrics upon Turkey.

The only argument which deserves a moment's notice, upon this side of the question is this: "It is said that Turkey is decaying; but where is the
40 decay? Is not civilization rapidly spreading in Turkey and trade extending? Where you see nothing but decay, our statistics prove nothing but progress."

Now it would be a great fallacy to put down the increasing Black Sea trade to the credit of Turkey alone, and yet this is done here exactly as if the industrial and commercial capabilities of Holland, the high road to the greater part of Germany, were to be measured by her gross exports and imports, nine tenths of which represent a mere transit. And yet, what every statistician would immediately, in the case of Holland, treat as a clumsy concoction, the whole of the liberal press of England, including the learned *Economist* tries, in the case of Turkey, to impose upon public credulity. And then, who are the traders in Turkey? Certainly not the Turks. Their way of promoting trade, when they were yet in their original nomadic state, consisted in robbing caravans, and now that they are a little more civilized it consists in all sorts of arbitrary and oppressive exactions. The Greeks, the Armenians, the Slavonians and the Franks established in the large seaports, carry on the whole of the trade, and certainly they have no reason to thank Turkish Beys and Pashas for being able to do so. Remove all the Turks out of Europe, and trade will have no reason to suffer. And as to progress in general civilization, who are they that carry out that progress in all parts of European Turkey? Not the Turks, for they are few and far between, and can hardly be said to be settled anywhere except in Constantinople and two or three small country districts. It is the Greek and Slavonic middle class in all the towns and trading posts who are the real support of whatever civilization is effectually imported into the country. That part of the population are constantly rising in wealth and influence, and the Turks are more and more driven into the background. Were it not for their monopoly of civil and military power, they would soon disappear. But that monopoly has become impossible for the future, and their power is turned into impotence, except for obstructions in the way of progress. The fact is, they must be got rid of. To say that they cannot be got rid of except by putting Russians and Austrians in their place, means as much as to say, that the present political constitution of Europe will last forever. Who will make such an assertion?

1

Karl Marx
The Berlin Conspiracy

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3745, 18. April 1853

The Berlin Conspiracy.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, April 1, 1853.

At length, the fifth of the "Great Powers," Prussia, enjoys the good fortune of having added of her own to the great discoveries made by the Austrian Police, with respect to the "demagogical machinations" of the revolutionists. "The Government," we are assured by its official organs, "having obtained proof that the chiefs of the Democratic party held continued relations with the revolutionary *propaganda*, ordered domiciliary visits to be made, on the 29th of March, at Berlin, and succeeded in arresting 40 individuals, among whom were Streckfuss, and the ex-members of the Prussian National Assembly, Berends, Waldeck, etc. Domiciliary visits were made in the houses of eighty persons suspected of participation in a conspiracy. Arms and ammunition were found." Not content with publishing these "startling facts" in its official papers, the Prussian Government thought proper to forward them by telegraph to the British Foreign Office.

In order to lay bare the mystery of this new police farce, it is necessary to go somewhat back. Two months after the *coup d'état* of Bonaparte, Mr. Hinckeldey, the *Polizei Praesident* of Berlin and his inferior, Mr. Stieber, the *Polizei Rath*, conspired together, the one to become a Prussian *Maupas*, and the other to become a Prussian *Pietri*. The glorious omnipotence of the French police, perhaps, disturbed their slumbers. Hinckeldey addressed himself to Herr von Westphalen, the Minister of the Interior, making unjust representation to that wealaninded and fanatical reactionist (Herr von Westphalen being my brother-in-law I had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the mental powers of the man), on the necessity of concentrating the whole police force of the Prussian State in the hands of the

Polizei Praesident of Berlin. He stated, that in order to accelerate the action of the police, it must be made independent of the Minister of the Interior and intrusted exclusively to himself. The minister von Westphalen represents the ultra Prussian aristocracy and the President of the ministry, Herr von Manteuffel, represents the old bureaucracy; the two are rivals, and 5 the former beheld in the suggestion of Hinckeldey, although it apparently narrowed the circle of his own department, a means of inflicting a blow on his rival, whose brother, M. von Manteuffel, was the director in the ministry of the Interior, and especially charged with the control of the entire police. Herr von Westphalen therefore submitted his proposition to a council of State, 10 presided over by the King himself.

The discussion was very angry. Manteuffel, supported by the Prince of Prussia, opposed the plan of establishing an independent ministry of police. The King inclined to the proposition of Herr von Westphalen, and concluded 15 with the Solomonian sentence, that he would follow the example of Bonaparte and create a ministry of police, "if the necessity of that step were proved to him by facts." Now, the affair of the Cologne Communists was chosen by Hinckeldey and Stieber to furnish these facts. You are aware of the heroic performances of those men in the Cologne trials. After their conclusion the Prussian Government resolved to elevate the openly perjured 20 Stieber, the man who had been hissed wherever he showed himself in the streets of Cologne—to the dignity of a *Polizei-Director* of Cologne. But M. de Bethmann-Hollweg and other well-meaning conservative deputies of Rhenish Prussia, intervened, representing to the ministers that such an open insult to the public opinion of that province might have very ominous con- 25 sequences at a moment when Bonaparte coveted the *natural limits* of France. The Government yielded, contenting itself with the nomination of Stieber as *Polizei-Director* of Berlin, in reward for his perjuries committed at Cologne and his thefts committed at London. There, however, the affair stopped. It was impossible to accomplish the wishes of Mr. Hinckeldey and 30 to create for him an independent ministry of police on the ground of the Cologne trial. Hinckeldey and Stieber watched their time. Happily there came the Milan insurrection. Stieber at once made twenty arrests at Berlin. But the thing was too ridiculous to be proceeded with. But then came Libeny, and now the King was ripe. Overwhelmed with fearful apprehensions he saw 35 at once the necessity of having an independent ministry of police, and Hinckeldey saw his dreams realized. A royal ordinance created him the Prussian *Maupas*, while the brother of Herr von Manteuffel tendered his resignation. The most astounding part of the comedy, however, was yet to come. Scarcely had Mr. Hinckeldey rushed into his new dignity when the 40 "great Berlin conspiracy" was discovered directly. This conspiracy, then,

The Berlin conspiracy

was made for the express purpose of proving the necessity of Mr. Hinckel-
dey. It was the present Mr. Hinckeldey made over to the imbecile King in
exchange for his newly-gained police-autocracy. Hinckeldey's adjunct, the
ingenious Stieber, who had discovered at Cologne that whenever letters were
5 found terminating with the words "*Gruss*" and "*Bruderschaft*," there was
unquestionably a Communist conspiracy, now made the discovery that there
appeared at Berlin for some time since an ominous quantity of "Calabrese
hats," and that the Calabrese hat was unquestionably the "rallying sign" of
the revolutionists. Strong upon this important discovery, Stieber made on
10 the 18th of March several arrests, chiefly of workmen and foreigners, the
charge against whom was the wearing of Calabrese hats. On the 23d ejusdem
domiciliary visits were made in the house of Karl Delius, a merchant at
Magdeburg and brother of a member of the Second Chamber, who had also
an unhappy taste for Calabrese hats. Finally, as I informed you at the be-
15 ginning of this letter, on the 29th ultimo the great *coup d'état* against the
Calabrese hats was struck at Berlin. All those who know anything of the
milk-and-water opposition of Waldeck, Berends, etc., will laugh at the "arms
and munition" found in the possession of these most inoffensive
Brutusses.

20 But futile as this police comedy may appear to be got up, as it were, by
mere personal motives of Messrs. Hinckeldey & Stieber, it is not without
significance. The Prussian government is exasperated at the passive re-
sistance it meets with in every direction. It smells the breath of Revolution
in midst of the apparent apathy. It despairs at the want of a tangible form
25 of that specter, and feels alleviated, as it were, from the nightmare every time
the police affords bodily shapes to its ubiquitous but invisible antagonist.
It attacks, it will go on attacking, and it will successfully convert the passive
resistance of the people into an active one.

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
What is to Become of Turkey in Europe?

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3748, 21. April 1853

What is to Become of Turkey in Europe?

We have seen how the obstinate ignorance, the time-hallowed routine, the hereditary mental drowsiness of European statesmen, shrinks from the very attempt to answer this question. Aberdeen and Palmerston, Metternich and Guizot, not to mention their republican and constitutional substitutes of 1848 to 1852—who will ever be nameless—all despair of a solution. 5

And all the while Russia advances step by step, slowly, but irresistibly, towards Constantinople, in spite of all the diplomatic notes, plots and manœuvres of France and England.

Now this steady advance of Russia, admitted by all parties, in all countries of Europe, has never been explained by official statesmen. They see the effect, they see even the ultimate consequence, and yet the cause is hidden from them, although nothing is more simple. 10

The great motive power which speeds Russia on towards Constantinople, is nothing but the very device, designed to keep her away from it; the hollow, the never-enforced theory of the *status quo*.

What is this *status quo*? For the Christian subjects of the Porte, it means simply the maintenance for ever and a day, of Turkish oppression over them. As long as they are oppressed by Turkish rule, the head of the Greek Church, the ruler of sixty millions of Greek Christians, be he in other respects what he may, is *their natural liberator and protector*. Thus it is, that ten millions of Greek Christians in European Turkey, are forced to appeal to Russian aid, by that very diplomatic scheme, invented in order to prevent Russian encroachments. 20

Look at the facts as history records them. Even before the reign of Catharine II. Russia never omitted an opportunity of obtaining favorable conditions for Moldavia and Wallachia. These stipulations, at last, were carried to such a length in the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) that the above-named principalities are now more subject to Russia than to Turkey. When, 25

in 1804, the Servian revolution broke out, Russia took the rebel Rayahs at once under her protection, and in two treaties, after having supported them in two wars, guaranteed the internal independence of their country. When the Greeks revolted, who decided the contest? Not the plots and rebellions
5 of Ah Pacha of Janina, not the battle of Navarino, not the French army in the Morea, not the conferences and protocols of London, but the march of Diebitch's Russians across the Balkan into the vally of the Maritza. And while Russia thus fearlessly set about the dismemberment of Turkey, western diplomatists continued to guarantee and to hold up as sacred the *status*
10 *quo* and the inviolability of the Ottoman territory!

So long as the tradition of the upholding, at any price, of the status quo and the independence of Turkey in her present state is the ruling maxim of Western diplomacy, so long will Russia be considered, by nine tenths of the population of Turkey in Europe, their only support, their liberator, their
15 Messiah.

Now, suppose for a moment that Turkish rule in the Graeco-Slavonian peninsula were got rid of; that a government more suitable to the wants of the people existed; what then would be the position of Russia? The fact is notorious, that in every one of the States which have sprung up upon Turkish
20 soil and acquired either total or partial independence, a powerful anti-Russian party has formed itself. If that be the case at a time when Russian support is their only safeguard against Turkish oppression, what, then, are we to expect, as soon as the fear of Turkish oppression shall have vanished?

But to remove Turkish authority beyond the Bosphorus; to emancipate
25 the various creeds and nationalities which populate the peninsula; to open the door to the schemes and machinations, the conflicting desires and interests of all the great powers of Europe;—why is not this provoking universal war? Thus asks diplomatic cowardice and routine.

Of course, it is not expected that the Palmerstons, the Aberdeens, the
30 Clarendons, the Continental Foreign Secretaries, will do such a thing. They cannot look at it without shuddering. But whosoever has, in the study of history, learned to admire the eternal mutations of human affairs in which nothing is stable but instability, nothing constant but change; whosoever has followed up that stern march of history whose wheels pass relentlessly over
35 the remains of empires, crushing entire generations, without holding them worthy even of a look of pity; whosoever, in short, has had his eyes open to the fact that there was never a demagogic appeal or insurgent proclamation, as revolutionary as the plain and simple records of the history of mankind; who ever knows how to appreciate the eminently revolutionary
40 character of the present age, when steam and wind, electricity and the printing press, artillery and gold discoveries cooperate to produce more

changes and revolutions in a year than were ever before brought about in a century, will certainly not shrink from facing a historical question, because of the consideration that its proper settlement may bring about a European war.

No, diplomacy, Government according to the old fashion will never solve the difficulty. The solution of the Turkish problem is reserved, with that of other great problems, to the European Revolution. And there is no presumption in assigning this apparently remote question to the lawful domain of that great movement. The revolutionary landmarks have been steadily advancing ever since 1789. The last revolutionary outposts were Warsaw, Debreczin, Bucharest; the advanced posts of the next revolution must be Petersburg and Constantinople. They are the two vulnerable points where the Russian anti-revolutionary colossus must be attacked.

It would be a mere effort of fancy to give a detailed scheme as to how the Turkish territory in Europe might be partitioned out. Twenty such schemes could be invented, every one as plausible as the other. What we have to do is, not to draw up fanciful programmes, but to seek general conclusions from indisputable facts. And from this point of view the question presents a double aspect.

Firstly, then, it is an undeniable reality that the peninsula, commonly called Turkey in Europe, forms the natural inheritance of the South-Slavonian race. That race furnishes seven millions out of twelve of its inhabitants. It has been in possession of the soil for twelve hundred years. Its competitors—if we except a sparse population which has adopted the Greek language, although in reality of Slavonic descent—are Turkish or Arnaut barbarians, who have long since been convicted of the most inveterate opposition to all progress. The South-Slavonians, on the contrary, are, in the inland districts of the country, the exclusive representatives of civilization. They do not yet form a nation, but they have a powerful and comparatively enlightened nucleus of nationality in Servia. The Servians have a history, a literature of their own. They owe their present internal independence to an eleven years' struggle, carried on valiantly against superior numbers. They have, for the last twenty years, grown rapidly in culture and the means of civilization. They are looked upon by the Christians of Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedonia and Bosnia as the center, around which, in their future efforts for independence and nationality, all of them must rally. In fact, it may be said that, the more Servia and Servian nationality has consolidated itself, the more has the direct influence of Russia on the Turkish Slavonians been thrown into the back ground; for Servia, in order to maintain its distinct position as a Christian State, has been obliged to borrow from the West of Europe its political institutions, its schools, its scientific knowledge, its industrial appliances; and thus is ex-

plained the anomaly, that, in spite of Russian protection, Servia, ever since her emancipation, has formed a constitutional monarchy.

Whatever may be the bonds which consanguinity and common religious belief may draw between the Russian and the Turkish Slavonians, their
5 interests will be decidedly opposite from the day the latter are emancipated. The commercial necessities arising from the geographical position of the two countries explain this. Russia, a compact inland country, is essentially a country of predominant agricultural, and perhaps, one day, manufacturing production. The Graeco-Slavonian peninsula, small in extent, comparatively,
10 with an enormous extent of shore on three seas, one of which it commands, is now essentially a country of commercial transit, though with the best capacities for independent production. Russia is monopolizing, South Slavonia is expansive. They are, besides, competitors in Central Asia; but while Russia has every interest to exclude all but her own produce, South Slavonia
15 has, even now, every interest to introduce into the Eastern markets the produce of Western Europe. How, then, is it possible for the two nations to agree? In fact, the Turkish South Slavonians and Greeks have, even now, far more interests in common with Western Europe than with Russia. And as soon as the line of railway, which now extends from Ostende, Havre and
20 Hamburg to Pesth shall have been continued to Belgrade and Constantinople, (which is now under consideration,) the influence of Western civilization and Western trade will become permanent in the South-east of Europe.

Again: The Turkish Slavonians especially suffer by their subjection to a Mussulman class of military occupants whom they have to support. These
25 military occupants unite in themselves all public functions, military, civil and judicial. Now what is the Russian system of government, wherever it is not mixed up with feudal institutions, but a military occupation, in which the civil and judicial hierarchy are organized in a military manner, and where the people have to pay for the whole? Whoever thinks that such a system can
30 have a charm for the South Slavonians, may study the history of Servia since 1804. Kara George, the founder of Servian independence, was abandoned by the people, and Milosh Obrenovitch, the restorer of that independence, was ignominiously turned out of the country, because they attempted to introduce the Russian autocratic system, accompanied with its concomitant
35 corruption, half-military bureaucracy and pasha-like extortion.

Here then is the simple and final solution of the question. History and the facts of the present day alike point to the erection of a free and independent Christian State on the ruins of the Moslem Empire in Europe. The next effort of the Revolution can hardly fail to render such an event necessary, for it
40 can hardly fail to inaugurate the long-maturing conflict between Russian Absolutism and European Democracy. In that conflict England must bear

a part, in whatever hands her Government may for the moment happen to be placed. She can never allow Russia to obtain possession of Constantinople. She must then, take sides with the enemies of the Czar and favor the construction of an independent Slavonian Government in the place of the effete and overthrown Sublime Porte. For the present, the duty of those 5
who would forward the popular cause in Europe is to lend all possible aid to the development of industry, education, obedience to law, and the instinct of freedom and independence in the Christian dependencies of Turkey. The future peace and progress of the world are concerned in it. If there it to be a harvest, too much care cannot be given to the preparation of the soil and 10
the sowing of the seed.

Karl Marx
The Berlin Conspiracy-
London Police—Mazzini—Radetzky

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3748, 21. April 1853

**The Berlin Conspiracy-
London Police—Mazzini—Radetzky.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, April 8, 1853.

5 At the time of writing my last letter concerning the great conspiracy discovered by Mr. Stieber, I could not anticipate, that my views on that affair would be more or less confirmed by two Conservative Berlin papers. The *Preussische Wochenblatt*, the organ of the Conservative faction headed by Mr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, was confiscated on April 2d for recommending
10 its readers "not to believe too hastily in the tales of the police respecting the late arrests." But of far greater importance is an article in the *Zeit*, the semi-official journal belonging to the section of the Prussian Ministry headed by M. von Manteuffel. The *Zeit* is compelled to make the following admission:

15 "Whosoever is not struck with blindness, cannot but be aware that the numerous and inextricable complications presented by the general situation of Europe must lead in a given time, to a violent explosion, which the sincere endeavors of the Great Powers of Europe may postpone for a while, but to prevent which in a permanent way they are utterly unable, notwithstanding
20 all human exertions ... It is for us the accomplishment of a duty not to dissimulate any longer, that discontent is spreading wider and wider and *is the more dangerous and the more deserving of serious attention, as it appears not at the surface but conceals itself more and more in the depth of men's minds*. This discontent, we must say without paraphrase, is created by the
25 efforts to bring about a counter-revolution in Prussia latterly paraded with an incredible *étourderie*."

The *Zeit* is only mistaken in its conclusion. The Prussian counter-revolu-

tion is not now about to be commenced, it is to be ended. It is not a thing of recent growth, but began on March 20th, 1848, and has been steadily advancing ever since that day. At this very moment the Prussian Government is hatching two very dangerous projects, the one of limiting the free subdivision of real property, the other subjecting public instruction to the Church. They could not have selected two objects more appropriate to alienate the peasantry of Rhenish Prussia and the middle classes throughout the monarchy. As a curious incident, I may also mention the forced dissolution of the Berlin Hygienic Society, (A Mutual Benefit Sick Club) in consequence of the "great discovery." This society was composed of nearly 10,000 members, all belonging to the working classes. The Government, it appears, are convinced, that the present constitution of the Prussian State is incompatible with "hygienics."

The London press, till now unconscious of the doings of the London police, are surprised by statements in the *Vienna Presse* and the *Emancipation*, the leading reactionary journal of Belgium, that the police of London have drawn up a list of all the political refugees in that city, with a variety of details relating to their private circumstances and conduct. "Once such a system is tolerated with regard to foreigners," exclaims the *Morning Advertiser*, "it will be employed whenever deemed advisable by the Government, or any member of it, in order to become acquainted with the details of the private lives of our own countrymen ... Is it not saddening to think that the London police should be called upon to play the infamous part assigned to their continental colleagues?" Besides these statements in Belgian and other papers, the London press is this day informed by telegraphic dispatch from Vienna, "that the Refugee question is settled: the British Government has promised to keep a strict guard on the refugees, and to visit them with the full severity of the law whenever it should be proved that they have taken part in revolutionary intrigues."

"Never before," remarks the *Morning Advertiser*, "did England appear in so humiliating a situation as she does now, in having prostrated herself to the feet of Austria. No degradation could equal this. It was reserved for the Coalition Cabinet."

I learn from a very creditable source that the law officers of the Crown will institute a prosecution against Mazzini as soon as his sojourn at London shall be ascertained. On the other hand I hear that the Ministers will be interpellated in the House of Commons with regard to their scandalous transactions with Austria, and their intentions on the refugee question in general.

I have stated in a former letter that Radetzky was glad to have been afforded, by the Milan insurrection, a pretext for "obtaining money under

false pretenses." This view of the matter has since been confirmed by an act not to be misunderstood. In a recent proclamation Radetzky has declared null and void all loans or mortgages contracted since 1847 on the security of the sequestered estates of the Lombard emigrants. This confiscation can have no other possible excuse than the *horror vacui* of the Austrian exchequer. The sentimental bourgeoisie have everywhere sacrificed the revolution to their god called Property. The counter-revolution now repudiates that god.

A sub-marine telegraphic dispatch of to-day brings the news that Prince Menchikoff has concluded a convention with the Porte, that the Russian armies have received orders to retire from the Turkish frontiers, and that the Eastern question is once more settled.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Hirschs Selbstbekenntnisse

Belletristisches Journal und
New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung.
Nr. 8, 5. Mai 1853

Hirsch's Selbstbekenntnisse.

Hirsch's „Selbstbekenntnisse“ haben, wie mir scheint, nur so weit Werth, als sie durch andre Thatsachen bestätigt werden. Schon weil sie sich wechselseitig widersprechen. Von seiner Mission nach **Coin** zurückgekehrt, erklärte er in einer öffentlichen Arbeiterversammlung, Willich sei sein 5
Complice. Es wurde natürlich verschmäht, dies angebliche Bekenntniß zu protokolliren. Verschiedene Personen, ich weiß nicht, ob mit oder ohne Auftrag Hirsch's, zeigten mir darauf an, Hirsch sei erbötig, mir ein volles Geständniß abzulegen. Ich lehnte es ab. Später erfuhr ich, er lebe im äußersten Elend. Ich zweifle daher nicht, daß seine „allerletzten“ Bekennt- 10
nisse im Interesse der Partei geschrieben sind, die ihn augenblicklich *zahlt* Sonderbar, daß es Leute giebt, die es nöthig finden, sich unter den Schutz eines Hirsch's zu flüchten.

Ich beschränke mich einstweilen auf einige Randglossen. Wir hatten mehr Selbstbekenntnisse von Spionen, von Vidocq, Chenu, Delahodde u. s. w. In 15
einem Punkt stimmen sie überein. Sie alle sind keine ordinären Spione, sondern Spione im höhern Sinn, lauter Fortsetzungen des „Cooper'schen Spions“. Ihre Selbstbekenntnisse sind nothwendig ebenso viel Selbstapologien.

So sucht auch Hirsch z. B. anzudeuten, nicht er, Hirsch, sondern Oberst 20
Bangya habe den Tag der Zusammenkunft meiner Parteigenossen dem Greif denuncirt und durch Greif dem Fleury. Unsere Zusammenkünfte fanden an einem Donnerstag statt, in den paar Sitzungen, denen Hirsch beiwohnte, aber an einem Mittwoch, seit Hirsch aus ihnen ausgestoßen war. Die falschen Sitzungsprotokolle, vor wie nach Hirsch's Beiwohnen, sind von einem 25
Donnerstag datirt. Wer außer Hirsch konnte dies „Mißverständniß“ be-
gehen!

In einem andern Punkt ist Hirsch glücklicher. Bangya soll wiederholt



Hirschs Selbstbekenntnisse

Daten in Bezug auf meinen Briefwechsel mit Deutschland angegeben haben. Da alle hierauf bezüglichen und in den Kölner Gerichtsakten befindlichen Data falsch sind, so ist allerdings nicht zu entscheiden, wer sie gedichtet hat. Nun zu Bangya.

5 Spion oder nicht Spion, Bangya konnte mir und meinen Parteigenossen nie gefährlich werden, da ich *nie* über *meine* Parteiangelegenheiten mit ihm sprach und Bangya selbst — wie er mir in einer seiner Rechtfertigungsschriften ins Gedächtniß ruft, — es durchaus vermied, die Sprache auf diese Angelegenheiten zu bringen. Also Spion oder nicht Spion. Er konnte nichts

10 verrathen, wen er nichts wußte. Die Kölner Akten haben dies bestätigt. Sie haben bestätigt, daß die Preußische Polizei, außer den in Deutschland selbst gemachten Zugeständnissen und den in Deutschland selbst saisirten Documenten, nichts von der Partei wußte, der ich angehöre, und sich daher genöthigt sah, die albernsten Ammenmärchen aufzutischen.

15 Aber Bangya hat eine Brochure von Marx „über die Emigranten“ der Polizei verkauft?

Bangya erfuhr von mir, in Gegenwart anderer Personen, daß Ernst Dronke, Friedrich Engels und ich eine Publikation über die Londoner Deutsche Emigration beabsichtigten, die in mehreren Heften fortlaufen sollte. Er

20 versicherte einen Buchhändler in Berlin verschaffen zu können. Ich forderte ihn auf, sich sofort umzusehen. Acht bis zehn Tage später zeigte er an, ein Buchhändler, Namens Eisermann, in Berlin sei erbötig, den Verlag des *ersten* Hefts zu übernehmen, mit dem Vorbehalt, daß die Verfasser anonym blieben, da er sonst Confiskation befürchten müsse. Ich ging darauf ein,

25 stellte aber meiner Seits die Bedingung, daß 'das Honorar sofort bei Einhändigung des Manuscripts gezahlt werde, da ich die bei der Revue der N. Rh. Zeitung gemachten Erfahrungen nicht wiederholen wolle, und daß das Manuscript nach Ablieferung gedruckt werde. Ich reiste zu Engels nach Manchester, wo die Brochure ausgearbeitet wurde. In der Zwischenzeit

30 brachte Bangya meiner Frau einen Brief von Berlin, worin Eisermann meine Bedingungen annahm mit dem Bemerkten, der Verlag des zweiten Hefts würde von dem Vertriebe des ersten abhängen. Bei meiner Rückkehr erhielt Bangya das Manuscript und ich das Honorar.

Aber der Druck verzögerte sich unter verschiedenen plausibeln Vorwänden. Ich schöpfte Verdacht. Nicht daß das Manuscript der Polizei eingehändigt sei, damit sie es drucke. Ich bin heute bereit meine Manuscripte dem Kaiser von Rußland auszuliefern, wenn er seiner Seits bereit ist, sie morgen zu drucken. Umgekehrt. Was ich fürchtete war Unterschlagung des Manuscripts.

40 Die Tagesschreier waren hier angegriffen, natürlich nicht als staatsgefährliche Revolutionaire, sondern als contrerevolutionaire Strohwische.

Mein Verdacht bestätigte sich. Georg Weerth, den ich gebeten hatte, in Berlin Forschungen über Eisermann anzustellen, schrieb, daß kein Eisermann aufzutreiben sei. Ich begab mich mit Drenke zu Bangya. Eisermann war nunmehr bloßer Geschäftsführer bei Jacob Collmann. Da es mir darum zu thun war, Bangya's Aussagen schriftlich zu haben, bestand ich darauf, daß er in meiner Gegenwart in einem Brief an Engels in Manchester seine Aussage wiederholte und Collmann's Adresse angebe. Ich richtete zugleich einige Zeilen an Bruno Bauer mit der Bitte, sich zu erkundigen, wer in dem mir von Bangya angegebenen Hause Collmann's wohne, erhielt aber keine Antwort. Der angebliche Buchhändler antwortete auf meine Mahnbrieife, ich habe keinen bestimmten Termin des Drucks *contractüich* abgemacht. Er müsse am besten wissen, wann der geeignete Augenblick gekommen sei. In einem spätem Briefe spielte er den Verletzten. Schließlich erklärte mir Bangya, der Buchhändler weigere sich, das Manuscript zu drucken, und werde es zurückschicken. Er selbst verschwand nach Paris.

Die Berliner Briefe und Bangya's Briefe, die die ganzen Verhandlungen enthalten, nebst Rechtfertigungsversuchen Bangya's befinden sich in meiner Hand.

Aber warum machten mich die Verdächtigungen nicht irre, die die Emigration gegen Bangya ausgestreut hatte? Eben weil ich die „Vorgeschichte“ dieser Verdächtigungen kannte. Ich lasse diese Vorgeschichte für jetzt im gebührenden Dunkel.

Weil ich *wußte*, daß Bangya als Revolutionsofficier im ungarischen Kriege Rühmliches geleistet hat. Weil er mit Szemere, den ich achte, in Correspondes und mit General Perczel in freundschaftlicher Beziehung stand. WeD ich mit eigenen Augen ein Diplom sah, worin *Kossuth* ihn zu seinem Polizeipräsidenten in partibus ernennt, gegengezeichnet vom Grafen Szirmay, dem Vertrauten Kossuth's, der dasselbe Haus mit Bangya bewohnte. Diese seine Stellung bei Kossuth erklärte auch seinen nothwendigen Umgang mit Polizisten. Wenn ich nicht irre, ist Bangya noch in diesem Moment Kossuth's Agent in Paris.

Die Ungarischen Führer mußten ihren Mann kennen. Was riskirte ich im Vergleich mit ihnen? Nichts, als die Unterschlagung meiner Copie, von der ich das Original in der Hand behielt.

Später frag ich bei Buchhändler Lizius in Frankfurt a.M. und andern Buchhändlern in Deutschland an, ob sie das Manuscript drucken wollten. Sie erklärten es unter den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen für unmöglich. Jetzt hat sich in der letzten Zeit eine Aussicht eröffnet, es in einem nicht deutschen Lande gedruckt zu erhalten.

Nach diesen Aufschlüssen, die ich natürlich nicht Herrn Hirsch gebe, sondern meinen Landsleuten in Amerika, bleibt nicht „die offene Frage“:

Hirschs Selbstbekenntnisse

Welches Interesse hatte die preußische Polizei, ein Pamphlet gegen Kinkel,
Willich und die übrigen „großen Männer des Exils“ zu unterschlagen?

Löse mir, o Oerindur,
Diesen Zwiespalt der Natur!

London, den 9ten April 1853.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Achievements of the Ministry

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3753, 27. April 1853

Achievements of the Ministry.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, April 12, 1853.

The best thing perhaps that can be said in favor of the Coalition Ministry is that it represents impotency in power at a moment of transition, when not the reality, but only the appearance of government, is possible, with evanescent old parties and not yet consolidated new ones. 5

The "administration of all the talents," what has it accomplished during its first quarter's trial? Two readings of the Jewish Disabilities Bill and three of the Canada Clergy Reserves **Bin**. The latter enables the Canadian Legislature to dispose of a certain portion of the proceeds of the land-sales hitherto reserved exclusively for the benefit of the favorite churches of England and Scotland. When first laid before the House by Lord John Russell, it consisted of three clauses, the third clause repealing the enactment by which the consolidated fund was charged to supply the deficiency, if in any year the Canada land-sales could not produce £9,285. This bill had been carried through a second reading, but on the House going into Committee upon it (March 18) Lord John suddenly moved the withdrawal of his own third clause. Now, if the Canadian Legislature were to secularize the Clergy Reserves, about £10,000 per annum would be taken out of the pockets of the British people for the maintenance of a sect thousands of miles away. The Radical Minister, Sir W. Molesworth who disclaims all ecclesiastical endowments, appeared himself to have become a convert to Lord John's doctrine "that British Colonies were not to be freed from the incubus of the Established Church, except at the cost and risk of the British people at home." 10 15 20 25

Three Radical resolutions were proposed during the first quarter's trial. Mr. Collier moved the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts, Mr. Williams

the extension of the legacy and probate-duty to real property, and Mr. Hume the extinction of all "strictly protective" duties. The Ministry, of course, opposed all these "sweeping" reforms. But the Coalition Ministry opposes them in quite a different manner from the Tories. The latter resolutely

5 announced their decision to resist the "encroachments of Democracy." The former actually do the same, but do it under the pretence of attending to reform measures more carefully. They live on reforms, as the others lived on abuses. Apparently eagerly engaged in reforms they have contrived a perfect system of postponing them. One day it is "advisable to await the

10 result of an impending inquiry." Then "a Commission has just been appointed and nothing can be done till it has given its decisions." Again "the object is just under the consideration of the Government," who expect not to be interrupted in their lucubrations. Next, "the subject deserves the attention of the House—when a fitting opportunity shall occur." "The proper season

15 has not yet arrived." "The time is not far distant when something must be done." Particular measures must be postponed in order to readjust entire systems, or entire systems must be conserved in order to carry out particular measures. The "policy of abstention" proclaimed on the Eastern question is also the Ministerial policy at home.

20 When Lord John Russell first announced the programme of the Coalition Ministry, and when it was received amid general consternation, his adherents exclaimed, "We must have something to be enthusiastic at. Public education shall be the thing. Our Russell is breeding a wonderful Education scheme. You will hear of it."

25 Now we have heard of it. It was on the 4th of April that Russell gave a general description of this intended Educational Reform. Its principal features consist in enabling the municipal councils to levy a local rate for the assistance of *existing* schools in which the Church of England doctrines are required to be taught. As to the Universities, those pet-children of the State

30 Church, those chief opponents to every reform, Lord John hopes "that the Universities will reform themselves." The malversation of the charities destined for educational establishments is notorious. Their value may be guessed from the following: "There are 24 of £2,000 a year and under £3,000, 10 of £3,000 and under £4,000, 4 of £4,000 and under £5,000, 2 of £5,000 and

35 under £6,000, 3 of £8,000 and under £9,000, and single ones of £10,000, £15,000, £20,000, £29,000, £30,000 and £35,000 a year each." It needs no great sagacity to conceive why the oligarchs living on the malversation of these funds are very cautious in dealing with them. Russell proposes: "Charities are to be examined into, those under £30 per annum in the County Courts,

40 those above by the Master of the Rolls. But *no suit in* either of those Courts is to be instigated *without the permission of a Committee of the Council*

appointed for the purpose." The *permission* of a committee is necessary to institute a suit in the Imperial Courts to redress the plunder of the charities originally destined for the education of the people. A permission! But Russell, even with this reservation, feels not quite sure. He adds: "If the administration of a school is *found* to be corrupt, *nobody but the Committee of Council shall be allowed to interfere.*" 5

This is a true Reform in the old English sense of the word. It neither creates anything new, nor abolishes anything old. It aims at conserving the old system, by giving it a more reasonable form and teaching it, so to say, new manners. This is the mystery of the "hereditary wisdom" of English oligarchical legislation. It simply consists in making abuses hereditary, by refreshing them, as it were, from time to time, by an infusion of new blood. 10

If everybody must confess that the Jewish Disabilities Bill was a *little* attempt at establishing religious tolerance, the Canada Reserves Bill a *little* attempt at granting Colonial Self-Government, the Education Bill a *little* attempt at avoiding public education, Gladstone's financial scheme is, undoubtedly, a *mighty little* attempt at dealing with that giant monster, the National Debt of Great Britain. 15

On the 8th of April, before the promulgation of the budget, Mr. Gladstone laid before the House of Commons a statement of several resolutions dealing with the public debt, and, before this statement had been made, *The Morning Chronicle* had made a special announcement that resolutions of the utmost importance were about to be proposed, "heralded by rumors of great interest and magnitude." The funds rose on this rumor. There was an impression that Gladstone was going to pay off the National Debt; but on the 8th of April, the moment the Committee met for deliberation on these resolutions, Mr. Gladstone suddenly altered them, and in such a manner as to divest them both of "magnitude and interest." Now, let us ask, with Mr. Disraeli, "what was all this pother about?" 20 25 30

The ultimate aim of Mr. Gladstone's propositions, as stated by himself, was to reduce the interest on the public stocks to the standard rate of 2½ per cent. Now, in the years 1822-23-24-25, 1830-31, 1844-45, reductions were made from 5 per cent, to 4½ per cent., from 4½, to 4 per cent., from 4 to 3½ per cent, from 3½ to 3 per cent, respectively. Why should there not be a reduction from 3 per cent, to 2½ per cent? Mr. Gladstone's proposals are as follows: 35

Firstly. With respect to various stocks amounting to £9,500,000, and chiefly connected with the old South Sea bubble, to bring them under one single denomination, and to reduce them compulsorily from 3 to 2½ per cent. This would give a permanent annual saving approaching to £25,000. The 40

invention of a new common name for various stocks, and the saving of £25,000 on an annual expense of £30,000,000, is certainly not to be boasted of.

Secondly. He proposes the issue of a new financial paper called *Exchequer*
 5 *Bonds*, not exceeding in amount £30,000,000, transferable by simple delivery without costs of any kind, bearing interest at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, up to Sept. 1, 1864, and then 2V2 per cent, up to Sept. 1, 1894. Now this is merely the creation of a new financial instrument limited in its use by the wants of the monied and mercantile classes. But how can he keep £18,000,000 of Exchequer Bills
 10 at IV2 per cent, in circulation, with Exchequer Bonds at 27, per cent.? And is it not a loss to the country to pay 1 per cent, more upon Exchequer Bonds than upon Exchequer Bills? Be this as it may, this second proposition has at least nothing to do with the reduction of the public debt.

Thirdly and lastly. We come to the chief object, the only important point
 15 of Gladstone's resolutions, to the 3 per cent. Consols and the 3 per cent. Reduced, amounting together to a capital of nearly £500,000,000. *Hic Rhodus hie salta!* As there exists a Parliamentary provision forbidding these stocks to be reduced compulsorily, *except on twelve months notice*, Mr. Gladstone chooses the system of voluntary commutation, offering various alternatives
 20 to the holders of the 3 per cent. Stocks for exchanging them at option with other stocks to be created under his resolutions. They are to have the option of exchanging every £100 of the 3 per cent. Stock in one of the following ways:

1. They may exchange every £100 of 3 per cent. Stock for an Exchequer
 25 Bond of the like amount, bearing interest at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, until 1864, and then at the rate of 27, per cent, until 1894. If the whole of the £30,000,000 Exchequer Bonds at 2V2 per cent, should thus replace £30,000,000 of 3 per cent, there would be a saving in the first ten years of £75,000, and after the first ten years of £150,000-together £225,000; but
 30 Government would be bound to repay the whole of the £30,000,000. In any case this is not a proposition to deal largely with the public debt.

2. The second proposal is, that the holders of stock shall obtain for every
 £100 in 3 per cent. £82 10s. in new stock at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which shall be paid
 35 at the rate of 3V2 per cent, until the 5th January, 1894. The result of this would be to give á present income to the persons accepting the 3V2 per cent, stock of £2 17s. 9d., instead of £3. Here then is a reduction of 2s. 3d. annually in every £100. If the £500,000,000 were all converted upon this proposal, the result would be that instead of paying as at present £15,000,000 a-year, the nation would only pay £14,437,500, and this would be a gain of £562,500
 40 a-year. But for this small saving of £562,500 Parliament would tie up its hands for half a century and guaranty a higher interest than $2\frac{1}{8}$ per cent, at a time

of transition and of utter uncertainty as to the future standard rate of interest. On the other hand, one thing at least would be gained for Mr. Gladstone. At the expiration of 40 years, he would not be troubled with a 3 per cent, stock, being defended, as now, by a twelve-months' notice. He would only have to deal with the 3½ per cent, stock redeemable at par by Parliament. Gladstone proposes not to fix any limit on his 3½ per cent, stock. 5

3. The third proposal is that the holders of every £100 3 per cent, should receive £110 in a new stock of 2½ per cent, until 1894. When Mr. Gladstone introduced his plan in the House of Commons on the 8th April, he had not limited the amount (the 2½ per cents.) to be issued. But Mr. Disraeli having 10 pointed out that, contrasting this proposal with the two other modes proposed, every man in his senses would choose the conversion of £100 into 2½ per cents., and that by the conversion of the whole £500,000,000 3 per cents, into the new stock, the country would gain on one side £1,250,000 per annum, but be saddled on the other side with an addition to the capital of 15 the public debt of £50,000,000. Mr. Gladstone on the following day altered this proposition and proposed to limit this new 2½ stock to £30,000,000. By this alteration the whole of the third proposal loses its significance with respect to the public debt. The capital of that debt would be augmented only 20 by £3,000,000.

Here you have "one of the most important and gigantic financial proposals that has ever been brought forward." There exists perhaps in general no greater humbug than the so-called Finance. The most simple operations on the Budget and the Public Debt are clothed by the adepts of that occult science 25 in an abstruse terminology, concealing the trivial manoeuvres of creating various denominations of Stocks—the commutation of old stocks into new ones, the diminishing the interest and raising the nominal capital, the raising the interest and reducing the capital, the installing of premiums, of bonus, priority-shares, the distinctions between redeemable and irredeemable annuities, the artificial graduation in the facility of transferring the various de- 30 scriptions of paper—in a manner which quite bamboozles the public with these detestable stock-jobbing scholastics and frightful complexity of details, while the usurers obtain with every such new scheme an eagerly seized opportunity for developing their mischievous and predatory activity. On the other hand, the political economist finds in all this apparent intricacy of 35 commutations, permutations and combinations, not so much a matter of financial policy as a simple question of arithmetic or of mere phraseology.

Mr. Gladstone is certainly a master in this sort of financial alchemy, and his scheme cannot be better characterized, than in the words of Mr. Disraeli: 40 "More complicated and ingenious machinery, to produce so slight a result, appeared to him never to have been devised by the subtlety and genius of

the most skilful casuist. In St. Thomas Aquinas there was a chapter that speculated upon the question of how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. It was one of the rarest productions of human genius; and he recognised in these resolutions something of that master mind."

5 You will remember that I stated that the end of Mr. Gladstone's plan was the establishment of a "normal" 2½ per cent, stock. Now, in order to achieve this end, he creates a very limited 2½ per cent, stock and an unlimited 3½ per cent, stock. In order to create his small 2½ per cent, stock, he reduces the interest by ½ per cent., and gives on the other hand a bonus of 10 per cent.
10 for the purpose of accomplishing that reduction. In order to rid himself of the difficulty of the 3 per cent., being "defended" by a twelve-months notice, he prefers legislating for the 40 years next to come, and in conclusion he would, if successful, bereave two generations of all possible fortunate chances in their financial affairs.

15 The position of the Coalition Ministry in the House, is clearly shown by the statistics of votes. On the question of Maynooth in a large House, it had but the narrow majority of 30. On the Jewish Disabilities bill, (not yet carried through the third reading,) in a House of 439 members, its majority amounted not even to 30 votes. In the Canada Reserves bill, when Russell withdrew
20 his own third clause, the Ministers were saved by the Tories from their own supporters. Their majority was almost entirely supplied from the benches of the Conservatives.

I shall not dwell on the internal dissensions of the Cabinet, which appeared in the debates on the Canada bill, in the hot controversy of the ministerial
25 papers with regard to the Income-Tax, and above all, in their foreign policy. There is not one single question to which the Coalition-Ministry might not answer, as did Gaysa, the Magyar king, who, after having been converted to Christianity, continued, notwithstanding, to observe the rites of his ancient superstition. When questioned to which of the two faiths he really belonged,
30 he replied: "I am rich enough to belong to two sorts of faith."

Karl Marx.



Karl Marx

The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies

The People's Paper.
Nr. 50, 16. April 1853

The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies.

Our readers know, to their cost, and have learned, to the tune of their pockets, that an old financial juggle has imposed a National Debt of £800,000,000 on the people's shoulders. That Debt was chiefly contracted to prevent the liberation of the American colonies, and to counteract the French Revolution of the last century. The influence of the increase of the National Debt on the increase of the national expenditure, may be gathered from the following tabular analysis:—

1. *National Debt.* 10

| | £. | |
|--|---------------|----|
| When Queen Anne succeeded to William (1702) | 16,394,702 | |
| When George I. ascended the Throne (1714) | 54,145,363 | |
| When George II. began his Reign (1727) | 52,092,235 | |
| When George III. assumed the reins of Government (1760) | 146,682,844 | 15 |
| After the American War (1784) | 257,213,043 | |
| At the end of the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 579,931,447 | |
| In January, 1810 (during the Napoleonic War) | 811,898,082 | |
| After 1815 about | 1,000,000,000 | 20 |

2. *National Expenditure.*

| | | |
|--|------------|----|
| When Queen Anne succeeded to William (1702), all expenses, including the interest of the National Debt amounted to | 5,610,987 | |
| When George I. ascended the Throne (1714) | 6,633,581 | 25 |
| When George II. began his Reign (1727) | 5,441,248 | |
| When George III. assumed the reins of power (1760) | 24,456,940 | |
| At the end of the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 61,278,018 | |

3. *National Taxation.*

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| | Queen Anne (1702) | 4,212,358 |
| | George I. (1714) | 6,762,643 |
| | George II. (1727) | 6,522,540 |
| 5 | George III. (1760) | 8,744,682 |
| | After the American War (1784) | 13,300,921 |
| | After the Anti-Jacobin War (1801) | 36,728,971 |
| | 1809 | 70,240,226 |
| | After 1815 | about 82,000,000 |

10 The People well know, from personal pocket-experience, what is the weight of taxation resulting from the National Debt—but many are not aware of the peculiar forms under which this Debt has been contracted, and actually exists. The "State," that jointocracy of coalesced land and money mongers, wants money for the purpose of home and foreign oppression. It borrows
 15 money of capitalists and usurers, and in return gives them a bit of paper, pledging itself to pay them so much money in the shape of interest for each £100 they lend. The means of paying this money it tears from the working classes through the means of taxation—so that the people are the security for their oppressors to the men who lend them the money to cut the people's
 20 throats. This money has been borrowed as a debt under various denominations—sometimes to pay 3 per cent., 372 per cent., 4 per cent., etc., and according to that percentage and other accidents the funds have various denominations, as the 3 per cents., etc.

Every Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the exception of the Whigs, as
 25 not only the working classes, but the manufacturers and landlords also, have to pay a portion of this interest, and wish to pay as little as possible, tries accordingly, in some way or other, to alleviate the pressure of this incubus.

On the 8th of April, before the Budget of the present Ministry was brought forward, Mr. Gladstone laid before the House a statement of several resolu-
 30 tions dealing with the Public Debt—and before this statement had been made the "Morning Chronicle" announced that resolutions of the utmost importance were to be proposed, "heralded by rumours of great interest and magnitude." The funds rose on these rumours; there was an impression that Gladstone was going to pay off the National Debt. Now, "what was all this
 35 bother about?"

The ultimate aim of Mr. Gladstone's proposals, as stated by himself, was to reduce the interest on the various public stocks to 2½ per cent. Now, in the years 1822-3, 1824-5, 1830-1, 1844-5, there had been reductions, from 5 per cent, to 4½, from 4½ to 4, from 4 to 3½» from 3½ to 3, respectively.
 40 Why should there not be a reduction from 3 to 2½?

Now, let us see in what manner Mr. Gladstone proposes to achieve this end.

Firstly. He proposes with respect to certain stocks amounting to £9,500,000, chiefly connected with the old South Sea Bubble, to bring them under one single denomination, and to reduce them compulsorily from 3 per cent, to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. This gives a permanent annual saving approaching to £25,000. The invention of a new general name of various stocks, and the saving of £25,000 on an annual expense £30,000,000, does not merit any particular admiration. 5

Secondly. He proposes to issue a new financial paper, called Exchequer-Bonds, not exceeding the amount of £30,000,000, transferable by simple delivery, without cost of any kind, bearing interest at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., up to the 1st of September, 1864, and then 2V2 per cent, up to the 1st of September, 1894. Now this is simply the creation of a new financial instrument for the comfort of the monied and mercantile class. He says "without cost," that is, without cost to the City Merchant. At the present moment there are £18,000,000 of Exchequer Bills at IV2 per cent. Is it not a loss to the country to pay 1 per cent, more upon the Exchequer *Bonds* than upon the Exchequer Bills? At all events the second proposition has nothing to do with the reduction of the National Debt. The Exchequer *Bills* can circulate only in Great Britain, but the Exchequer *Bonds* are transferable as common Bills, therefore it is a mere measure of Convenience to the City Merchants, for which the people pay a high price. 10 15 20

Now, finally, we come to the only important matter—to the 3 per cent, consols, and the "3 per cent, reduced," amounting together to a capital of nearly £500,000,000. As there exists a Parliamentary provision forbidding these stocks to be reduced compulsorily, except on twelve months notice, Mr. Gladstone chooses the system of voluntary commutation, offering various alternatives to the holders of the 3 per cent, stock for exchanging them at option with other stocks to be created under his resolutions. The holders of the 3 per cent, stocks shall have the option of exchanging each £100 3 per cent, in one of the three following forms:— 25 30

1.—Semi-Exchange, every £100 of the 3 per cent, with an Exchequer bond for the like amount carrying interest at the rate of £2 15 s. until 1864, and then at the rate of £2 10s. until 1894. If the whole of the £30,000,000 of Exchequer bonds at 27, per cent, replaced £30,000,000 of 3 per cents., there would be a saving in the first ten years of £75,000; and after the first ten years of £150,000; together £225,000; but the Government would be bound to repay the whole of the £30,000,000, after forty years. In no respect is this a proposition dealing largely, or even at all, with the National Debt. For what is a saving of £225,000 in an annual expense of £30,000,000? 35 40

2.—The second proposal is, that the holders of stock shall retain for every £100 in 3 per cents., £82 10s. in new stock of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which would be paid at the rate of £3 10s. per cent, until the 5th of January, 1894. The result of that would be to give a present income to the persons accepting the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, stock, of £2 17s. 9d., instead of £3—reduction of 2s. 3d. on the interest of every £100. If the £500,000,000 were all converted under this proposal, the result would be that, instead of paying, as at present, £15,000,000 per annum, the nation would only pay £14,437,500, and this would be a gain of £562,500 a year. But for this saving of £500,000 Parliament would tie up its hands for half a century, and grant higher interest than $2\frac{4}{5}$ per cent, at a time of transition and of utter insecurity of every rate of interest! One thing, however, would be gained for Gladstone—at the expiration of forty years there would be, in the place of the 3 per cent, stock being now *defended* by twelve months' notice, a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, stock redeemable at par by parliament. Gladstone proposes not to fix any limit on that $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, stock.

3.—The third proposal is, that the holders of every £100 3 per cent, shall receive £110 in a new stock of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, until 1894. When Mr. Gladstone first introduced his plan in the House of Commons, on the 8th of April, he had not limited the amount of the new $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to be issued, but Mr. Disraeli having pointed out that, contrasting this proposal with the two other ones, every man in his senses would choose the conversion of £100 3 per cent, into £110 $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and that by the conversion of the £500,000,000 3 per cent, into the new stock, the nation would gain on one side, £1,250,000 per annum, but be saddled on the other hand with an addition to the Public Debt of £50,000,000, Mr. Gladstone, on the following day, altered his proposition, and proposed to limit the new $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, stock to £30,000,000. By this limitation, his proposal loses almost all effect on the great stock of the Public Debt, and augments its capital only by £3,000,000.

Now you know "one of the most important and gigantic financial proposals that ever has been brought forward." There exists, perhaps, in general, no greater humbug than the so-called finance. The simplest operations relating to the Budget and the Public Debt, are clothed by the adepts of that "occult science" in abstruse terminology, concealing the trivial manœuvres of creating various denominations of stocks, the commutation of old stocks for new ones, the diminishing the interest, and raising the nominal capital—the raising the interest and reducing the capital, the instalment of premiums, bonuses, priority shares—the distinction between redeemable and irredeemable annuities—the artificial graduation in the facility of transferring the various papers—in such a manner that the public understanding is quite bamboozled by these detestable stock-jobbing scholastics and the frightful complexity in details; while with every such new financial operation the users obtain

an eagerly-seized opportunity for developing their mischievous and predatory activity. Mr. Gladstone is, without any doubt, a master in this sort of financial alchemy, and this proposal cannot be better characterised than by the words of Mr. Disraeli:—

"More complicated and ingenious machinery to produce so slight a result, appeared to him never to have been devised by the subtlety and genius of the most skilful casuist. In Saint Thomas Aquinas there was a chapter that speculated upon the question of how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. It was one of the rarest productions of human genius; and he recognised in these resolutions something of that master mind." 5 10

You will remember that we have stated that the ultimate end of Gladstone's plan was the establishment of a "normal" 2½ per cent. fund. Now, in order to achieve this end, he creates a very limited 2½ per cent. fund, and an illimited 3½ per cent. stock. In order to create his limited 2½ per cent. stock, he reduces the interest by a half per cent., and augments the capital by a bonus of 10 per cent. In order to rid himself of the difficulty of all legislation on the 3 per cents, being defended by twelve months' notice, he prefers legislating for half a century to come; in conclusion, he would, if successful, cut off all chance of financial liberation for half a century from the British people. 15 20

Every one will confess, that if the Jewish Disabilities Bill was a little attempt at establishing religious tolerance—the Canada Reserves Bill a little attempt at granting colonial self-government—the Education Resolution a little attempt at avoiding National Education—Gladstone's financial scheme is a mighty little attempt at dealing with that giant-monster, the National Debt 25 of Britain.

C M .

Karl Marx

Feargus O'Connor—Ministerial Defeats—The Budget

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3758, 3. Mai 1853

Feargus O'Connor—Ministerial Defeats— The Budget.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, April 19, 1853.

5 The Commission which met last week to examine into the state of mind of
Feargus O'Connor, late M.P. for Nottingham, returned the following verdict:
"We find that Mr. Feargus O'Connor has been insane since the 10th of June,
1852, without any lucid intervals."

As a political character O'Connor had outlived himself already in 1848.

10 His strength was broken, his mission fulfilled, and unable to master the
proletarian movement organised by himself, he had grown almost a
hindrance to it. If historical impartiality oblige me not to conceal this cir-
cumstance, it also obliges me in justice to the fallen man, to lay before the
same public, the judgment given on O'Connor, by Ernest Jones, in *The*
15 *People's Paper*:

"Here was a man who broke away from rank, wealth, and station; who
threw up a lucrative and successful practice; who dissipated a large fortune,
not in private self-denial, but in political self-sacrifice; who made himself
an eternal exile from his own country, where he owned broad acres and
20 represented one of its largest Counties ; who was hated by his family because
he loved the human race; whose every act was devotion to the people; and
who ends almost destitute after a career of unexampled labor.... There is
his life. Now look at his work: At a time of utter prostration, of disunion,
doubt and misery, he gathered the millions of this country together, as men
25 had never yet been gathered. O'Connell rallied the Irish, but it was with the
help of the priests; Mazzini roused the Italians, but nobles and traders were
on his side; Kossuth gathered the Hungarians, but Senates and armies were

at his back; and both the Hungarians and Italians were burning against a foreign conqueror. But O'Connor, without noble, priest or trader, rallied and upheld one downtrodden class against them all! without even the leverage of national feeling to unite them! La Fayette had the merchants, Lamartine had the shopkeepers. O'Connor had the people! But the people in the nine- 5
teenth century, in Constitutional England, are the weakest of all. He taught them how to become the strongest."

Last week was a week of defeats for the Coalition Cabinet. It met for the first time with a Coalition Opposition. On Tuesday the 12th inst., Mr. Butt moved to maintain for the Irish soldiers the Asylum of Kilmainham Hospital. 10
The Secretary at War opposed the motion; but it was carried against the Government by 198 against 131. On this occasion it was beaten by a Coalition of the Irish Brigade with the Conservative Opposition. On the following Thursday it was defeated by a Coalition of the Conservatives and the Manchester school. Mr. Milner Gibson having brought in his yearly motion 15
for the abolition of the "Taxes on Knowledge," the repeal of the Advertisement Duty was voted, notwithstanding the protestations of Gladstone, Russell and Sidney. They lost, by 200 against 169. Bright, Gibson and MacGregor voted side by side with Disraeli, Pakington, etc., and Mr. Cobden made the formal declaration, "that he accepted the assistance of Mr. Disraeli 20
and his friends with all his heart." But by far the greatest defeat the Government has sustained was brought upon it, not by a division in the House, but by an act of its own.

Of the Kossuth rocket affair full particulars will already have reached the readers of *The Tribune*, but in order to prove that the whole of it was a 25
premeditated affair between Palmerston and the Foreign Powers, it is merely necessary to state what his own official journal, *The Morning Post*, contains with regard to the occurrence:

"The promptitude and vigilance of the course adopted by Government will give confidence to those foreign powers who have doubted the efficacy of 30
our laws in repressing mischief among our troublesome guests."

This business will have its serious consequences for the Coalition Ministry. Already, and this is of great significance, it has demasked old Palmerston's revolutionary dandyism. Even his most credulous but honest admirer, *The Morning Advertiser*, openly disavows him. Palmerston's star began to pale 35
at the time when he bestowed his sympathies on the hero of the 2d December and of the plain of Satory; it has vanished, since he became professedly an "Austrian Minister." But, the mission of the Coalition Ministry is precisely the demoralization of all the current talents and *renommées* of the old Oligarchy. And this problem it is resolving with an admirable perseverance. 40
Should Palmerston's Ministry survive this catastrophe, then he may indeed,



with a slight alteration of the saying of Francis I, jocosely proclaim "Nothing is lost except honor."

I come now to the event of the day—Mr. Gladstone's budget—laid before the House of Commons in its yesterday's sitting, in a speech which occupied
5 no less than five hours. It is a Coalition-Budget, elaborated in an encyclopedical manner, exceedingly fitted for an article in *Ersch & Gruber's* voluminous Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. You know that the era of encyclopedists arrives always when facts have become bulky, and genius remains proportionably small.

10 In every budget the principal question is the relation between income and expenditure, the balance in the shape of a surplus or a deficiency prescribing the general conditions of either a relaxation or an increase to be established in the taxation of the country. Mr. Disraeli had estimated the revenue for the year 1852-53 at £52,325,000, and the expenditure at £51,163,000. Now,
15 Mr. Gladstone informs us that the actual revenue has been £53,089,000, and the real expenditure only £50,782,000. These features show an actual surplus of income over expenditure amounting to £2,460,000. Thus far, Mr. Gladstone would seem to have improved Mr. Disraeli. The latter could only boast of a surplus of £1,600,000; Gladstone comes with a saving of £2,460,000.
20 Unfortunately, unlike Disraeli's surplus, that of Mr. Gladstone, on nearer examination, dwindles down to the moderate amount of £700,000, the millions having already found their way out of his pocket by various votes of the House of Commons and other extraordinary expenditure; and, as Mr. Gladstone cautiously adds: "It must be remembered that £220,000, out
25 of the £700,000, is derived from occasional and not permanent sources of income." Then, the only basis of operations left to Mr. Gladstone is a surplus of £480,000. Accordingly any proposed remission of old taxes beyond this amount has to be balanced by the imposition of new ones.

Mr. Gladstone opened his speech with the "*question brûlante*" of the
30 Income Tax. He said that it was possible to part with that tax at once, but that the Government were not prepared to recommend its immediate abandonment. The first thing to which he called attention was, that "we draw from this tax £5,500,000." Next he attempted a "brilliant" vindication of the effects of this tax, on the history of which he expended a good deal of breath. "The
35 Income Tax" he remarked, "has served in a time of vital struggle to enable you to raise the income of the country above its expenditure for war and civil government ... If you do not destroy the efficacy of this engine, it affords you the means, should unhappily hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000 men, and your fleet to 100,000, with all
40 your establishments in proportion." Further Mr. Gladstone observed, that the Income Tax had not only served in carrying on the Anti-Jacobin war,

but also the free trade policy of Sir Robert Peel. After this apologetic introduction we are suddenly startled by the announcement that "the Income Tax is full of irregularities." In fact, Mr. Gladstone admits, that in order to preserve the tax, it must be reconstructed so as to avoid its present inequalities ; but that in order to remove these inequalities, you must break up 5 the whole set. Strangely contradicting himself, he is afterwards at great pains to show that there exists no such inequalities at all, and that they are merely imaginary. As to the question of realized and precarious incomes, he reduces it to a question of "land and of trade," and tries to persuade people, through some awkward calculations, that land actually pays 9d. in the pound, while 10 trade only pays *Id*. He then adds: "that the assessment on land and houses does not depend on the returns of the owners, whereas in trade the returns of income are made by the holders themselves, and in many cases in a fraudulent manner." With regard to fundholders, Mr. Gladstone asserts that to tax the capitalised value of their income, would be a gross breach of the 15 public faith. Any distinction, in short, between realized or precarious income, as proposed by Mr. Disraeli, is flatly rejected by Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand he is ready to extend the Income-Tax to Ireland, and an income above £100, the limit of its area having hitherto been at £150 a year. Quite inconsistently, however, with his just pronounced doctrine, that "it is impossible 20 to distinguish between the respective value of intelligence, labor and property, and to represent these relations in arithmetical results," he proposes to subject incomes between £100 and £150 to a rate of only 5d. in the pound. Lastly, in order to reconcile his admiration for the Income-Tax, with the avowed necessity of its abolition, Mr. Gladstone proposes "to renew the 25 tax for two years, from April, 1853, at 7d. in the pound; for two years more, from April, 1855, at the rate of 6d. in the pound; and for three years more, from April, 1857, at the rate of 5d. in the pound; under which proposal the tax would expire on 5th April, 1860."

Having thus conferred, what he imagines to be a boon on the landed 30 aristocracy and the fundholders, by his refusal to acknowledge the principle of distinction between realized and precarious incomes, Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, is careful to hold out a similar bait to the Manchester School by the adjustment of the legacy duty, extending it to all kinds of property, but declining to deal with the probates. "I have no doubt," he remarked, "that 35 this tax, if adjusted by the House, will add £500,000 more to our permanent means in 1853-54; will add £700,000 more in 1854-'55; £400,000 in 1855-56; and £400,000 more in 1856-'57; making a total addition to the permanent means of the country of £2,000,000." Respecting Scotland, Mr. Gladstone proposed, that 1s. should be added to the present Spirits' Duty 40 of 3s. 8d. (The gain would be £318,000), and also an increased impost on the

Feargus O'Connor—Ministerial Defeats—The Budget

licenses of tea-dealers, brewers, malsters, tobacco-manufacturers and dealers, and soap-boilers.

The whole amount of the increased taxes available for the year 1853—'54 would thus be:

| | | |
|----|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 5 | Upon the Income Tax | f 295,000 |
| | Upon the Legacy Duty | 500,000 |
| | Upon Spirits | 436,000 |
| | Upon Licenses | 113,000 |
| | Total | £1,344,000 |
| 10 | Which with the surplus of | <u>805,000</u> |
| | Would give us for the remission of | |
| | taxes a sum amounting to | £2,149,000 |

Now, what are the propositions of Mr. Gladstone with respect to the remission of old taxes? I shall restrain myself, of course, from entering too
15 deeply into this labyrinth. It cannot be fathomed in a moment. Accordingly I shall touch merely on the principal points, which are:

1. The abolition of the duty on Soap, the gross amount of which is actually £1,397,000.

2. Gradual reduction of the duties on Tea, when the descent from 2s.
20 2'**4d.** to 1s. is to be brought about in about three years.

3. Remission of the duties upon a large number of minor articles.

4. Relaxation of the £4,000,000 owed by Ireland in the shape of Consolidated Annuities.

5. Reduction of the Attorney's Certificate Duty by one-half, according to
25 the motion of Lord R. Grosvenor, which abolished the whole.

6. Reduction of the Advertisement Duty to 6d., according to the motion of Mr. Gibson (the House having, however, already noted its entire abolition).

Lastly:

30 7. Abolition of the Stamp Duty on Newspaper Supplements (a huge *pièce de réjouissance* for *The Times*, the only paper issuing Supplements).

These are, in short, the principal features of the budget which Mr. Gladstone has been hatching now for more than four months. The debate in the House of Commons, fixed for Monday next, will afford me the opportunity
35 of further commenting upon that coalition product.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Riot at Constantinople—German Table Moving—
The Budget

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3761, 6. Mai 1853

**Riot at Constantinople-
German Table Moving—
The Budget.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, April 22, 1853. 5

A telegraphic dispatch has been received to the effect that on the 12th inst. there was a great tumult at Constantinople and the vicinity, fifteen Christians having been killed or wounded by the fanatic Turkish mob. "Order was immediately restored by means of the military force."

Another dispatch from Copenhagen states that the Chamber or Volksting 10 has rejected the ministerial message on the proposed succession of the Danish Crown. This we may consider as an important check to the diplomacy of Russia, whose interests the message represented, according to the London protocol acknowledging Russia as ultimate heir of the Danish kingdom.

From the Hague we learn that an agitation similar to that which visited 15 England two years ago in the shape of "Roman Catholic aggression," has now taken hold of the Netherlands, and led to the formation of an ultra-Protestant ministry. Concerning Germany, or rather that portion of it formerly known under the name of the Empire, nothing can be more significant of the present state of mind prevailing through the educated middle-class 20 than a declaration of the editor of *The Frankfort Journal*, under date of April 20. For the edification of your readers I give you a translation of it:

"The communications we receive by every post, on the subject of table-moving (*Tisch-Rücken*) are assuming an extent to which, since the memor- 25 able 'Song on the Rhine,' by Nie. Becker, and the first days of the revolution of March, 1848, we have seen nothing equal. Satisfactory as these com-

munications are, since they prove better than any political *raisonnement*, in what *harmless and innocent* times we again find ourselves, we regret that we cannot take further notice of them, fearing that they might entirely overwhelm our readers and ourselves, and absorb in the end all the space
5 of this journal."

"*An Englishman*" has addressed a letter to *The Times*, and Lord Palmerston, on the latest Kossuth affair, at the conclusion of which he says:

"When the Coalition-Cabinet is gathered to its fathers, or its uncles, or grandfathers, we would delicately hint to the noble lord a new edition of *Joe*
10 *Miller*. In fact we opine we shall hear no more of Joe. Palmerston will be the word. It is long. That is a fault. We believe, however, it has already been improved into the Anglo-Saxon *Pam*. This will suit verse as well as prose, and rhyme with 'sham, flam, and cram'."

In my letter of Tuesday last I gave you a rough sketch of Mr. Gladstone's
15 budget. I have now before me an official publication, filling 50 pages in folio : "The Resolutions to be proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer," and "An expository Statement to accompany the Resolutions," but I shall only touch on those details which would be of interest to foreign readers in the event of their becoming the law of Great Britain.

20 The most important resolutions are those concerning the Customs. There is a proposal to abolish the duties on 123 minor articles, yielding about £55,000 per annum, and including all furniture woods with four exceptions, as well as fixtures and frames, bricks and tiles. There is to be a reduction, firstly, on the tea duties from 2s. 2V4d. to 1s. 10d. till 5th April, 1854; secondly, on
25 12 articles of food. The present duty on almonds is to be reduced to 2s. 2d. per cwt.; upon cheese from 5s. to 2s. 6d. per cwt; on cocoa from 2d. to 1d. per lb. ; on nuts from 2s. to 1 s. per bushel ; on eggs from 10d. to 4d. a hundred ; on oranges and lemons to 8d. a bushel; on butter from 10s. to 5s. per cwt.; on raisins from 15s. 9d. to 10s. per cwt.; and on apples from 2s. to 3d. per
30 bushel. The whole of these articles yield, at present, a revenue of £262,000. There is, in the third place, to be a reduction on 133 articles of food, yielding a revenue of £70,000. Besides, a simplification is to be applied on a number of articles by the levy of specific instead of *ad valorem* duties.

As to the Excise, I have already stated the proposed abolition of the soap
35 tax, and the increase in the scale of licenses to brewers and dealers in tea, coffee, tobacco and soap.

As to the Stamps, besides the reduction on attorneys' certificates, and in the advertisement duty, there is to be a reduction of the duty on life assurances, on receipt stamps, on indentures of apprenticeship, and on hackney
40 carriages.

As to Assessed taxes, there is to be a reduction of the taxes on men-ser-

vants, private carriages, horses, ponies, and dogs, and a reduction of $\Pi'/\Sigma P^{\wedge} \Gamma$ cent, in the charge for redemption of land tax.

As to the Post-Office, there is to be a reduction of colonial postages to a uniform rate of 6d.

A general feature of the budget deserving note, is the circumstance of most of its provisions having been forced on the Coalition Ministry, after an obstinate opposition to them in the course of the present session. 5

Mr. Gladstone proposes *now* to extend the legacy duty to real property; but on the 1st of March he still opposed Mr. Williams's motion, that real property should be made to pay the "same probate and legacy duties as are now payable on personal property!" He affirmed on that occasion, as the Tory journals do at this very moment, that the exemption was only apparent, and counterbalanced by other duties peculiar to real property. It is equally true, that on the same 1st of March, Mr. Williams threatened Mr. Gladstone with "being replaced by Mr. Disraeli, if he were not to give way on that point." 10 15

Mr. Gladstone proposes *now* to abolish or reduce the protective duties on about 268 minor articles; but on the 3d of March he still opposed Mr. Hume's motion, of "speedily repealing the strictly protective duties on about 285 articles." It is also true that Mr. Disraeli declared on that day that "we could not cling to the rags and tatters of the Protective System." 20

Mr. Gladstone proposes *now* to reduce the advertisement duty by one half; but only four days before he brought out his Budget he opposed Mr. Milner Gibson's motion, to repeal that duty. It is true that he was defeated by a division of the House. 25

It would be easy to augment this enumeration of concessions made by the Coalition ministry, to the Manchester school. What do these concessions prove? That the industrial bourgeoisie, weakly represented as it is in the House, are yet the real masters of the situation, and that every Government, whether Whig, Tory, or Coalition, can only keep itself in office, and the bourgeoisie out of office, by doing for them their preliminary work. Go through the records of British legislation since 1825, and you will find that the bourgeoisie is only resisted politically by concession after concession financially. What the Oligarchy fail to comprehend, is the simple fact that political power is but the offspring of commercial power, and that the class to which they are compelled to yield the latter, will necessarily conquer the former also. Louis XIV. himself, when legislating through Colbert in the interest of the manufacturers, was only preparing the revolution of 1789, when his "*l'état c'est moi*" was answered by Sieyès with "*le tiers état est tout.*" 30 35 40

Another very striking feature of the budget is the strict adoption of the

policy of Mr. Disraeli, "that reckless adventurer" who dared to affirm in the House that the necessary result of commercial free-trade was a financial revolution, that is to say, the gradual commutation of indirect into direct taxation. Indeed, what does Mr. Gladstone propose? He strengthens and
5 extends the system of direct taxation, in order to weaken and to contract the system of indirect taxation.

On the one side he renews the income-tax unaltered for seven years. He extends it to a whole people, to the Irish. He extends it by copying Mr. Disraeli, to a whole class, to the holders of incomes from £100 to £150. He
10 accepts, partially, the extension of the house-tax, proposed by Mr. Disraeli, giving it the name of an altered license-tax and raising the charge for licenses in proportion to the size of the premises. Lastly, he augments direct taxation by £2,000,000, by subjecting real property to the legacy duty, which was also promised by Mr. Disraeli.

15 On the other side he attacks indirect taxation under the two forms of Customs and of Excise; in the former by adopting Disraeli's reduction of the tea duties, or by abolishing, reducing, or simplifying the customs duties on 286 articles; in the latter by entirely abanshing the soap-tax.

The only difference between his budget and that of his predecessor is this,
20 that the one was the author, and that the other is the plagiarist; that Disraeli removed the excise-duties in favor of the land-interest, and that Gladstone removes them in favor of the town-interest; that Disraeli proclaimed the principle, but was forced by his exceptional position to falsify the practice, while Gladstone, opposed to the principle, is enabled by his coalition character
25 to carry details through a series of compromises.

What will be the probable fate of the Coalition budget, and what will be the probable attitude assumed by the respective parties?

There are, in general, but three points on which the battle can be fought—the Income-Tax, the Legacy-Duty, and Ireland.

30 The Manchester school has pledged itself to oppose any prolongation of that "horrid inequality," the present Income-Tax. The oracle of Printing-house-square, *The Times*, has thundered for ten years against that same "monstrosity," and the public prejudice of Great Britain in general has doomed the present system of charging equally all descriptions of income.

35 But on this one point Mr. Gladstone repudiates compromise. As Mr. Disraeli, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to modify the Income-Tax by establishing a distinction between precarious revenues and realized property, charging the former with 5d. and the latter with *1*¹/₂ in the pound, the Income-Tax would seem to become the rallying point for the common opposition of
40 the Conservatives, the Manchester school and the "general opinion" represented by *The Times*.

But will the Manchester men redeem their pledge? This is very doubtful. They are in the commercial habit of pocketing the present profits, and of letting principles shift for themselves. And the present profits offered by Mr. Gladstone's budget are by no means contemptible. Already the tone of the Manchester organs has become very moderate and very conciliatory with regard to the Income Tax. They begin to comfort themselves with the prospect held out by Mr. Gladstone, that "the whole Income Tax shall expire in seven years," forgetting at the opportune moment that, when the late Sir Robert Peel introduced it in 1842, he promised its expiration by the year 1845, and that the extension of a tax is a very awkward way toward its ulterior extinction.

As to *The Times*, that is the only journal which will profit by Mr. Gladstone's proposal of abolishing the stamp on newspaper supplements. It has to pay for double supplements every day that it publishes them during the week 40,000 pence, or £166 13s. The whole of the 40,000d. remitted by Mr. Gladstone will go into its coffers. We can then conceive that the Cerberus will be soothed down into a lamb, without Mr. Gladstone being metamorphosed into a Hercules. It would be difficult to find in all the Parliamentary history of Great Britain, a more undignified act than this of Mr. Gladstone, buying up the support of a journal by inserting a special provision for it in the budget. The abolition of the Taxes on Knowledge was chiefly asked for with a view to break down the monopoly of the newspaper-leviathans. The "unctuous" Mr. Gladstone adopts only so much of that measure as tends exactly to double the monopoly of *The Times*.

In principle, we contend that Mr. Gladstone is right in rejecting all distinctions between the sources from which income is derived. If you distinguish between the quality of incomes you must also distinguish between quantity, as in 99 cases out of 100, the quantity of an income constitutes its quality. If you distinguish between their quantities you arrive unavoidably at progressive taxation, and from progressive taxation you tumble directly into a very trenchant sort of Socialism, a thing certainly abhorred by the opponents of Mr. Gladstone. With the narrow and interested interpretation of the difference between fixed and precarious incomes, as made by the Manchester School, we arrive at the ridiculous conclusion that the income of the richest class of England, the trading class, is only a precarious one. Under the pretence of philanthropy they aim at changing a portion of the public burdens from their own shoulders to the backs of the land-owners and fund-holders.

As to the extension of the legacy duty to real property the country party, as cannot be doubted, will vehemently resist it. They naturally desire to receive their successions as heretofore, untaxed; but Mr. Disraeli, as Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, has acknowledged the injustice of that exception, and the Manchester men will vote as one man with the Ministers. *The Morning Advertiser* in its number of yesterday informs the country party that should they be imprudent enough to take their stand on the legacy duty, they must abandon all idea of being supported by the Liberals. There exists hardly any privilege to which the British middle class are more bitterly opposed, and there exists also no more striking instance of oligarchic legislation. Pitt introduced in 1796 two bills, the one subjecting personal property to the probate and legacy duty, and the other imposing the same duties on real property. The two measures were separated because Pitt apprehended a successful opposition from members of both houses to subjecting their estates to those taxes. The first bill passed the House with little or no opposition. Only one division took place, and only 16 members voted against it. The second bill was proceeded with through all its stages, until it came to the third reading, when it was lost by a division of 30 against 30. Pitt, seeing no chance of passing the bill through either house, was forced to withdraw it. If the probate and legacy duties had been paid on real property since 17%, by far the greater portion of the public debt might have been paid off. The only real objection the country party could now make is the plea that the fundholders enjoy a similar exemption, but they would, of course, not strengthen their position by rousing against them the fundholders, who are gifted with a particular taste for fiscal immunities.

There remains then but one probable chance of successfully opposing the Coalition budget, and this is a coalition of the country party with the Irish Brigade. It is true Mr. Gladstone has endeavored to induce the Irish to submit to the extension of the Income Tax to Ireland, by making them the gift of four millions and a half of Consolidated Annuities. But the Irish contend that three out of these four and a half millions, connected with the famine of 1846—47, were never intended to constitute a national debt, and have never been acknowledged as such by the Irish people.

The ministry itself seems not to be quite sure of success, since it menaces an *early dissolution* of the House, unless the budget be accepted as a whole. A formidable suggestion this for the great majority of members whose "pockets have been materially affected by the *legitimate* expenses of the last contest," and for those Radicals who have clung as closely as possible to the old definition of an Opposition; namely, that it does, in the machine of Government, the duty of the safety-valve in a steam-engine. The safety-valve does not stop the motion of the engine, but preserves it by letting off in *vapor* the power which might otherwise blow up the whole concern. Thus they let off in vapor the popular demands. They seem to offer motions only to withdraw them afterward, and to rid themselves of their superfluous eloquence.

Karl Marx

A dissolution of the House would only reveal the dissolution of the old parties. Since the appearance of the Coalition ministry, the Irish Brigade has been split up into two factions—one governmental, the other independent. The country-party is likewise split up into two camps—the one led by Mr. Disraeli, the other by Sir John Pakington; although now, in the hour of danger, they both rally again around Disraeli. The Radicals themselves are broken up into two sets—the Mayfair-men and the Manchester-men. There is no longer any power of cohesion in the old parties, but at the same time there is no power of real antagonism. A new general election would not mend, but only confirm this state of things.

By the election-disclosures the Lower House is sunk as low as it can possibly go. But simultaneously, week after week, it has denounced the rottenness of its foundation, the thorough corruption of the *constituencies* themselves. Now after these disclosures, will the ministry venture on an appeal to these branded constituencies—an appeal to the country? To the country at large they have nothing to offer, holding in one hand the refusal of parliamentary reform, and in the other an Austrian patent, installing them as general informers of the continental police.

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
Political Position of the Swiss Republic

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3770, 17. Mai 1853

Political Position of this Republic.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

London, May 1, 1853.

Royal families formerly used to employ whipping-boys, who had the honor
5 of receiving condign punishment on their profane backs, whenever any of
the scions of royalty had committed an offense against the rules of good
behavior. The modern European political system continues this practice, in
a certain degree, in the erection of small intermediate States, which have to
act the scapegoat in any domestic squabble by which the harmony of the
io "balance of power" may be troubled. And in order to enable these smaller
States to perform this enviable part with suitable dignity, they are, by the
common consent of Europe "in Congress assembled," and with all due
solemnity, declared "*neutral*." Such a scapegoat, or whipping-boy, is
Greece—such is Belgium and Switzerland. The only difference is this—that
15 these modern political scapegoats, from the abnormal conditions of their
existence, are seldom quite undeserving of the inflictions they are favored
with.

The most conspicuous of this class of States has of late been Switzer-
land,

20 Quidquid délirant reges, plectuntur—
the Swiss. And wherever the *people* of any European State come into colli-
sion with their rulers, the Swiss were equally sure to come in for their share
of the trouble; until since the beginning of this year, Switzerland, after having
made itself gratuitously contemptible to the revolutionary party, has been
25 placed in a sort of interdict by the rulers of Continental Europe. Squabbles
about refugees with the Emperor Bonaparte, for whose sake Switzerland
once came very near risking a war; squabbles with Prussia on account of

Neuchâtel; squabbles with Austria about Tessinese and the Milan insurrection; squabbles with the minor German States about subjects which nobody cares for; squabbles on all hands, threatening notes, expulsions, passport chicanes, blockades, raining down upon poor Switzerland thick as hailstones in a storm, and yet, such is human nature, the Swiss are happy, 5
contented and proud in their own way, and feel more at home in this shower of abuse and insult, than if the political horizon was cloudless and bright.

This honorable political position of Switzerland is, by the popular mind of Europe, rather vaguely and clumsily expressed in the common saying: Switzerland has been invented by the rulers of Europe in order to bring 10
republican governments into contempt; and certainly, a Metternich or Guizot may have often said: If Switzerland did not exist, we should have to create it. To them, a neighbor like Switzerland, was a real god-send.

We cannot be expected to repeat the multifarious charges brought of late, against Switzerland and Swiss institutions, by real or would-be revolution- 15
ists. Long before the movements of 1848, the organs of the revolutionary Communist party of Germany analyzed that subject, they showed why Switzerland, as an independent state, must ever be lagging behind in the march of European progress, and why that country, with all its republican shows, will ever be reactionary at heart. They were even violently attacked, 20
at that time, by divers democratic spouters and manufacturers of clandestine declamation, who celebrated Switzerland as their "model-republic," until the model institutions were once tried upon themselves. The subject is now as trite as can be; nobody disputes the fact, and a few words will suffice to put 25
the matter in its true light.

The mass of the Swiss population follow either pastoral or agricultural pursuits; pastoral, in the high mountains, agricultural wherever the nature of the ground admits of it. The pastoral tribes, for tribes you may call them, rank among the least civilized populations of Europe. If they do not cut off 30
heads and ears like the Turks and Montenegrins, they perform acts of hardly less barbarity by their judicial assemblies; and what cruelty and beastly ferocity they are capable of, the Swiss mercenaries at Naples and elsewhere have proved. The agricultural population is quite as stationary as the pastoral; they have nothing in common with the agricultural population of the 35
American Far West, whose very aliment is change, and who clear every twelvemonth an amount of land far larger than all Switzerland. The Swiss peasant tills the patch of ground his father and grandfather tilled before him; he tills it in the same slovenly way as they did; he earns about as much as they did; he Uves about as they did, and consequently he thinks very nearly 40
in the same way as they did. Had it not been for feudal burdens and imposts levied upon them, partly by aristocratic families, partly by patrician corpora-

Political Position of the Swiss Republic

tions in the towns, the Swiss peasantry would always have been quite as stationary in their political existence as their neighbors, the cowherds, are up to the present day. The third component of the Swiss people, the industrial population, although necessarily far more advanced in civilization than the

5 two classes mentioned before, yet live under circumstances which exclude them in a great degree from the progressive giant impulse which the modern manufacturing system has imparted to Western Europe. Steam is hardly known in Switzerland; large factories exist in a few localities only; the cheapness of labor, the sparseness of the population, the abundance of small

10 mountain-streams fit for mills ; all these and many other circumstances tend to produce a petty and sporadic sort of manufactures mixed up with agricultural pursuits, the most eligible industrial system for Switzerland. Thus watch-making, ribbon-weaving, straw-plaiting, embroidery, etc. are carried on in several cantons, without ever creating or even increasing a town; and

15 Geneva and Basle, the richest, and with Zurich, the most industrial towns, have hardly increased for centuries. If, then, Switzerland carries on her manufacturing production almost exclusively upon the system in practice all over Europe *before* the invention of steam, how can we expect to find other than corresponding ideas in the minds of the producers; if steam has

20 not revolutionized Swiss production and intercommunication, how could it overthrow the hereditary ways of thinking?

The Hungarian Constitution bears a certain resemblance to that of Great Britain, which circumstance has been turned to good account by Magyar politicians, who thence would make us jump to the conclusion that the

25 Hungarian nation is almost as advanced as the English; and yet there are many hundreds of miles and of years between the petty tradesman of Buda and the Cotton lord of Lancashire, or between the traveling tinker of the Puszta and the Chartist working-man of a British manufacturing metropolis. Thus, Switzerland would give itself the airs of a United States on a smaller

30 scale ; but barring the superficial resemblance of political institutions, no two countries are more unlike than ever-moving, ever-changing America, with a historical mission whose immensity people on both sides of the Atlantic are but just beginning to divine, and stationary Switzerland, whose never-ending petty distractions would result in the perpetual round-about motion

35 within the narrowest circle, were she not in spite of herself dragged forward by the industrial advance of her neighbors.

Whoever doubts this, will be satisfied after a perusal of the history of Swiss railways. Were it not for the traffic from south to north moving round Switzerland on both sides, not a railroad would ever have been constructed

40 in that country. As it is, they are made twenty years too late.

The French invasion of 1798, and the French revolution of 1830, gave

occasion to the peasantry to throw off their feudal burdens; to the manufacturing and trading population to throw off the mediaeval yoke of patrician and corporative control. With this progress the revolution of *Cantonal* Government was completed. The more advanced Cantons had obtained constitutions to suit their interests. This Cantonal revolution reacted upon 5 the Central Representation Assembly and Executive. The party vanquished in the individual Cantons was here strong; the struggle was fought over again. The general political movement of 1840—'47, which everywhere in Europe brought about preliminary conflicts, or prepared decisive collisions, was in all second and third-rate States—thanks to the jealousies of the great powers— 10 favorable to the opposition, which may be described as the middle-class party. It was the case, too, in Switzerland; the moral support of Britain, the indecision of Guizot, the difficulties which kept Metternich at bay in Italy, carried the Swiss over the Sonderbund war; the party which had been victorious in the liberal Cantons in 1830 now conquered the Central Powers. The 15 revolutions of 1848 made it possible for the Swiss to reform their feudal constitutions in accordance with the new political organization of the majority of the Cantons; and now we may say that Switzerland has attained the highest political development of which she, as an independent State, is capable. That the new federal constitution is quite adequate to the wants of 20 the country, the constant reforms in the monetary system, the means of communication, and other legislative matters affecting the industry of the country, abundantly show; but, alas! these reforms are of a nature that any other State would be ashamed of, on account of the mass of traditionary nuisances, and the antediluvian state of society, the existence of which, up 25 to that date they disclose.

What, at most, can be said in favor of the Swiss Constitution of 1848 is this: that by its enactment the more civilized portion of the Swiss declared themselves willing to pass, to a certain extent, from the middle ages into 30 modern society. Whether, however, they will at any time be able to do away with privileged trades' corporations, guilds, and such-like mediaeval amenities, must remain very doubtful to any one who has the least knowledge of the country, and who has seen in a single instance the strenuous efforts with which respectable "vested interests" oppose even the most matter-of-course 35 reform.

Thus we see the Swiss, true to their character, moving on quietly in their own restricted domestic circle while the year 1848 uprooted all the stability of the European Continent around them. The revolutions of Paris, of Vienna, of Berlin, of Milan, were by them reduced to as many levers of Cantonal 40 intrigue. The European earthquake had even for the radical Swiss no other interest but this—that it might vex some conservative neighbor by upsetting

his crockery. In the struggle for Italian independence Sardinia solicited an alliance with Switzerland, and there is no doubt that an addition to the Sardinian army of 20 or 30,000 Swiss would have very soon driven the Austrians out of Italy. When 15,000 Swiss in Naples were fighting against Italian liberty it certainly might be expected that Switzerland, in order to maintain her boasted "*neutrality*," should send an equal number to fight for the Italians; but the alliance was rejected and the cause of Italian independence was lost as much through Swiss as through Austrian bayonets. Then came the disasters of the revolutionary party, and the wholesale emigration from Italy, from France, from Germany, to the *neutral* Swiss soil. But there neutrality ceased; Swiss radicalism was satisfied with what it had achieved, and the very insurgents, who, by holding in check the tutors and natural superiors of Switzerland, the absolutist governments of the Continent, had enabled the Swiss to carry out their internal reform undisturbed—these very insurgents were now treated in Switzerland with every possible insult and turned out of the country at the first bidding of their persecutors. Then began that series of degradation and insult which one neighboring government after another heaped upon Switzerland, and which would make the blood of every Swiss boil if Swiss nationality had any foundation and Swiss independence any existence other than in boast or fame.

Never has such treatment been offered to any people as the Swiss have been made to submit to by France, Austria, Prussia, and the minor German States. Never were demands half as humiliating made upon any country, without being resented by a struggle for life or death. The surrounding Governments, by their agents, presumed to exercise the office of Police upon the Swiss territory; they exercised it not only over the refugees, but over the Swiss Police officers also. They laid complaints against subaltern agents, and demanded their dismissal; they even went so far as to hint at the necessity of changes in the Constitutions of several Cantons. As for the Swiss Government, to every bolder demand, it gave an humbler reply; and whenever its words breathed a spirit of opposition, its acts were sure to make up for it by increased subserviency. Insult after insult was pocketed, command after command was executed, until Switzerland was brought down to the lowest level of European contempt,—till she was more despised than even her two "neutral" rivals, Belgium and Greece. And now, when the demands of her chief assailant, Austria, have reached that height of impudence which even a statesman of the temper of M. Druey could hardly swallow, without some show of resistance—now, in her most recent, most spirited notes to Vienna, she shows how far she is reduced.

The champions of Italian independence,—men who, far from showing any wicked Socialist or Communist tendencies, would, perhaps, not even go to

the length of wishing for Italy the same Constitution as that under which Switzerland lives—men who have and make no claim to the demagogical celebrity even of Mazzini, are there treated as assassins, incendiaries, brigands, and upsetters of all social order. As to Mazzini, the language is of course far stronger; and yet everybody knows that Mazzini, with all his conspiracies and insurrections, is as much a supporter of social order, as at present constituted, as M. Druey himself. Thus, the result of the whole exchange of notes is, that, in principle, the Swiss give in to the Austrians. How, then, is it to be expected they will not give in in practise? 5

The fact is this: Any bold and persistent Government can get from the Swiss what it likes. The isolated life which the mass of them lead, deprives them of all sense of their common interest as a nation. That a village, or a valley, or a canton should stick together is no wonder. But, to stick together as a Nation for a common purpose, be what it may, they never will. In all invasions, as soon as the danger becomes serious, as in 1798, one Swiss has betrayed the other, one Canton abandoned the next. The Austrians have expelled 18,000 Tessinese from Lombardy, without any cause. The Swiss make a great outcry about it and collect money for their unfortunate confederates. Now, let Austria hold out, and continue to prohibit the return of these Tessinese, and in a very short time you will see a wonderful change in Swiss opinion. They will get tired of collecting money, they will say that the Tessinese always meddled in Italian politics and deserved no better; in fact they are no true Swiss confederates (*Keine guten Eidgenossen*). Then the expelled Tessinese will settle in the other cantons of Switzerland and "turn the natives out of employment." For in Switzerland a man is not a Swiss, but a native of such and such a canton. And when that comes to pass, then you will see our brave confederates muster up their indignation, then you will see intrigues of all sorts directed against the victims of Austrian despotism, then you will see the Tessinese Swiss as much hated, persecuted, calumniated as the foreign refugees were during their time in Switzerland, and then Austria will obtain everything she wants and a great deal more if she takes the trouble to ask for it. 10 15 20 25 30

When the nations of Europe have recovered their faculty of free and normal action they will take into consideration what is to be done with these petty "neutral" States, which while subservient to counter-revolution when it is ascendant, are neutral and even hostile to every revolutionary movement and yet pass themselves off as free and independent Nations. But, perhaps, by that time, not a trace will be left of these excrescences of an unsound body. 35

Karl Marx. 40

Karl Marx / Friedrich Engels
The Rocket Affair—The Swiss Insurrection

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3768, 14. Mai 1853

The Rocket Affair—The Swiss Insurrection.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

London, Friday, April 29, 1853.

The notorious *Polizei-Director* Stieber, accompanied by the Police Lieutenant, Goldheim, and the *Criminal-Rath*, Nörner, arrived here a few days ago, from Berlin, on the special mission of connecting the Rotherhithe gunpowder-plot with the Calabrian hat-conspiracy at Berlin. I know, from private information, that they met at Kensington, in the house of Fleury, and that the ex-clerk Hirsch was also present at that meeting. A day later the same
10 Hirsch had a secret interview with Mr. Kraemer, thé Russian consul. If your readers recollect my letter on the Cologne trials, they must be aware, that the identical personages who concocted that plot, are again at work.

On Saturday, 23d inst., proceedings were commenced, before Mr. Henry, the Bow-st. Police Magistrate, against Mr. Hale, the proprietor of the Rother-
15 hithe rocket manufactory, where the Government seizure had been made. On that day, the question discussed was merely relating to the point, whether the explosive material under seizure was gunpowder, or not. Mr. Henry who had reserved his decision until yesterday, has now pronounced, contradictorily Mr. Ure, the celebrated chemist's opinion, that it was gunpowder.
20 Accordingly, he fined Mr. Hale 2s. for every pound of gunpowder, beyond the legal allowance, found in his possession, which quantity amounted to 57 lbs. W. Hale, R. Hale, his son, and J. Boylin, then appeared at the side bar to answer the charge of having, at various intervals, between Sept. 13, 1852 and April 13, 1853, made or caused to be made divers large quantities of
25 rockets. Mr. Bodkin, the Government solicitor, stated that Mr. W. Hale had made several unsuccessful applications to the British Government with regard to his rockets, that from October, 1852, a great number of workmen had been employed by him, some of whom were foreign refugees; that the

whole of their proceedings had been carried on in the greatest possible secrecy, and that the shipping records at the Customs refuted Mr. Hale's statement of having been an exporter through the Customs. At the conclusion he said: "The cost of the rockets found in possession of Mr. Hale, was estimated at from £1,000 to £2,000. Where did the money come from? 5 Mr. Hale was only lately a bankrupt, and superseded his bankruptcy by paying only 3s. in the pound." J. Sanders, a sergeant of the Detective Police stated, that he took possession of "1,543 loaded rockets, 3,629 rocket heads, 2,489 rocket bottoms, 1,955 empty rockets, 22 iron shot, 2 instruments for firing rockets." A witness, Mr. Usener, next appeared, who said that he had 10 been for 15 years an officer in the Prussian artillery, and served in the Hungarian war as Major of the staff. He was employed by the Messrs. Hale in making rockets at Rotherhithe. Before going to the factory he had been in prison for theft for five or six months at Maidstone, to which step he declared he had been driven by utter destitution. The most important part 15 of his deposition was literally as follows:

"I was introduced to the Hales by M. Kossuth; I first saw M. Kossuth on the subject last summer, on his return from America; about the middle of September I saw the elder Mr. Hale in the company of M. Kossuth, at the house of the latter; a Hungarian, the adjutant, was also there; M. Kossuth 20 said to Mr. Hale, 'This person was in the Hungarian service, and a late officer of the Prussian artillery, and I can recommend him to your employ to assist in making ourrockets, or *your* rockets,' I don't remember which was the word he said; M. Kossuth said my wages should be 18s. per week, and he recommended me to keep the affair quite secret; Mr. Hale, he said, would point 25 out what I was to do; M. Kossuth spoke partly in the Hungarian and partly in the English language; I believe Mr. Hale does not understand the German language. The word *secret* was said to me in German; I was sent to Pimlico by R. Hale to see M. Kossuth; I saw M. Kossuth at Pickering Place; W. Hale and another Hungarian were there; we went to try a firing machine; when 30 we were all together, the machine was set up, and a trial was made with the rockets; the conversation took place partly in English, and chiefly about the quality of the rockets etc.; we were there an hour and a half, and when it was all over, M. Kossuth and Mr. Hale desired us to leave the house carefully, one by one, and Mr. Hale joined us at the corner of the street; on this occasion 35 M. Kossuth repeatedly told us to keep his connection with the rockets secret."

W. Gerlach, another German, was then examined through an interpreter. He was employed at Mr. Hale's factory, in making rockets. There were, besides him, three Hungarians. He was recommended to Mr. Hale by 40 M. Kossuth, but he never saw them in company together.

Mr. Henry, who had the alternative of committing summarily in the penalty of £5, or sending the case before the Assizes, adopted the latter course, but was willing to accept bail for each of the Hales. Mr. W. Hale declared that he would not ask any friend to become bail, either for himself or for his son,
5 and accordingly the defendants were removed to Horsemonger-lane Jail.

The depositions of the witnesses, it is clear, are in strong contradiction with the letter of Mr. Hale, Jr.; the substance of which I have already communicated to you, and, with the letters addressed by Kossuth to Captain Mayne Reid and Lord Dudley Stuart, wherein he affirmed he knew nothing
10 either of Mr. Hale, or his rockets. It would be unjust, however, to draw any inference from this circumstance, before further explanations shall have been given by M. Kossuth. As to Mr. Usener, is it not a shame that a talented countryman of ours in exile, and a man most willing to labor, as is proved
15 should have been driven by mere destitution to theft, while certain German refugees, notorious idlers, assume the privilege of squandering the small funds destined for the revolutionists, in self-imposed missionary trips, ridiculous plots, and public house *conciliabules!*

On Friday, the 22d inst., an insurrection broke out again at Fribourg, in
20 Switzerland, the fifth, already, since the late Sonderbund war. The insurrection was to be commenced simultaneously all over the surface of the canton; but at the given moment, the majority of the conspirators did not come forward. Three "colonnes," who had promised their cooperation in the affair, remained behind. The insurgents, who actually entered the town, were
25 chiefly from the district of Farvagny, and from the communes of Autigny, Prez, Torny, Middel, and other neighborhoods. At 4¹/₂ a.m. the body of 400 peasants, all wearing the colors of the Sonderbund, and carrying the emblem of the Virgin on their standard, moved towards Fribourg, on the road from Lausanne, headed by Colonel Perrier, and the notorious peasant
30 Carrard, the chief of the insurrection of 1851, who had been amnestied by the Grosse-Rath. About 5 o'clock they entered the town, by the "Porte des Etangs," and took possession of the College and the Arsenal, where they seized 150 guns. Alarm having been beaten, the town council immediately
35 assembled civic guard. While he ordered the streets at the back of the college to be occupied with cannon, he pushed a body of riflemen forward, to attack the insurgents in front. The riflemen advanced up the two flights of steps, leading to the college, and soon dislodged the peasants from the windows of the buildings. The combat had lasted for about an hour, and the assailants
40 already numbered eight dead and eighteen wounded, when the insurgents, attempting in vain to escape through the back streets, where they were

received with grape shot, sent forth a priest with a white flag, declaring then-readiness to surrender.

A Committee of the Civic Guard instantly formed a Courtmartial, which condemned Col.Perrier to thirty years' imprisonment, and which is still sitting. The number of prisoners is about two hundred, among whom Messrs. Wuilleret, Week and Chollet. M. Charles, the president of the well-known Committee at Posieux, has been seen at the gate of Romont, but not captured. Besides the parson of Torny le Grand, two other priests are included in the number of prisoners. As to the expenses of the affair, the canton appears to be safe, half the property of the patrician, Mr. Week, being sufficient for that object.

Karl Marx.



Karl Marx

Affairs in Holland—Denmark—

Conversion of the British Debt—India, Turkey and Russia

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3790, 9. Juni 1853

Affairs in Holland—Denmark— Conversion of the British Debt— India, Turkey and Russia.

London, Tuesday, May 24, 1853.

5 Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

The general elections in Holland, necessitated by the late dissolution of the States-General, are now completed, and the result has been the return of a majority of 12 in favor of the Ultra-Protestant and Royalist ministry.

Denmark is by this time inundated with anti-governmental pamphlets, the
10 most prominent of which are the "*Dissolution of Parliament explained to the Danish People,*" by Mr. Grundvig, and one anonymous entitled "*The disputed question of the Danish succession; or what is to be done by the Powers of Europe.*" Both these pamphlets aim at proving that the abolition of the ancient law of succession as demanded by the ministry and stipulated in the
15 London protocol, would turn to the ruin of the country, by converting it, in the first instance, into a province of Holstein, and later into a dependency of Russia.

Thus, it appears, the Danish people have at last become aware of what their blind opposition to the demands for independence raised by the duchies
20 of Schleswig-Holstein in 1848 has brought over them. They insisted upon their country's permanent union with Holstein, for which purpose they made war on the German revolution—they won in that war, and they have retained Holstein. But, in exchange for that conquest, they are now doomed to lose their own country. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in '48 and '49 never ceased
25 to warn the Danish Democrats of the ultimate consequences of their hostility to the German revolution. It distinctly predicted that Denmark, by con-

tributing to disarm revolution abroad, was tying itself forever to a dynasty which, as the legitimate course of succession had obtained its sanction and validity through their own consent, would surrender their nationality to the "bon plaisir" of the Russian czar. The Danish democracy refused to act upon that advice, and are now receiving the same price for their short-sighted folly 5 as the Bohemian Slaves did, who, in order to "preserve their nationality against the Germans," rushed to the destruction of the Viennese revolutionists, their only possible liberators from that German despotism which they hated. Is not this a grave lesson which is now being received by these two peoples, who allowed themselves to be arrayed in self-destructive warfare 10 against the cause of the revolution, by the intrigues of the counter-revolution?

Now that Mr. Gladstone's scheme for the reduction of the public debt has passed through Parliament, and is undergoing its practical test, his apologists—and almost the entire London press seemed highly to approve of that 15 famous scheme—have all of them become mute at once. Mr. Gladstone's three alternatives for voluntarily converting the five hundred millions of 3 per cents., turn out so very innocent, that none of them has as yet met with an acceptance worth mentioning. —As to the conversion of the South Sea stock, up to the evening of May 19 only £100,000 out of the £10,000,000 had 20 been converted into new stock. It is a general rule that such operations, if not effected in the first weeks, lose every day something of the probability of their being carried out at all. Besides, the rate of interest is just rising in slow but steady progression. It is, therefore, almost an exaggeration to suppose that ten millions of old paper will be converted into new stock within 25 the time fixed for that operation. But even in this case, Mr. Gladstone will have to repay at least eight millions of pounds to those holders of South Sea Funds, who are unwilling to convert them into his new stock. The only fund he has provided for such an eventuality is the public balance at the Bank of England, amounting to about eight or nine millions. As this balance, 30 however, is no excess of income over expenditure, but is only lodged in the Bank, because the public income is paid a few months in advance of the time when it is necessary to expend it, Mr. Gladstone will find himself at a future moment in a very heavy financial embarrassment, which will produce, at the same time, a most serious disturbance in the monetary transactions of the 35 Bank and in the money market in general, the more so as a presumed deficient crop will cause a more or less extensive drain of bullion.

The charter of the East India Company expires in 1854. Lord John Russell has given notice in the House of Commons, that the Government will be enabled to state, through Sir Charles Wood, their views respecting the future 40 Government of India, on the 3d of June. A hint has been thrown out in some

ministerial papers, in support of the already credited public rumor, that the coalition have found the means of reducing even this colossal Indian question to almost Liliputian dimensions. *The Observer* prepares the mind of the English people to undergo a new disenchantment. "Much less," we read in
 5 that confidential journal of Aberdeen, "than is generally supposed will remain to be done in the new organization for the Government of our Eastern Empire." Much less even than is supposed, will have to be done by my lords Russell and Aberdeen.

The leading features of the proposed change appear to consist in two very
 10 small items. Firstly, the Board of Directors will be "refreshed" by some additional members, appointed directly by the Crown, and even this new blood will be infused "sparingly at first." The cure of the old directorial system is thus meant to be applied, so that the portion of blood now infused with "great caution" will have ample time to come to a standstill before
 15 another second infusion will be proceeded upon. Secondly, the union of Judge and of Exciseman in one and the same person, will be put an end to, and the Judges shall be educated men. Does it not seem, on hearing such propositions, as if one were transported back into that earliest period of the middle-ages, when the feudal lords began to be replaced as Judges, by law-
 20 yers who were required, at any rate, to have a knowledge of reading and writing?

The "Sir Charles Wood" who, as President of the Board of Control, will bring forward this sensible piece of reform, is the same timber who, under the late Whig Administration, displayed such eminent capacities of mind, that
 25 the Coalition were at a dreadful loss what to do with him, till they hit upon the idea of making him over to India. Richard the Third offered a kingdom for a horse—the Coalition offers an ass for a kingdom. Indeed, if the present official idiocy of an Oligarchical Government be the expression of what England *can* do now, the time of England's ruling the world must have passed
 30 away.

On former occasions we have seen that the Coalition had invariably some fitting reason for postponing every, even the smallest measure. Now, with respect to India their postponing propensities *are* supported by the public opinion of two worlds. The people of England and the people of India simul-
 35 taneously demand the postponement of all the legislation on Indian affairs, until the voice of the natives shall have been heard, the necessary materials collected, the pending inquiries completed. Petitions have already reached Downing-st, from the three Presidencies, deprecating precipitate legislation. The Manchester School have formed an "Indian Society" which they will
 40 put immediately into motion, to get up public meetings in the metropolis and throughout the country, for the purpose of opposing any legislation on the

subject for this session. Besides, two Parliamentary Committees are now sitting with a view to report respecting the state of affairs in the Indian Government. But this time the Coalition Ministry is inexorable. It will not wait for the publication of any Committee's advice. It wants to legislate instantly and directly for 150 millions of people, and to legislate for 20 years at once. Sir Charles Wood is anxious to establish his claim as the modern Manu. Whence, of a sudden, this precipitate legislative rush of our "cautious" political valetudinarians? 5

They want to renew the old Indian Charter for a period of 20 years. They avail themselves of the eternal pretext of Reform. Why? The English oligarchy have a presentiment of the approaching end of their days of glory, and they have a very justifiable desire to conclude such a treaty with English legislation, that even in the case of England's escaping soon from their weak and rapacious hands, they shall still retain for themselves and their associates the privilege of plundering India for the space of 20 years. 10 15

On Saturday last dispatches were received by telegraph from Brussels and Paris, with news from Constantinople to May 13. Immediately after their arrival a Cabinet-Council was held at the Foreign-Office, which sat 3 hours and a half. On the same day orders were sent by Telegraph to the Admiralty at Portsmouth, directing the departure of two steam-frigates, the London 90, 20 and Sanspareil 71, from Spithead for the Mediterranean. The Highflyer steam-frigate 21, and Odin steam-frigate 16, are also under orders for sea.

What were the contents of these dispatches which threw in ministers into so sudden an activity, and interrupted the quiet dulness of England? 25

You know that the question of the Holy Shrines had been settled to the satisfaction of Russia, and according to the assurances of the Russian Embassy at Paris and London, Russia asked for no other satisfaction than a priority share in those holy places. The objects of Russian diplomacy were merely of such a chivalric character, as were those of Frederic Barbarossa and Richard Cœur de Lion. This, at least, we were told by *The Times*. "But," says the *Journal des Débats*, "on the 5th of May the Russian steam-frigate Bessarabia arrived from Odessa, having on board a Russian Colonel with dispatches for Prince Menschikoff, and on Saturday, 7th inst., the Prince handed to the Ministers of the Porte the draught of a convention or special treaty, in which the new demands and pretensions were set forth. This is the document called the ultimatum, since it was accompanied by a very brief note, fixing Tuesday, 10th May, as the last day on which the refusal or the acceptance of the Divan could be received. The note terminated in nearly the following words: 'If the Sublime Porte should think proper to respond by refusal, the Emperor would be compelled to see in that act the complete 30 35 40

want of respect for his person, and for Russia, and would receive intelligence of it with *profound regret*."

The principal object of this treaty was to secure to the Emperor of Russia the Protectorate of all Greek Christians subject to the Porte. By the treaty
 5 of Kutchuk-Kainardji, concluded at the close of the 18th century, a Greek chapel was allowed to be erected at Constantinople, and the privilege was granted to the Russian Embassy of interfering in instances of collision of the priests of that chapel with the Turks. This privilege was confirmed again in the treaty of Adrianople. What Prince Menchikoff now demands, is the
 10 conversion of that exceptional privilege into the general Protectorate of the whole Greek Church in Turkey, i.e., of the vast majority of the population of Turkey in Europe. Besides, he asks that the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antiochia, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, as well as the metropohtan archbishops, shall be immovable, unless proved guilty of high-treason, (against
 15 the Russians,) and then only upon the consent of the Czar—in other words, he demands the resignation of the Sultan's sovereignty into the hands of Russia.

This was the news brought by the telegraph on Saturday: firstly, that Prince Menschikoff had granted a further delay until 14th inst, for the answer to
 20 his *ultimatum*; that then a change in the Turkish Ministry ensued, Reshid Pasha, the antagonist of Russia, being appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Fuad Effendi reinstated in his office; lastly, that the *Russian ultimatum had been rejected*.

It would have been impossible for Russia to make more extensive demands
 25 upon Turkey, after a series of signal victories. This is the best proof of the obstinacy with which she clings to her inveterate notion, that every interregnum of the counter-revolution in Europe constitutes a right for her to exact concessions from the Ottoman Empire. And, indeed, since the first French revolution, Continental retrogression has ever been identical with Russian
 30 progress in the East. But Russia is mistaken in confounding the present state of Europe with its condition after the congresses of Laybach and Verona, or even after the peace of Tilsit. Russia herself is more afraid of the revolution that must follow any general war on the Continent, than the Sultan is afraid of the aggression of the Czar. If the other powers hold firm, Russia
 35 is sure to retire in a very decent manner. Yet, be this as it may, her late maneuvers have, at all events, imparted a mighty impetus to the elements engaged in disorganizing Turkey from within. The only question is this: Does Russia act on her own free impulse, or is she but the unconscious and reluctant slave of the modern *fatum*, Revolution? I believe the latter alterna-
 40 tive.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Mazzini—Switzerland and Austria—
The Turkish Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3791, 10. Juni 1853

**Mazzini—Switzerland and Austria—
The Turkish Question.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, May 27, 1853.

The presence of M.Mazzini in England is now, at last, confirmed by a 5
quasi-official announcement in a London paper connected with him.

The trial of the Messrs. Hale, on account of the "gunpowder-plot," will 5
not be brought before the present assizes, but will take place in August next,
the Coalition-Government being anxious to let time and oblivion interpose
between its "discoveries" and the judicial discussion of their value. 10

Count Karnicky, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, received orders 10
from his Government, on the 21st inst., to quit his post immediately, and
return to Vienna, after notifying the President of the Helvetic Confederation
of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria and Switzerland. The
Bund, of the 23d, states, however, that the Austrian Envoy had already 15
previously received permission to take a discretionary *congé* when he should
think proper. The ultimatum of Count Karnicky is declared by the same
journal to be the answer of Austria to the note of the *Bundesrath*, of May 4.
That the ultimatum contained something beside a mere answer, may be 20
inferred from the fact, that the Bundesrath has just called upon the Fribourg
Government to account for their "extreme" measures recently taken
against the defeated rebels. The English journals publish the following dis-
patch from Berne, dated May 23:

"In consequence of the notification made by the Austrian Chargé d'Affai- 25
res to the President of the Helvetic Confederation of the rupture of diplo-
matic relations between Austria and Switzerland, the Federal Council has
decided on putting an immediate end to the functions of the Swiss Envoy
at Vienna."

The substance of this dispatch is, however, refuted by the following article in *La Suisse*, dated May 23:

"We are about in the same situation as Piedmont. The negotiations between the two countries are interrupted... The Austrian Legation remains
5 at Berne for the disposal of the ordinary current of business. The *Bund* says that the recall of the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna was desirable, since he drily managed there his own affairs on pretext of transacting those of the nation, for he was merely engaged in the silk trade. Mr. Steiger is but a diplomatist of the second-hand order, and we happen to know that he under-
10 stands a great deal more about silkworms than about his official business. There was, then, no necessity for recalling such a diplomatist, since he had never been commissioned, but was already at Vienna on his own account."

Let nobody imagine, therefore, that the Swiss are recalling to their memory thé celebrated motto with which Loustalot adorned, in 1789 his *Révolutions*
15 *de Paris*:

Les grands ne sont pas grands,
Que parce que nous sommes à genoux.
—Levons nous!

The mystery of the Swiss courage is sufficiently explained by the presence
20 of the Duke of Genoa at Paris, and that of the King of Belgium in Vienna and perhaps no less by an article in the French *Moniteur* of May 25th. "No other nation must ever interpose between France and Switzerland; all other considerations must subside before this fundamental condition." The hopes of the Prussian King for the recovery of Neufchâtel, thus obtain no great
25 encouragement. A rumor prevails, even of the formation of a French *corps d'observation* on the frontiers of Switzerland. Louis Napoleon, of course, would be but too glad of having an opportunity to revenge himself on the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia and Belgium, for the contempt and ridicule with which they have loaded him during the latter
30 months.

The intelligence I transmitted to you in my last, of the rejection of the Russian ultimatum and of the formation of an anti-Russian Ministry at Constantinople has since been fully confirmed. The most recent dispatches are from Constantinople, of May 17.

35 "On assuming office, Reshid Pasha requested from Prince Menchikoff a delay of six days. Menchikoff refused declaring diplomatic relations broken off, and adding that he would remain at Constantinople three days more, to make the necessary preparations for his departure, and he exhorted the Porte to reflection and to profit by the short time he should be detained."

40 Under date of Constantinople, May 19, we further learn:

"On the 17th, a meeting of the Divan was held, at the issue of which it was definitively resolved that the convention, as proposed by Prince Menchikoff, could not be accepted. Nevertheless, on this being notified to Prince Menchikoff, he did not quit Constantinople. On the contrary, he has opened new communications with Reschid Pasha. The day of the departure of the Russian Embassy is *no longer fixed*."

Contradictorily to the latter dispatch, the French government evening organ, *La Patrie*, positively announces that the government has received intelligence that Prince Menchikoff has taken his departure for Odessa, and that the occurrence had occasioned but little sensation at Constantinople. The *Pays* agrees with this statement, but is contradicted by the *Presse*. Girardin adds, however, that if the news was correct, it might easily be accounted for.

"If Prince Menchikoff really departed from Bujukdere for Odessa, the fact is that, having failed in his mission, (*manqué son effet*), no alternative was left to him but to withdraw, from station to station."

Some papers assert that the fleet of Admiral Delasusse, has passed the Dardanelles, and is now at anchor in the Golden Horn, but this assertion is contradicted by the *Morning Post*. The *Triester Zeitung* assures its readers that, before giving an answer to Prince Menchikoff, the Porte had asked Lord Redcliffe and M. de la Cour whether it could eventually count upon their support. To this *The Times* gives its solemn contradiction.

I now give you a literal translation from the Paris *Siècle*, containing some curious details with respect to the negotiations from May 5 to 12th at Constantinople—an exposure of the ridiculous behavior of Prince Menchikoff, who, in the whole of this transaction, has combined in a most disgusting style, Northern barbarity with Byzantine duplicity, and has succeeded in making Russia the laughing-stock of Europe. This "Grec du Bas-Empire" presumed to conquer the sovereignty over a whole empire by mere theatrical performances. For Russia there remains no step from the sublime to the ridicule—a ridicule which can only be wiped out by blood. But these days of stockjobbing moneyocracy are not the days of chivalrous tournaments. The article in the *Siècle* runs thus:—

"On Thursday, the 5th of May, the day of departure of the French steam-packet, the Sublime Porte communicated copies of the firman resolving the question of the Holy Places to M. de la Cour and Prince Menschikoff. The day passed away without any declamation, without any *démarche* on the part of Prince Menchikoff, and all the ambassadors, thinking that question to be settled, profited by the departure of the French steamer, for the announcement of the happy turn of affairs to their respective governments. Prince Menchikoff, however, who had just accepted the firman respecting the Holy

Places, dispatched, as soon as midnight had arrived, a common *cavas*, i.e. a gens d'armes to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with an ultimatum in which he demanded a *sened* (treaty) containing the solution of the Holy Shrines' question *and* the future guaranty of the privileges and immunities of the

5 Greek Church, i.e. the most extensive protectorate of that Church for the benefit of Russia, such as would establish two distinct Emperors in Turkey—the Sultan for the Mussulmans, and the Czar for the Christians. For answering this ultimatum, the Prince allowed only four days to the Porte, requiring, besides, an immediate acknowledgment of the receipt of his ultimatum by

10 a government officer. The Minister of Foreign Affairs returned him a kind of receipt by his aga, an inferior officer of the gendarmery. The Prince dispatched a steamer for Odessa in the course of the same night. On Friday, 6th, the Sultan, having been informed of the presentation of the ultimatum by such an unusual proceeding, called together the Divan, and gave official

15 notice to Lord Redcliffe and M. de la Cour of what had happened. Those two ambassadors immediately concerted measures for a common policy, advising the Porte to reject the ultimatum with the greatest moderation in language and terms. M. de la Cour, besides, is said to have most formally declared that France should oppose every Convention infringing the rights

20 secured to her by the treaty of 1740, respecting the Holy Places. Prince Menchikoff, in the mean time, had retired to Bujukdere (like Achilles to his tent.) Mr. Carming, on the 9th, there requested an interview with the Prince with a view of engaging him to a more moderate conduct. Refused. On the 10th the Ministers of War and of Foreign Affairs, were at the Grand Vizir's,

25 who had invited Prince Menchikoff to join him there for the purpose of attempting to arrive at a reasonable arrangement. Refused. Nevertheless, Prince Menchikoff had intimated to the Porte that he was inclined to grant a further delay of three days. Then, however, the Sultan and his Ministers replied, that their resolutions were taken and that time would not modify

30 them. This negative answer of the Porte was sent toward midnight on the 10th, to Bujukdere, where the whole of the Russian Embassy was collected, and where demonstrations for an approaching departure had been made for several days past. The Turkish Ministry, informed of this circumstance, was just about to yield, when the Sultan dismissed it and formed a new Ad-

35 ministration."

I conclude my report on Turkish affairs by an excerpt from the *Constitutionnel*, showing the conduct of the Greek clergy during all these transactions.

"The Greek clergy, so deeply interested in this question, had pronounced

40 in favor of the *status quo*, i.e., in favor of the Porte. They are protesting *en masse* against the protectorate threatened to be imposed on them by the

Karl Marx

Emperor of Russia. Generally speaking, the Greeks desire the support of Russia, but only on condition of not being subject to her direct domination. It is repulsive to their minds to think that the Oriental Church, which is the mother of the Russian Church, should ever become subordinate to the latter, a thing which of necessity would happen, if the designs of the Petersburg Cabinet should be accepted."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Revolution in China and in Europe

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3794, 14. Juni 1853

Revolution in China and in Europe.

A most profound yet fantastic speculator on the principles which govern the movements of Humanity, was wont to extol as one of the ruling secrets of nature, what he called the law of the contact of extremes. The homely proverb that "extremes meet" was, in his view, a grand and potent truth in every sphere of life; an axiom with which the philosopher could as little dispense as the astronomer with the laws of Kepler or the great discovery of Newton.

Whether the "contact of extremes" be such a universal principle or not, a striking illustration of it may be seen in the effect the Chinese revolution seems likely to exercise upon the civilized world. It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of Government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire,—the very opposite of Europe,—than on any other political cause that now exists,—more even than on the menaces of Russia and the consequent likelihood of a general European war. But yet it is no paradox, as all may understand by attentively considering the circumstances of the case.

Whatever be the social causes, and whatever religious, dynastic, or national shape they may assume, that have brought about the chronic rebellions subsisting in China for about ten years past, and now gathered together in one formidable revolution, the occasion of this outbreak has unquestionably been afforded by the English cannon forcing upon China that soporific drug called opium. Before the British arms the authority of the Manchou dynasty fell to pieces; the superstitious faith in the eternity of the Celestial Empire broke down; the barbarous and hermetic isolation from the civilized world was infringed; and an opening was made for that intercourse which has since proceeded so rapidly under the golden attractions of California and Australia.

At the same time the silver coin of the Empire, its lifeblood, began to be drained away to the British East Indies.

Up to 1830, the balance of trade being continually in favor of the Chinese, there existed an uninterrupted importation of silver from India, Britain and the United States into China. Since 1833, and especially since 1840, the export of silver from China to India has become almost exhausting for the Celestial Empire. Hence the strong decrees of the Emperor against the opium trade, responded to by still stronger resistance to his measures. Besides this immediate economical consequence, the bribery connected with opium smuggling has entirely demoralized the Chinese State officers in the Southern provinces. Just as the Emperor was wont to be considered the father of all China, so his officers were looked upon as sustaining the paternal relation to their respective districts. But this patriarchal authority, the only moral link embracing the vast machinery of the State, has gradually been corroded by the corruption of those officers, who have made great gains by conniving at opium smuggling. This has occurred principally in the same Southern provinces where the rebellion commenced. It is almost needless to observe that, in the same measure in which opium has obtained the sovereignty over the Chinese, the Emperor and his staff of pedantic mandarins have become dispossessed of their own sovereignty. It would seem as though history had first to make this whole people drunk before it could rouse them out of their hereditary stupidity.

Though scarcely existing in former times, the import of English cottons, and to a small extent of English woollens, has rapidly risen since 1833, the epoch when the monopoly of trade with China was transferred from the East India Company to private commerce, and on a much greater scale since 1840, the epoch when other nations, and especially our own, also obtained a share in the Chinese trade. This introduction of foreign manufactures has had a similar effect on the native industry to that which it formerly had on Asia Minor, Persia and India. In China the spinners and weavers have suffered greatly under this foreign competition, and the community has become unsettled in proportion.

The tribute to be paid to England after the unfortunate war of 1840, the great unproductive consumption of opium, the drain of the precious metals by this trade, the destructive influence of foreign competition on native manufactures, the demoralized condition of the public administration, produced two things: the old taxation became more burdensome and harassing, and new taxation was added to the old. Thus in a decree of the Emperor, dated Peking, Jan. 5, 1853, we find orders given to the viceroys and governors of the southern provinces of Woo-Chang and Han-Yang to remit and defer the payment of taxes, and especially not in any case to exact more than the

regular amount; for otherwise, says the decree, "how will the poor people be able to bear it?" "And thus, perhaps," continues the Emperor, "will my people, in a period of general hardship and distress, be exempted from the evils of being pursued and worried by the tax-gatherer." Such language as
5 this, and such concessions we remember to have heard from Austria, the China of Germany, in 1848.

All these dissolving agencies acting together on the finances, the morals, the industry, and political structure of China, received their full development under the English cannon in 1840, which broke down the authority of the
10 Emperor, and forced the Celestial Empire into contact with the terrestrial world. Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the
15 open air. Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution.

The attention of our readers has often been called to the unparalleled growth of British manufactures since 1850. Amid the most surprising pros-
20 perity, it has not been difficult to point out the clear symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis. Notwithstanding California and Australia, notwithstanding the immense and unprecedented emigration, there must ever, without any particular accident, in due time arrive a moment when the extension of the markets is unable to keep pace with the extension of British
25 Manufactures, and this disproportion must bring about a new crisis with the same certainty as it has done in the past. But, if one of the great markets suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England. The necessity for opening new markets,
30 or for extending the old ones, was one of the principle causes of the reduction of the British tea-duties, as, with an increased importation of tea, an increased exportation of manufactures to China was expected to take place. Now, the value of the annual exports from the United Kingdom to China amounted, before the repeal in 1833 of the trading monopoly possessed by the
35 East India Company, to only £600,000; in 1836, it reached the sum of £1,326,388; in 1845, it had risen to £2,394,827; in 1852, it amounted to about £3,000,000. The quantity of tea imported from China did not exceed, in 1793, 16,067,331 lbs.; but in 1845, it amounted to 50,714,657lbs.; in 1846, to 57,584,561 lbs.; it is now above 60,000,000lbs.

40 The tea crop of the last season will not prove short, as shown already by the export lists from Shanghai, of 2,000,000 lbs. above the preceding year.

This excess is to be accounted for by two circumstances. On one hand, the state of the market at the close of 1851 was much depressed, and the large surplus stock left has been thrown into the export of 1852. On the other hand, the recent accounts of the altered British legislation with regard to imports of tea, reaching China, have brought forward all the available teas to a ready market, at greatly enhanced prices. But with respect to the coming crop, the case stands very differently. This is shown by the following extracts from the correspondence of a large tea-firm in London: 5

"In Shanghai the terror is extreme. Gold has advanced upward of 25 per cent., *being eagerly sought for hoarding*; silver has so far disappeared that *none could be obtained* to pay the China dues on the British vessels requiring port clearance; and in consequence of which Mr. Alcock has consented to become responsible to the Chinese authorities for the payment of these dues, on receipt of East India Company's bills, or other approved securities. *The scarcity of the precious metals is one of the most unfavorable features, when viewed in reference to the immediate future of commerce, as this abstraction occurs precisely at that period when their use is most needed, to enable the tea and silk buyers to go into the interior and effect their purchases, for which a large portion of bullion is paid in advance, to enable the producers to carry on their operations* ____ At this period of the year it is usual to begin making arrangements for the new teas, whereas at present nothing is talked of but the means of protecting person and property, all transactions being at a stand ... If the means are not applied to secure the leaves in April and May, the early crop, which includes all the finer descriptions, both of black and green teas, will be as much lost as unreaped wheat at Christmas." 10 15 20 25

Now the means for securing the tea leaves, will certainly not be given by the English, American or French squadrons stationed in the Chinese seas, but these may easily, by their interference, produce such complications, as to cut off all transactions between the tea-producing interior and the tea-exporting sea ports. Thus, for the present crop, a rise in the prices must be expected—speculation has already commenced in London—and for the crop to come a large deficit is as good as certain. Nor is this all. The Chinese, ready though they may be, as are all people in periods of revolutionary convulsion, to sell off to the foreigner all the bulky commodities they have on hand, will, as the Orientals are used to do in the apprehension of great changes, set to hoarding, not taking much in return for their tea and silk, except hard money. England has accordingly to expect a rise in the price of one of her chief articles of consumption, a drain of bullion, and a great contraction of an important market for her cotton and woolen goods. Even *The Economist*, that optimist conjuror of all things menacing the tranquil minds of the mercantile community, is compelled to use language like this: 30 35 40

"We must not flatter ourselves with finding as extensive a market for our exports to China as hitherto ... It is more probable that our export trade to China should suffer, and that there should be a diminished demand for the produce of Manchester and Glasgow."

5 It must not be forgotten that the rise in the price of so indispensable an article as tea, and the contraction of so important a market as China, will coincide with a deficient harvest in Western Europe, and, therefore, with rising prices of meat, corn, and all other agricultural produce. Hence contracted markets for manufactures, because every rise in the prices of the first
10 necessities of life is counterbalanced, at home and abroad, by a corresponding deduction in the demand for manufactures. From every part of Great Britain complaints have been received on the backward state of most of the crops. *The Economist* says on this subject:

"In the South of England not only will there be left much land unsown,
15 until too late for a crop of any sort, but much of the sown land will prove to be foul, or otherwise in a bad state for corn-growing. On the wet or poor soils destined for wheat, signs that mischief is going on are apparent. The time for planting mangel-wurtzel may now be said to have passed away, and very little has been planted, while the time for preparing land for the turnip
20 is rapidly going by, without any adequate preparation for this important crop having been accomplished ... Oat-sowing has been much interfered with by the snow and rain. Few oats were sown early, and late sown oats seldom produce a large crop ... In many districts losses among the breeding flocks have been considerable."

25 The price of other farm-produce than corn is from 20 to 30, and even 50 per cent, higher than last year. On the Continent, corn has risen comparatively more than in England. Rye has risen in Belgium and Holland full 100 per cent. Wheat and other grains are following suit.

Under these circumstances, as the greater part of the regular commercial
30 circle has already been run through by British trade, it may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent. It would be a curious spectacle, that of China
35 sending disorder into the Western World while the Western powers, by English, French and American war-steamers, are conveying "order" to Shanghai, Nankin, and the mouths of the Great Canal. Do these order-mongering powers, which would attempt to support the wavering Mantchou dynasty, forget that the hatred against foreigners and their exclusion from
40 the Empire, once the mere result of China's geographical and ethnographical situation, have become a political system only since the conquest of the

country by the race of the Mantchou Tartars? There can be no doubt that the turbulent dissensions among the European nations who, at the later end of the 17th century, rivaled each other in the trade with China, lent a mighty aid to the exclusive policy adapted by the Mantchous. But more than this was done by the fear of the new dynasty, lest the foreigners might favor the discontent existing among a large proportion of the Chinese during the first half century or thereabouts of their subjection to the Tartars. From these considerations, foreigners were then prohibited from all communication with the Chinese, except through Canton, a town at a great distance from Pekín and the tea-districts, and their commerce restricted to intercourse with the Hong merchants, licensed by the Government expressly for the foreign trade, in order to keep the rest of its subjects from all connection with the odious strangers. In any case an interference on the part of the Western Governments at this time can only serve to render the revolution more violent, and protract the stagnation of trade.

At the same time it is to be observed with regard to India, that the British Government of that country depends for full one seventh of its revenue on the sale of opium to the Chinese, while a considerable proportion of the Indian demand for British manufactures depends on the production of that opium in India. The Chinese, it is true, are no more likely to renounce the use of opium than are the Germans to forswear tobacco. But as the new Emperor is understood to be favorable to the culture of the poppy and the preparation of opium in China itself, it is evident that a death-blow is very likely to be struck at once at the business of opium-raising in India, the Indian revenue, and the commercial resources of Hindostán. Though this blow would not immediately be felt by the interests concerned, it would operate effectually in due time, and would come in to intensify and prolong the universal financial crisis whose horoscope we have cast above.

Since the commencement of the eighteenth century there has been no serious revolution in Europe which had not been preceded by a commercial and financial crisis. This applies no less to the revolution of 1789 than to that of 1848. It is true, not only that we every day behold more threatening symptoms of conflict between the ruling powers and their subjects, between the State and society, between the various classes; but also the conflict of the existing powers among each other gradually reaching that high where the sword must be drawn and the *ultima ratio* of princes be recurred to. In the European capitals, every day brings dispatches big with universal war, vanishing under the dispatches of the following day, bearing the assurance of peace for a week or so. We may be sure, nevertheless, that to whatever high the conflict between the European powers may rise, however threatening the aspect of the diplomatic horizon may appear, whatever movements

may be attempted by some enthusiastic fraction in this or that country, the rage of princes and the fury of the people are alike enervated by the breath of prosperity. Neither wars nor revolutions are likely to put Europe by the ears, unless in consequence of a general commercial and industrial crisis,
5 the signal of which has, as usual, to be given by England, the representative of European industry in the market of the world.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the political consequences such a crisis must produce in these times, with the unprecedented extension of factories in England, with the utter dissolution of her official parties, with the whole State
10 machinery of France transformed into one immense swindling and stock-jobbing concern, with Austria on the eve of bankruptcy, with wrongs everywhere accumulated to be revenged by the people, with the conflicting interests of the reactionary powers themselves, and with the Russian dream of conquest once more revealed to the world.

Karl Marx
The Turkish Question—"The Times"—
Russian Aggrandizement

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3794, 14. Juni 1853

**The Turkish Question—The Times-
Russian Aggrandizement.**

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune.

London, Tuesday, May 31, 1853.

Admiral Corry's fleet has been seen in the Bay of Biscay on the way to Malta, 5
where it is to reinforce the squadron of Admiral Dundas. *The Morning Herald*
justly observes:

"Had Admiral Dundas been permitted to join the French squadron at
Salamis, several weeks ago, the present state of affairs would be quite dif-
ferent." 10

Should Russia attempt, were it only for the salvation of appearances, to
back up the ridiculous demonstrations of Menchikoff by actual maneuvers
of war, her first two steps would probably consist in the re-occupation of
the Danubian principalities, and in the invasion of the Armenian province
of Kars and the port of Batoum, territories which she made every effort to 15
secure by the treaty of Adrianople. The port of Batoum being the only safe
refuge for ships in the eastern part of the Black Sea, its possession would
deprive Turkey of her last naval station in the Pontus and make the latter
an exclusively Russian Sea. This port added to the possession of Kars, the
richest and best cultivated portion of Armenia, would enable Russia to cut 20
off the commerce of England with Persia by way of Trebisonde, and afford
a basis of operations against the latter power, as well as against Asia Minor.
If, however, England and France hold firm, Nicholas will no more carry out
his projects in that quarter, than the Empress Catherine carried out hers
against Aga Mahmed, when he commanded his slaves to drive the Russian 25
Ambassador Voinovitch and his companions with scourges to their ships,
away from Asterabad.

In no quarter did the latest news create greater consternation than in Printing-House-square. The first attempt made by *The Times* to lift up its head under the terrible blow, was a desperate diatribe against the electric telegraph, that "most extraordinary" instrument. "No correct conclusions could
5 be drawn," it exclaimed, "from that mendacious wire." Having thus laid its own incorrect conclusions to the fault of the electric wire, *The Times*, after the statement of Ministers in Parliament, endeavors now also to get rid of its ancient "correct" premises. It says:

"Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the Ottoman Empire, or rather of
10 that Mohammedan Power which has ruled it for four centuries, there can be no difference of opinion between *all* parties in this country and in Europe, that the gradual progress of the indigenous Christian population toward civilization and independent government is the interest of the world, and that these races of men ought never to be suffered to fall under the yoke of Russia,
15 and to swell her gigantic dominions. On that point we confidently hope, that the resistance offered to these pretensions of Russia would be not only that of Turkey, but of all Europe; and this spirit of annexation and aggrandizement needs but to display itself in its true shape to excite universal antipathy and an insurmountable opposition, in which the Greek and Slavonian sub-
20 jects of Turkey are themselves prepared to take a great part."

How did it happen, that the poor *Times* believed in the "good faith" of Russia toward Turkey, and her "antipathy" against all aggrandizement? The good will of Russia toward Turkey! Peter I. proposed to raise himself on the ruins of Turkey. Catherine persuaded Austria, and called upon France to
25 participate in the proposed dismemberment of Turkey, and the establishment of a Greek Empire at Constantinople, under her grandson, who had been educated and even named with a view to this result. Nicholas, more moderate, only demands the *exclusive Protectorate* of Turkey. Mankind will not forget that Russia was the *protector oí* Poland, the *protector oí* the Crimea,
30 the *protector* of Courland, the *protector oí* Georgia, Mingrelia, the Circassian and Caucasian tribes. And now Russia, the protector of Turkey! As to Russia's antipathy against aggrandizement, I allege the following facts from a mass of the acquisitions of Russia since Peter the Great.

The Russian frontier has advanced:

| | | |
|----|---|------------|
| 35 | Toward Berlin, Dresden and Vienna about | 700 miles. |
| | Toward Constantinople | 500 |
| | Toward Stockholm | 630 |
| | Toward Teheran | 1000 |

Russia's acquisitions from Sweden are greater than what remains of that
40 Kingdom; from Poland nearly equal to the Austrian Empire; from Turkey

Karl Marx

in Europe, greater than Prussia (exclusive of the Rhenish Provinces;) from Turkey in Asia, as large as the whole dominion of Germany proper; from Persia equal to England; from Tartary to an extent as large as European Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain, taken together. The total acquisitions of Russia during the last 60 years are equal in extent and importance to the whole Empire she had in Europe before that time.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Russian Humbug—Gladstone's Failure—
Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3801, 22. Juni 1853

The Russian Humbug—Gladstone's Failure— Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune

London, Tuesday, June 7, 1853.

5 According to a dispatch from Berne, the *Bundesrath* has canceled the judgment pronounced by the Court Martial at Fribourg against the late insurrectionists, ordering them to be brought before the Ordinary Courts, *unless* they should be pardoned by the Cantonal Council. Here, then, we have the first of the heroic deeds accompanying the "rupture between Switzerland
10 and Austria," the infallible result of which I traced in a former letter on the European "Model Republic."

In transmitting to you the news of the Prussian Government having ordered several Artillery officers on furlough abroad to return immediately to their duties, I stated, by mistake, that those officers were engaged in in-
15 structing the Russian army, while I intended to have said the Turkish artillery, in field-practice.

All the Russian Generals, and other Russians residing at Paris have received orders to return to Russia without delay. The language adopted by M. de Kisseleff, the Russian Envoy at Paris, is rather menacing, and letters
20 from Petersburg are ostentatiously shown by him, in which the Turkish question is treated *assez cavalièrement*. A rumor has issued from the same quarter, reporting that Russia demands from Persia the cession of the territory of Astrabad, at the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea. Russian merchants, at the same time, dispatch, or are *reported* to have dispatched,
25 orders to their London agents, "noit to press any sales of grain at the present juncture, as prices were expected to rise in the imminent eventuality of a war." Lastly, confidential hints are being communicated to every newspaper,

that the Russian troops are marching to the frontiers—that the inhabitants of Jassy are preparing for their reception—that the Russian Consul at Galatz has bought up an immense number of trees for the throwing of several bridges across the Danube, and other *canards*, the breeding of which has been so successfully carried on by the *Augsburg Gazette* and other Austro-Russian journals. 5

These, and a lot of similar reports, communications, etc., are nothing but so many ridiculous attempts on the part of the Russian agents to strike a wholesome terror into the western world, and to push it to the continuance of that policy of extension, under the cover of which Russia hopes, as heretofore, to carry out her projects upon the East. How systematically this game of mystification is being played, may be seen from the following: 10

Last week, several French papers notoriously in the pay of Russia, made the discovery, that the "real question was less between Russia and Turkey than between Petersburg and Moscow—i.e. between the Czar and the Old Russian party; and that for the autocrat, there would be less danger in war, than in the vengeance of that conquest-urging party, which has so often shown how it deals with monarchs that displease it." 15

Prince Menchikoff, of course, is the "head of this party." *The Times* and most of the English papers did not fail to reproduce this absurd statement, the one in consciousness of its meaning; the others, perhaps, its unconscious dupes. Now, what conclusion was the public intended to draw from this novel revelation? That Nicholas, in retreating under ridicule, and abandoning his warlike attitude against Turkey, has won a victory over his own warlike Old-Russians, or that Nicholas, in actually going to war, only does so from the necessity of yielding to that (fabulous) party. At all events, "there would only be a victory of Moscow over Petersburg, or of Petersburg over Moscow;" and, consequently, *none of Europe over Russia*. 20 25

Respecting this famous Old-Russian party, I happen to know from several well-informed Russians, aristocrats themselves, with whom I have had much intercourse at Paris, that it has long been entirely extinct, and is only occasionally called back into apparent existence, when the Czar stands in need of some bugbear to frighten the West of Europe into passive endurance of his arrogant claims. Hence the resurrection of a Menchikoff, and his appropriate outfit in the fabulous Old-Russian style. There is but one party among the Russian nobles actually feared by the Czar—the party whose aim is the establishment of an aristocratico-constitutional system, after the pattern of England. 30 35

Besides these different spectres conjured up by Russian diplomacy, for the misguidance of England and France, another attempt to bring about the same result has just been made, by the publication of a work entitled, *L'Em-* 40

pire Russe depuis le Congrès de Vienne, by Viscount de Beaumont-Vassy. It will be sufficient to extract one sentence only, for the purpose of characterising this *opusculum*:

"It is well known that a deposit of coin and ingots exists in the cellar of
5 the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. This *hidden treasure* was officially estimated, on the 1st of January, 1850, at 99,763,361 silver rubles."

Has any one ever presumed to speak of the *hidden treasure* in the Bank of England? The "hidden treasure" of Russia is simply the metal reserve balancing a three times larger circulation of *convertible* notes, not to speak
10 of the *hidden* amount of inconvertible paper issued by the Imperial Treasury. But, perhaps, this treasure may yet be called a "hidden" one, inasmuch as nobody has ever seen it, except the few Petersburg merchants selected by the Czar's Government for the annual inspection of the bags which hide it.

The chief demonstration of Russia in this direction is, however, an article
15 published in the *Journal des Débats*, and signed by M. de St.-Marc Girardin, that old Orleanist sage. I extract:

"Europe has two great perils, according to us: *Russia*, which menaces her independence; and the *Revolution*, which menaces her *social order*. Now, she cannot be saved from one of these perils except by exposing herself
20 entirely to the other. Does Europe believe that the knot of her independence, and especially of the independence of the Continent, is at Constantinople, and that it is there that the question must be boldly decided; then, that is war against Russia. In that war France and England would struggle to establish the independence of Europe. What would Germany do? We know not. But
25 what we know is, *that in the present state of Europe, war would be the social revolution.*"

As a matter of course, M. de St.-Marc Girardin concludes in favor of peace on any condition against the social revolution, forgetting, however, that the Emperor of Russia has, at least, as much "horreur" of the revolution as he
30 himself and his proprietor, M. Bertin.

Notwithstanding all these soporifics, administered by Russian diplomacy to the Press and people of England, "that old and obstinate" Aberdeen has been compelled to order Admiral Dundas to join the French fleet on the coast of Turkey, and even *The Times*, which, during the last few months, knew
35 only how to write Russian, seems to have received a more English inspiration. It talks now very big.

The Danish (once Schleswig-Holstein) question is beginning to create considerable interest in England, since the English Press, too, has at length discovered that it involves the same principle of Russian extension, as
40 supplies the foundation of the Eastern complication. Mr. Urquhart, M.P., the well-known admirer of Turkey and Eastern Institutions, has published a

pamphlet on the Danish Succession, of which an account will be given in a future letter. The chief argument put forward in this publication is that the Sound is intended by Russia to perform the same functions for her in the North as the Dardanelles in the South, viz., the securing her maritime supremacy over the Baltic, in the same manner as the occupation of the Dardanelles would do with regard to the Euxine. 5

Some time since I gave you my opinion that the rate of interest would rise in England, and that such an occurrence would have an unfavorable effect on Mr. Gladstone's financial projects. Now, the minimum rate of discount has in the past week been actually raised by the Bank of England from 3 per cent, to 3½ per cent., and the failure I predicted for Mr. Gladstone's scheme of conversion has become already a fact, as you may see from the following statement: 10

Bank of England, Thursday, June 2, 1853.

| | | |
|--|-------------------|----|
| Amount of new stock accepted until this day: | | 15 |
| 37½ per cent | £ 138,082 0s 3d | |
| 27½ per cent | 1,537,100 15s 10d | |
| Exchequer Bonds | 4,200 0s 0d | |
| Total | £1,679,382 16s 1d | |

South Sea House, Thursday, June 2, 1853. 20

| | | |
|--|-------------------|----|
| Amount of convertible annuities till this day: | | |
| For 37½ per cent annuities | £ 67,504 12s 8d | |
| For 27½ per cent annuities | 986,528 5s 7d | |
| Exchequer Bonds | 5,270 18s 4d | |
| Total | £1,059,303 16s 7d | 25 |

Thus, of the whole amount of South Sea annuities offered for conversion, only one-eighth has been taken, and of the twenty millions new stock created by Mr. Gladstone, only one-twelfth has been accepted. Mr. Gladstone will, therefore, be obliged to contract for a loan at a time when the rate of interest has increased and will most likely continue to increase, which loan must amount to £8,157,811. Failure! The saving of £100,000 anticipated from this conversion, and already placed to the credit of the Budget, has, accordingly, to be dispensed with. Respecting the great bulk of the Public Debt, viz: the £500,000,000 of 3 per cents, Mr. Gladstone has obtained, as the only result of his financial experiment, that another year will have elapsed on the 10th of Oct., 1853, during which he has been unable to give notice of any conversion. The greatest mischief, however, is this, that £3,116,000 must be paid in money in a few days to holders of Exchequer Bills, who refuse to renew them on the terms offered by Mr. Gladstone. Such is the financial success of the Government of "all the talents." 30 35 40

Lord John Russell, in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Ireland, (House of Commons, 31st ult.) expressed himself as follows:

"It has been evident, of late years, that the Roman Catholic Clergy—looking to its proceedings in this country—looking to that church acting under
5 the direction of its head, who himself a foreign sovereign, has aimed at political power, (hear! hear!) which appears to me to be at variance with the due attachment to the Crown of this country, (hear! hear!)—with the due attachment to the general cause of liberty—with the due attachment to the duties a subject of the State should perform toward it—now, as I wish to speak
10 with as much frankness as the honorable gentleman who spoke last, let me not be misunderstood in this House. I am far from denying that there are many members of this House, and many members of the Roman Catholic persuasion, both in *this country* and in Ireland, who are attached to the Throne, and to the liberties of *this country*; but what I am saying, and that
15 of which I am convinced, is, that if the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence than they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the *general freedom* that prevails in *this country*—(Hurrah!)—and that neither in respect of political power, nor upon
20 other subjects, would they favor that *general freedom* of discussion and that activity and energy of the human mind, that belongs to the spirit of the constitution of *this country*. (Flourish of trumpets!) I do not think that, in that respect, they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland, (bag-pipes!) the Wesleyans of *this country*, and the Established Church of *this*
25 *country*. (General rapture.) ... I am obliged, then to conclude, most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly, that the endowment of the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland, in the place of the endowment of the Protestant Church in *that country*, in connection with the State, is not an object which the Parliament of *this country* ought to adopt or to sanction."

30 Two days after this speech of Lord John, in which he attempted for the six-thousandth time, to make a show of his love of "general freedom," by his zealous genuflexions before particular sects of Protestant bigotry, Messrs. Sadleir, Keogh, and Monsell gave in their resignations to the Coalition Ministry, in a letter addressed by Mr. Monsell to My Lord Aberdeen.
35 My Lord Aberdeen in his answer dated 3d June, assures these gentlemen that

"The reasons given by Lord John Russell and the sentiments of which you complain, are not shared by me, nor by many of my colleagues____Lord John Russell desires me to say, that he did not impute want of loyalty to the Roman
40 Catholics."

Messrs. Sadleir, Keogh and Monsell accordingly withdrew their resigna-

tions, and the arrangements for a general reconciliation passed off last night in Parliament, "to the greatest satisfaction of Lord John Russell."

The last India Bill of 1783 proved fatal to the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Fox and Lord North. The new India Bill of 1853 is likely to prove fatal for the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell. But if the former 5
 were thrown overboard, because of their attempt to abolish the Courts of Directors and of Proprietors, the latter are threatened with a similar fate for the opposite reason. On June 3, Sir Charles Wood moved for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the Government of India. Sir Charles commenced by excusing the anomalous length of the speech he was about to deliver, by the 10
 "magnitude of the subject," and "the 150,000,000 of souls he had to deal with." For every 30,000,000 of his fellow-subjects, Sir Charles could do no less than sacrifice one hour's breath. But why this precipitate legislation on that "great subject," while you postpone it "for even the most trifling matters?" Because the Charter of the East India Company expires on the 15
 30th April, 1854. But why not pass a temporary continuance bill, reserving to future discussion more permanent legislation? Because it cannot be expected that we shall ever find again "such an opportunity of dealing quietly with this vast and important question"—i.e., of burking it in a Parliamentary way. Besides, we are fully informed on the matter, the Directors of the East 20
 India Company express the opinion that it is necessary to legislate in the course of the present session, and the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, summons the Government by an express letter by all means to conclude our legislation at once. But the most striking argument wherewith Sir Charles justifies his immediate legislation is that, prepared as he may 25
 appear to speak of a world of questions, "not comprised in the bill he proposed to bring in," the *measure* which he has to submit is, so far as legislation goes, *comprised in a very small compass.*" After this introduction Sir Charles delivered himself of an apology for the administration of India for the last twenty years. "We must look at India with somewhat of an Indian 30
 eye"—which Indian eye seems to have the particular gift of seeing everything bright on the part of England and everything black on the side of India. "In India you have a race of people slow of change, bound up by religious prejudices and antiquated customs. There are, in fact, all obstacles to rapid progress." (Perhaps there is a Whig Coalition party in India.) "The points," 35
 said Sir Charles Wood, "upon which the greatest stress has been laid, and which are the heads of the complaints contained in the petitions presented to the Committee, relate to the administration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenure of land." With regard to the Public Works, the Government *intends* to undertake some of "the greatest magnitude and importance." 40
 With regard to the tenure of lands, Sir Charles proves very successfully that

its three existing forms—the *Zemindary*, the *Ryotwari*, and the *Village* systems—are only so many forms of fiscal *exploitation* in the hands of the Company, none of which could well be made general, nor deserved to be made so. An idea of establishing another form, of an altogether opposite

5 character, does not in the least preoccupy the mind of Sir Charles. "With regard to the *administration of justice*," continues he, "the complaints relate principally to the inconvenience arising from the technicalities of English law, to the alleged incompetency of English judges, and to the corruption of the native officers and judges." And now, in order to prove the hard labor

10 of providing for the administration of justice in India, Sir Charles relates that already, as early as 1833, a Law Commission was appointed in India. But in what manner did this Commission act, according to Sir Charles Wood's own testimony? The first and last result of the labors of that Commission was a *penal code*, prepared under the auspices of Mr. Macaulay. This code

15 was sent to the various local authorities in India, which sent it back to Calcutta, from which it was sent to England, to be again returned from England to India. In India, Mr. Macaulay having been replaced as legislative counsel by Mr. Bethune, the code was totally altered, and on this plea the Governor-General, not being then of opinion "that delay is a source of

20 weakness and danger," sent it back to England, and from England it was returned to the Governor-General, with authority to pass the code in whatever shape he thought best. But now, Mr. Bethune having died, the Governor-General thought best to submit the code to a third English lawyer, and to a lawyer who knew nothing about the habits and customs of the Hindoos,

25 reserving himself the right of afterward rejecting a code concocted by wholly incompetent authority. Such have been the adventures of that yet unborn code. As to the technical absurdities of the law in India, Sir Charles takes his stand on the no less absurd technicalities of the English law-procedure itself; but while affirming the perfect incorruptibility of the English judges

30 in India, he nevertheless is ready to sacrifice them by an alteration in the manner of nominating them. The general progress of India is demonstrated by a comparison of the present state of Delhi with that under the invasion of Khuli-Khan. The salt-tax is justified by the arguments of the most renowned political economists, all of whom have advised taxation to be laid

35 on some article of first necessity. But Sir Charles does not add what those same economists would have said, on finding that in the two years from 1849—'50, and 1851—52, there had been a decrease in the consumption of salt, of 60,000 tuns, a loss of revenue to the amount of £415,000, the total salt revenue amounting to £2,000,000. The measures proposed by Sir Charles,

40 and "comprised in a very small compass," are:

1. The Court of Directors, to consist of eighteen instead of twenty

Karl Marx

four members, twelve to be elected by the Proprietors, and six by the Crown.

2. The revenue of Directors to be raised from £300 to £500 a year, the Chairman to receive £1,000.

3. All the ordinary appointments in the civil service, and all the scientific in the military service of India, to be thrown open to public competition, leaving to the Directors the nomination to the Cadetships in the Cavalry-of-the-Line. 5

4. The Governor-Generalship to be separated from the Governorship of Bengal, and power to be given to the Supreme Government to constitute a new Presidency in the districts on the Indus. 10

5. And lastly, the whole of this measure only to continue until the Parliament shall provide otherwise.

The speech and measure of Sir Charles Wood was subjected to a very strong and satirical criticism by Mr. Bright, whose picture of India ruined by the fiscal exertions of the Company and Government did not, of course, receive the supplement of India ruined by Manchester and Free Trade. As to last night's speech of an Old East-Indiaman, Sir J.Hogg, Director or ex-Director of the Company, I really suspect that I have met with it already in 1701, 1730, 1743, 1769, 1772, 1781, 1783, 1784, 1793, 1813, etc., and am induced, by way of answer to his directorial panegyric, to quote merely a few facts from the annual Indian accounts published, I believe, under his own superintendence. 15 20

Total Net-Revenues of India:

| | | | |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1849-'50 | £20,275,831 - | Loss of Revenue within three years, | 25 |
| 1850-'51 | 20,249,932 > | £348,792. | |
| 1851-'52 | | | |

19,927,039 J

Total Charges:

| | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------------------------|----|
| 1849-'50 | £16,687,382 - | Increase of expenditure within three | |
| 1850-'51 | 17,170,707 γ | years, £1,214,284 | 30 |
| 1851-'52 | | | |

17,901,666 J

Land-Tax:

| | | | |
|---|------------|---------------|----|
| Bengal oscillated in last four years from | £3,500,000 | to £3,560,000 | |
| North West oscillated in last four years from | 4,870,000 | 4,990,000 | 35 |
| Madras oscillated in last four years from | 3,640,000 | 3,470,000 | |
| Bombay oscillated in last four years from | 2,240,000 | 2,300,000 | 40 |

The Russian Humbug—Gladstone's Failure—Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms

| | Gross Revenue in 1851-52. | Expenditure on Public Works in 1851-52. |
|----------|------------------------------|--|
| Bengal | £10,000,000 | £ 87,800 |
| Madras | 5,000,000 | 20,000 |
| Bombay | 4,300,000 | 58,590 |
| 5 Out of | £19,300,000 | but £166,390 |

have been expended on roads, canals, bridges and other works of public necessity.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The British Rule in India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3804, 25. Juni 1853

The British Rule in India.

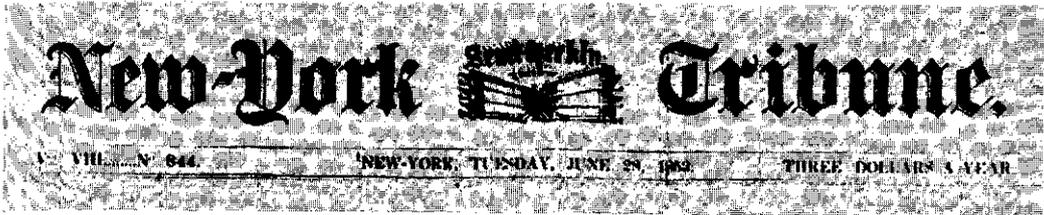
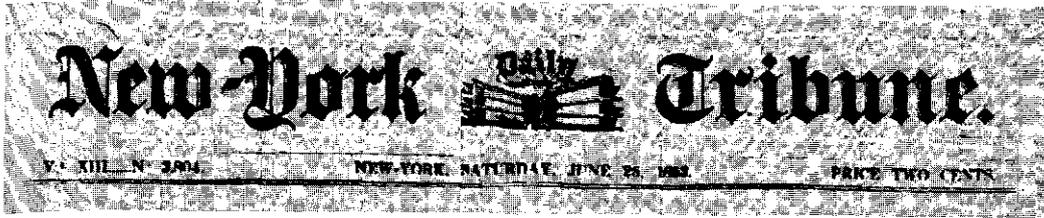
Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, June 10, 1853.

Telegraphic dispatches from Vienna announce that the pacific solution of the Turkish, Sardinian and Swiss questions, is regarded there as a certainty. 5

Last night the debate on India was continued in the House of Commons, in the usual dull manner. Mr. Blackett charged the statements of Sir Charles Wood and Sir J. Hogg with bearing the stamp of optimist falsehood. A lot of Ministerial and Directorial advocates rebuked the charge as well as they could, and the inevitable Mr. Hume summed up by calling on Ministers to withdraw their bill. Debate adjourned. 10

Hindostán is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, the Himalayas for the Alps, the Plains of Bengal for the Plains of Lombardy, the Deccan for the Apennines, and the Isle of Ceylon for the Island of Sicily. The same rich variety in the products of the soil, and the same dismemberment in the political configuration. Just as Italy has, from time to time, been compressed by the conqueror's sword into different national masses, so do we find Hindostán, when not under the pressure of the Mohammedan, or the Mogul, or the Briton, dissolved into as many independent and conflicting States as it numbered towns, or even villages. Yet, in a social point of view, Hindostán is not the Italy, but the Ireland of the East. And this strange combination of Italy and of Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness and of a world of woes, is anticipated in the ancient traditions of the religion of Hindostán. That religion is at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religion of the Lingam and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadere. 15 20 25



Köpfe der drei Ausgaben der „New-York Tribune“,
in denen Marx' Artikel „The British Rule in India“ erschien

The British Rule in India

I share not the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindostán, without recurring, however, like Sir Charles Wood, for the confirmation of my view, to the authority of Khuli-Khan. But take, for example, the times
" of Aurung-Zebe; or the epoch, when the Mogul appeared in the North, and
5 the Portuguese in the South; or the age of Mohammedan invasion, and of the Heptarchy in Southern India; or, if you will, go still more back to antiquity, take the mythological chronology of the Brahman himself, who places the commencement of Indian misery in an epoch even more remote than the Christian creation of the world.

10 There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindostán is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindostán had to suffer before. I do not allude to European despotism, planted upon Asiatic despotism, by the British East India Company, forming a more monstrous combination than any of the
15 divine monsters startling us in the Temple of Salsette. This is no distinctive feature of British Colonial rule, but only an imitation of the Dutch, and so much so that in order to characterise the working of the British East India Company, it is sufficient to literally repeat what Sir Stamford Raffles, the *English* Governor of Java, said of the old Dutch East India Company:

20 "The Dutch Company, actuated solely by the spirit of gain, and viewing their subjects, with less regard or consideration than a West India planter formerly viewed a gang upon his estate, because the latter had paid the purchase money of human property, which the other had not, employed all the pre-existing machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people their
25 utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labor, and thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semi-barbarous Government, by working it with all the practised ingenuity of politicians, and all the monopolizing selfishness of traders."

AH the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely
30 complex, rapid, and destructive as the successive action in Hindostán may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo, and
35 separates Hindostán, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history.

There have been in Asia, generally, from immemorial times, but three departments of Government; that of Finance, or the plunder of the interior; that of War, or the plunder of the exterior; and, finally, the department of
40 Public Works. Climate and territorial conditions, especially the vast tracts of desert, extending from the Sahara, through Arabia, Persia, India, and

Tartary, to the most elevated Asiatic highlands, constituted artificial irrigation by canals and water-works the basis of Oriental agriculture. As in Egypt and India, inundations are used for fertilizing the soil in Mesopotamia, Persia, etc.; advantage is taken of a high level for feeding irrigative canals. This prime necessity of an economical and common use of water, which, in the Occident, drove private enterprise to voluntary association, as in Flanders and Italy, necessitated, in the Orient where civilization was too low and the territorial extent too vast to call into life voluntary association, the interference of the centralizing power of Government. Hence an economical function devolved upon all Asiatic Governments the function of providing public works. This artificial fertilization of the soil, dependent on a Central Government, and immediately decaying with the neglect of irrigation and drainage, explains the otherwise strange fact that we now find whole territories barren and desert that were once brilliantly cultivated, as Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in Yemen, and large provinces of Egypt, Persia, and Hindostán; it also explains how a single war of devastation has been able to depopulate a country for centuries, and to strip it of all its civilization.

Now, the British in East India accepted from their predecessors the department of finance and of war, but they have neglected entirely that of public works. Hence the deterioration of an agriculture which is not capable of being conducted on the British principle of free competition, of *laissez-faire* and *laissez-aller*. But in Asiatic empires we are quite accustomed to see agriculture deteriorating under one government and reviving again under some other government. There the harvests correspond to good or bad government, as they change in Europe with good or bad seasons. Thus the oppression and neglect of agriculture, bad as it is, could not be looked upon as the final blow dealt to Indian society by the British intruder, had it not been attended by a circumstance of quite different importance, a novelty in the annals of the whole Asiatic world. However changing the political aspect of India's past must appear, its social condition has remained unaltered since its remotest antiquity, until the first decennium of the 19th century. The hand-loom and the spinning-wheel, producing their regular myriads of spinners and weavers, were the pivots of the structure of that society. From immemorial times, Europe received the admirable textures of Indian labor, sending in return for them her precious metals, and furnishing thereby his material to the goldsmith, that indispensable member of Indian society, whose love of finery is so great that even the lowest class, those who go about nearly naked, have commonly a pair of golden ear-rings and a gold ornament of some kind hung round their necks. Rings on the fingers and toes have also been common. Women as well as children frequently wore massive bracelets and anklets of gold or silver, and statuettes of divinities in gold and silver

were met with in the households. It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindostán, and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton
5 with cottons. From 1818 to 1836 the export of twist from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. In 1824 the export of British muslins to India hardly amounted to 1,000,000 yards, while in 1837 it surpassed 64,000,000 of yards. But at the same time the population of Dacca decreased from 150,000 inhabitants to 20,000. This decline of Indian towns celebrated
10 for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence. British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindostán, the union between agricultural and manufacturing industry.

These two circumstances—the Hindoo, on the one hand, leaving, like all Oriental peoples, to the central government the care of the great public
15 works, the prime condition of his agriculture and commerce, dispersed, on the other hand, over the surface of the country, and agglomerated in small centers by the domestic union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits—these two circumstances had brought about, since the remotest times, a social system of particular features—the so-called village-system, which gave
20 to each of these small unions their independent organization and distinct life. The peculiar character of this system may be judged from the following description, contained in an old official report of the British House of Commons on Indian affairs:

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising
25 some hundred or thousand acres of arable and waste lands ; politically viewed it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: The *potail*, or head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs
30 the duty of collecting the revenue within his village, a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people render him the best qualified for this charge. The *kurnum* keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it. The *tallier* and the *totie*, the duty of the former of which consists in gaining information
35 of crimes and offenses, and in escorting and protecting persons traveling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The *boundary-man*, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in cases
40 of dispute. The Superintendent of Tanks and Watercourses distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture. The Brahmin, who performs the village

worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write in the sand. The calendar bralimin, or astrologer, etc. These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the above-named number of individuals. Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine or disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged. The potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge or magistrate, and collector or renter of the village."

These small stereotype forms of social organism have been to the greater part dissolved, and are disappearing, not so much through the brutal interference of the British tax-gatherer and the British soldier, as to the working of English steam and English free trade. Those family-communities were based on domestic industry, in that peculiar combination of hand-weaving, hand-spinning and hand-tilling agriculture which gave them self-supporting power. English interference having placed the spinner in Lancashire and the weaver in Bengal, or sweeping away both Hindoo spinner and weaver, dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities, by blowing up their economical basis, and thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only *social* revolution ever heard of in Asia.

Now, sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilization, and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village-communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the perpetration of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the population of large towns, with no other consideration bestowed upon them than on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice it at

all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindostán. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, and Sabbala, the cow.

England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindostán, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution.

Then, whatever bitterness the spectacle of the crumbling of an ancient world may have for our personal feelings, we have the right, in point of history, to exclaim with Goethe:

"Sollte diese Qual uns quälen
Da sie unsre Lust vermehrt,
Hat nicht Myriaden Seelen
Timur's Herrschaft aufgezehrt?"

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
English Prosperity—Strikes—
The Turkish Question—India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3809, LJuli 1853

English Prosperity—Strikes— The Turkish Question—India.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, June 17, 1853.

| | | |
|--|-------------|---|
| The declared value of British exports for the month of | | 5 |
| April, 1853, amounts to | £ 7,578,910 | |
| Against, for April, 1852 | 5,268,915 | |
| For four months ending April 30 | 27,970,633 | |
| Against the same months of 1852 | 21,844,663 | |

Showing an increase, in the former instance, of £2,309,995, or upward of 40 per cent.; and in the latter of £6,125,970, or nearly 28 per cent. Supposing the increase to continue at the same rate, the total exports of Great Britain would amount, at the close of 1853, to more than £100,000,000. 10

The Times, in communicating these startling items to its readers, indulged in a kind of dithyrambics, concluding with the words: "We are all happy, and all united." This agreeable discovery had no sooner been trumpeted forth, than an almost general system of strikes burst over the whole surface of England, particularly in the industrial North, giving a strange echo to the song of harmony tuned by *The Times*. These strikes are the necessary consequence of a comparative decrease in the labor-surplus, coinciding with a general rise in the prices of the first necessities. 5,000 hands struck at Liverpool, 35,000 at Stockport, and so on, until at length the very police force was seized by the epidemic, and 250 constables at Manchester offered their resignation. On this occasion the middle-class press, for instance *The Globe*, lost all countenance, and foreswore its usual philanthropic effusions. It calumniated, injured, threatened, and called loudly upon the magistrates for interference, a thing which has actually been done at Liverpool in all cases 15 20 25

where the remotest legal pretext could be invoked. These magistrates, when not themselves manufacturers or traders, as is commonly the case in Lancashire and Yorkshire, are at least intimately connected with, and dependant on, the commercial interest. They have permitted manufacturers to escape
 5 from the Ten-Hours Act, to evade the Truck Act, and to infringe with impunity all other acts passed expressly against the "unadorned" rapacity of the manufacturer, while they interpret the Combination Act always in the most prejudiced and most unfavorable manner for the workingman. These same "gallant" free-traders, renowned for their indefatigability in de-
 10 nouncing government interference, these apostles of the bourgeois doctrine of *laissez-faire*, who profess to leave everything and everybody to the struggles of individual interest, are always the first to appeal to the interference of Government as soon as the individual interests of the working-man come into conflict with their own class-interests. In such moments of collision they
 15 look with open admiration at the Continental States, where despotic governments, though, indeed, not allowing the bourgeoisie to rule, at least prevent the working-men from resisting. In what manner the revolutionary party propose to make use of the present great conflict between masters and men, I have no better means of explaining than by communicating to you the
 20 foëowing letter, addressed to me by Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, on the eve of his departure for Lancashire, where the campaign is to be opened:

"My *dear Marx*: ... To-morrow, I start for Blackstone-Edge, where a camp-meeting of the Chartists of Yorkshire and Lancashire is to take place,
 25 and I am happy to inform you that the most extensive preparations for the same are making in the North. It is now seven years since a really national gathering took place on that spot sacred to the traditions of the Chartist movement, and the object of the present gathering is as follows: Through the treacheries and divisions of 1848, the disruption of the organization then
 30 existing, by the incarceration and banishment of 500 of its leading men—through the thinning of its ranks by emigration—through the deadening of political energy by the influences of brisk trade—the national movement of Chartism had converted itself into isolated action, and the organization dwindled at the very time that social knowledge spread. Meanwhile, a labor
 35 movement rose on the ruins of the political one—a labor movement emanating from the first blind gropings of social knowledge. This labor movement showed itself at first in isolated cooperative attempts ; then, when these were found to fail, in an energetic action for a ten-hour's bill, a restriction of the moving power, an abolition of the stoppage system in wages, and a fresh
 40 interpretation of the Combination Bill. To these measures, good in themselves, the whole power and attention of the working classes was directed.

The failure of the attempts to obtain legislative guaranties for these measures has thrown a more revolutionary tendency in the labor-mind of Britain. The opportunity is thus afforded for rallying the masses around the standard of real Social Reform; for it must be evident to all, that however good the measures above alluded to may be, to meet the passing exigencies of the moment, they offer no guaranties for the future, and embody no fundamental principle of social right. The opportunity thus given for a movement, the power for successfully carrying it out, is also afforded by the circumstances of the present time—the discontent of the people being accompanied by an amount of popular power which the comparative scarcity of workingmen affords in relation to the briskness of trade. Strikes are prevalent everywhere and generally successful. But it is lamentable to behold that the power which might be directed to a fundamental remedy, should be wasted on a temporary palliative. I am, therefore, attempting, in reorganizing with numerous friends, to seize this great opportunity for uniting the scattered ranks of Chartism on the sound principles of social revolution. For this purpose I have succeeded in reorganizing the dormant and extinct localities, and arranging for what I trust will be a general and imposing demonstration throughout England. The new campaign begins by the camp-meeting on Blackstone Edge, to be followed by mass meetings in all the manufacturing Counties, while our agents are at work in the agricultural districts, so as to unite the agricultural mind with the rest of the industrial body, a point which has hitherto been neglected in our movement. The first step will be a demand for the Charter, emanating from these mass meetings of the people and an attempt to press a motion on our corrupt Parliament for the enactment of that measure expressly and explicitly as the only means for social reform—a phase under which it has not yet been presented to the House. If the working classes support this movement, as I anticipate, from their response to my appeal the result must be important; for in case of refusal on the part of Parliament, the hollow professions of sham-liberals and philanthropic Tories will be exposed, and their last hold on popular credulity will be destroyed. In case of their consenting to entertain and discuss the motion, a torrent will be loosened which it will not be in the power of temporising expediency to stop. For you must be aware, from your close study of English politics, that there is no longer any pith or any strength in aristocracy or moneyocracy to resist any serious movement of the people. The governing powers consist only of a confused jumble of worn-out factions, that have run together like a ship's crew that have quarreled among themselves, join all hands at the pump to save the leaky vessel. There is no strength in them and the throwing of a few drops of bilge water into the democratic ocean will be utterly powerless to allay the raging of its waves. Such, my friend, is the opportunity I now

behold—such is the power wherewith I hope to see it used, and such is the first immediate object to which that power shall be directed. On the result of the first demonstration I shall again write to you.

Yours truly, Ernest Jones."

5 That there is no prospect at all of the intended Chartist petition being taken into consideration by Parliament, needs not to be proved by argument. Whatever illusions may have been entertained on this point, they must now vanish before the fact, that Parliament has just rejected, by a majority of 60 votes, the proposition for the ballot introduced by Mr. Berkeley, and
10 advocated by Messrs. Phillimore, Cobden, Bright, Sir Robert Peel, etc. And this is done by the very Parliament which went to the utmost in protesting against the intimidation and bribery employed at its own election, and neglected for months all serious business, for the whim of decimating itself in election inquiries. The only remedy, purity Johnny has yet found out against
15 bribery, intimidation and corrupt practices, has been the disfranchisement or rather the narrowing of constituencies. And there is no doubt that, if he had succeeded in making the constituencies of the same small size as himself, the Oligarchy would be able to get their votes without the trouble and expense of buying them. Mr. Berkeley's resolution was rejected by the combined
20 Tories and Whigs, their common interest being at stake: the preservation of their territorial influence over the tenants at will, the petty shopkeepers and other retainers of the land-owner. "Who has to pay his rent, has to pay his vote," is an old adage of the glorious British Constitution.

Last Saturday *The Press*, a new weekly paper under the influence of
25 Mr. Disraeli, made a curious disclosure to the public of England, as follows:

"Early in the spring Baron Brunnow communicated to Lord Clarendon the demand which the Emperor of Russia was about to make on the Porte, that he did so with a statement that the object of the communication was
30 to ascertain the feeling of England on the subject—that Lord Clarendon made no objection, nor in any way discouraged the intended course, and that the Muscovite diplomatist communicated to his imperial master that England was not indisposed to connive at his designs on the Golden Horn."

Now, *The Times* of yesterday had an elaborate and official article emanating from the Foreign Office, in answer to the grave charge of Mr. Disraeli, but which, in my opinion, tends rather to strengthen than to refute that charge. *The Times* asserts that, early in the spring, before the arrival of Prince Menchikoff at Constantinople, Baron Brunnow made a complaint to Lord John Russell, that the Porte had revoked the privileges conferred on the
40 Greek clergy by treaty, and that Lord John Russell, conceiving the matter only to concern the Holy Places, gave his assent to the designs of the Czar.

But *The Times* is compelled at the same time to concede that after Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople, and when Lord John Russell had been replaced by Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office, Baron Brunnow made a further communication to Lord Clarendon "purporting to convey the sense of his instructions, and some of the expressions used in the letter of credentials of which Prince Menchikoff was the bearer from the Emperor of Russia to the Sultan." Simultaneously, *The Times* admits that "Lord Clarendon gave his assent to the demands communicated by Baron Brunnow." Evidently this second communication must have contained something more than what had been communicated to Lord John Russell. The matter, therefore, cannot stop with this declaration. Either Baron Brunnow must turn out a diplomatical cheat or my Lords Clarendon and Aberdeen are traitors. We shall see.

It may be of interest to your readers to become acquainted with a document concerning the Eastern question, which was recently published in a London newspaper. It is a proclamation issued by the Prince of Armenia, now residing in London, and distributed among the Armenians in Turkey:

"Leo, by the grace of God, sovereign Prince of Armenia, etc., to the Armenians in Turkey:

Beloved brothers and faithful countrymen.—Our will and our ardent wish is that you should defend to the last drop of your blood your country and the Sultan against the tyrant of the North. Remember, my brothers, that in Turkey there are no knouts, they do not tear your nostrils and your women are not flogged, secretly or in public. Under the reign of the Sultan, there is humanity, while under that of the tyrant of the North there are nothing but atrocities. Therefore place yourselves under the direction of God, and fight bravely for the liberty of your country and your present sovereign. Pull down your houses to make barricades, and if you have no arms, break your furniture and defend yourselves with it. May Heaven guide you on your path to glory. My only happiness will be to fight in the midst of you against the oppressor of your country, and your creed. May God incline the Sultan's heart to sanction my demand, because under his reign, our religion remains in its pure form, while, under the Northern tyrant, it will be altered. Remember, at least, brothers, that the blood that runs in the veins of him who now addresses you, is the blood of twenty kings, it is the blood of heroes—Lusignans—and defenders of our faith; and we say to you, let us defend our creed and its pure form, until our last drop of blood."

On the 13th inst. Lord Stanley gave notice to the House of Commons that on the second reading of the India Bill (23d inst.) he would bring in the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this House further information is necessary to

enable Parliament to legislate with advantage for the permanent government of India, and that at this late period of the session, it is inexpedient to proceed into a measure, which, while it disturbs existing arrangements, cannot be regarded as a final settlement."

- 5 But in April, 1854, the Charter of the East India Company will expire, and something accordingly must be done in one way or the other. The Government wanted to legislate permanently ; that is, to renew the Charter for twenty years more. The Manchester School wanted to postpone all legislation, by prolonging the Charter at the utmost for one year. The Government said that
- 10 permanent legislation was necessary for the "best" of India. The Manchester men replied that it was impossible for want of information. The "best" of India, and the want of information, are alike false pretences. The governing oligarchy desired, before a Reformed House should meet, to secure at the cost of India, their own "best" for twenty years to come. The Manchester
- 15 men desired no legislation at all in the unreformed Parliament, where **then-**views had no chance of success. Now, the Coalition Cabinet, through Sir Charles Wood, has, in contradiction to its former statements, but in conformity with its habitual system of shifting difficulties, brought in something that looked like legislation; but it dared not, on the other hand, to propose
- 20 the renewal of the Charter for any definite period, but presented a "settlement," which it left to Parliament to unsettle whenever that body should determine to do so. If the Ministerial propositions were adopted, the East India Company would obtain no renewal but only a suspension of life. In all other respects, the Ministerial project but apparently alters the Con-
- 25 stitution of the India Government, the only serious novelty to be introduced being the addition of some new Governors, although a long experience has proved that the parts of East India administered by simple Commissioners, go on much better than those blessed with the costly luxury of Governors and Councils. The Whig invention of alleviating exhausted countries by
- 30 burdening them with new sinecures for the paupers of Aristocracy, reminds one of the old Russell administration when the Whigs were suddenly struck with the state of spiritual destitution, in which the Indians and Mahomedans of the East were living, and determined upon relieving them by the importation of some *new Bishops*, the Tories, in the plenitude of their power,
- 35 having never thought more than one to be necessary. That resolution having been agreed upon, Sir John Hobhouse, the then Whig President of the Board of Control, discovered immediately afterwards, that he had a relative admirably suited for a Bishopric, who was forthwith appointed to one of the new sees. "In cases of this kind," remarks an English writer, "where the fit
- 40 is so exact, it is really hardly possible to say, whether the shoe was made for the foot, or the foot for the shoe." Thus with regard to the Charles Wood's

invention; it would be very difficult to say, whether the new Governors are made for Indian provinces, or Indian provinces for the new Governors.

Be this as it may, the Coalition Cabinet believed it had met all clamors by leaving to Parliament the power of altering its proposed act at all times. Unfortunately in steps Lord Stanley, the Tory, with his resolution which was 5 loudly cheered by the "Radical" Opposition, when it was announced. Lord Stanley's resolution is, nevertheless self-contradictory. On one hand, he rejects the Ministerial proposition, because the House requires more information for permanent legislation. On the other hand, he rejects it, because 10 it is no permanent legislation, but alters existing arrangements, without pretending to finality. The Conservative view is, of course, opposed to the bill, because it involves a change of some kind. The Radical view is opposed to it, because it involves no real change at all. Lord Stanley, in these coalescent times has found a formula in which the opposite views are combined 15 together against the Ministerial view of the subject. The Coalition Ministry affects a virtuous indignation against such tactics, and *The Chronicle*, its organ, exclaims:

"Viewed as a party-move the proposed motion for delay is in a high degree factious and discreditable____This motion is brought forward solely because 20 some supporters of the Ministry are pledged to separate in this particular question from those with whom they usually act."

The anxiety of Ministers seems indeed to be serious. *The Chronicle* of to-day, again recurring to the subject, says:

"The division on Lord Stanley's motion will probably be decisive of the fate of the India Bill; it is therefore of the *utmost importance* that those who 25 feel the *importance* of early legislation, should use every exertion to strengthen the Government."

On the other hand, we read in *The Times* of to-day:

"The fate of the Government India Bill has been more respectively delineated ... The danger of the Government lies in the entire conforming of 30 Lord Stanley's objections with the conclusions of public opinion. Every syllable of this amendment tells with deadly effect against the ministry."

I shall expose in a subsequent letter, the bearing of the Indian Question on the different parties in Great Britain, and the benefit the poor Hindoo may reap from this quarreling of the aristocracy, the moneyocracy and the milloc- 35 racy about his amelioration.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Turkey and Russia-
Connivance of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia-
The Budget—Tax on Newspaper Supplements-
Parliamentary Corruption

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3814, 8.Juli 1853

**Turkey and Russia—Connivance
of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia-
The Budget—Tax on Newspaper Supplements-
Parliamentary Corruption.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, June 21, 1853.

In the year 1828, when Russia was permitted to overrun Turkey with war, and to terminate that war by the Treaty of Adrianople, which surrendered to her the whole of the Eastern coast of the Black Sea, from Anapa in the North to Poti in the South, (except Circassia) and delivered into her possession the islands at the mouth of the Danube, virtually separated Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey, and placed them under Russian supremacy—at that epoch Lord Aberdeen happened to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain. In 1853 we find the very same Aberdeen as the chief of the "composite ministry" in the same country. This simple fact goes far to explain the overbearing attitude assumed by Russia in her present conflict with Turkey and with Europe.

I told you in my last letter that the storm aroused by the revelations of *The Press* respecting the secret transactions between Aberdeen, Clarendon and Baron Brunnow, was not likely to subside under the hair-splitting, tortuous and disingenuous pleading of Thursday's *Times*. *The Times*: was even then forced to admit in a semi-official article, that Lord Clarendon had indeed given his assent to the demands about to be made by Russia on the Porte, but said that the demands as represented in London, and those actually proposed at Constantinople, had turned out to be of quite a different tenor, although the papers communicated by Baron Brunnow to the British Minister

purported to be "*literal extracts*" from the instructions forwarded to Prince Menchikoff. On the following Saturday, however, *The Times* retracted its assertions—undoubtedly in consequence of remonstrances made on the part of the Russian Embassy—and gave Baron Brunnow a testimonial of perfect "candor and faith." *The Morning Herald* of yesterday puts the question "whether Russia had not perhaps given false instructions to Baron Brunnow himself, in order to deceive the British Minister?" In the meantime, fresh disclosures, studiously concealed from the public by a corrupt daily press, have been made, which exclude any such interpretation, throwing the whole blame on the shoulders of the "composite ministry," and quite sufficient to warrant the impeachment of Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon before any other Parliament than the present, which is but a paralytic produce of dead constituencies artificially stimulated into life by unexampled bribery and intimidation.

It is stated that a communication was made to Lord Clarendon, wherein he was informed that the affair of the Shrines was not the *sole object* of the Russian Prince. In that communication the general question was entered into, the question of the Greek Christians of Turkey, and of the position of the Emperor of Russia with respect to them under certain treaties. All these points were canvassed, and the course about to be adopted by Russia explicitly stated—the same as detailed in the projected convention of the 6th of May. Lord Clarendon, with the assent of Lord Aberdeen, in no wise either disapproved or discouraged that course. While matters stood thus in London, Bonaparte sent his fleet to Salamis, public opinion pressed from without, Ministers were interpellated in both Houses, Russell pledged himself to the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey, and Prince Menchikoff threw off the mask at Constantinople. It now became necessary for Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon to initiate the other Ministers in what had been done, and the Coalition was on the eve of being broken up, as Lord Palmerston, forced by his antecedents, urged a directly opposite line of policy. In order to prevent the dissolution of his Cabinet, Lord Aberdeen finally yielded to Lord Palmerston, and consented to the combined action of the English and French fleets in the Dardanelles. But at the same time, in order to fulfill his engagements toward Russia, Lord Aberdeen intimated through a private dispatch to St. Petersburg that he would not look upon the occupation of the Danubian Principalities by the Russians as a *casus belli*, and *The Times* received orders to prepare public opinion for this new interpretation of international treaties. It would be unjust to withhold the testimonial that it has labored hard enough to prove that black is white. This same journal, which had all along contended that the Russian *protectorate* over the Greek Christians of Turkey would not be of any political consequence

at all asserted at once that Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under a divided allegiance, and formed in reality no integral portions of the Turkish Empire ; that their occupation would not be an invasion of the Turkish Empire in the "strict sense of the word," inasmuch as the treaties of Bucharest and
5 Adrianople had given to the Czar a Protectorate over his co-religionists in the Danubian Provinces. The Convention of Balta Liman, concluded on May 1,1849, distinctly stipulates:

" 1. That the occupation of those provinces, if it occurs, shall only be by a joint one of Russian and Turkish forces.

10 2. That the sole plea for it shall be in grave events taking place in the principalities."

Now as no events at all have taken place in those principalities, and moreover, as Russia has no intention to enter them in common with the Turks, but precisely against Turkey, *The Times* is of opinion, that Turkey
15 ought to suffer quietly the occupation by Russia alone, and afterward enter into negotiations with her. But if Turkey should be of a less sedate temper and consider the occupation as a *casus belli*, *The Times* argues that England and France must not do so ; and if, nevertheless, England and France should do so, *The Times* recommends that it should be done in a gentle manner by
20 no means as belligerents against Russia, but only as defensive allies of Turkey.

This cowardly and tortuous system of *The Times*, I cannot more appropriately stigmatise than by quoting the following passage from its leading article of to-day. It is an incredible combination of all the contradictions, sub-
25 terfuges, false pretences, anxieties and lâchetés of Lord Aberdeen's policy:

"Before proceeding to the last extremities the Porte may, if it think fit, protest against the occupation of the principalities, and with the support of all the Powers of Europe, may still negotiate. It will remain with the
30 Turkish government, acting in concert with the ambassadors of the four Powers, to determine this momentous point, and especially to decide whether the state of hostilities is such as to cause the Dardanelles to be opened to foreign ships of war, under the Convention of 1841. Should that question be decided in the affirmative, and the fleets be ordered to enter the Straits, it
35 will then remain to be seen whether we come there as mediating Powers or as belligerents; for supposing Turkey and Russia to be at war, and foreign vessels of war to be admitted, *casus foederis* (!) they do not necessarily acquire a belligerent character, and they have a far greater interest in main-
40 taining that of mediating Powers, inasmuch as they are sent not to make war but to prevent it. Such a measure does not of necessity make us principals in the contest."

All the leaders of *The Times* have been to no purpose. No other paper would follow in its track—none would bite at its bait, and even the Ministerial papers, *The Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, *Globe*, and *Observer* take an entirely different stand, finding a loud echo on the other side of the channel, where only the legitimist *Assemblée Nationale* presumes to see no *casus belli* 5
in the occupation of the Danubian Principalities.

The dissension in the camp of the Coalition Ministry has thus been betrayed to the public by the clamorous dissension in their organs. Palmerston urged upon the Cabinet to hold the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia as a declaration of war, and he was backed up by the Whig and Sham-Radical 10
members of the composite Ministry. Lord Aberdeen, having only consented to the common action of the French and English fleets upon the understanding that Russia would not act at the Dardanelles but in the Danubian Provinces, was now quite "outwinded." The existence of the Government was again at stake. At least, at the pressing instances of Lord Aberdeen, 15
Palmerston was prepared to give a sullen assent to the unchallenged occupation of the Principalities by Russia, when suddenly a dispatch arrived from Paris announcing that Bonaparte had resolved to view the same act as a *casus belli*. The confusion has now reached its highest point.

Now, if this statement be correct, and from our knowledge of Lord 20
Aberdeen's past, there is every reason to consider it as such—the whole mystery of that Russo-Turkish tragi-comedy that has occupied Europe for months together, is laid bare. We understand at once, why Lord Aberdeen would not move the British fleet from Malta. We understand the rebuke given to Colonel Rose for his resolute conduct at Constantinople, the bullying 25
behavior of Prince Menchikoff, and the heroic firmness of the Czar who, conceiving the warlike movements of England as a mere farce, would have been glad to be allowed, by the uncontroverted occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, not only to withdraw from the stage as the "master," but to hold his annual grand maneuvers at the cost and expense of the subjects of the 30
Sultan. We believe that, if war should break out, it will be because Russia had gone too far to withdraw with impunity to her honor; and above all, we believe her courage to be up to this notch simply because she has all the while counted on England's connivance.

On this head the following passage is in point from the last letter from *The Englishman* on the Coalition-Ministry: 35

"The coalition is shaking at every breeze that flows from the Dardanelles. The fears of the good Aberdeen and the miserable incompetence of Clarendon, encouraged Russia, and have produced the crisis."

The latest news from Turkey is as follows: The Turkish Ambassador at 40
Paris has received by telegraph, via Sernlin, a dispatch from Constantinople,

informing him that the Porte has rejected the last ultimatum of Russia, taking its stand on the memorandum forwarded to the Great Powers. The *Semaphore*, of Marseilles, states that news had been received at Smyrna of the capture of two Turkish trading vessels on the Black Sea by the Russians; 5 but that, on the other hand, the Caucasian tribes had opened a general campaign against the Russians, in which Shamyl had achieved a most brilliant victory, taking no less than 23 cannons.

Mr. Gladstone has now announced his altered proposals, with regard to the Advertisement Duty. He had proposed, in order to secure the support 10 of *The Times*, to strike the duty off supplements containing advertisements only. He now proposes, intimidated by public opinion, to let all single supplements go free, and to tax each double supplement *l.d.* Imagine the fury of *The Times*, which, by this altered proposition, will only gain £20,000, instead of £40,000 a year, besides seeing the market thrown open to its competitors. 15 This consistent journal which defends to the utmost the taxes upon knowledge, and the duty on advertisements, now opposes any tax on supplements. But it may console itself. If the Ministry, after having carried the greater part of the budget, feel no longer any necessity for cajoling *The Times*, the Manchester men, as soon as they have secured their share of the budget, will 20 no longer want the Ministry. This is what the latter apprehend, and that very apprehension accounts for the fact of the budget discussion extending over the whole period of the session. It is characteristic of the compensating justice of Mr. Gladstone, that while he reduces the newspaper advertisement duty from Is. 6d. to Is. 3d., he proposes to tax the literary advertisements 25 inserted at the end of most books and reviews, 6 pence each.

To-night the House of Commons will be occupied on two cases of bribery. During the present session 47 Election-Committees have been sitting, out of which, 4 are yet sitting, 43 having concluded their investigations, by finding the majority of the unseated members guilty of bribery. To show the respect 30 in which this Parliament, the offspring of corruption and the parent of Coalitions, is held by public opinion, it is sufficient to quote the following words of to-day's *Morning Herald*:

"If want of clear aim and object, and still more, the tottering and quavering attack, be symptomatic of imbecility, then it must be confessed that this 35 Parliament, the child of six months, has fallen already into second childishness. It is already subsiding and curdling away into small knots of spiritless and purposeless coteries."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
"East India Company—Its History and Results"

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3816, 11.Juli 1853

The East India Company- Its History and Results.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, June 24, 1853.

The debate on Lord Stanley's motion to postpone legislation for India, has 5
been deferred until this evening. For the first time since 1783 the India
Question has become a Ministerial one in England. Why is this?

The true commencement of the East India Company cannot be dated from
a more remote epoch than the year 1702, when the different societies, claim- 10
ing the monopoly of the East India trade, united together, in one single
Company. Till then the very existence of the original East India Company
was repeatedly endangered, once suspended for years under the protectorate
of Cromwell, and once threatened with utter dissolution by parliamentary
interference under the reign of William III. It was under the ascendancy of 15
that Dutch Prince when the Whigs became the farmers of the revenues of
the British Empire, when the Bank of England sprung into life, when the
protective system was firmly established in England, and the balance of
power in Europe was definitively settled, that the existence of an East India
Company was recognized by Parliament. That era of apparent liberty was 20
in reality the era of monopolies not created by Royal grants, as in the
times of Elizabeth and Charles I., but authorized and nationalized by the sanction
of Parliament. This epoch in the history of England bears, in fact, an
extreme likeness to the epoch of Louis Philippe in France, the old landed
aristocracy having been defeated, and the bourgeoisie not being able to take
its place except under the banner of moneyocracy, or the "*haute finance.*" 25
The East India Company excluded the common people from the commerce

with India, at the same time that the House of Commons excluded them from parliamentary representation. In this as well as in other instances, we find the first decisive victory of the *bourgeoisie* over the feudal aristocracy coinciding with the most pronounced reaction against the people, a phenomenon which has driven more than one popular writer, like Cobbett, to look for popular liberty rather in the past than in the future.

The union between the Constitutional Monarchy and the monopolizing monied interest, between the Company of East India and the "glorious" revolution of 1688 was fostered by the same force by which the liberal interests and a liberal dynasty have at all times and in all countries met and combined, by the force of corruption, that first and last moving power of Constitutional Monarchy, the guardian angel of William III. and the fatal demon of Louis Philippe. So early as 1693, it appeared from parliamentary inquiries, that the annual expenditure of the East India Company, under the head of "gifts" to men in power, which had rarely amounted to above £1,200 before the revolution, reached the sum of £90,000. The Duke of Leeds was impeached for a bribe of £5,000, and the virtuous King himself convicted of having received £10,000. Besides these direct briberies, rival Companies were thrown out by tempting Government with loans of enormous sums at the lowest interest, and by buying off rival Directors.

The power the East India Company had obtained by bribing the Government, as did also the Bank of England, it was forced to maintain by bribing again, as did the Bank of England. At every epoch when its monopoly was expiring, it could only effect a renewal of its charter by offering fresh loans and by fresh presents made to the Government.

The events of the seven-years-war transformed the East India Company from a commercial into a military and territorial power. It was then that the foundation was laid of the present British Empire in the East. Then East India stock rose to £263, and dividends were then paid at the rate of 12½ per cent. But then there appeared a new enemy to the Company, no longer in the shape of rival societies, but in the shape of rival ministers and of a rival people. It was alleged that the Company's territory had been conquered by the aid of British fleets and British armies, and that no British subjects could hold territorial sovereignties independent of the Crown. The ministers of the day and the people of the day claimed their share in the "wonderful treasures" imagined to have been won by the last conquests. The Company only saved its existence by an agreement made in 1767 that it should annually pay £400,000 into the National Exchequer.

But the East India Company, instead of fulfilling its agreement, got into financial difficulties, and, instead of paying a tribute to the English people, appealed to Parliament for pecuniary aid. Serious alterations in the Charter

were the consequence of this step. The Company's affairs failing to improve, notwithstanding their new condition, and the English nation having simultaneously lost their colonies in North-America, the necessity of elsewhere regaining some great Colonial Empire became more and more universally felt. The illustrious Fox thought the opportune moment had arrived, in 1783, for bringing forward his famous India bill, which proposed to abolish the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, and to vest the whole Indian government in the hands of seven Commissioners appointed by Parliament. By the personal influence of the imbecile King over the House of Lords, the bill of Mr. Fox was defeated, and made the instrument of breaking down the then Coalition Government of Fox and Lord North, and of placing the famous Pitt at the head of the Government. Pitt carried in 1784 a bill through both Houses, which directed the establishment of the Board of Control, consisting of six members of the Privy Council, who were "to check, superintend and control all acts, operations and concerns which in any wise related to the civil and military government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company." On this head, Mill, the historian, says:

"In passing that law two objects were pursued. To avoid the imputation of what was represented as the heinous object of Mr. Fox's bill, it was necessary that the principal part of the power should *appear* to remain in the hands of the Directors. For ministerial advantage it was necessary that it should in *reality be* all taken away. Mr. Pitt's bill professed to differ from that of his rival, chiefly in this very point, that while the one destroyed the power of the Directors, the other left it almost entire; Under the act of Mr. Fox the powers of the ministers would have been avowedly held. Under the act of Mr. Pitt they were held in secret and by fraud. The bill of Fox transferred the power of the Company to Commissioners appointed by Parliament. The bill of Mr. Pitt transferred them to Commissioners appointed by the King."

The years of 1783 and 1784 were thus the first, and till now the only years, for the India question to become a ministerial one. The bill of Mr. Pitt having been carried, the charter of the East India Company was renewed, and the Indian question set aside for twenty years. But in 1813 the Anti-Jacobin war, and in 1833 the newly introduced Reform **Bui** superseded all other political, questions.

This, then, is the first reason of the India question's having failed to become a great political question, since and before 1784; that before that time the East India Company had first to conquer existence and importance; that after that time the Oligarchy absorbed all of its power which it could assume without incurring responsibility; and that afterwards the English people in

general were at the very epochs of the renewal of the charter, in 1813 and at 1833, absorbed by other questions of overbearing interest.

We will now take a different view. The East India Company commenced by attempting merely to establish factories for their agents, and places of
5 deposit for their goods. In order to protect them they erected several forts. Although they had, even as early as 1689, conceived the establishment of a dominion in India, and of making territorial revenue one of their sources of emolument, yet, down to 1744, they had acquired but a few unimportant districts around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The war which subsequently
10 broke out in the Carnatic had the effect of rendering them after various struggles, virtual sovereigns of that part of India. Much more considerable results arose from the war in Bengal and the victories of Clive. These results were the real occupation of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. At the end of the Eighteenth Century, and in the first years of the present one, there super-
15 vened the wars with Tippto-Saib, and in consequence of them a great advance of power, and an immense extension of the subsidiary system. In the second decennium of the Nineteenth Century the first convenient frontier, that of India within the desert, had at length been conquered. It was not till then that the British Empire in the East reached those parts of Asia, which had
20 been, at all times, the seat of every great central power in India. But the most vulnerable point of the Empire, from which it had been overrun as often as old conquerors were expelled by new ones, the barriers of the Western frontier, were not in the hands of the British. During the period from 1838 to 1849, in the Sikh and Afghan wars, British rule subjected to definitive
25 possession the ethnographical, political, and military frontiers of the East Indian Continent, by the compulsory annexation of the Punjaub and of Scinde. These were possessions indispensable to repulse any invading force issuing from Central Asia, and indispensable against Russia advancing to the frontiers of Persia. During this last decennium there have been added to the
30 British Indian territory 167,000 square miles, with a population of 8,572,630 souls. As to the interior, all the native States now became surrounded by British possessions, subjected to British *suzeraineté* under various forms, and cut off from the sea-coast, with the sole exception of Guzerat and Scinde. As to its exterior, India was now finished. It is only since 1849, that the one
35 great Anglo-Indian Empire has existed.

Thus the British Government has been fighting, under the Company's name, for two centuries, till at last the natural limits of India were reached. We understand now, why during all this time all parties in England have connived in silence, even those which had resolved to become the loudest
40 with their hypocritical peace-cant, after the *arrondissementoi* the one Indian Empire should have been completed. Firstly, of course, they had to get it

in order to subject it afterward to their sharp philanthropy. From this view we understand the altered position of the Indian question in the present year, 1853, compared with all former periods of Charter renewal.

Again, let us take a different view. We shall still better understand the peculiar crisis in Indian legislation, on reviewing the course of British com- 5
mereiai intercourse with India through its different phases.

At the commencement of the East-India Company's operations, under the reign of Elizabeth, the Company was permitted for the purpose of profitably carrying on its trade with India, to export an annual value of £30,000 in silver, gold, and foreign coin. This was an infraction against all the prejudices of 10
the age, and Thomas Mun was forced to lay down in "A Discourse on Trade from England to the East Indies," the foundation of the "mercantile system," admitting that the precious metals were the only real wealth a country could possess, but contending at the same time that their exportation might be safely allowed, provided the *balance of payments* was in favor of the ex- 15
porting nation. In this sense, he contended that the commodities imported from East India were chiefly reexported to other countries, from which a much greater quantity of bullion was obtained than had been required to pay for them in India. In the same spirit, Sir Joshua Child wrote "A Treatise wherein it is demonstrated that the East India Trade is the most national 20
Trade of all Trades." By-and-by the partisans of the East India Company grew more audacious, and it may be noticed as a curiosity, in this strange Indian history, that the Indian monopolists were the first preachers of free trade in England.

Parliamentary intervention, with regard to the East India Company, was 25
again claimed, not by the commercial, but by the industrial class, at the latter end of the 17th century, and during the greater part of the 18th, when the importation of East Indian cotton and silk stuffs was declared to ruin the poor British manufacturers, an opinion put forward in "John Pollexfen: England and India inconsistent in their Manufactures; London, 1697," a title 30
strangely verified a century and a half later, but in a very different sense. Parliament did then interfere. By the Act 11 and 12 William III., cap. 10, it was enacted that the wearing of wrought silks and of printed or dyed calicoes from India, Persia and China should be prohibited, and a penalty of £200 imposed on all persons having or selling the same. Similar laws were enacted 35
under George I., II. and III., in consequence of the repeated lamentations of the afterward so "enlightened" British manufacturers. And thus, during the greater part of the 18th century, Indian manufactures were generally imported into England in order to be sold on the Continent, and to remain excluded from the English market itself. 40

Besides this Parliamentary interference with East India, solicited by the

greedy home manufacturer, efforts were made at every epoch of the renewal of the Charter, by the merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol, to break down the commercial monopoly of the Company, and to participate in that commerce, estimated to be a true mine of gold. In consequence of these
5 efforts, a provision was made in the Act of 1793 prolonging the Company's Charter till March 1, 1814, by which private British individuals were authorized to export from, and the Company's Indian servants permitted to import into England, almost all sorts of commodities. But this concession was surrounded with conditions annihilating its effects, in respect to the exports
10 to British India by private merchants. In 1813 the Company was unable to further withstand the pressure of general commerce, and except the monopoly of the Chinese trade, the trade to India was opened, under certain conditions, to private competition. At the renewal of the charter in 1833, these last restrictions were at length superseded, the Company forbidden to
15 carry on any trade at all—their commercial character destroyed, and their privilege of excluding British subjects from the Indian territories withdrawn.

Meanwhile the East India trade had undergone very serious revolutions, altogether altering the position of the different class interests in England with
20 regard to it. During the whole course of the 18th century the treasures transported from India to England were gained much less by comparatively insignificant commerce, than by the direct exploitation of that country, and by the colossal fortunes there extorted and transmitted to England. After the opening of the trade in 1813 the commerce with India more than trebled
25 in a very short time. But this was not all. The whole character of the trade was changed. Till 1813 India had been chiefly an exporting country, while it now became an importing one; and in such a quick progression, that already in 1823 the rate of exchange, which had generally been 2s. 6d. per rupee, sunk down to 2s. per rupee. India, the great workshop of cotton manufacture for
30 the world, since immemorial times, became now inundated with English twists and cotton stuffs. After its own produce had been excluded from England, or only admitted on the most cruel terms, British manufactures were poured into it at a small and merely nominal duty, to the ruin of the native cotton fabrics once so celebrated. In 1780 the value of British produce
35 and manufactures amounted only to £386,152, the bullion exported during the same year to £15,041, the total value of exports during 1780 being £12,648,616, so that the India trade amounted to only $\frac{1}{32}$ of the entire foreign trade. In 1850 the total exports to India from Great Britain and Ireland were £8,024,000, of which cotton goods alone amounted to £5,220,000, so that it
40 reached more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole export, and more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the foreign cotton trade. But, the cotton manufacture also employed now $\frac{7}{8}$ of the

population of Britain, and contributed $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the whole national revenue. After each commercial crisis the East Indian trade grew of more paramount importance for the British cotton manufacturers and the East India Continent became actually their best market. At the same rate at which the cotton manufactures became of vital interest for the whole social frame of Great Britain, East India became of vital interest for the British cotton manufacture. 5

Till then the interests of the moneyocracy which had converted India into its landed estates, of the oligarchy who had conquered it by their armies, and of the millocracy who had inundated it with their fabrics, had gone hand in hand. But the more the industrial interest became dependent on the Indian market, the more it felt the necessity of creating fresh productive powers in India, after having ruined her native industry. You cannot continue to inundate a country with your manufactures, unless you enable it to give you some produce in return. The industrial interest found that their trade declined instead of increasing. For the four years ending with 1846, the imports to India from Great Britain were to the amount of 261 million rupees; for the four years ending 1850 they were only 253 millions, while the exports for the former period 274 millions of rupees, and for the latter period 254 millions. They found out that the power of consuming their goods was contracted in India to the lowest possible point, that the consumption of their manufactures by the British West Indies, was of the value of about 14s. per head of the population per annum, by Chili, of 9s. 3., by Brazil of 6s. 5d., by Cuba, of 6s. 2d., by Peru of 5s. 7d., by Central-America of 10d., while it amounted in India only to about 9d. Then came the short cotton crop in the United States, which caused them a loss of £11,000,000 in 1850, and they were exasperated at depending on America, instead of deriving a sufficiency of raw cotton from the East Indies. Besides, they found that in all attempts to apply capital to India they met with impediments and chicanery on the part of the India authorities. Thus India became the battle-field in the contest of the industrial interest on the one side, and of the moneyocracy and oligarchy on the other. The manufacturers, conscious of their ascendancy in England, ask now for the annihilation of these antagonistic powers in India, for the destruction of the whole ancient fabric of Indian government, and for the final eclipse of the East-India Company. 35

And now to the fourth and last point of view, from which the Indian question must be judged. Since 1784 Indian finances have got more and more deeply into difficulty. There exists now a national debt of 50 million pounds, a continual decrease in the resources of the revenue, and a corresponding increase in the expenditure, dubiously balanced by the gambling income of the opium tax, now threatened with extinction by the Chinese beginning 40

themselves to cultivate the poppy, and aggravated by the expenses to be anticipated from the senseless Burmese war. "As the case stands," says Mr. Dickinson, "as it would ruin England to lose her Empire in India, it is threatening our own finances with ruin, to be obliged to keep it."

I have shown thus, how the Indian question has become for the first time since 1783, an English question, and a ministerial question.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Indian Question—Irish Tenant Right

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3816, 11. Juli 1853

The Indian Question—Irish Tenant Right.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, June 28, 1853.

The debate On Lord Stanley's motion with respect to India commenced on the 23d, continued on the 24th, and adjourned to the 27th inst., has not been brought to a close. When that shall at length have arrived, I intend to resume my observations on the India question. 5

As the Coalition-Ministry depends on the support of the Irish party, and as all the other parties composing the House of Commons so nicely balance each other that the Irish may at any moment turn the scales which way they please, some concessions are at last about to be made to the Irish tenants. The "Leasing Powers (Ireland) Bill," which passed the House of Commons on Friday last, contains a provision that for the improvements made on the soil and separable from the soil, the tenant shall have at the termination of his lease, a compensation in money, the incoming tenant being at liberty to take them at the valuation, while with respect to improvements in the soil, compensation for them shall be arranged by contract between the landlord and the tenant. 10 15

A tenant having incorporated his capital, in one form or another, in the land, and having thus effected an improvement of the soil, either directly by irrigation, drainage, manure, or indirectly by construction of buildings for agricultural purposes, in steps the landlord with demand for increased rent. If the tenant concede, he has to pay the interest for his own money to the landlord. If he resist, he will be very unceremoniously ejected, and supplanted by a new tenant, the latter being enabled to pay a higher rent by the very expenses incurred by his predecessors, until he also, in his turn, has become an improver of the land, and is replaced in the same way, or put on worse 20 25

terms. In this easy way a class of absentee landlords has been enabled to pocket, not merely the labor, but also the capital, of whole generations, each generation of Irish peasants sinking a grade lower in the social scale, exactly in proportion to the exertions and sacrifices made for the raising of their
5 condition and that of their families. If the tenant was industrious and enterprising, he became taxed in consequence of his very industry and enterprise. If, on the contrary, he grew inert and negligent, he was reproached with the "aboriginal faults of the Celtic race." He had, accordingly, no other alternative left but to become a pauper—to pauperise himself by industry,
10 or to pauperise by negligence. In order to oppose this state of things, "Tenant-Right" was proclaimed in Ireland—a right of the tenant, not in the soil but in the improvements of the soil effected at his cost and charges. Let us see in what manner *The Times*, in its Saturdays leader, attempts to break down this Irish "Tenant-Right":

15 "There are two general systems of farm occupation. Either a tenant may take a lease of the land for a fixed number of years, or his holding may be terminable at any time upon certain notice. In the first of these events, it would be obviously his course to adjust and apportion his outlay so that all, or nearly all, the benefit would find its way to him before the expiration of
20 his term. In the second case it seems equally obvious that he should not run the risk of the investment without a proper assurance of return."

Where the landlords have to deal with a class of large capitalists who may, as they please, invest their stock in commerce, in manufactures or in farming, there can be no doubt but that these capitalist farmers, whether they take
25 long leases or no time leases at all, know how to secure the "proper" return of their outlays. But with regard to Ireland the supposition is quite fictitious. On the one side, you have there a small class of land monopolists, on the other, a very large class of tenants with very petty fortunes, which they have no chance to invest in different ways, no other field of production opening
30 to them, except the soil. They are, therefore, forced to become tenants-at-will. Being once tenants-at-will, they naturally run the risk of losing their revenue, provided they do not invest their small capital. Investing it, in order to secure their revenue, they run the risk of losing their capital, also.

"Perhaps," continues *The Times*, "it may be said, that in any case a
35 tenantry could hardly expire without something being left upon the ground, in some shape or another, representing the tenant's own property, and that for this compensation should be forthcoming. There is some truth in the remark, but the demand thus created ought, under proper conditions of society, to be easily adjusted between landlord and tenant, as it might, at any
40 rate, be provided for in the original contract. We say that the conditions of society should regulate these arrangements, because we believe that no

Parliamentary enactment can be effectually substituted for such an agency."

Indeed, under "proper conditions of society," we should want no more Parliamentary interference with the Irish land-tenant, as we should not want, under "proper conditions of society," the interference of the soldier, of the policeman, and of the hangman. Legislature, magistracy, and armed force, are all of them but the offspring of improper conditions of society, preventing those arrangements among men which would make useless the compulsory intervention of a third supreme power. Has, perhaps, *The Times* been converted into a social revolutionist? Does it want a social/ revolution, re-organizing the "conditions of society," and the "arrangements" emanating from them, instead of "Parliamentary enactments?" England has subverted the conditions of Irish society. At first it confiscated the land, then it suppressed the industry by "Parliamentary enactments," and lastly, it broke the active energy by armed force. And thus England created those abominable "conditions of society" which enable a small caste of rapacious lordlings to dictate to the Irish people the terms on which they shall be allowed to hold the land and to live upon it. Too weak yet for revolutionizing those "social conditions," the people appeal to Parliament, demanding at least their mitigation and regulation. But "No," says *The Times*; if you don't live under proper conditions of society, Parliament can't mend that. And if the Irish people, on the advice of *The Times*, tried to-morrow to mend their conditions of society, *The Times* would be the first to appeal to bayonets, and to pour out sanguinary denunciations of "the aboriginal faults of the Celtic race," wanting the Anglo-Saxon taste for pacific progress and legal amelioration.

"If a landlord," says *The Times*, "deliberately injures one tenant, he will find it so much the harder to get another, and whereas his occupation consists in letting land, he will find his land all the more difficult to let."

The case stands rather differently in Ireland. The more a landlord injures one tenant, the easier he will find it to oppress another. The tenant who comes in, is the means of injuring the ejected one, and the ejected one is the means of keeping down the new occupant. That, in due course of time, the landlord, beside injuring the tenant, will injure himself and ruin himself, is not only a probability, but the very fact, in Ireland—a fact affording, however, a very precarious source of comfort to the ruined tenant.

"The relations between the landlord and tenant are those between two traders," says *The Times*. This is precisely the *petitio principii* which pervades the whole leader of *The Times*. The needy Irish tenant belongs to the soil, while the soil belongs to the English Lord. As well you might call the relation between the robber who presents his pistol, and the traveler who presents his purse, a relation between two traders.

"But," says *The Times*, "in point of fact, the relation between Irish landlords and tenants will soon be reformed by an agency more potent than that of legislation. The property of Ireland is fast passing into new hands, and, if the present rate of emigration continues, its cultivation must undergo the same transfer."
5

Here, at least, *The Times* has the truth. British Parliament does not interfere at a moment when the worked-out old system is terminating in the common ruin, both of the thrifty landlord and the needy tenant, the former being knocked down by the hammer of the *Encumbered Estates* Commission, and the latter expelled by compulsory emigration. This reminds us of the old Sultan of Morocco. Whenever there was a case pending between two parties, he knew of no more "potent agency" for settling their controversy, than by killing both parties.
16

"Nothing could tend," concludes *The Times* with regard to Tenant Right, "to greater confusion than such a *communistic distribution of ownership*. The only person with any right in the land, is the landlord."
15

The Times seems to have been the sleeping Epimenides of the past half century, and never to have heard of the hot controversy going on during all that time upon the claims of the landlord, not among social reformers and Communists, but among the very political economists of the British middle-class. Ricardo, the creator of modern political economy in Great Britain, did not controvert the "right" of the landlord, as he was quite convinced that their claims were based upon fact, and not on right, and that political economy in general had nothing to do with questions of right; but he attacked the land-monopoly in a more unassuming, yet more scientific, and therefore more dangerous manner. He proved that private proprietorship in land, as distinguished from the respective claims of the laborer, and of the farmer, was a relation quite superfluous in, and incoherent with the whole framework of modern production; that the economical expression of that relationship and the rent of land, might, with great advantage be appropriated by the State; and finally that the interest of the landlord was opposed to the interest of all other classes of modern society. It would be tedious to enumerate all the conclusions drawn from these premises by the Ricardo School against the landed monopoly. For my end, it will suffice to quote three of the most recent economical authorities of Great Britain.
20
25
30
35

The London Economist, whose chief editor, Mr. J. Wilson, is not only a Free Trade-oracle, but a Whig one, too, and not only a Whig, but also an inevitable Treasury-appendage in every Whig or composite ministry, has contended in different articles that exactly speaking there can exist no title authorizing any individual, or any number of individuals, to claim the exclusive proprietorship in the soil of a nation.
to

Mr. Newman, in his "Lectures on Political Economy, London, 1851," professedly written for the purpose of refuting Socialism, tells us:

"No man has, or can have, a natural right to *land*, except so long as he occupies it in person. His right is to the use, and to the use only. All other right is the creation of artificial law (or parliamentary enactments as *The Times* would call it.) ... If, at any time, land becomes needed to *live upon*, the right of private possessors to withhold it comes to an end." 5

This is exactly the case in Ireland, and Mr. Newman expressly confirms the claims of the Irish tenantry, and in lectures held before the most select audiences of the British aristocracy. 10

In conclusion let me quote some passages from Mr. Herbert Spencer's work, "Social Statics, London, 1851," also, purporting to be a complete refutation of Communism, and acknowledged as the most elaborate development of the Free Trade doctrines of modern England.

"No one may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from 15 similarly using it. Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land, or the rest would live on the earth by sufferance only. The landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether____It can never be pretended, that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should any one think so let him look in the Chronicles. The original deeds were written with the 20 sword, rather than with the pen. Not lawyers but soldiers were the conveyancers: blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where 25 it did not previously exist? ... If one act of transfer can give no title, can many? ... At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid?... The right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding. It is impossible to discover any mode in which land can become private property____We daily deny landlordism by our legisla- 30 tion. Is a canal, a railway, or a turnpike road to be made? We do not scruple to seize just as many acres as may be requisite. We do not wait for consent. ... The change required would simply be a change of landlords____Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated 35 proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John, or His Grace, he will pay to an agent, or deputy agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials, instead of private ones, and tenantry the only land tenure. ... Pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves land 40 owning despotism."

The Indian Question—Irish Tenant Right

Thus, from the very point of view of modern English political economists, it is not the usurping English landlord, but the Irish tenants and laborers, who have the only right in the soil of their native country, and *The Times*, in opposing the demands of the Irish people, places itself into direct antagonism to British middle-class science.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Russian Policy against Turkey—Chartism

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3819, 14. Juli 1853

Russian Policy Against Turkey.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, July 1, 1853.

Since the year 1815 the Great Powers of Europe have feared nothing so much as an infraction of the *status quo*. But any war between any two of those powers implies subversion of that *status quo*. That is the reason why Russia's encroachments in the East have been tolerated, and why she has never been asked for anything in return but to afford some pretext, however absurd, to the Western powers, for remaining neutral, and for being saved the necessity of interfering with Russian aggressions. Russia has all along been glorified for the forbearance and generosity of her "august master," who has not only condescended to cover the naked and shameful subserviency of Western Cabinets, but has displayed the magnanimity of devouring Turkey piece after piece, instead of swallowing it at a mouthful. Russian diplomacy has thus rested on the timidity of Western statesmen, and her diplomatic art has gradually sunk into so complete a *mannerism*, that you may trace the history of the present transactions almost literally in the annals of the past.

The hollowness of the new pretexts of Russia is apparent, after the Sultan has granted, in his new firman to the Patriarch of Constantinople, more than the Czar himself had asked for—so far as religion goes. Now was, perhaps, the "pacification of Greece" a more solid pretext? When M. de Villèle, in order to tranquilize the apprehensions of the Sultan, and to give a proof of the pure intentions of the Great Powers, proposed "that the allies ought above all things to conclude a Treaty by which the actual *status quo* of the Ottoman Empire should be guaranteed to it," the Russian Ambassador at Paris opposed this proposition to the utmost, affirming "that Russia, in displaying *generosity in her relations with the Porte*, and in showing in-

appreciable respect for the wishes of her allies, had been obliged, nevertheless, to reserve exclusively to herself to determine her own differences with the Divan; that a general guarantee of the Ottoman Empire, independently of its being unusual and surprising, would wound the *feelings of his master*
 5 and the *rights* acquired by Russia, and the principles upon which they were founded."

Russia pretends now to occupy the Danubian principalities, without giving to the Porte the right of considering this step as a *casus belli*.

Russia pretended, in 1827, "to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia *in the name*
 10 *of the three Powers.*"

While Russia proclaimed the following in her declaration of war of April 26, 1828:

"Her allies would always find her ready to concert her march with them, in execution of the Treaty of London, and ever anxious to aid in a work,
 15 which her *religion* and all the sentiments honorable to humanity recommended to her active solicitude, always disposed to profit by her actual position only for the purpose of accelerating the accomplishment of the Treaty of July 6th," while Russia announced in her manifesto, A.D. 1st October, 1829: "Russia has remained constantly a stranger to every desire
 20 of conquest—to every view of aggrandizement." Her Ambassador at Paris was writing to Count Nesselrode. "When the Imperial Cabinet examined the question, whether it had become expedient to take up arms against the Porte, there might have existed some doubt about the urgency of this measure in the eyes of those who had not sufficiently reflected upon the *effects of the*
 25 *sanguinary reforms*, which the Chief of the Ottoman Empire has just executed with such tremendous violence ...

The Emperor has put the Turkish system to the proof, and His Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not. If this Sultan had been enabled to offer us a more
 30 determined and regular resistance, while he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him had he had time to give it more solidity. Things being in this state, we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them before they became more dangerous for us, for delay would only have
 35 made our relative situation worse, and prepared us greater obstacles than those with which we meet."

Russia proposes now to make an aggressive step and then to talk about it. In 1829 Prince Liewen wrote to Count Nesselrode:

"We shall confine ourselves to generalities, for every circumstantial
 40 communication on a subject so delicate would draw down real dangers, and if once we discuss with our allies the articles of treaty with the Porte, we

shall only content them when they will *imagine* that they have imposed upon us irreparable sacrifices. It is in the midst of our camp that peace must be signed and it is when it shall have been concluded that Europe must know its conditions. Remonstrances will then be too late and it will then patiently suffer what it can no longer prevent." 5

Russia has now for several months been delaying action under one pretence or another, in order to maintain a state of things, which, being neither war nor peace, is tolerable to herself, but ruinous to the Turks. She acted in precisely the same manner in the period we have alluded to. As Pozzo di Borgo said: 10

"It is our policy to see that nothing new happens during the next four months and I hope we shall accomplish it, *because men in general prefer waiting*; but the fifth must be fruitful in events."

The Czar, after having inflicted the greatest indignities on the Turkish Government, and notwithstanding that he now threatens to extort by force the most humiliating concessions, nevertheless raises a great cry about his "friendship for the Sultan Abdul Medjed" and his solicitude "for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire." On the Sultan he throws the "responsibility" of opposing his "just demands," of continuing to "wound his friendship and his feelings," of rejecting his "note," and of declining his "protectorate." 15 20

In 1828, when Pozzo di Borgo was interpellated by Charles X. about the bad success of the Russian arms in the campaign of that year, he replied, that, not wishing to push the war *à outrance* without absolute necessity, the Emperor had hoped that the Sultan would have profited by his *generosity*, which *experiment* had now failed. 25

Shortly before commencing the present quarrel with the Porte Russia sought to bring about a general coalition of the Continental Powers against England, on the Refugee question, and having failed in that experiment, she attempted to bring about a coalition with England against France. Similarly, from 1826 to 1829, she intimidated Austria by the "ambitious projects of Prussia" doing simultaneously, all that was in her power to swell the power and pretensions of Prussia, in order to enable her to balance Austria. In her present circular note she indicts Bonaparte as the only disturber of peace by his pretensions respecting the Holy Places; but, at that time, in the language of Pozzo di Borgo, she attributed "all the agitation that pervaded Europe to the agency of Prince Metternich, and tried to make the Duke of Wellington himself perceive that the deference which he would have for the Cabinet of Vienna would be a drawback to his influence with all the others, and to give such a turn to things that it would be no longer Russia that sought to compromise France with Great Britain, but Great Britain who had repudiated France, in order to join the Cabinet of Vienna." 30 35 40

Russia would now submit to a great humiliation if she retreated. That was identically her situation after the first unsuccessful campaign of 1828. What was then her supreme object? We answer in the words of her diplomatist:

"A second campaign is indispensable in order to acquire the superiority
5 requisite for the success of the negotiation. When this negotiation shall take place we must be in a state to dictate the conditions of it in a prompt and rapid manner ... *With the power of doing more* His Majesty would consent to *demand less*. To obtain this superiority appears to me what ought to be the aim of all our efforts. *This superiority has now become a condition of*
10 *our political existence*, such as we must establish and maintain in the eyes of the world."

But does Russia not fear the common action of England and France? Certainly. In the Secret Memoirs on the Means possessed by Russia for breaking up the alliance between France and England, revealed during the
15 reign of Louis Philippe, we are told:

"In the event of a war, in which England should coalesce with France, Russia indulges in no hope of success, unless that union be broken up; so that at the least England should consent to remain neutral during the continental conflict."

20 The question is: Does Russia believe in a common action of England and France? We quote again from Pozzo di Borgo's dispatches:

"From the moment that the idea of the ruin of the Turkish Empire ceases to prevail, it is not probable that the British Government would risk a general war for the sake of exempting the Sultan from acceding to such or such
25 condition, above all in the state in which things will be at the commencement of the approaching campaign, when everything will be as yet uncertain and undecided. These considerations would authorize the belief that we have no cause to fear an open rupture on the part of Great Britain; and that she will content herself with counseling the Porte to beg peace, and with lending the
30 aid of the good offices in her power during the negotiation if it takes place, without going further, should the Sultan refuse or we persist."

And as to Nesselrode's opinion of the "good" Aberdeen, the Minister of 1828, and the Minister of 1853, it may be well to quote the following from a dispatch by Prince Lieven:

35 "Lord Aberdeen reiterated in his interview with me the assurance that at no period it had entered into the intentions of England to seek a quarrel with Russia—that he feared that the position of the English Ministry was not well understood at St. Petersburg—that he found himself in a delicate situation. Public opinion was always ready to burst forth against Russia. The British
40 Government could not constantly brave it; and it would be dangerous to excite it on questions that touched so nearly the national prejudices. On the

other side we could reckon with entire confidence upon the friendly dispositions of the English Ministry which struggled against them."

The only thing astonishing in the note of M. de Nesselrode, of June 11, is not "The insolent mélange of professions refuted by acts, and threats veiled in declaimers," but the reception Russian diplomatica! notes meet with 5 for the first time in Europe, calling forth, instead of the habitual awe and admiration, blushes of shame at the past and disdainful laughter from the Western world at this insolent amalgamation of pretensions, finesse and real barbarism. Yet Nesselrode's circular note, and the "ultimatissimum" of 10 June 16, are not a bit worse than the so much admired master-pieces of Pozzo di Borgo and Prince Lieven. Count Nesselrode was at their time, what he is now, the diplomatica! head of Russia.

There is a facetious story told of two Persian naturalists who were examining a bear; the one who had never seen such an animal before, inquired whether that animal dropped its cubs alive or laid eggs; to which the other, 15 who was better informed, replied: "That animal is capable of anything." The Russian bear is certainly capable of anything, so long as he knows the other animals he has to deal with to be capable of nothing.

En passant, I may mention the signal victory Russia has just won in Denmark, the Royal message having passed with a majority of 119 against 20 28, in the following terms:

"In agreement with the 4th paragraph of the Constitution d. d. June 5, 1849, the United Parliament, for its part, gives its consent to the arrangement by His Majesty of the succession to the whole Danish Monarchy in accordance 25 with the Royal message respecting the succession of Oct. 4, 1852, renewed June 13, 1853."

Strikes and combinations of workmen are proceeding rapidly, and to an unprecedented extent. I have now before me reports on the strikes of the factory hands of all descriptions at Stockport, of smiths, spinners, weavers, etc., at Manchester, of carpet-weavers at Kidderminster, of colliers at the 30 Ringwood Collieries, near Bristol, of weavers and loomers at Blackburn, of loomers at Darwen, of the cabinet-makers at Boston, of the bleachers, finishers, dyers and power-loom weavers of Bolton and neighborhood, of the weavers of Barnsley, of the Spitalfields broad-silk weavers, of the lace makers of Nottingham, of all descriptions of workingmen throughout the 35 Birmingham district, and in various other localities. Each mail brings new reports of strikes; the turn-out grows epidemic. Every one of the larger strikes, like those at Stockport, Liverpool, etc., necessarily generates a whole series of minor strikes, through great numbers of people being unable to carry 40 out their resistance to the masters, unless they appeal to the support of their fellow-workmen in the Kingdom, and the latter, in order to assist them,

asking in their turn for higher wages. Besides it becomes alike a point of honor and of interest for each locality not to isolate the efforts of their fellow workmen by submitting to worse terms, and thus strikes in one locality are echoed by strikes in the remotest other localities. In some instances the
5 demands for higher wages are only a settlement of long-standing arrears with the masters. So with the great Stockport strike.

In January, 1848, the mill-owners of the town made a general reduction of 10 per cent, from all descriptions of factory-workers' wages. This reduction was submitted to upon the condition that when trade revived the 10
10 per cent, was to be restored. Accordingly the work-people memorialized their employers, early in March, 1853, for the promised advance of 10 per cent.; and as they would not come to arrangements with them, upward of 30,000 hands struck. In the majority of instances, the factory-workmen affirmed distinctly their *right* to *share* in the prosperity of the country, and especially
15 in the prosperity of their employers.

The distinctive feature of the present strikes is this, that they began in the lower ranks of unskilled labor, (not factory labor,) actually trained by the direct influence of emigration, according to various strata of artizans, till they reached at last the factory people of the great industrial centers of Great
20 Britain ; while at all former periods strikes originated regularly from the heads of the factory-workers, mechanics, spinners, etc., spreading thence to the lower classes of this great industrial hive, and reaching only in the last instance, to the artizans. This phenomenon is to be ascribed solely to emigration.

25 There exists a class of philanthropists, and even of socialists, who consider strikes as very mischievous to the interests of the "workingman himself," and whose great aim consists in finding out a method of securing permanent average wages. Besides, the fact of the industrial cyclus, with its various phases, putting every such average wages out of the question, I am, on the
30 very contrary, convinced that the alternative rise and fall of wages, and the continual conflicts between masters and men resulting therefrom, are, in the present organization of industry, the indispensable means of holding up the spirit of the laboring classes, of combining them into one great association against the encroachments of the ruling class, and of preventing them from
35 becoming pathetic, thoughtless, more or less well-fed instruments of production. In a state of society founded upon the antagonism of classes, if we want to prevent Slavery in fact as well as in name, we must accept war. In order to rightly appreciate the value of strikes and combinations, we must not allow ourselves to be blinded by the apparent insignificance of their economical
40 results, but hold, above all things in view moral and political consequences. Without the great alternative phases of dullness, prosperity, over-excite-

ment, crisis and distress, which modern industry traverses in periodically recurring cycles, with the up and down of wages resulting from them, as with the constant warfare between masters and men closely corresponding with those variations in wages and profits, the working-classes of Great Britain, and of all Europe, would be a heart-broken, a weak-minded, a worn-out, 5
unresisting mass, whose self-emancipation would prove as impossible as that of the slaves of Ancient Greece and Rome. We must not forget that strikes and combinations among the serfs were the hot-beds of the mediaeval communes, and that those communes have been in their turn, the source of life 10
of the now ruling bourgeoisie.

I observed in one of my last letters, of what importance the present labor-crisis must turn out to the Chartist movement in England, which anticipation I now find realized by the results obtained in the first two weeks of the reopened campaign by Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader. The first great 15
open-air meeting was, as you know, to be held on the mountain of Blackstone-Edge. On the 19th ult., the Lancashire and Yorkshire delegates of the respective Chartist localities congregated there, constituting themselves as Delegate-Council. Ernest Jones's petition for the Charter was unanimously adopted as that proposed to emanate from the meetings in the two counties, and the presentation of the Lancashire and Yorkshire petitions was voted 20
to be entrusted to Mr. Apsley Pellatt, M.P. for Southwark, who had agreed to undertake the presentation of all Chartist petitions. As to the general meeting, the most sanguine minds did not anticipate its possibility, the weather being terrific, the storm increasing hourly in violence and the rain pouring without intermission. At first there appeared only a few scattered 25
groups climbing up the hill, but soon larger-bodies came into sight, and from an eminence that overlooked the surrounding valleys, thin but steady streams of people could be viewed as far as the eye could carry, through the base pelting of the rain, coming upward along the roads and footpaths leading from the surrounding country. By the time at which the meeting was announced 30
to commence, upward of 3,000 people had met on the spot, far removed from any village or habitation, and during the long speeches, the meeting, notwithstanding the most violent deluge of rain, remained steadfast on the ground.

Mr. Edward Hooson's resolution: "That the social grievances of the working classes of the country are the result of class-legislation, and that 35
the only remedy for such class-legislation is the adoption of the People's Charter," was supported by Mr. Gammage, of the Chartist Executive, and Mr. Ernest Jones, from whose speeches I give some extracts.

"The resolution which has been moved attributed the people's grievances to class-legislation. He thought that no man who had watched the course of 40
events could disagree with that statement. The House of Commons, so called,

had turned a deaf ear to all their complaints, and when the wail of misery had arisen from the people, it had been mocked and derided by the men who assumed to be the representatives of the nation, and if by any singular chance the voice of the people found an echo in that house, it was always drowned
5 in the clamor of the murderous majority of our class-legislators. (Loud applause.) The House of Commons not only refused to do justice to the people, but it even refused to inquire into their social condition. They would all recollect that sometime ago, Mr. Slaney had introduced into the House a motion for the appointment of a standing commission, whose business it
10 should be to inquire into that condition and suggest measures of relief—but such was the determination of the House to evade the question, that on the introduction of the motion, only twenty-six members were present, and the House was counted out. (Loud cries of shame, shame.) And on the réintroduction of that motion, so far from Mr. Slaney being successful, he (Mr.
15 Gammage) believed that out of 656 honorable men, but 19 were present even to enter on a discussion of the question. When he told them what was the actual condition of the people, he thought they would agree with him, that there existed abundant reasons for inquiry. They were told by Political Economists that the annual production of this country was £820,000,000.
20 Assuming that there were in the United Kingdom 5,000,000 of working families, and that such families received an average income of fifteen shillings per week, which he believed was a very high average compared with what they actually received, (Cries of "a great deal too high") supposing them, however, to average this amount, they received out of their enormous
25 annual production a miserable one hundred and ninety-five millions,—(cries of shame,)—and all the rest went into the pockets of idle landlords, usurers and the capitalist class generally ... Did they require a proof that these men were robbers? They were not the worst of thieves who were confined within the walls of our prisons; the greatest and cleverest of thieves were those who
30 robbed by the power of laws made by themselves, and these large robberies were the cause of all the smaller ones that were transacted throughout the country ... Mr. Gammage then entered into an analysis of the House of Commons, proving that from the classes to which the members of that House belonged, and the classes which they represented, it was impossible that
35 there should exist the smallest sympathy between them and the working millions. In conclusion, said the speaker, the people must become acquainted with their Social Rights."

Mr. Ernest Jones, said:

"To-day we proclaim that the Charter shall be law. (Loud cheers.) I ask
40 you now to reengage in this great movement, because I know that the time has arrived for so doing, and that the game is in your hands, and because

Karl Marx

I am anxious that you should not let the opportunity go by. Brisk trade and emigration have given you a momentary power, and upon how you use that power depends your future position. If you use it only for the objects of the present, you will break down when the circumstances of the present cease. But if you use it, not only to strengthen your present position, but to secure your future one, you will triumph over all your enemies. If brisk trade and emigration give you power, that power must cease when brisk trade and emigration cease, and unless you secure yourself in the interval, you will be more slaves than ever. (Hear, hear.) But the very sources that cause your strength now will cause your weakness before long. The emigration that makes your labor scarce, will make soon your employment scarcer ... The commercial reaction will set in, and now I ask you, how are you preparing to meet it? You are engaged in a noble labor movement for short time and high wages, and you are practically carrying it through to some extent, but mark! you are not carrying it through Parliament. Mark! the game of the employer is this—amuse them with some concessions, but yield to them no law. Don't pass a Wages bill in Parliament, but concede some of its provisions in the factory. (Hear.) The wages slave will then say, 'Never mind a political organization for a Ten Hours' bill or a Wages measure—we've got it by ourselves, without Parliament.' Yes, but can you keep it without Parliament? What gave it you? Brisk trade. What will take it from you? Dull trade. Your employers know this. Therefore, they shorten your hours of work or raise your wages, or remit their stoppages, in hopes that you will forego the political organization for these measures. (Cheers.) They shorten the hours of work, well knowing that soon they will run their mills short time—they raise your wages, well knowing that soon they will give thousands of you no wages at all. But they tell you also—the midland manufacturers—that, even if the laws were passed, this would only force them to seek other means of robbing you—that was the plain meaning of their words. So that in the first place, you can't get the acts passed, because you have not got a People's Parliament. In the second place, if they were passed, they tell you that they would circumvent them. (Loud cries of "hear.") Now, I ask you, how are you preparing for the future? How are you using the vast strength you momentarily possess? That you will be powerless, unless you prepare now—you will loose all you may have gained; and we are here to-day to show you how to keep it and get more. Some people fancy a Chartist organization would interfere with the Labor movement. Good Heaven! it is the very thing to make it successful ... The employed cannot do without the employer, unless he can employ himself. The employed can never employ himself, unless he can command the means of work—land, credit and machinery. He can never command these, unless he breaks down the landed, moneyed and

mercantile monopolies, and these he cannot subvert except by wielding sovereign power. Why do you seek a Ten Hours bill? If political power is not necessary to secure labour-freedom why go to Parliament at all? Why not do it in the factory at once? Why, because you know, you feel, you by
5 that very act admit tacitly, that political power is needed to obtain social emancipation. (Loud cheers.) Then I point you to the foundation of political power—I point you to the suffrage—I point you to the Charter. (Enthusiastic applause.)... It may be said: 'Why do we not wait till the crisis comes, and the millions rally of their own accord.' Because we want not a movement
10 of excitement and danger, but one of calm reason and moral strength. We will not see you led away by excitement, but guided by judgment—and therefore we bid you now reorganize—that you may rule the storm, instead of being tossed by it. Again, continental revolution will accompany commercial reaction—and we need to raise a strong beacon of Chartism to light us through
15 the chaos of tempest. Today, then, we reinaugurate our movement, and to obtain its official recognition, we go through the medium of Parliament—not that we expect them to grant the petition—but because we use them as the most fitting mouth-piece to announce our resurrection to the world. Yes, the very men that proclaimed our death, shall have the unsought pleasure to
20 proclaim our resurrection, and this petition is merely the baptismal register announcing to the world our second birth." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Hooson's resolution and the petition to Parliament were here, as well as at the subsequent meetings during the week, enthusiastically accepted by acclamation.

25 At the meeting of Blackstone Edge, Ernest Jones had announced the death of Benjamin Rushton, a workingman who seven years before, had presided at the great Chartist meeting held at the same spot; and he proposed that his funeral should be made a great political demonstration, and be connected with the West Riding meeting for the adoption of the Charter, as the noblest
30 obsequies to be given to that expired veteran. Never before in the annals of British Democracy, has such a demonstration been witnessed, as that which attended the revival of Chartism in the West Riding, and the funeral of Benjamin Rushton, on Sunday last, when upward of 200,000 people were assembled at Halifax, a number unprecedented even in the most excited
35 times. To those who know nothing of English society but its dull, apoplectic surface, it should be recommended to assist at these workingmen's meetings and to look into those depths where its'destructive elements are at work.

The Coalition has gained the preliminary battle on the Indian question, Lord Stanley's motion for delay of legislation having been rejected by a
40 majority of 184 votes. Pressure of matter obliges me to delay my comments upon that division.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx

The Turkish War Question—The New-York Tribune"
in the House of Commons—The Government of India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3824, 20. Juli 1853

**The Turkish War Question—
The New-York Tribune
in the House of Commons—
The Government of India.**

Correspondence of the N.Y.Tribune.

5

London, Tuesday, 5th July, 1853.

The courier bearing the rejection of the Russian *ultimatissbnum* on the part of Reshid Pasha, reached St. Petersburg on the 24th ult., and, three days later, a messenger was dispatched with orders for Prince Gorchakoff to cross the Pruth, and to occupy the Principalities. 10

The Austrian government has sent Count Gyulai on an extraordinary mission to the Czar, no doubt with a view of cautioning him against the danger of revolution lurking behind any general European war. We may infer the answer of the Russian cabinet in the present instance from that which it returned to similar representations from the same power in 1829. It was as follows:— 15

"On this occasion the Austrian Cabinet has reproduced all the motives of alarm created by the fermentation which, according to its opinion and the information it possesses, reigns in more than one country, as well as the progress lately made by the revolutionary tendencies. These apprehensions are more particularly betrayed in the letter of the Emperor Francis to Nicholas. We are far from denying the dangers which Austria points out to us. Since by means of foreign influence the resistance of the Porte assumes a character of obstinacy which delays beyond our wishes and our hopes the term of this crisis, and even demands redoubled efforts and new sacrifices on our part, Russia will be forced to devote more than ever her whole attention to inter- 20 25

ests which so immediately affect the honor and the welfare of her subjects; from that moment the means which she could oppose to the breaking out of the revolutionary spirit in the rest of Europe must necessarily be paralyzed. No power, then, ought to be more interested than Austria in the
5 conclusion of peace, but of a peace glorious to the Emperor and advantageous to his empire. For if the treaty we should sign did not bear this character, the political consideration and influence of Russia would experience through it a fatal blow, the *prestige* of her strength would vanish, and the moral support which she might perhaps be called upon to lend in future
10 contingencies to friendly and allied powers would be precarious and inefficacious." (Secret dispatch from Count Nesselrode to M. de Tatistcheff, dated St. Petersburg, 12th February, 1829.)

The Press, of last Saturday, stated that the Czar, in his disappointment at the conduct of England, and more especially of Lord Aberdeen, had instructed M. de Brunnow to communicate no longer with that "good," old
15 man, but to restrict himself to his official intercourse with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The Vienna *Lloyd*, the organ of the Austrian bankocracy, is very determinedly in favor of Austria siding with England and France for the
20 purpose of discountenancing the aggressive policy of Russia.

You will remember that the Coalition Ministry suffered a defeat on the 14th of April, on the occasion of the proposed repeal of the Advertisement duty. They have now experienced two more defeats, on the 1st inst., on the identical ground. Mr. Gladstone moved on that day to reduce the Advertisement
25 Duty from Is. 6d. to 6d., and to extend it to advertisements published with any magazine, pamphlet, or other literary work. Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment for the repeal of all duties now payable on advertisements was rejected by 109 against 99 votes. The retainers of Mr. Gladstone thinking that victory had been won, left the House for dinner and a court-ball, when Mr.
30 Bright rose and made a very powerful speech against the taxes on knowledge in general, and the Stamp and Advertisement Duty in particular. From this speech I will quote a few passages which may be of interest to you:

"He (Mr. Bright) held in his hand a newspaper which was the same size as the London daily newspapers without a supplement, and it was as good
35 a newspaper, he undertook to say, as any published in London. It was printed with a finer type than any London daily paper. The paper, the material, was exceedingly good—quite sufficient for all the purposes of a newspaper. The printing could not be possibly surpassed, and it contained more matter for its size than any daily paper printed in London. The first, second and third
40 sides were composed of advertisements. There were a long article upon the American Art-Union investigation, a leading article giving a summary of all

the latest news from Europe, a leading article on the Fisheries dispute, and a leading article, with which he entirely concurred, stating that public dinners were public nuisances. (Hear, and a laugh.) He had seen articles perhaps written with more style but never any that had a better tone, or that were more likely to be useful. Then again there were 'Three days later from Europe,' the 'Arrival of the Asia,' and a condensation from all the news from Europe. From Great Britain there was an elaborate disquisition upon the Budget of the Rt. Honorable gentleman, which did him justice in some parts, but not in others, and which, so far as the Manchester schools were concerned, certainly did them no justice whatever. (Laughter.) Then there were an account of Mrs. Stowe's visit to Edinburgh, a long article from *The London Times* upon the wrongs of dressmakers, articles from Greece, Spain and other continental countries, the Athlone election, and the returns of Her Majesty's Solicitor General by exactly 189 votes—which would very much surprise an American to read—several columns of ordinary news in paragraphs, and most elaborate mercantile and market tables. It wrote steadily in favor of Temperance and Anti-Slavery, and he ventured to say that there was not at this moment in London a better paper than that. The name of that paper was *The New-York Tribune*, and it was laid regularly every morning upon the table of every workingman of that city who chose to buy it at the sum of one penny. (Hear, hear.) What he wanted to ask the Government was this: How comes it, and for what good end, and by what contrivance of fiscal oppression was it that one of our workmen here should pay 5d. for a London morning paper, while his direct competitor in New York could buy a paper for Id.? We were running a race in the face of all the world with the United States; but if our artisans were to be bound either to have no newspaper at all, or to pay 5d. for it, or were to be driven to the public houses to read it, while the artisan in the United States could procure it for Id., how was it possible that any fair rivalry could be maintained between the artisans of the two countries? As well say that a merchant in England, if he never saw a price-current, would carry on his business with the same facility as the merchant who had that advantage every day. (Hear, hear.)... If the Chancellor of the Exchequer should oppose what he had stated, he should tell him at once and without hesitation that it was because he had a latent dread of the liberty of the press; and when the right honorable gentleman spoke about financial difficulties, he said it was but a cloak to conceal his lurking horror lest the people should have a free press and greater means of political information. (Hear.) It was the fear that the press would be free which made them keep the 6d. advertisement duty as the buttress to the stamp."

Mr. Craufurd then moved to substitute in lieu of the figure 6d. the cipher Od. Mr. Cobden supported the motion, and in reply to Mr. Gladstone's state-

ment, that the Advertisement duty was no question of much importance with regard to the circulation of cheap newspapers, called his attention to the evidence given by Mr. Horace Greeley, who was examined before the Committee which had sat on this subject in 1851.

5 "This gentleman was one of the Commissioners of the great exhibition, and he was the proprietor of that very newspaper from which his honorable friend, Mr. Bright, had quoted. He was examined as to what the effect of the advertisement duty would be in America, and his reply was that its operation would be to destroy their new papers."

10 Lord John Russell now got up and said, in rather angry voice, that it was hardly fair to attempt to reverse, in a greatly thinned House, the decisions previously adopted. Of course, Lord John did not recollect that on the very advertisement-duty his colleagues had been beaten before by a majority of 40, and had only had now a majority of 10. Notwithstanding Lord John's
15 lecture on "constitutional" fairness, the motion of Mr. Gladstone for a duty of 6d. on each advertisement, was negatived by 68 against 63, and Mr. Craufurd's amendment carried by 70 against 61. Mr. Disraeli and his friends voted with the Manchester School.

The House of Commons, in order to do justice to the colossal dimensions
20 of the subject, has been spinning out its Indian debate to an unusual length and breadth, although that debate has failed altogether in depth and greatness of interest. The division leaving Ministers a majority of 332 against 142, is in inverse ratio to the discussion. During the discussion all was thistles for the Ministry, and Sir Charles Wood was the ass officially put to the task of
25 feeding upon them. In the division all is roses, and Sir Charles Wood receives the crown of another *Manu*. The same men who negatived the plan of the Ministry by their arguments, affirmed it by their votes. None of its supporters dared to apologise for the bill itself; on the contrary, all apologized for their supporting the bill, the one because it was an infinitesimal part of a measure
30 in the right direction, the others because it was no measure at all. The former pretend that they will now mend it in Committee; the latter say that they will strip it of all the fancy Reform flowers it parades in.

The Ministry maintained the field by more than one half of the Tory
35 opposition mning away, and a great portion of the remainder deserting with Hemes and Inglis into the Aberdeen camp, while of the 142 opposite votes 100 belonged to the Disraeli fraction, and 42 to the Manchester School, backed by some Irish discontents and some inexpressibles. The opposition within the opposition has once more saved the Ministry.

Mr. Halliday, one of the officials of the East India Company, when examined before a Committee of Inquiry, stated: "That the Charter giving a
40 twenty years lease to the East India Company was considered by the natives

of India as *farming them out*." This time at least, the Charter has not been renewed for a definite period, but is revokable at will by Parliament. The Company, therefore, will come down from the respectable situation of hereditary fanners, to the precarious condition of tenants-at-will. This is so much gain for the natives. The Coalition Ministry has succeeded in transforming the Indian Government, like all other questions, into an open question. The House of Commons, on the other hand, has given itself a new testimonial of poverty, in confessing by the same division, its impotency for legislating, and its unwillingness to delay legislating. 5

Since the days of Aristotle the world has been inundated with a frightful quantity of dissertations, ingenious or absurd, as it might happen, on that question: Who shall be the governing power? But for the first time in the annals of history, the Senate of a people ruling over another people numbering 156 millions of human beings and spreading over a surface of 1,368,113 square miles, have put their heads together in solemn and public congregation, in order to answer the irregular question: Who among us is the actual governing power over that foreign people of 150 millions of souls? There was no Œdipus in the British Senate capable of extricating this riddle. The whole debate exclusively twined around it, as although a division took place, no definition of the Indian Government was arrived at. 10 15 20

That there is in India a permanent financial deficit, a regular over-supply of wars, and no supply at all of public works, an abominable system of taxation, and a no less abominable state of justice and law, that these five items constitute, as it were, the five points of the East Indian Charter, was settled beyond all doubt in the debates of 1853, as it had been in the debates of 1833, and in the debates of 1813, as in all former debates on India. The only thing never found out, was the party responsible for all this. 25

There exists, unquestionably, a Governor-General of India, holding the supreme power, but that Governor is governed in his turn by a home government. Who is that home government? Is it the Indian Minister, disguised under the modest title of President of the Board of Control, or is it the twenty-four Directors of the East India Company? On the threshold of the Indian religion we find a divine trinity, and thus we find a profane trinity on the threshold of the Indian Government. 30

Leaving, for a while, the Governor-General altogether on one side, the question at issue resolves itself into that of the *double Government*, in which form it is familiar to the English mind. The Ministers in their bill, and the House in its division, cling to this dualism. 35

When the Company of English merchant adventurers, who conquered India to make money out of it, began to enlarge their factories into an empire, when their competition with the Dutch and French private merchants as- 40

F

The Turkish War Question—"The New-York Tribune" in the House of Commons—India

sumed the character of national rivalry, then, of course, the British Government commenced meddling with the affairs of the East India Company, and the double Government of India sprung up in fact if not in name. Pitt's act of 1784, by entering into a compromise with the Company, by subjecting it
5 to the superintendence of the Board of Control, and by making the Board of Control an appendage to the Ministry, accepted, regulated and settled that double Government, arisen from circumstances, in name as well as in fact.

The act of 1833 strengthened the Board of Control, changed the proprietors of the East India Company into mere mortgagees of the East India revenues,
10 ordered the Company to sell off its stock, dissolved its commercial existence,, transformed it, as far as it existed politically, into a mere trustee of the Crown, and did thus with the East India Company, what the Company had been in the habit of doing with the East India Princes. After having superseded them, it continued, for a while, still to govern in their name. So far,
15 the East India Company has, since 1833, no longer existed but in name and on sufferance. While thus on one hand, there seems to be no difficulty in getting rid of the Company altogether, it is, on the other hand, very indifferent whether the English nation rules over India under the personal name of Queen Victoria, or under the traditional firm of an anonymous society. The
20 whole question, therefore, appears to turn about a technicality of very questionable importance. Still, the thing is not quite so plain.

It is to be remarked, in the first instance, that the Ministerial Board of Control, residing in Cannon-row, is as much a fiction as the East India Company, supposed to reside in Leadenhall-st. The members composing the
25 Board of Control are a mere cloak for the supreme rule of the President of the Board. The President is himself but a subordinate though independent member of the Imperial Ministry. In India it seems to be assumed that if a man is fit for nothing it is best to make him a Judge, and get rid of him. In Great Britain, when a party comes into office and finds itself encumbered
30 with a tenth-rate "statesman," it is considered best to make him President of the Board of Control, successor of the Great Mogul, and in that way to get rid of him— *teste Carolo Wood*.

The letter of the law entrusts the Board of Control, which is but another name for its President, with "full power and authority to superintend, direct,
35 and control all acts, operations and concerns of the East India Company which in anywise relate to or concern the Government or revenues of the Indian territories." Directors are prohibited "from issuing any orders, instructions, dispatches, official letters, or communications whatever relating to India, or to the Government thereof, until the same shall have been sanc-
40 tioned by the Board." Directors are ordered to "prepare instructions or orders upon any subject whatever at fourteen days' notice from the Board,

or else to transmit the orders of the Board on the subject of India. " The Board is authorized to inspect all correspondence and dispatches to and from India, and the proceedings of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors. Lastly, the Court of Directors has to appoint a Secret Committee, consisting of their Chairman, their Deputy Chairman and their senior member, who are sworn to secrecy, and through whom, in all political and military matters, the President of the Board may transmit his personal orders to India, while the Committee acts as a mere channel of his communications. The orders respecting the Affghan and Burmese wars, and as to the occupation of Scinde were transmitted through this secret Committee, without the Court of Directors being any more informed of them than the general public or Parliament. So far, therefore, the President of the Board of Control would appear to be the real Mogul, and, under all circumstances, he retains an unlimited power for doing mischief, as, for instance, for causing the most ruinous wars, all the while being hidden under the name of the irresponsible Court of Directors. On the other hand, the Court of Directors is not without real power. As they generally exercise the initiative in administrative measures, as they form, when compared with the Board of Control, a more permanent and steady body, with traditional rules for action and a certain knowledge of details, the whole of the ordinary internal administration necessarily falls to their share. They appoint, too, under sanction of the Crown, the Supreme Government of India, the Governor-General and his Councils; possessing, besides, the unrestricted power to recall the highest servants, and even the Governor-General, as they did under Sir Robert Peel, with Lord Ellenborough. But this is still not their most important privilege. Receiving only £300 per annum, they are really paid in patronage, distributing all the writer-ships and cadetships, from whose number the Governor-General of India and the Provincial Governors are obliged to fill up all the higher places withheld from the natives. When the number of appointments for the year is ascertained, the whole are divided into 28 equal parts-of which two are allotted to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, two to the President of the Board of Control, and one to each of the Directors. The annual value of each share of patronage seldom falls short of £14,000. "All nominations," says Mr. Campbell, "are now, as it were, the private property of individuals, being divided among the Directors, and each disposing of his share as he thinks fit." Now, it is evident that the spirit of the Court of Directors must pervade the whole of the Indian Upper Administration, trained, as it is, at schools of Addiscombe and Haileybury, and appointed, as it is, by their patronage. It is no less evident that this Court of Directors, who have to distribute, year after year, appointments of the value of nearly £400,000 among the upper classes of Great Britain, will find little or no check from the public opinion

directed by those very classes. What the spirit of the Court of Directors is, I will show in a following letter on the actual state of India. For the present it may suffice to say that Mr. Macaulay, in the course of the pending debates, defended the Court by the particular plea, that it was impotent to effect all
5 the evils it might intend, so much so, that all improvements had been effected in opposition to it, and against it by individual Governors who had acted on their own responsibility. Thus with regard to the suppression of the Suttee, the abolition of the abominable transit duties, and the emancipation of the East India press.

10 The President of the Board of Control accordingly involves India in ruinous wars under cover of the Court of Directors, while the Court of Directors corrupt the Indian Administration under the cloak of the Board of Control.

On looking deeper into the framework of this anomalous government we find at its bottom a third power, more supreme than either the Board or the
15 Court, more irresponsible, and more concealed from and guarded against the superintendence of public opinion. The transient President of the Board depends on the permanent clerks of his establishment in Cannon-row, and for those clerks India exists not in India, but in Leadenhall-st. Now, who is the master at Leadenhall-st.?

20 Two thousand persons, elderly ladies and valetudinarian gentlemen, possessing Indian stock, having no other interest in India except to be paid their dividends out of Indian revenue, elect twenty-four Directors, whose only qualification is the holding of £1,000 stock. Merchants, bankers and directors of companies incur great trouble in order to get into the Court for the interest
25 of their private concerns. "A banker," said Mr. Bright, "in the City of London commands 300 votes of the East India Company, whose word for the election of Directors is almost absolute law." Hence the Court of Directors is nothing but a *succursal* to the English moneyocracy. The so-elected Court forms, in its turn, besides the above-mentioned Secret Committee, three other
30 Committees, which are 1. Political and Military. 2. Finance and Home. 3. Revenue, Judicial and Legislative. These Committees are every year appointed by rotation, so that a *financier* is one year on the Judicial and the next year on the Military Committee, and no one has any chance of a continued supervision over a particular department. The mode of election having
35 brought in men utterly unfit for their duties, the system of rotation gives to whatever fitness they might perchance retain, the final blow. Who, then, govern in fact under the name of the Direction? A large staff of irresponsible secretaries, examiners and clerks at the India House, of whom, as Mr. Campbell observes, in his *Scheme for the Government of India*, only one
40 individual has ever been in India, and he only by accident. Apart from the trade in patronage, it is therefore a mere fiction to speak of the politics, the

principles, and the system of the Court of Directors. The real Court of Directors and the real Home Government, etc., of India are the permanent and irresponsible *bureaucracy*, "the creatures of the desk and the creatures of favor" residing in Leadenhall-st. We have thus a Corporation ruling over an immense Empire, not formed, as in Venice, by eminent patricians, but by old obstinate clerks, and the like odd fellows. 5

No wonder, then, that there exists no government by which so much is written and so Utile done, as the Government of India. When the East India Company was only a commercial association, they, of course, requested a most detailed report on every item from the managers of their Indian factories, as is done by every trading concern. When the factories grew into an Empire, the commercial items into ship loads of correspondence and documents, the Leadenhall clerks went on in their system, which made the Directors and the Board their dependents; and they succeeded in transforming the Indian government into one immense writing machine. Lord Broughton stated in his evidence before the Official Salaries Committee, that with one single dispatch 45,000 pages of collection were sent. 10 15

In order to give you some idea of the time-killing manner in which business is transacted at the India-House, I will quote a passage from Mr. Dickin-son: 20

"When a dispatch arrives from India, it is referred, in the first instance, to the Examiners' Department, to which it belongs; after which the chairs confer with the official in charge of that department, and settle with him the tenor of a reply, and transmit a draught of this reply to the Indian Minister, in what is technically called P.C., i.e. previous communication. The chairs, in this preliminary state of P.C. depend mainly on the clerks. Such is this dependence that even in a discussion in the Court of Proprietors, after previous notice, it is pitiable to see the chairman referring to a secretary who sits by his side, and keeps on whispering and prompting and chaffing him as if he were a mere puppet, and the Minister at the other end of the system is in the same predicament. In this stage of P.C., if there is a difference of opinion on the draught, it is discussed, and almost invariably settled in friendly communication between the Minister and the Chair; finally the draught is returned by the Minister, either adopted or altered; and then it is submitted to the Committee of Directors superintending the department to which it belongs, with all papers bearing on the case, to be considered and discussed and adopted or altered, and afterward it is exposed to the same process in the aggregate Court, and then goes, for the first time, as an official communication to the Minister, after which it undergoes the same process in the opposite direction." 25 30 35 40

"When a measure is discussed in India," says Mr. Campbell, "the an-

nouncement that it has been referred to the Court of Directors, is regarded as an indefinite postponement."

The close and abject spirit of this bureaucracy deserves to be stigmatised in the celebrated words of Burke:

- 5 "This tribe of vulgar politicians are the lowest of our species. There is no trade so vile and mechanical as Government in their hands. Virtue is not then-habit. They are out of themselves in any course of conduct recommended only by conscience and glory. A large, liberal and prospective view of the interests of States passes with them for romance; and the principles that
10 recommend it, for the wanderings of a disordered imagination. The calculators compute them out of their senses. The jesters and buffoons shame them out of everything grand and elevated. Littleness in object and in means to them appears soundness and sobriety."

- The clerical establishments of Leadenhall-st. and Cannon-row cost the
15 Indian people the trifle of £160,000 annually. The oligarchy involves India in wars, in order to find employment for their younger sons; the moneyocracy consigns it to the highest bidder; and a subordinate Bureaucracy paralyse its administration and perpetuate its abuses as the vital condition of their own perpetuation.

- 20 Sir Charles Wood's bill alters nothing in the existing system. It enlarges the power of the Ministry, without adding to its responsibility.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Layard's Motion—Struggle over the Ten Hours' Bill

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3826, 22. Juli 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, July 8, 1853.

With the actual occupation of the Danubian Principalities and the drawing near of the long-predicted crisis, the English Press has remarkably lowered its warlike language, and little opposition is made to the advice tendered in two consecutive leaders of *The Times* that, "as the Russians could not master their propensity for civilizing barbarian provinces, England had better let them do as they desired, and avoid a disturbance of the peace by vain obstinacy." 5

The anxiety of the Government to withhold all information on the pending Turkish question betrayed itself in a most ridiculous farce, acted at the same time in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons Mr. Layard, the celebrated restorer of ancient Nineveh, had given notice that he would move this evening that the fullest information with regard to Turkey and Russia should be laid before the House. On this notice having been given, the following scene occurred in the lower House: 10 15

Mr. *Layard*—The notice of my motion was given for to-morrow. I received a note yesterday afternoon asking me to put off the motion to Monday, 11th inst. I was not able to return an answer yesterday afternoon—in fact, not till this morning. To my surprise, I find that, without my knowledge, I was in the House yesterday; for I find from the notices of motions printed with the votes, that Mr. Layard postponed his motion from Friday the 8th to Monday 11th! It seems scarcely fair that independent members should be treated in this way. 20

Mr. *Gladstone*—I do not know by whose direction or authority the notice of postponement was placed on the votes of the House. Of one thing I can assure the hon. member, that whatever was done, was done in perfect *bona fide*. 25

Mr. *Layard*—I should like to know who put that notice of postponement in the paper. What reason have you for deferring the motion to Monday? 30

Mr. *Gladstone*—An indisposition of Lord J. Russell.

Mr. *Layard* then withdrew his motion until Monday.

Mr. *Disraeli*—This appears to me an arrangement of business which requires explanation on the part of the Government—the more so as the India Bill, too, contrary to agreement, is placed on the votes for to-morrow.

5 After a pause,

Sir C. Woodhumbly confesses to have been the double sinner, but, availing himself of Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, declared that he had acted with regard to Mr. Layard with the *best intentions in the world*.

10 The opposite side of the medal was exhibited in the House of Lords, where, at all events, the bodily disposition of poor little Russell had nothing to do with the motion of the Marquis of Clanricarde, similar to that of Mr. Layard, and likewise announced for Friday, after it had already several times been adjourned on the request of Ministers.

15 Lord *Brougham* rose, with the assurance that he had not communicated with any member of the Ministry, but that he found the motion of Lord Clanricarde, announced for to-morrow, most inconvenient in the present state of affairs. For this he would refer to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

20 Lord *Clarendon* could certainly not say that there would be neither mischief nor inconvenience in a full discussion of the subject at present. Negotiations were going on; but after the various postponements, he felt that he ought not to ask again his noble friend to withdraw his motion. Yet he reserved to himself, in reply to him, to say nothing more than that which his sense of public duty allowed. Nevertheless, he would ask his noble friend whether he would object to at least postponing the motion until Monday next, 25 it being convenient to have this discussion in both Houses at the same time, and Lord J. Russell being extremely unwell?

30 Earl of *Ellenborough*—The noble Marquis opposite would only exercise a sound discretion if he deferred not only to Monday, but generally, without fixing at present any day for the motion of which he has given notice for to-morrow.

Lord *Derby*—He had been taken by surprise on finding the noble Marquis bringing the question under consideration, and he concurred entirely with the views of the noble Earl, (Ellenborough.)

35 Earl Grey—After the declaration of Lord Clarendon the propriety of postponing discussion must be obvious to every one.

The Marquis of Clanricarde then withdrew his motion.

Earl *Fitzwilliam*—*He* would ask whether the Russian manifesto, the declaration of a *holy war* against Turkey, dated June 26, was authentic?

40 Earl *Clarendon*—*Re* had received that document from Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg.

Earl of *Malmesbury*—It was due to the dignity of their Lordships that they

should be assured by Government of its intention to prevent, as far as it could, a similar discussion taking place on Monday in the other House.

Earl of *Aberdeen*—He and his colleagues would exercise any influence they possessed to do their utmost for preventing that discussion.

To resume: The House of Commons is first made to adjourn discussion 5
by a fraud. Then, under the pretense that the House of Commons had
adjourned discussion, the House of Lords is made to do the same. Then the
"noble" Lords resolve to postpone the motion *ad infinitum*; and lastly, the
dignity of the "noblest assembly on the face of the earth" requires that the
Commons too should postpone the motion *ad infinitum*. 10

On an interpellation from Mr. Liddell, Lord Palmerston declared in the same sitting:

"The recent obstruction of the navigation of the Sulina-Canal of the Danube, had been caused by the accidental circumstance of the waters of the river having overflowed and spread over the banks, and so far diminished 15
the force of the current as to increase the quantity of mud on the bar. I am bound to say that, for many years past, the Government has had reason to complain of the neglect of the Government of Russia to perform its duties as the possessor of the territory of which the Delta of the Danube is composed, and to maintain the Canal of the Sulina in efficient navigable state, 20
although Russia always admitted that it was her duty to do so, by virtue of the treaty of Adrianople. While these mouths of the Danube formed parts of the Turkish territory, there was maintained a depth of 16 feet on the bar, whereas, by neglect of the Russian authorities the depth had diminished to 11 feet, and even these 11 feet were reduced to a small and narrow canal 25
from obstructions on the sides, from sand-banks and from vessels wrecked and sunk, and allowed to remain there, so that it was difficult for any vessel to pass except in calm weather and with a skillful pilot. There was rivalry on the part of Odessa, where existed a desire to obstruct the export of produce by the Danube, and to divert it, if possible by way of Odessa." 30

Probably the English Ministry hope that, in case of the Principalities becoming Russian, the mouths of the Danube will reopen according as the rivalry of Odessa will be shut.

A few months ago I took occasion to remark on the progress of the Ten Hours' agitation in the Factory districts. The movement has been going on 35
all the while, and has at last found an echo in the Legislature. On the 5th inst., Mr. Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham, moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrict factory labor to ten hours on the first five days of the week, and to seven and a half hours on Saturday. Leave was given to bring in the bill. During the preliminary debate, Lord Palmerston, in the warmth of im- 40
provisation, allowed a distinct threat to escape him, that, if no other means

for protecting the factory women and children existed, he would propose a restriction of the moving power. The sentence had scarcely fallen from his lips, when a general storm of indignation burst forth against the incautious statesman, not only from the direct representatives of miUocracy, but particularly from their and his own Whig friends, such as Sir George Grey, Mr. Labouchere, etc. Lord J. Russell having taken Palmerston aside, and after half an hour's private *pour-parler*, had to labor very hard to appease the storm, by assuring them that "it appeared to him that his honorable friend had been entirely misunderstood, and that in expressing himself *fora* restriction of the moving power, his friend had meant to express himself *against* it." Such absurd compromises are the daily bread of the Coalition. At all events *they* have the right to say one thing and to mean another. As to Lord Palmerston himself, be it not forgotten that that old dandy of Liberalism expelled a few years ago some hundred Irish families from his "estates," much in the same way as the Duchess of Sutherland did with the ancient clansmen.

Mr. Cobbett, who moved the bill, is the son of the renowned William Cobbett, and represents the same borough his father did. His politics, like his seat, are the inheritance of his father, and therefore independent indeed, but rather incoherent with the state of present parties. William Cobbett was the most able representative, or, rather, the creator of old English Radicalism. He was the first who revealed the mystery of the hereditary party warfare between Tories and Whigs, stripped the parasitic Whig Oligarchy of their sham liberalism, opposed landlordism in its every form, ridiculed the hypocritical rapacity of the Established Church, and attacked the moneyocracy in its two most eminent incarnations—the "Old Lady of Threadneedle-st." (Bank of England) and Mr. Muckworm & Co. (the national creditors). He proposed to cancel the national debt, to confiscate the Church estates, and to abolish all sorts of paper money. He watched step for step the encroachments of political centralization on local self-government, and denounced it as an infringement on the privileges and liberties of the English subject. He did not understand its being the necessary result of industrial centralization. He proclaimed all the political demands which have afterward been combined in the national charter; yet with him they were rather the political charter of the petty industrial middle-class than of the industrial proletarian. A plebeian by instinct and by sympathy, his intellect rarely broke through the boundaries of middle-class reform. It was not until 1834, shortly before his death, after the establishment of the new Poor Law, that William Cobbett began to suspect the existence of a millocracy as hostile to the mass of the people, as landlords, banklords, public creditors, and the clergymen of the established Church. If William Cobbett was thus, on one hand, an

anticipated modern Chartist, he was, on the other hand, and much more, an inveterate John Bull. He was at once the most conservative and the most destructive man of Great Britain—the purest incarnation of Old England and the most audacious initiator of Young England. He dated the decline of England from the period of the Reformation, and the ulterior prostration of the English people from the so-called glorious Revolution of 1688. With him, therefore, revolution was not innovation, but restoration; not the creation of a new age, but the rehabilitation of the "good old times." What he did not see, was that the epoch of the pretended decline of the English people coincided exactly with the beginning ascendancy of the middle class, with the development of modern commerce and industry, and that, at the same pace as the latter grew up, the material situation of the people declined, and local self-government disappeared before political centralization. The great changes attending the decomposition of the old English Society since the eighteenth century struck his eyes and made his heart bleed. But if he saw the effects, he did not understand the causes, the new social agencies at work. He did not see the modern *bourgeoisie*, but only that fraction of the aristocracy which held the hereditary monopoly of office, and which sanctioned by law all the changes necessitated by the new wants and pretensions of the middle-class. He saw the machine, but not the hidden motive power. In his eyes, therefore, the Whigs were responsible for all the changes supervening since 1688. They were the prime motors of the decline of England and the degradation of its people. Hence his fanatical hatred against, and his ever recurring denunciation of the Whig oligarchy. Hence the curious phenomenon, that William Cobbett, who represented by instinct the mass of the people against the encroachments of the middle-class, passed in the eyes of the world and in his own conviction for the representative of the industrial middle-class against the hereditary aristocracy. As a writer he has not been surpassed.

The present Mr. Cobbett, by continuing under altered circumstances the politics of his father, has necessarily sunk into the class of uberai Tories.

The Times, anxious to make good for its humble attitude against the Russian Czar by increased insolence against the English workingmen, brings a leader on Mr. Cobbett's motion that aims to be monstrous, but happens to turn out plainly absurd. It cannot deny that the restriction of the moving power is the only means for enforcing upon the factory lords a submission to the existing laws with regard to the hours of factory labor. But it fails to understand how any man of common sense who aims at attaining an end can propose the only adequate means to it. The existing *ten-and-a-half-hours act*, like all other factory laws, is but a fictitious concession made by the ruling classes to the working-people; and the working-men, not satisfied with the

mere appearance of a concession, dare insist upon its reality. *The Times* has never heard of a thing more ridiculous or more extravagant. If a master should be prevented by Parliament from working his hands during 12, 16, or any other number of hours, then, says *The Times*, "England is no longer
 5 a place for a freeman to live in." Thus the South Carolina gentleman who was placed before and condemned by a London Magistrate for having publicly whipped the negro he had brought with him from the other side of the Atlantic, exclaimed in a most exasperated state of mind, "You don't call this a free country where a man is forbidden to whip his own nigger?" If a
 10 man becomes a factory hand, and enters into contract with a master, in virtue of which he sells himself for sixteen or eighteen hours, instead of taking his sleep as better-circumstanced mortals can do, you have to explain that, says *The Times*, "by that natural impulse which perpetually adjusts the supply to the demand, and directs people to the occupation *most agreeable and most*
 15 *suiited to themselves.*" Legislation, of course, must not interfere with this *travail attrayant*. If you restrict the moving power of machinery to a definite portion of the day, say from 6 o'clock, a.m. to 6 p.m., then, says *The Times*, you might as well suppress machinery altogether. If you stop the gas-light in the public thoroughfares as soon as the sun rises, you must stop it also
 20 during the night. *The Times* forbids legislative interference with private concerns, and therefore, perhaps, it defends the duty on paper, on advertisements, and the newspaper-stamp, in order to keep down the private concerns of its competitors, asking the Legislature to relieve its own concern of the supplement duty. It professes an utter abhorrence of parliamentary inter-
 25 f erence with the sacred interest of mill-lords, where the lives and the morals of whole generations are at stake, while it has croaked its most determined interference with cabmen and hackneycoach proprietors, where nothing was at stake except the conveniences of some fat city-men, and perhaps the gentlemen of Printing-house-square. Till now the middle-class economists
 30 have told us that the principal use of machinery was its shortening and superseding bodily labor and drudgery. Now *The Times* confesses that, under present class-arrangements machinery does not shorten but prolong the hours of labor—that it firstly bereaves the individual labor of its quality, and then forces the laborer to make up for the loss in quality by quantity—thus
 35 adding hour to hour, night labor to day labor, in a process which only stops at the intervals of industrial crises, when the man is refused any labor at all—when the factory is shut before his nose, and when he may enjoy holidays or hang himself if he pleases.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Russo-Turkish Difficulty-
Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet—
Nesselröden Last Note—The East-India Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3828, 25. Juli 1853

**The Russo-Turkish Difficulty-
Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet—
Nesselröden Last Note—
The East-India Question.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, July 12, 1853.

The Parliamentary farce of Thursday last was continued and brought to a close in the sitting of Friday, 8th inst. Lord Palmerston requested Mr. Layard not only to put off his motion to Monday, but never to make any mention of it again. "Monday was now to go the way of Friday." Mr. Bright took the opportunity of congratulating Lord Aberdeen on his cautious policy, and generally to assure him of his entire confidence.

"Were the Peace Society itself the Cabinet," says *The Morning Advertiser*, "it could not have done more to encourage Russia, to discourage France, to endanger Turkey, and discredit England, than the very good Aberdeen. Mr. Bright's speech was meant as a sort of Manchester manifesto in favor of the tremblers of the Cabinet."

The Ministerial efforts for burking the intended question of Mr. Layard originated in a well-founded fear that the internal dissensions in the Cabinet could have no longer been kept a secret to the public. Turkey must fall to pieces, that the Coalition may keep together. Next to Lord Aberdeen, the Ministers most favorable to the tricks of Russia, are the following: The Duke of Argyll, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Cardwell, and the "Radical" Sir William Molesworth. Lord Aberdeen is said to have threatened at one time to offer his resignation. The "vigorous" Palmer-

ston (*civis Romanus sum*) party, of course, was but wanting such a pretext for yielding. They resolved that a common representation should be addressed to the Courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, recommending that the "privileges demanded by the Czar for the Greek Christians should
5 be secured to Christians of all denominations in the Turkish dominions, under a treaty of guaranty, to which the great powers should be parties." This identical proposition was, however, already made to Prince Menchikoff, on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, and was made, as everybody knows, to no purpose. It is, therefore, utterly ridiculous to expect any result
10 from its repetition, the more so, as it is now a matter beyond all doubt that what Russia insists upon having is exactly a treaty which the great powers, viz: Austria and Prussia, now no longer resist. Count Buoi, the Austrian Premier, is brother-in-law to Count Peter Meyendorff, the Russian Minister, and acts in perfect agreement with Russia. On the same day on which the
15 two Coalition parties, the slumbering and the "vigorous," came to the above resolution, the *Patrie* published the following:

"The new Internuncio of Austria, at Constantinople, M. de Bruck, commenced by calling upon the Porte to pay 5,000,000 piasters as an indemnity, and to consent to the delivery of the ports of Kleck and Sutorina. This
20 demand was considered as a support given to Russia."

This is not the only support given by Austria to the Russian interests at Constantinople. In 1848, it will be remembered, that whenever the Princes wanted to shoot their people, they provided a "misunderstanding." The same stratagem is now being employed against Turkey. The Austrian Consul at
25 Smyrna causes the kidnapping of a Hungarian from an English coffee house on board an Austrian vessel, and after the refugees have answered this attempt by the killing of an Austrian officer and the wounding another one, M. de Bruck demands satisfaction from the Porte within 24 hours. Simultaneously with this news, *The Morning Post* of Saturday reports a rumor that
30 the Austrians had entered Bosnia. The Coalition, questioned as to the authenticity of this rumor, in yesterday's sitting of both Houses of Parliament, had, of course, received "no information;" Russell alone venturing the suggestion that the rumor had probably no other foundation than the fact that the Austrians collected troops at Peterwardein. Thus is fulfilled the
35 prediction of M. de Tatistchef f, in 1828, that Austria, when things were come to a decisive turn, would eagerly make ready for sharing in the spoil.

A dispatch from Constantinople, dated 26th ult., states:

"The Sultan, in consequence of the rumors that the whole Russian fleet has left Sebastopol and is directing its course toward the Bosphorus, has
40 inquired of the Ambassadors of England and France whether, in the event of the Russians making a demonstration before the Bosphorus, the combined

fleets are ready to pass the Dardanelles. Both answered in the affirmative. A Turkish steamer, with French and English officers on board, has just been sent from the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, in order to *reconnoitre*."

The first thing the Russians did after their entry into the PrincipaUties, was to prohibit the publication of the Sultan's firman confirming the privileges 5 of all kinds of Christians, and to suppress a German paper edited at Bucharest, which had dared to publish an article on the Eastern question. At the same time, they pressed from the Turkish Government the first annuity stipulated for their former occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, in 10 1848—49. Since 1828 the Protectorate of Russia has cost the Principalities 150,000,000 piastres, beside the immense losses caused through pillage and devastation. England defrayed the expenses of Russia's wars against France, France that of her war against Persia, Persia that of her war against Turkey, Turkey and England that of her war against Poland; Hungary and the Princi- 15 palities have now to pay her war against Turkey.

The most important event of the day is the new circular note of Count Nesselrode dated St. Petersburg, 20th June, 1853. It declares that the Russian armies will not evacuate the PrincipaUties until the Sultan shall have yielded to all the demands of the Czar, and the French and English fleets shall have left the Turkish waters. The note in question reads like a direct scorn of 20 England and France. Thus it says:

"The position taken by the two maritime Powers is a maritime occupation which gives us a reason for reëstabUshing the equilibrium of the reciprocal situations by taking up a military position."

Be it remarked, that Besika Bay is at a distance of 150 miles from Con- 25 stantinople. The Czar claims for himself the right of occupying Turkish territory, while he defies England and France to occupy neutral waters without his special permission. He extols his own magnanimous forbearance in having left the Porte complete mistress of choosing under what form She will abdicate her sovereignty—whether "convention, sened, or other syn- 30 allagmatic act, or even under the form of signing a simple note." He is persuaded that "impartial Europe" must understand that the treaty of Kainardji, which gives Russia the right of protecting a single Greek chapel at Stamboul, proclaims her *eo ipso* the Rome of the Orient. He regrets that the West is ignorant of the inoffensive character of a Russian religious 35 protectorate in foreign countries. He proves his solicitude for the integrity of the Turkish Empire by historical facts—"the very moderate use he made in 1829 of his victory of Adrianople," when he was only prevented from being immoderate by the miserable condition of his army, and by the threat of the English admiral, that, authorized or not authorized, he would bombard every 40 coast-place along the Black Sea; when all he obtained was due to the "for-

bearance" of the Western Cabinets, and the perfidious destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. "In 1833, he alone in Europe saved Turkey from inevitable dismemberment." In 1833 the Czar concluded, through the famous treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, a *defensive* alliance with Turkey, by which foreign
5 fleets were forbidden to approach Constantinople, by which Turkey was saved only from dismemberment, in order to be saved entire for Russia. "In 1839 he took the initiative with the other Powers in the propositions which, executed in common, prevented the Sultan from seeing his throne give place to a new Arabian Empire." That is to say, in 1839 he made the other Powers
10 take the initiative in the destruction of the Egyptian fleet, and in the reduction to impotence of the only man who might have converted Turkey into a vital danger to Russia, and to replace a "dressed up turban" by a real head. "The fundamental principle of the policy of our august master has always been to maintain, as long as possible, the *status quo* of the East." Just so. He has
15 carefully preserved the decomposition of the Turkish State, under the exclusive guardianship of Russia.

It must be granted that a more ironical document the East has never dared to throw in the face of the West. But its author is Nesselrode—a nettle, at once, and a rod. It is a document, indeed, of Europe's degradation under the
20 rod of counter-revolution. Revolutionists may congratulate the Czar on this masterpiece. If Europe withdraws, she withdraws not with a simple defeat, but passes, as it were, under *furcae caudinae*.

While the English Queen is, at this moment, feasting Russian Princesses; while an enlightened English aristocracy and bourgeoisie lie prostrate before
25 the barbarian autocrat, the English proletariat alone protests against the impotency and degradation of the ruling classes. On the 7th July the Manchester School held a great Peace meeting in the Odd-Fellows Hall, at Halifax. Crossley, M.P. for Halifax, and all the other "great men" of the School had especially flocked to the meeting from "town." The hall was
30 crowded, and many thousands could obtain no admittance. Ernest Jones, (whose agitation in the factory districts is gloriously progressing, as you may infer from the number of Charter petitions presented to Parliament, and from the attacks of the middle-class provincial press,) was, at the time, at Durham. The Chartists of Halifax, the place where he has twice been nominated and
35 declared by show of hands as a candidate for the House of Commons, summoned him by electric telegraph, and he appeared just in time for the meeting. Already the gentlemen of the Manchester School believed they would carry their resolution, and would be able to bring home the support of the manufacturing districts to their good Aberdeen, when Ernest Jones
40 rose and put an amendment pledging the people to *war*, and declaring that before liberty was established peace was a crime. There ensued a most

violent discussion, but the amendment of Ernest Jones was carried by an immense majority.

The clauses of the India Bill are passing one by one, the debate scarcely offering any remarkable features, except the inconsistency of the so-called India Reformers. There is, for instance, my Lord Jocelyn, M.P., who has made a kind of political livelihood by his periodical denunciation of Indian wrongs, and of the mal-administration of the East India Company. What do you think his amendment amounted to? To give the East India Company a lease for 10 years. Happily, it compromised no one but himself. There is another professional "Reformer," Mr. Jos. Hume, who, during his long parliamentary life, has succeeded in transforming opposition itself into a particular manner of supporting the ministry. He proposed not to reduce the number of East India Directors from 24 to 18. The only amendment of common sense, yet agreed to, was that of Mr. Bright, exempting Directors nominated by the Government from the qualification in East India Stock, imposed by the Directors elected by the Court of Proprietors. Go through the pamphlets published by the East Indian Reform Association, and you will feel a similar sensation as when, hearing of one great act of accusation against Bonaparte, devised in common by Legitimists, Orleanists, Blue and Red Republicans, and even disappointed Bonapartists. Their only merit until now has been to draw public attention to Indian affairs in general, and further they cannot go in their present form of eclectic opposition. For instance, while they attack the doings of the English aristocracy in India, they protest against the destruction of the Indian aristocracy of native princes.

After the British intruders had once put their feet on India, and made up their mind to hold it, there remained no alternative but to break the power of the native princes by force or by intrigue. Placed with regard to them in similar circumstances as the ancient Romans with regard to their allies, they followed in the track of Roman politics. "It was," says an English writer, "a system of fattening allies, as we fatten oxen, till they were worthy of being devoured." After having won over their allies in the way of ancient Rome, the East-India Company executed them in the modern manner of Change-Alley. In order to discharge the engagements they had entered into with the Company, the native princes were forced to borrow enormous sums from Englishmen at usurious interest. When their embarrassment had reached the highest pitch, the creditor got inexorable, "the screw was turned" and the princes were compelled either to concede their territories amicably to the Company, or to begin war; to become pensioners on their usurpers in one case, or to be deposed as traitors in the other. At this moment the native States occupy an area of 690,261 square miles, with a population of 52,941,263 souls, being, however, no longer the allies, but only the dependents of the

British Government, upon multifarious conditions, and under the various forms of the subsidiary and of the protective systems. These systems have in common the relinquishment, by the native States of the right of self-defense, of maintaining diplomatic relations, and of settling the disputes
5 among themselves without the interference of the Governor-General. All of them have to pay a tribute, either in hard cash, or in a contingent of armed forces, commanded by British officers. The final absorption or annexation of these native States is at present eagerly controverted between the reformers who denounce it as a crime, and the men of business who excuse
10 it as a necessity.

In my opinion the question itself is altogether improperly put. As to the native *States* they virtually ceased to exist from the moment they became subsidiary to or protected by the Company. If you divide the revenue of a country between two governments, you are sure to cripple the resources of
15 the one and the administration of both. Under the present system the native States succumb under the double incubus of their native Administration and the tributes and inordinate military establishments imposed upon them by the Company. The conditions under which they are allowed to retain their apparent independence are at the same time the conditions of a permanent
20 decay, and of an utter inability of improvement. Organic weakness is the constitutional law of their existence, as of all existences living upon sufferance. It is, therefore, not the native *States*, but the native *Princes* and Courts about whose maintenance the question revolves. Now, is it not a strange thing that the same men who denounce "the barbarous splendors of the Crown
25 and Aristocracy of England" are shedding tears at the downfall of Indian Nabobs, Rajahs, and Jagheerdars, the great majority of whom possess not even the prestige of antiquity, being generally usurpers of very recent date, set up by English intrigue ! There exists in the whole world no despotism more ridiculous, absurd and childish than that of those *Schazzenans and Schariars*
30 of the Arabian Nights. The Duke of Wellington, Sir J. Malcolm, Sir Henry Russell, Lord Ellenborough, General Briggs, and other authorities, have pronounced in favor of the *status quo*; but on what grounds? Because the native troops under English rule want employment in the petty warfares with their own countrymen, in order to prevent them from turning their strength
35 against their own European masters. Because the existence of independent States gives occasional employment to the English troops. Because the hereditary princes are the most servile tools of English despotism, and check the rise of those bold military adventurers with whom India has and ever will abound. Because the independent territories afford a refuge to all discontented and enterprising native spirits. Leaving aside all these arguments,
40 which state in so many words that the native princes are the strongholds of

the present abominable English system and the greatest obstacles to Indian progress, I come to Sir Thomas Munro and Lord Elphinstone, who were at least men of superior genius, and of real sympathy for the Indian people. They think that without a native aristocracy there can be no energy in any other class of the community, and that the subversion of that aristocracy will not raise but debase a whole people. They may be right as long as the natives, under direct English rule are systematically excluded from all superior offices, military and civil. Where there can be no great men by their own exertion, there must be great men by birth, to leave to a conquered people some greatness of their own. That exclusion, however, of the native people from the English territory, has been effected only by the maintenance of the hereditary princes in the so-called independent territories. And one of these two concessions had to be made to the native army, on whose strength all British rule in India depends. I think we may trust the assertion of Mr. Campbell that the native Indian Aristocracy are the least enabled to fill higher offices ; that for all fresh requirements it is necessary to create a fresh class ; and that "from the acuteness and aptness to learn of the inferior classes, this can be done in India as it can be done in no other country."

The native princes themselves are fast disappearing by the extinction of their houses; but, since the commencement of this century, the British Government has observed the policy of allowing them to make *heirs by adoption*, or of filling up their vacant seats with puppets of English creation. The great Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, was the first to protest openly against this system. Were not the natural course of things artificially resisted, there would be wanted neither wars nor expenses to do away with the native princes.

As to the *pensioned princes*, the £2,468,969 assigned to them by the British Government on the Indian revenue is a most heavy charge upon a people living on rice, and deprived of the first necessaries of life. If they are good for any thing, it is for exhibiting Royalty in its lowest stage of degradation and ridicule. Take, for instance, the Great Mogul, the descendant of Timour Tamerlane: He is allowed £120,000 a year. His authority does not extend beyond the walls of his palace, withing which the Royal idiotic race, left to itself, propagates as freely as rabbits. Even the police of Delhi is held by Englishmen above bis control. There he sits on his throne, a little shriveled yellow old man trimmed in a theatrical dress, embroidered with gold, much like that of the dancing girls of Hindostán. On certain State occasions, the tinsel-covered puppet issues forth to gladden the hearts of the loyal. On his days of reception strangers have to pay a fee, in the form of guineas, as to any other *saltimbanque* exhibiting himself in public; while he, in his turn, presents them with turbans, diamonds, etc. On looking nearer at them, they

find that the Royal diamonds are, like so many pieces of ordinary glass, grossly painted and imitating as roughly as possible the precious stones, and jointed so wretchedly, that they break in the hand like gingerbread.

The English money-lenders, combined with the English Aristocracy, understand, we must own, the art of degrading Royalty, reducing it to the nullity of constitutionalism at home, and to the skeleton of etiquette abroad. And now, here are the Radicals, exasperated at this spectacle!

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
War in Burma—The Russian Question—
Curious Diplomatic Correspondence

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3833, 30. Juli 1853

**War in Burmah—The Russian Question—
Curious Diplomatic Correspondence.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune

London, Friday, July 15, 1853.

By the latest overland mail from India, intelligence has been received that 5
the Burmese ambassadors have rejected the treaty proposed by General
Godwin. The General afforded them 24 hours more for reflection, but the
Burmese departed within 10 hours. A third edition of the interminable
Burmese war appears to be inevitable.

Of all the warlike expeditions of the British in the East, none have ever 10
been undertaken on less warranted grounds than those against Burmah.
There was no possible danger of invasion from that side, as there was from
the North-West, Bengal being separated from Burmah by a range of moun-
tains, across which troops cannot be marched. To go to war with Burmah
the Indian Government is obliged to go to sea. To speak of maritime ag- 15
gressions on the part of the Burmese is as ridiculous, as the idea of their
coast-junks fronting the Company's war steamers would be preposterous.
The pretension that the Yankees had strong annexation propensities applied
to Pegu, is borne out by no facts. No argument, therefore, remains behind,
but the want of employment for a needy aristocracy, the necessity of creat- 20
ing, as an English writer says, "a regular quality-workhouse, or Hampton
Court in the East." The first Burmese war, (1824—26) entered into under the
Quixotic administration of Lord Amherst, although it lasted little more than
two years, added thirteen millions to the Indian debt. The maintenance of
the Eastern settlements at Singapore, Penang and Malacca, exclusive of the 25
pay of troops, causes an annual excess of expenditure over income amount-
ing to £100,000. The territory taken from the Burmese in 1826 costs as much

more. The territory of Pegu is still more ruinous. Now, why is it that England shrinks from the most necessary war in Europe, as now against Russia, while she tumbles, year after year, into the most reckless wars in Asia? The national debt has made her a trembler in Europe—the charges of the Asiatic wars are
5 thrown on the shoulders of the Hindoos. But we may expect from the now impending extinction of the Opium revenue of Bengal, combined with the expenses of another Burmese war, that they will produce such a crisis in the Indian exchequer, as will cause a more thorough reform of the Indian Empire than all the speeches and tracts of the Parliamentary Reformers in Eng-
10 land.

Yesterday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli asked Ministers, whether, after the latest circular note of the Russian Cabinet, Mr. Layard might not very properly bring in his motion. Lord John Russell answered, that it appeared to him by far the best not to hear Mr. Layard at present,
15 as, since the publication of that note, it was more important than ever to negotiate. "The notion of the honorable member, that negotiations had come now to a dead lock, was an erroneous notion." Lord John, while actually confessing his Aberdeen *credo*, attempted to re-vindicate the dignity of the *civis-Romanus-sum* party in the following words:

20 "I naturally supposed that a person of the experience and sagacity of Count Nesselrode, would not have affixed his signature to a document declaring to all the world that the Russian Government made the removal of the combined fleets the condition of its evacuation of the Principalities."

In the subsequent Indian debate Mr. Bright moved, that from the ninth
25 clause which provides, "that six of the directors not elected by the Crown, shall be persons who have been ten years in India in the service of the Crown or the Company." The words, "in the service of the Crown or the Company," should be expunged. The amendment was agreed to. It is significant, that during the whole Indian debate no amendments are agreed to by the Ministry,
30 and consequently carried by the House, except those of Mr. Bright. The peace Ministry, at this moment does everything to secure its *entente cordiale* with the Peace party, Manchester school, who are opposed to any kind of warfare, except by cotton bales and price currents.

M. Drouin de L'Huys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, once upper
35 clerk at the Foreign Office under M. Guizot, and declared by his *chef*, to possess hardly the necessary qualifications for that place, is now indulging freely in the pleasure of exchanging notes and circulars with Count Nesselrode. The *Moniteur* of yesterday brings his reply to the last (2d) *circulate* of the Russian Minister, which concludes in the following terms:

40 "The moderation of France takes from her all responsibility* and gives her the right to hope that all the sacrifices which she has made to secure the

tranquillity of the East will not have been in vain; that the Russian Government will at length discover some mode of reconciling its pretensions with the prerogatives of the Sultan's sovereignty; and that an arrangement be devised that shall settle, without a resort to force, a question, on the solution of which, so many interests are dependant." 5

I mentioned in a former letter the propositions once made by M. de Villèle to Russia, for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, by a treaty of guarantee between all the Great Powers, propositions which called forth this reply from Count Pozzo di Borgo:

"That a general guarantee of the Ottoman Empire, independently of its being unusual and surprising, would wound the rights acquired by Russia and the principles upon which they are founded." 10

Well, in 1841, Russia nevertheless agreed to become party to such an unusual treaty, and Nesselrode himself, in his note of 20th June (2d July) refers to that treaty. Why did Russia assent to it, in contradiction to its traditional policy? Because that treaty was not one of "guarantee of the Ottoman Empire," but rather of execution against its then only vital element, Egypt, under Mehemet Ah—because it was a coalition against France, at least in its original intention. 15

The Paris journal *La Presse* gives in its number of today, which has just come to my hands, a correspondence never before published between the late General Sebastiani, Ambassador in London, and Mme. Adelaide, sister of Louis Philippe, a correspondence which reflects a remarkable light on the diplomatic transactions of that epoch. It contains clear proofs that the Treaty of 1841, far from having been originated by Russia, as Nesselrode affirms in his note, was, on the contrary, originated by France and England against Russia, and was only afterward turned by Russia into a weapon against France. I translate from this important correspondence as much as the pressure of time permits me to do: 20 25

I.) London, April 21, 1836. 30

In this country all parties are unanimous as to the necessity of closely watching Russia, and I believe that the Tory party is more decided than the Whigs, or at least it seems so, because it is not moderated by office.

II.) London, June 12, 1838.

I have had to-day a conference of two hours' duration with Lord Palmerston. I have been highly satisfied with him. I was not mistaken in assuring you that he was a friend of King Leopold, and above all a great partisan of the French alliance. Lord Palmerston has conversed a great deal with me on Oriental affairs. He thinks that the Pasha of Egypt is decided as to his 35

course of action. He wishes that England and France should make fresh efforts, supported by the presence of their fleets, in order to intimidate Mehemet, and that simultaneously our Ambassadors at Constantinople should inform the Sultan that they have received orders from their Courts
 5 to assure him of their support against the attempts of the Pasha of Egypt, under the condition that he would not take the initiative in hostilities. I believe this to be a prudent course, and advisable to be followed by England and France. We must maintain the Porte and not suffer the Provinces of Egypt, Syria and Celesyria to become detached from it. Russia only awaits the
 10 moment for marching up her succours to the Sultan, and that *assistance would be the end of the Ottoman Empte.*

III.)

London, My 6, 1838.

People in this country believe in the general understanding of Europe as to the Oriental question. The answer from Paris is impatiently looked for.
 15 I think not to have surpassed the line of conduct traced to me by the King in several conversations. As soon as the *entente* shall be established in principle, the manner of action and the position to be taken up by each of the Powers, will be regulated according to contingencies. The part Russia has to play must, of course, be maritime, like that of France and England,
 20 and in order to prevent any danger that might result from the action of the fleet in the Black Sea, she must be brought to the understanding that her squadron in the combined fleet is to be drawn from the Baltic.

TV.)

London, October 3, 1839.

England has not accepted the Russian propositions, and Lord Palmerston
 25 informed me, on the part of the Government, that she had refused, in order to remain true to the French Alliance. Induced by the same feeling she consents that Mehemet AM shall receive the hereditary possession of Egypt, and of that portion of Syria within a boundary to be demarked, which should go from St. Jean d'Acre to the lake of Tabarie. We have, not without dif-
 30 ficulty, obtained the assent of the English Government to these latter propositions. I do not think that such an arrangement would be rejected by either France or Mehemet Ali. The Oriental question simplifies itself; it will be terminated by the concurrence of the Powers, and under the guaranty of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. All the principles are maintained. The
 35 Sublime Porte is admitted to the law of nations of Europe. *The exclusive protectorate of Russia is annihilated.* I have asked myself why the Republican faction in France showed itself so favoAble to Mehemet Ali, and why it has so warmly espoused his cause. I have not been able to find out any other motive, but the revolutionary principle, that of trying to support,

to encourage all that is likely to subvert established governments. I believe we ought never to give in to such a snare.

V.) London, November 30, 1839.

I learn from an authentic source, that Lord Palmerston, in the last council of Ministers, in giving an account of the situation of Oriental affairs, and on the differences existing between the French and English policies, did so with a moderation and a regard for the alliance of both countries, that deserve our gratitude. He has even drawn the attention of his colleagues to a system similar to that mentioned by me. In conclusion he has yielded as to forms, and has renounced a policy of action and of inevitable complication.

VI.) London, Dec. 12, 1839.

I have seen Lord Palmerston, as I was anxious to know, whether he had to inform me of anything respecting the communication he recently made to me. He has read to me the letter of *M. de Nesselrode* the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires*, which corresponded exactly to what he had told me. The arrival of *M. de Brunnow* will initiate us into the secret thoughts of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Lord Palmerston has been charming in forms and in matter. He views with pleasure the return of good feelings between the French and English Cabinets, and the continuation of the alliance. Believe me, I do not exaggerate in this. I told him with the confidence of truth, that the new situation was exactly such as France had ever wished it to be. He was forced to recognize it himself. The Prince of Esterhazy has written to his *Chargé d'Affaires* that he had been extremely content with the Marshal, and that he was trying at this moment to bring back the French Cabinet to an *entente* with Austria, but that he had found the King *unmanageable*. I can well believe it. The King does not lend his mind to such impracticable divagations. This I write for you alone. Indeed, I believe with your Royal Highness that *Russia will be caught in her own nets*.

VII.) London, December, 18th 1839.

I have received this morning a dispatch, more than usually strange, from the Marshal. It is an answer to the letter in which I reported to him on the communication I made to Lord Palmerston, in regard to the impression evoked at Paris on the announcement of the new mission of *M. de Brunnow*, and of its aim. I have read to Lord Palmerston *textuellement* the paragraph of the dispatch addressed to me by the Marshal. But in the statement I made to him about it, I made use of such terms as rendered the same ideas without being identical with those of the Marshal. Now the Marshal is kind enough to assure me that there was no difference between my words and his own

expression; but he recommends me that I ought to double my circumspection and endeavor to reestablish in our negotiations the textual meaning of his own dispatches. I am much mistaken if this be not a *querelle allemande*, a subtlety worthy of a *Grec du Bas-Empte*... The Marshal is a novice in the
5 career of diplomacy, and I fear that he seeks ability in fineness. He can find it only in sincerity and straightforwardness.

VITI.) London, Jan. 13, 1840.

Yesterday Lord Palmerston dined with me, in common with the whole
Corps Diplomatique ... He told me that Ministers were going to ask for a
10 supplementary vote for their naval forces, but he stated that he would propose to his colleagues not to demand it on account of the reinforcements of the French fleet, in order to avoid wounding an ally by the least allusion. Lord Holland and Lord John Russell are admirable in their efforts for maintaining the alliance.

15 IX.) London, Jan. 20, 1840.

Lord Palmerston has communicated to me the project of a convention to be submitted to the Great Powers and to the Porte ... It is not a convention of the five Great Powers between themselves, but a convention of those same Powers with the Porte. *M. de Brunnow objects to that form* (see Nesselrode's
20 note, dated 2d July, inst., about the Russian initiative!) ... This convention consists of a preamble and of VIII articles: in the former it is stated in a positive manner, and almost textualry, that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire being essentially necessary for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, the five Powers are disposed to lend it the requisite support, and
25 to make it enter into the international confidence of Europe. The articles regulate that support...

P.S.—I learn, at this moment, that *Brunnow and Neumann are utterly discontented with the convention of Lord Palmerston.*

X.) London, January 21, 1840.

30 The project of convention drawn up by Lord Palmerston appears to me to have been rejected by the Russian and Austrian negotiators. *M. de Neumann* distinguished himself by the violence, and, I venture to say, the stupidity of his complaints. He unveils the policy of his Court. Prince Metternich, who intended to sustain in his hands the balance of power,
35 openly avows his hatred of Russia. He flattered himself to see the propositions of Brunnow received without restrictions, and both have been disappointed to find in Lord Palmerston a Minister who desires sincerely an alliance with France, and who is anxious to operate in understanding with her.

XI.) London, Jan. 24, 1840.

To-day I had a long conversation with Lord Melbourne, who is a thorough partisan of the alliance with our King. He repeatedly called upon me to show him some means by which a combination of the French and English propositions could be effected. 5

He judges in the same light as we do the intentions of Russia, and he told me, in a conference with regard to the *Vienna Cabinet*, that it was not to be trusted, because it ever turned out in the end, to be the devoted partisan of *Russia*.

XII.) London, January 27, 1840. 10

The turn now being taken by the Oriental affairs is alarming to me... There is no doubt that Russia is pushing to war, and that Austria supports her with all her forces ... They have succeeded in frightening England with the "projects of France on the Mediterranean." Algiers and Mehemet Ali are the two means employed by them ... I make all possible efforts to obtain 15 the rejection of the Brunnow propositions, and I had narrowly succeeded in it, when they heard of it, and Austria now presents the Brunnow propositions as her own. This is an evident trickery. But the Council has been convoked, in order to deliberate on the Austrian propositions. It is divided. On the one side, there are Lord Melbourne, Lord Holland and Mr. Labouche- 20 re; on the other, Lord Palmerston, Lord J. Russell, and Lord Minto. The other members are fluctuating between the two opinions.

XIII.) London, January 28, 1840.

The Council has hitherto only deliberated on one point of the project of Lord Palmerston. It has decided that the Convention should be contracted 25 between six, and not between five (powers,) as proposed by *M. de Brunnow*, who was not wanting in zeal for his particular interests, (solicitude for the Ottoman Empire!) The Porte would not consent to a Convention discussed and settled without its cooperation. *By signing a Treaty with the five Great Powers she would come in consequence of this fact itself under the European 30 law of nations.*

XIV.) London, 15th August, 1840.

Are the politics and the interest of the King given up to the caprices of M. Thiers and his newspaper? The system founded with so great pains, with such efforts, and maintained, notwithstanding so many difficulties, for more 35 than ten years, is doomed to destruction.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx

The War Question—Doings of Parliament—India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3838, 5. August 1853

The War Question- Doings of Parliament—India.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, July 19, 1853.

5 The Czar has not only commenced war, he has already terminated his first
campaign. The line of operations is no longer behind the Pruth, but along
the Danube. Meanwhile, what are the Western Powers about? They counsel,
i.e. compel the Sultan to consider the war as peace. Their answers to the acts
of the autocrat are not cannons, but notes. The Emperor is assailed, not by
10 the two fleets, but by no less than four projects of negotiation. One emanating
from the English Cabinet, the other from the French, the third presented by
Austria, and the fourth improvised by the "brother-in-law" of Potsdam. The
Czar, it is hoped, will consent to select from this *embarras de richesse* that
which is most suitable to his purposes. The (second) reply of M. Drouin de
15 l'Huys to the (second) note of M. de Nesselrode takes infinite pains to prove
that "it was not England and France who made the first demonstration."
Russia only throws out so many notes to the western diplomats, like bones
to dogs, in order to set them at an innocent amusement, while she reaps the
advantage of further gaining time. England and France, of course, catch the
20 bait. As if the receipt of such a note were not a sufficient degradation, it
received a most pacific comment in the *Journal de l'Empte* in an article
signed by M. de la Guéronnière, but written from notes given by the Emperor
and[^] revised by him. That article "would permit to Russia the caprice of
negotiating on the right bank rather than on the left bank of the Pruth." It
25 actually converts the second note of Count Nesselrode into an "attempt at
reconciliation." This is done in the following style: "Count Nesselrode now
speaks only of a moral guarantee, and he announces that, for it, is substituted

provisionally a material guarantee *thus making a direct appeal to negotiation*. That being the case it is impossible to consider the action of diplomatists exhausted." The *Assemblée Nationale*, the Russian *Moniteur* at Paris, ironically congratulates the *Journal de l'Empire* for its discovery, however late it had come to it, and regrets only that so much noise should have been made to no purpose. 5

The English press has lost all countenance. "The Czar cannot comprehend the courtesy which the Western Powers have shown to him ... He is incapable of courteous demeanor in his transactions with other powers." So says *The Morning Advertiser*. *The Morning Post* is exasperated because the Czar takes so little note of the internal *embarras* of his opponents: 10

"To have put forward, in the mere wantonness of insolence, a claim that possessed no character of immediate urgency, and to have done so without any reference to the inflammable state of Europe, was an indiscretion almost incredible." 15

The writer of the Money Market article in *The Economist* finds out "that men discover now to their cost, how inconvenient it is that all the most secret interests of the world (i.e., of the Exchange,) are dependent upon the vagaries of one man." 20

Yet in 1848 and '49 you could see the bust of the Emperor of Russia side by side with the *veau d'or* itself. 20

Meanwhile the position of the Sultan is becoming every hour more difficult and complicated. His financial embarrassments increase the more, as he bears all the burdens, without reaping any of the good chances of war. Popular enthusiasm turns round upon him for want of being directed against the Czar. The fanaticism of the Mussulman threatens him with palace revolutions, while the fanaticism of the Greek menaces him with popular insurrections. The papers of to-day contain reports of a conspiracy directed against the Sultan's life by Mussulman students belonging to the old Turkish party, who wanted to place Abdul-Aziz on the throne. 30

In the House of Lords, yesterday, Lord Clarendon was asked by Lords Beaumont and Malmesbury to state his intentions, now that the Emperor of France had not hesitated to pronounce his. Lord Clarendon, however, beside a brief avowal that England had indorsed the note of M. Drouin de l'Huys, concealed himself behind his entrenchment of promises that he would certainly very soon give full information to the House. On the question whether it was true that the Russians had also seized the Civil Government and the Post-Offices of the Principalities, which they had placed under military occupation, Lord Clarendon remained "silent," of course! "He would not believe it, after the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff." Lord Beaumont replied, he seemed to be very sanguine indeed. 40

To a question concerning the late Smyrna affray, put by Sir J. Walmsley in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell replied that he had heard indeed of the kidnapping of one Hungarian refugee by the Consul of Austria; but as to Austria having demanded the extradition of all Hungarian and
5 Italian refugees, he had certainly heard nothing of that. Lord John manages interpellations in a style altogether pleasant and not without convenience to himself. Official information he never receives; and in the newspapers he never reads anything that you want him, or expect him to have read.

10 The *Kölnische Zeitung* in a letter dated Vienna, July 11, contains the following report on the Smyrna affair:

"Shekib Effendi has been sent to Smyrna in order to commence an instruction against the authors of the sedition in which M. de Hackelberg perished. Shekib has also received orders to deliver to Austria the refugees
15 of Austrian or Tuscan origin. Mr. Brown, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, has had communications on this subject with Reshid Pasha, the result of which was not yet known. I hear at this moment that the assassin of Baron Hackelberg has received from the American Consul at Smyrna a passport that places him out of the reach of the Turkish authorities. *This fact proves*
20 *that the United States intend intervening in European affairs.* It is also sure that three American men-of-war are with the Turkish fleet in the Bosphorus, and further, that the American frigate Cumberland has brought 80,000,000 of piasters to the Turkish Government."

Whatever truth there be in this and like reports, they prove one thing, viz:
25 that American intervention is expected everywhere, and is even looked upon with favor by portions of the English public. The behavior of the American Captain and Consul are loudly praised in popular meetings, and the "Englishman" in *The Advertiser* of yesterday called the Stars and Stripes to appear in the Mediterranean and to shame the "muddy old Union Jack" into ac-
30 tion.

To sum up the Eastern question in a few words: The Czar, vexed and dissatisfied at seeing his immense Empire confined to one sole port of export, and that even situated in a sea innavigable through one half of the year, and assailable by Englishmen through the other half, is pushing the design of his
35 ancestors, to get access to the Mediterranean; he is separating, one after another, the remotest members of the Ottoman Empire from its main body, till at last Constantinople, the heart, must cease to beat. He repeats his periodical invasions as often as he thinks his designs on Turkey endangered by the apparent consolidation of the Turkish government, or by the more
40 dangerous symptoms of self-emancipation manifest amongst the Slavonians. Counting on the cowardice and apprehensions of the Western Powers, he

bullies Europe, and pushes his demands as far as possible, in order to appear magnanimous afterward, by contenting himself with what he immediately wanted.

The Western Powers, on the other hand, inconsistent, pusillanimous, suspecting each other, commence by encouraging the Sultan to resist the Czar, from fear of the encroachments of Russia, and terminate by compelling the former to yield, from fear of a general war giving rise to a general revolution. Too impotent and too timid to undertake the reconstruction of the Ottoman Empire by the establishment of a Greek Empire, or of a Federal Republic of Slavonic States, all they aim at, is to maintain the *status quo*, i.e., the state of putrefaction which forbids the Sultan to emancipate himself from the Czar, and the Slavonians to emancipate themselves from the Sultan.

The revolutionary party can only congratulate itself on this state of things. The humiliation of the reactionary western governments, and their manifest impotency to guard the interests of European civilization against Russian encroachment cannot fail to work out a wholesome indignation in the people who have suffered themselves, since 1849, to be subjected to the rule of Counter-revolution. The approaching industrial crisis, also, is affected and accelerated quite as much by this semi-Eastern complication as by the completely Eastern complication of China. While the prices of corn are rising, business in general is suspended, at the same time that the rate of Exchange is setting against England, and gold is beginning to flow to the Continent. The stock of bullion in the Bank of France has fallen off between the 9th of June and the 14th of July the sum of £2,220,000, which is more than the entire augmentation which had taken place during the preceding three months.

The progress of the India bill through the Committee has little interest. It is significant, that all amendments are thrown out now by the Coalition coalescing with the Tories against their own allies of the Manchester School.

The actual state of India may be illustrated by a few facts. The Home Establishment absorbs 3 per cent, of the net revenue, and the annual interest for Home Debt and Dividends 14 per cent—together 17 per cent. If we deduct these annual remittances from India to England, the *military charges* amount to about two-thirds of the whole expenditure available for India, or to 56 per cent, while the charges for *Public Works* do not amount to more than 2½ per cent, of the general revenue, or for Bengal 1 per cent., Agra 1½, Punjaub Vs, Madras 2, and Bombay 1 per cent, of their respective revenues. These figures are the official ones of the Company itself.

On the other hand nearly three-fifths of the whole net revenue are derived

from the *land*, about one-seventh from *opium*, and upward of one-ninth from *salt*. These resources together yield 85 per cent, of the whole receipts.

As to minor items of expenditure and charges, it may suffice to state that the *Moturpha* revenue maintained in the Presidency of Madras, and levied on shops, looms, sheep, cattle, sundry professions, etc., yields somewhat about £50,000, while the yearly dinners of the East India House cost about the same sum.

The great bulk of the revenue is derived from the land. As the various kinds of Indian land-tenure have recently been described in so many places, and in popular style, too, I propose to limit my observations on the subject to a few general remarks on the Zemindaree and Ryotwar systems.

The Zemindaree and Ryotwar were both of them agrarian revolutions, effected by British ukases, and opposed to each other; the one aristocratic, the other democratic; the one a caricature of English landlordism, the other of French peasant-proprietorship; both pernicious, both combining the most contradictory character—both made not for the people, who cultivate the soil, nor for the holder, who owns it, but for the Government that taxes it.

By the Zemindaree system, the people of the Presidency of Bengal were depossessed at once of their hereditary claims to the soil, in favor of the native tax gatherers called *Zemindars*. By the ryotwar system introduced into the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the native nobility, with their territorial claims, merassees, jagheers etc., were reduced with the common people to the holding of minute fields, cultivated by themselves in favor of the Collector of the East India Company. But a curious sort of English landlord was the zemindar, receiving only one-tenth of the rent, while he had to make over nine-tenths of it to the Government. A curious sort of French peasant was the ryot, without any permanent title in the soil, and with the taxation changing every year in proportion to his harvest. The original class of Zemindars, notwithstanding their unmitigated and uncontrolled rapacity against the depossessed mass of the ex-hereditary landholders, soon melted away under the pressure of the Company, in order to be replaced by mercantile speculators who now hold all the land of Bengal, with exception of the estates returned under the direct management of the Government. These speculators have introduced a variety of the Zemindaree tenure called *patnee*. Not content to be placed with regard to the British Government in the situation of middlemen, they have created in their turn a class of "hereditary" middlemen called *patnetas*, who created again their sub-patnetas, etc., so that a perfect scale of hierarchy of middlemen has sprung up, which presses with its entire weight on the unfortunate cultivator. As to the ryots in Madras and Bombay, the system soon degenerated into one of forced

cultivation, and the land lost all its value. "The land," says Mr. Campbell, "would be sold for balances by the Collector, as in Bengal, but generally is not, for a very good reason, viz: that nobody will buy it."

Thus, in Bengal, we have a combination of English landlordism of the Irish middlemen system, of the Austrian system, transforming the landlord into the taxgatherer, and of the Asiatic system making the State the real landlord. In Madras and Bombay we have a French peasant proprietor who is at the same time a serf, and a *metayer* of the State. The drawbacks of all these various systems accumulate upon him without his enjoying any of their redeeming features. The ryot is subject, like the French peasant, to the extortion of the private usurer; but he has no hereditary, no permanent title in his land, like the French peasant. Like the serf he is forced to cultivation, but he is not secured against want like the serf. Like the *metayer* he has to divide his produce with the State, but the State is not obliged, with regard to him, to advance the funds and the stock, as it is obliged to do with regard to the *metayer*. In Bengal, as in Madras and Bombay, under the *Zemindaree* as under the *ryotwar*, the ryots—and they form "1/10ths of the whole Indian population—have been wretchedly pauperized; and if they are, morally speaking, not sunk as low as the Irish cottiers, they owe it to their climate, the men of the South being possessed of less wants, and of more imagination than the men of the North.

Conjointly with the land-tax we have to consider the salt-tax. Notoriously the Company retain the monopoly of that article which they sell at three times its mercantile value—and this in a country where it is furnished by the sea, by the lakes, by the mountains and the earth itself. The practical working of this monopoly was described by the Earl of Albemarle in the following words:

"A great proportion of the salt for inland consumption throughout the country is purchased from the Company by large wholesale merchants at less than 4 rupees per maund: these mix a fixed proportion of sand, chiefly got a few miles to the south-east of Dacca, and send the mixture to a second, or, counting the Government as the first, to a third monopolist at about 5 or 6 rupees. This dealer adds more earth or ashes, and thus passing through more hands, from the large towns to villages, the price is still raised from 8 to 10 rupees and the proportion of adulteration from 25 to 40 per cent. It appears then that the people pay from £21,17s. 2d. to £27,6s. 2d. for their salt, or in other words, from 30 to 36 times as much as the wealthy people of Great Britain."

As an instance of English bourgeois morals, I may allege, that Mr. Campbell defends the Opium monopoly because it prevents the Chinese from consuming too much of the drug, and that he defends the Brandy monopoly

The War Question—Doings of Parliament—India

(licenses for spMt-selling in India) because it has wonderfully increased the consumption of Brandy in India.

The Zemindar tenure, the ryotwar, and the salt tax, combined with the Indian climate, were the hotbeds of the cholera—the Indian's revenge upon the Western World—a striking and severe example of the solidarity of human woes and wrongs.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Future Results of British Rule in India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3840, 8. August 1853

The Future Results of British Rule in India.

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune.

London, Friday, July 22, 1853.

I propose in this letter to conclude my observations on India.

How came it that English supremacy was established in India? The paramount power of the Great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroy. The power of the Viceroy was broken by the Mahrattas. The power of the Mahrattas was broken by the Afghans, and while all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all. A country not only divided between Mahomedan and Hindoo, but between tribe and tribe, between caste and caste; a society whose framework was based on a sort of equilibrium, resulting from a general repulsion and constitutional exclusiveness between all its members. Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest? If we knew nothing of the past history of Hindostán, would there not be the one great and incontestable fact, that even at this moment India is held in English thralldom by an Indian army maintained at the cost of India? India, then, could not escape the fate of being conquered, and the whole of her past history, if it be anything, is the history of the successive conquests she has undergone. Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society. The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian, to India conquered by the Briton.

England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia.

Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Moguls, who had successively overrun India, soon became *Hindooized*, the barbarian conquerors being, by an eternal law of history, conquered themselves by the superior civilization of their subjects. The British were the first conquerors superior, and therefore, inaccessible
5 to Hindoo civilization. They destroyed it by breaking up the native communities, by uprooting the native industry, and by levelling all that was great and elevated in the native society. The historic pages of their rule in India report hardly anything beyond that destruction. The work of regeneration hardly transpires through a heap of ruins. Nevertheless it has begun.

10 The political unity of India, more consolidated, and extending farther than it ever did under the Great Moguls, was the first condition of its regeneration. That unity, imposed by the British sword, will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph. The native army, organized and trained by the British drill-sergeant, was the *sine qua non* of Indian self-émancipation,
is tion, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder. The free press, introduced for the first time into Asiatic society, and managed principally by the common offspring of Hindoos and Europeans, is a new and powerful agent of reconstruction. The Zemindaree and Ryotwar themselves, abominable as they are, involve two distinct forms of private property
20 in land—the great desideratum of Asiatic society. From the Indian natives, reluctantly and sparingly educated at Calcutta, under English superintendence, a fresh class is springing up, endowed with the requirements for government and imbued with European science. Steam has brought India into regular and rapid communication with Europe, has connected its chief
25 ports with those of the whole south-eastern ocean, and has revindicated it from the isolated position which was the prime law of its stagnation. The day is not far distant when, by a combination of railways and steam-vessels, the distance between England and India, measured by time, will be shortened to eight days, and when that once fabulous country will thus be actually
30 annexed to the Western world.

The ruling classes of Great Britain have had, **tu**l now, but an accidental, transitory and exceptional interest in the progress of India. The aristocracy wanted to conquer it, the moneyocracy to plunder it, and the millocracy to undersell it. But now the tables are turned. The millocracy have discovered
35 that the transformation of India into a reproductive country has become of vital importance to them, and that, to that end, it is necessary, above all, to gift her with means of irrigation and of internal communication. They intend now drawing a net of railroads over India. And they will do it. The results must be inappreciable.

40 It is notorious that the productive powers of India are paralyzed by the utter want of means for conveying and exchanging its various produce.

Nowhere, more than in India, do we meet with social destitution in the midst of natural plenty, for want of the means of exchange. It was proved before a Committee of the British House of Commons, which sat in 1848, that "when grain was selling from 6s. to 8s. a quarter at Kandeish, it was sold at 64s. to 70s. at Poonah, where the people were dying in the streets of famine, without the possibility of gaining supplies from Kandeish, because the clay-roads were impracticable." 5

The introduction of railroads may be easily made to subserve agricultural purposes by the formation of tanks, where ground is required for embankment, and by the conveyance of water along the different lines. Thus irrigation, the *sine-qua-non* of farming in the East, might be greatly extended, and the frequently recurring local famines, arising from the want of water, would be averted. The general importance of railways, viewed under this head, must become evident, when we remember that irrigated lands, even in the districts near Ghauts, pay three times as much in taxes, afford ten or twelve times as much employment, and yield twelve or fifteen times as much profit, as the same area without irrigation. 10 15

Railways will afford the means of diminishing the amount and the cost of the military establishments. Col. Warren, Town Major of the Fort St. William, stated before a Select Committee of the House of Commons: 20

"The practicability of receiving intelligence from distant parts of the country, in as many hours as at present it requires days and even weeks, and of sending instructions, with troops and stores, in the more brief period, are considerations which cannot be too highly estimated. Troops could be kept at more distant and healthier stations than at present, and much loss of life from sickness would by this means be spared. Stores could not to the same extent be required at the various dépôts, and the loss by decay, and the destruction incidental to the climate, would also be avoided. The number of troops might be diminished in direct proportion to their effectiveness." 25 30

We know that the municipal organization and the economical basis of the village communities has been broken up, but their worst feature, the dissolution of society into stereotype and disconnected atoms, has survived their vitality. The village-isolation produced the absence of roads in India, and the absence of roads perpetuated the village isolation. On this plan a community existed with a given scale of low conveniences, almost without intercourse with other villages, without the desires and efforts indispensable to social advance. The British having broken up this self-sufficient *inertia* of the villages, railways will provide the new want of communication and intercourse. Besides, "one of the effects of the railway system will be to bring into every village affected by it such knowledge of the contrivances and 35 40

appliances of other countries, and such means of obtaining them, as will first put the hereditary and stipendiary village artisanship of India to full proof of its capabilities, and then supply its defects." (Chapman, the Cotton and Commerce of India.)

- 5 I know that the English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses the Cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures. But when you have once introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, which possesses iron and coals, you are unable to withhold it from its fabrication. You cannot
- 10 maintain a net of railways over an immense country without introducing all those industrial processes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants of railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery to those branches of industry not immediately connected with railways. The railway-system will therefore become, in India, truly the
- 15 forerunner of modern industry. This is the more certain as the Hindoos are allowed by British authorities themselves to possess particular aptitude for accommodating themselves to entirely new labor, and acquiring the requisite knowledge of machinery. Ample proof of this fact is afforded by the capacities and expertness of the native engineers in the Calcutta mint, where they
- 20 have been for years employed in working the steam machinery, by the natives attached to the several steam engines in the Hurdwar coal district, and by other instances. Mr. Campbell himself, greatly influenced as he is by the prejudices of the East India company, is obliged to avow "that the great mass of the Indian people possesses a great *industrial energy*, is well fitted to
- 25 accumulate capital, and remarkable for a mathematical clearness of head, and talent for figures and exact sciences." "Their intellects," he says, "are excellent." Modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labor, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power.
- 30 All the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people, depending not only on the development of the productive powers, but on their appropriation by the people. But what they will not fail to do is to lay down the material premises for both. Has the bourgeoisie ever done more? Has it ever
- 35 effected a progress without dragging individuals and people through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation?

The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till

40 the Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more

or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country, whose gentle natives are, to use the expression of Prince Soltykow, even in the most inferior classes, "*plus fins et plus adroits que les Italiens*," whose submission even is counterbalanced by a certain calm nobility, who, notwithstanding their natural langor, have astonished the British officers by their bravery, whose country has been the source of our languages, our religions, and who represent the type of the ancient German in the Jat, and the type of the ancient Greek in the Brahmin. 5

I cannot part with the subject of India without some concluding remarks. 10

The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois-civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked. They are the defenders of property, but did any revolutionary party ever originate agrarian revolutions like those in Bengal, in Madras, and in Bombay? Did they not, in India, to borrow an expression of that great robber, Lord Clive himself, resort to atrocious extortion, when simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity? While they prated in Europe about the inviolable sanctity of the national debt, did they not confiscate in India the dividends of the rayahs, who had invested their private savings in the Company's own funds? While they combatted the French revolution under the pretext of defending "our holy religion," did they not forbid, at the same time, Christianity to be propagated in India, and did they not, in order to make money out of the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal, take up the trade in the murder and prostitution perpetrated in the temple of Juggernaut? These are the men of "Property, Order, Family, and Religion." 25

The devastating effects of English industry, when contemplated with regard to India, a country as vast as Europe, and containing 150 millions of acres, are palpable and confounding. But we must not forget that they are only the organic results of the whole system of production as it is now constituted. That production rests on the supreme rule of capital. The centralization of capital is essential to the existence of capital as an independent power. The destructive influence of that centralization upon the markets of the world does but reveal, in the most gigantic dimensions, the inherent organic laws of political economy now at work in every civilized town. The bourgeois period of history has to create the material basis of the new world—on the one hand universal intercourse founded upon the mutual dependency of mankind, and the means of that intercourse; on the other hand the development of the productive powers of man and the transformation of material production into a scientific domination of natural agencies. Bourgeois industry and commerce create these material conditions of a new world in the same way as geological revolutions have created the surface 30 35 40

The Future Results of British Rule in India

of the earth. When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois-epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Financial Failure of Government—Cabs—
Ireland—The Russian Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3844, 12. August 1853

**Financial Failure of Government—Cabs-
Ireland—The Russian Question.**

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune.

London, Friday, July 29, 1853.

Mr. Gladstone, in the sitting of the House of Commons of last night brought forward a resolution that provision should be made out of the Consolidated Fund for paying off the South-Sea-Stock not commuted under his financial scheme. To bring forward such a resolution was to own the complete failure of his commutation plan. Beside this small defeat the Ministry has had to undergo a very heavy one concerning their India Bill. Sir John Pakington moved the insertion of a clause, by virtue of which the salt-monopoly should cease, and enacting that the manufacture and sale of salt in India shall be absolutely free, subject only to excise or other duty. The motion was carried by 117 against 107, notwithstanding the desperate exertions of Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell, Sir J. Hogg, Sir H. Maddock, and Mr. Lowe (of *The Times*). The oligarchy having succeeded in raising the salary of the President of the Board of Control to £5,000, propose now to raise the salaries of the immaculate East India Directors from £300 to £1,000, and those of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman to £1,500. Evidently they suppose India to possess the same miraculous power as is attributed in Hindostán to the leaves of a fabulous tree on the extreme heights of the Himalaya, viz: that it converts into gold everything that it touches—the only difference being that what the credulous Hindoo expects from the juice of the leaves, the enlightened Englishman expects from the blood of the natives.

The Chinese Sultan of the Arabian Nights, who rose one fine morning and went to his window to look at Aladdin's palace, was astonished to behold nothing but an empty place. He called his Grand Vizier and asked him if he

could see the palace. The Grand Vizier could see nothing, and was not less astonished than the Sultan, who flew into a passion and gave orders to his guards to arrest Aladdin. The public of London, when it rose on Wednesday morning, found itself much in the situation of that Chinese Sultan. London
 5 looked as if London had gone out-of-town. There were and there continued to be empty places where we were wont to see something. And as the eye was amazed at the emptiness of the places, so the ear was amazed at their tomb-like tranquillity. What was it that had happened to London? A *cab-revolution*; cabmen and cabs have disappeared, as though by miracle, from
 10 the streets, from their stands, from the railway stations. The cab-proprietors and the drivers are in rebellion against the new Cab act, that great and almost "unique" act of the Ministry of all the talents. They have struck.

It has often been observed that the British public is seized with periodical fits of morality, and that once every six or seven years, its virtue becomes
 15 outrageous, and must make a stand against vice. The object of this moral and patriotic fit happened for the present to be *poor cabby*. His extortions from unprotected females and fat city men were to be put down, and his fare to be reduced from 1s. to 6d. per mile. The sixpenny morality grew epidemic. The ministry, by the organ of Mr. Fitzroy, brought in a draconic law against
 20 Cabby, prescribing the terms of the contracts he had to fulfil with the public, and subjecting at the same time his fares and his "Hansoms," his horses and his morals to Parliamentary legislation. Cabby, it appears, was to be forcibly transformed into the type of British respectability. The present generation could not do without improvising at least one virtuous and disinterested class
 25 of citizens, and Cabby was selected to form it. So anxious was the ministry of all the talents to perform its masterpiece of legislation, that the Cab-act, hardly carried through the House, was put into operation before any part of the machinery for working it was ready. Instead of authentic copies of the new regulations and tables of fares and distances, the *Cadis* of London
 30 having been provided before-hand, the police magistrates were advised to decide any conflict arising between Cabby and the public in the most summary way. Thus, we had during two weeks the various and elevating spectacle of a continuous fight before the magistrates between a real army of 6d Hampdens and the "atrocious" cabmen, the one fighting for virtue, and the
 35 others for money. Day after day was Cabby moralized, sentenced, imprisoned. At last he made sure that he was unable to pay his proprietor the old rent with the new tariff, and proprietor and driver seceded to their *Möns Sacer*, to the National Hall, in Holborn, where they came to the terrible resolution which for three days has produced the cab-desolation of London.
 40 Two things they have already effected: firstly, that the Ministry through the organ of Mr. Fitzroy, have amended their own act so much as nearly to

annihilate it; and secondly, that the Eastern question, the Danish *coup d'état*, the bad harvest, and the approaching cholera have all disappeared before that one great struggle of public virtue, which persists in paying only 6d per mile, and the private interest which persists in asking 12 pence.

"Strike" is the order of the day. During the present week 5,000 miners have 5 struck in the northern coal district; 400 to 500 journeymen cork-cutters in London; about 2,000 laborers employed by the different wharfingers on the Thames; the police force at Hull, similar attempts being made by the City and general Metropolitan Police; and finally the bricklayers employed at St. Stephens, under the very nose of Parliament. 10

"The world is becoming a very paradise for laborers. Men are becoming valuable," exclaims *The Times*. In the years 1849, '50, '51, '52, while commerce was progressively growing, industry extending to unheard-of dimensions, and profits continually augmenting, wages in general remained stationary, and were in most instances even maintained at the reduced scale occasioned by the crisis of 1847. Emigration having reduced the numbers, and the rise in the prices of the first necessities having sharpened the appetites of the people, strikes broke out, and wages rose in consequence of those strikes, and lo! the world becomes a paradise for laborers—in the eyes of *The Times*. In order to reduce that paradise to terrestrial dimensions, the mill- 15 lords of Lancashire have formed an association, for mutually assisting and supporting each other against the demands of the people. But not content with opposing combination to combination, the bourgeoisie threaten to appeal to the interference of law—of law dictated by themselves. In what manner this is done may be inferred from the following exhortations of *The Morning Post*, the organ of the liberal and amiable Palmerston. 20 25

"If there be a piece of wickedness which preeminently deserves to be punished with an *ton hand*, it is the system of strikes. ... What is wanted is some stringent and summary mode of punishing the leaders and chief men of these combinations. It would be no interference with the freedom of the 30 labor market *to treat these fellows to a ñogging*.... It is idle to say that this would interfere with the labor market. As long as those who supply the labor market refrain from jeopardizing the interests of the country, *they may be left* to make their own terms with the employers."

Within a certain conventional limit, the laborers shall be allowed to imagine 35 themselves to be free agents of production, and that their contracts with their masters are settled by mutual convention; but that limit passed, labor is to be openly enforced upon them on conditions prescribed by Parliament, that permanent Combination Committee of the ruling classes against the people. The deep and philosophical mind of the Palmerstonian organ is curiously 40 disclosed in its yesterday's discovery, on that "the hardest used of all classes

in this country is the *poor of the higher ranks*," the poor aristocrat who is forced to use a cab instead of a "brougham" of his own.

Like the world in general, we are assured, that Ireland in particular is becoming a paradise for the laborer, in consequence of famine and exodus.

5 Why then, if wages really are so high in Ireland, is it that Irish laborers are flocking in such masses over to England to settle permanently on this side of the "pond," while they formerly used to return after every harvest? If the social amelioration of the Irish people is making such progress, how is it that, on the other hand, insanity has made such terrific progress among
10 them since 1847, and especially since 1851? Look at the following data from "The Sixth Report on the District Criminal and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland":

| | | |
|----|---|-------|
| | 1851—Sum total of admissions in Lunatic Asylums | 2,584 |
| | (1,301 males and 1,283 females.) | |
| 15 | 1852 | 2,722 |
| | (1,376 males and 1,346 females.) | |
| | March, 1853 | 2,870 |
| | (1,447 males and 1,423 females.) | |

And this is the same country in which the celebrated Swift, the founder
20 of the first Lunatic Asylum in Ireland, doubted whether 90 madmen could be found.

The Chartist agitation reopened by Ernest Jones, is proceeding vigorously, and on the 30th inst, a great open-air meeting of the Chartists of London will be held on Kennington Common, the place where the great gathering
25 of April 10, 1848, took place.

Mr. Cobbett has withdrawn his Factory Bill, intimating his intention of reintroducing it early in next session.

As to the financial and general prospects of England *The Manchester Guardian* of the 27th inst., entirely confirms my own previous predictions
30 in the following passages of a leading article:—

"Seldom perhaps has there been a time when there were floating in our commercial atmosphere so many elements of uncertainty calculated to excite
35 *uneasiness*—we use that wild word advisedly. At any former period before the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the general adaptation of the free trade policy, we should have used the stronger term of *serious alarm*. These elements are firstly the apprehended deficiency of the crops, secondly the continued abstraction of gold from the cellars of the bank, and thirdly the great probability of war."

The last of the Constitutions of 1848, has now been overthrown by the *coup d'état* of the Danish King. A Russian Constitution has been conferred upon
40

the country, which, by the abolition of the *Lex Regia*, was doomed to become a Russian Province. In a subsequent letter I shall give an exposé of the affairs of that country.

"It is our policy to see that nothing new happens during the next four months, and I hope we shall accomplish it, because *men in general prefer waiting*; but the fifth must be fruitful in events." 5

Thus wrote Count Pozzo di Borgo on the 28th Nov. 1828, to Count Nesselrode, and Count Nesselrode is now acting on the same maxim. While the military assumption of the Principalities was completed by the assumption of their Civil Government by the Russians, while troops after troops are pouring into Bessarabia and the Crimea, a hint has been given to Austria that her mediation might be accepted, and another to Bonaparte that his proposals were likely to be met with a favorable reception by the Czar. The Ministers at Paris and London were comforted with the prospect that Nicholas would condescend to definitively accept their excuses. All the Courts of Europe, transformed into so many Sultanas, were anxiously waiting which of them, the magnanimous commander of the faithful would throw his handkerchief to. Having kept them in this manner for weeks, nay for months, in suspense, Nicholas suddenly makes a declaration that neither England, nor France, nor Austria, nor Prussia, had any business in his quarrel with Turkey, and that with Turkey alone he could negotiate. It was probably in order to facilitate his negotiations with Turkey, that he recalled his embassy from Constantinople. But while he declares that the Powers are not to meddle in Russia's concerns, we are informed on the other hand that the representatives of France, England, Austria and Prussia kill their time in meeting at Vienna in conference, and in hatching projects for the arrangement of the Eastern Question, neither the Turkish nor Russian Ambassador participating in these mock-conferences. The Sultan had appointed, on the 8th inst., a warlike ministry, in order to escape from his armed suspension, but was compelled by Lord Redcliffe to dismiss it on the same evening. He has now been so much confused that he intends to send an Austrian courier to St. Petersburg with the mission, of asking whether the Czar would re-enter into direct negotiations. On the return of that courier and the answer he brings, shall depend, whether Rechid Pasha is himself to go to St. Petersburg. From St. Petersburg he is to send new draft notes to Constantinople ; the new draft notes are to be returned to St. Petersburg, and nothing will be settled before the last answer is again returned from St. Petersburg to Constantinople—and then the fifth month will have arrived, and no fleets can enter the Black Sea; and then the Czar will quietly remain during the winter in the principalities, where he pays with the same promises that still circulate there from his former occupations, and as far back as 1820. 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

You know that the Serbian Minister Garashanin has been removed at the instance of Russia. Russia insists now, following up that first triumph, on all anti Russian officers being expelled the service. This measure, in its turn, was intended to be followed by the reigning Prince Alexander, being replaced
5 by Prince Michel Obrenowich, the absolute tool of Russia and Russian interests. Prince Alexander, to escape from this calamity, and likewise under the pressure of Austria, has struck against the Sultan, and declared his intention of observing a strict neutrality. The Russian intrigues in Serbia are thus described in the *Presse* of Paris:

10 "Every body knows that the Russian Consulate at Orsowa—a miserable village where not a single Russian subject is to be found, but situated in the midst of a Servian population, is only a poor establishment, yet it is made the hotbed of Muscovite propaganda. The hand of Russia was judiciously seized and established in the affair of Ibraila in 1840, and of John Sutzo in
15 1850, in the affair of the recent arrest of 14 Russian officers, which arrest became the cause of the resignation of Garashanin's Ministry. It is likewise known that Prince Menchikoff, during his stay at Constantinople, fomented similar intrigues through his agents at Broussa, Smyrna, as in Thessalonica, Albania and Greece."

20 There is no more striking feature in the politics of Russia than the traditional identity not only of her objects, but of her manner in pursuing them. There is no complication of the present Eastern Question, no transaction, no official note, which does not bear the stamp of quotation from known pages of history.

25 Russia has now no other pretext to urge against the Sultan, except the treaty of Kainardji, although that treaty gave her, instead of a protectorate over her correligionists, only the right to build a chapel at Stamboul, and to implore the Sultan's clemency for his Christian subjects, as Reschid Pasha justly urged against the Czar in his note of the 14th inst. But already in 1774,
30 when that treaty was signed, Russia intended to interpret it one day or the other in the sense of 1853. The then Austrian Internuncio at the Ottoman Porte, Baron Thugut, wrote in the year 1774 to his Court: "Henceforth Russia will always be in a situation to effect, whenever she may deem the opportunity favorable, and without much preliminary arrangement, a descent upon
35 Constantinople from her ports on the Black Sea. In that case a conspiracy concerted in advance with the chiefs of the Greek religion, would no doubt burst forth, and it would only remain for the Sultan to quit his palace at the first intelligence of this movement of the Russians, to fly into the depth of Asia, and abandon the throne of European Turkey to a more experienced
40 possessor. When the capital shall have been conquered, terrorism and the faithful assistance of the Greek Christians will indubitably and easily reduce,

beneath the scepter of Russia, the whole of the Archipelago, the coast of Asia Minor and all Greece, as far as the shore of the Adriatic. Then the possession of these countries, so much favored by nature, with which no other part of the world can be compared in respect to the fertility and richness of the soil, will elevate Russia to a degree of superiority surpassing all the fabulous wonders which history relates of the grandeurs of the monarchies of ancient times." 5

In 1774, as now, Russia was tempting the ambition of Austria with the prospect of Bosnia, Servia and Albania being incorporated with her. The same Baron Thugut writes thus on this subject: "Such aggrandizement of the Austrian territory would not excite the jealousy of Russia. The reason is that the requisition which Austria would make of Bosnia, Servia, etc., although of great importance under other circumstances, would not be of the least utility to Russia, the moment the remainder of the Ottoman Empire should have fallen into her hands. For these provinces are inhabited almost entirely by Mahomedans and Greek Christians: the former would not be tolerated as residents there; the latter, considering the close vicinity of the Oriental Russian Empire would not hesitate to emigrate thither; or if they remained, their faithlessness to Austria would occasion continuous troubles; and thus an extension of territory, without intrinsic strength, so far from augmenting the power of the Emperor of Austria would only serve to weaken it." 10 15 20

Politicians are wont to refer to the testament of Peter I., in order to show the traditional policy of Russia in general, and particularly with regard to her views on Constantinople. They might have gone back still further. More than eight centuries ago, Swätoslaw, the yet Pagan Grand Duke of Russia, declared in an assembly of his Boyars, that "not only Bulgaria, but the Greek Empire in Europe, together with Bohemia and Hungary, ought to undergo the rule of Russia." Swätoslaw conquered Silistria and threatened Constantinople, A.D. 967, as Nicholas did in 1828. The Rurik dynasty transferred, soon after the foundation of the Russian Empire, their capital from Nowgorod to Kiew, in order to be nearer to Byzantium. In the eleventh century Kiew imitated in all things Constantinople, and was called the *second Constantinople*, thus expressing the everlasting aspirations of Russia. The religion and civilization of Russia are of Byzantine offspring, and that she should have aimed at subduing the Byzantine Empire, then in the same decay as the Ottoman Empire is now in, was more natural than that the German Emperors should have aimed at the conquest of Rome and Italy. The unity, then, in the objects of Russian policy, is given by her historical past, by her geographical conditions, and by her necessity of gaining open sea-ports in the Archipelago as in the Baltic, if she wants to maintain her supremacy in 30 35 40

Europe. But the traditional manner in which Russia pursues those objects, is far from meriting that tribute of admiration paid to it by European politicians. If the success of her hereditary policy proves the weakness of the Western Powers, the stereotyped mannerism of that policy proves the intrinsic barbarism of Russia herself. Who would not laugh at the idea of French politics being conducted on the testament of Richelieu, or the capitularies of Charlemagne? Go through the most celebrated documents of Russian diplomacy, and you will find that shrewd, judicious, cunning, subtle as it is in discovering the weak points of European Rings, ministers and courts, its wisdom is at a complete dead-lock as often as the historical movements of the Western peoples themselves are concerned. Prince Lieven judged very accurately of the character of the good Aberdeen when he speculated on his connivance with the Czar, but he was grossly mistaken in his judgment of the English people when he predicted the continuance of Tory rule on the eve of the Reform move of 1831. Count Pozzo di Borgo judged very correctly of Charles X., but he made the greatest blunder with regard to the French people when he induced his "august master" to treat with that King of the partition of Europe on the eve of his expulsion from France. The Russian policy, with its traditional craft, cheats and subterfuges, may impose upon the European Courts which are themselves but traditional things, but it will prove utterly powerless with the revolutionized peoples.

At Beyrut, the Americans have abstracted another Hungarian refugee from the claws of the Austrian eagle. It is cheering to see the American intervention in Europe beginning just with the Eastern question. Besides the commercial and military importance resulting from the situation of Constantinople, there are other historical considerations, making its possession the hotly-controverted and permanent subject of dispute between the East and the West—and America is the youngest but most vigorous representative of the West.

Constantinople is the eternal city—the Rome of the East. Under the ancient Greek Emperors, Western civilization amalgamated there so far with Eastern barbarism, and under the Turks, Eastern barbarism amalgamated so far with Western civilization, as to make this center of a theocratical Empire the effectual bar against European progress. When the Greek Emperors were turned out by the Sultans of Iconium, the genius of the ancient Byzantine Empire survived this change of dynasties, and if the Sultan were to be supplanted by the Czar, the *Bas-Empire* would be restored to life with more demoralizing influences than under the ancient Emperors, and with more aggressive power than under the Sultan. The Czar would be for Byzantine civilization what Russian adventurers were for centuries to the Emperors of the Lower Empire—the *corps de garde* of their soldiers. The struggle

Karl Marx

between Western Europe and Russia about the possession of Constantinople involves the question whether Byzantinism is to fall before Western civilization, or whether its antagonism shall revive in a more terrible and conquering form than ever before. Constantinople is the golden bridge thrown between the West and the East, and Western civilization cannot, like the sun, go around the world without passing that bridge; and it cannot pass it without a struggle with Russia. The Sultan holds Constantinople only in trust for the revolution, and the present nominal dignitaries of Western Europe, themselves finding the last stronghold of their "order" on the shores of the Neva, can do nothing but keep the question in suspense until Russia has to meet her real antagonist, the Revolution. The Revolution which will break the Rome of the West will also overpower the demoniac influences of the Rome of the East.

Those of your readers who, having read my letters on German Revolution and Counter-Revolution, written for *The Tribune* some two years ago, desire to have an immediate intuition of it, will do well to inspect the picture by Mr. *Hasenclever*, now being exhibited in the New-York Crystal Palace, representing the presentation of a workingmen's petition to the magistrates of Düsseldorf in 1848. What the writer could only analyze, the eminent painter has reproduced in its dramatic vitality.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
In the House of Commons—The Press
on the Eastern Question—
The Czar's Manifesto—Denmark

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3847, 16. August 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y. Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Aug. 2, 1853.

London has ceased to be cableless. Cabby parted with his system of passive resistance on Saturday last. Meanwhile Parliament continues to break down
5 its great act of the session, removing step by step every *casus de/ù*'between Cabby and the House of Commons.

The India bill has passed on Friday through its last stage, after the ministerial propositions for raising the Directors' and Chairmen's salaries had been rejected, and the latter reduced to £500 and £1,000 respectively. The Special
10 Court of East India Proprietors which met on Friday last, offered a most lugubrious spectacle, the desponding cries and speeches clearly betraying the apprehensions of the worthy proprietors, that the Indian Empire might *have been* their property for the better time. One right honorable gentleman gave notice of his intention to move resolutions in the House of Commons
15 rejecting the present bill, and on the part of the proprietors and Directors declining to accept the part assigned to them by the Ministerial measure. A strike of the honorable East India Proprietors and Directors. Very striking, indeed! The Abolition of the Company's Salt-monopoly by the British House of Commons was the first step to bringing the finances of India under its
20 direct management.

The Naval Coast-Volunteers' bill passed through Committee in yesterday's sitting. The object of this measure is to form a body of 10,000 men, to be trained during four weeks annually for the defense of the British Coasts. They are to receive a bounty of £6, as in the case of the militia. Their service
25 is to be limited to five years in times of peace, and to six in time of danger. When called out, they will receive the pay of able seamen, with an additional two-pence per day during the last year. The men are not to be taken more than fifty leagues from the coasts in time of peace, and 100 in time of danger.

The Irish Landlords' and Tenants' bill likewise passed through the third reading yesterday night. One important amendment in favor of the Tenants was added, viz.: the prohibition of Landlords to seize and sell the standing crops of a Tenant.

Mr. Cobden has published a pamphlet on the origin of the Burmese war. 5

So great are the fears of a deficient harvest in France, that the Government of Louis Bonaparte has treated with the Syndicate of the Paris bakers for a slight reduction in the prices of bread during the first half of August, notwithstanding the steady rise in flour at the *Halle aux blés*. The bakers are to be indemnified by a subsequent augmentation of prices. "This," says *The Economist*, "is a conspiracy on the part of the French Government to cheat the people into a belief that the crops are not short, when they are." 10

Day after day the columns of the Press are inundated with conflicting dispatches on the Eastern affairs, manufactured in Vienna and Berlin, partly by Russian agents, in order to deceive the French and British public as to the operations of Russia, and partly on orders sent expressly from Paris, for stockjobbing purposes. A declaration contained in to-day's *Morning Post* would command consideration were it not that the Palmerstonian organ had quite abused such threats, which it only proffered one day in order to take them in again the day after. 15 20

"By the 10th of August the whole matter will be terminated peaceably, or the combined fleets will be commanded to proceed to the Bosphorus, or perhaps to the Black Sea. Active measures will succeed patient negotiation, and the threat of danger will no longer prevent the strong means which may ensure safety. If the Czar accepts the proposal now made, the first condition will be the *immediate* evacuation of the Principalities." 25

The Morning Post then asserts, that on the 24th ult. the representatives of England, France, Austria and Prussia convened on the terms of an *ultimatum* immediately forwarded to St. Petersburg. This assertion, however, is contradictory to the late declaration of Lord Clarendon and Lord John Russell, who spoke only of a joint note of France and England, and is altogether ignored by the French press. Yet, be this as it may, it indicates at least, that the Palmerston party in the Cabinet has handed an ultimatum to the good Aberdeen, which the latter is to answer on the 10th of August. 30

As though we had not yet enough of conferences at Vienna and Constantinople, we learn from the *National Zeitung*, that other conferences are now to sit at Berlin too. The Emperor of Russia, to provide these conferences with the required "stuff" has complacently declared, that, with all his willingness, to renounce the occupation of the Principalities as the material guaranty for his religious associations, he would now be obliged to hold them as a guaranty for the indemnification for his present expenses of occupying them. 35 40

r

In the Commons—The Press on the Eastern Question—The Czar's Manifesto—Denmark

While Prince Gortschakoff announced in his proclamations that Russia pledged herself to abstain from all interference with the constituted authorities of the Principalities, the Czar issues a decree forbidding the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia to pay any tribute to, or to hold any communication with, the Government of Turkey. In consequence of this notification the Hospodar of Wallachia informed the Russian Consul at Bucharest, that he had already sent his tribute money to the Sultan, to which the Consul replied: *c'est de l'argent perdu*, as the Hospodar would have to pay it again to Russia.

10 *The Patrie* of yesterday communicates the fact that three of the most influential Boyars of Moldavia had left Jassy for Petersburg, with the especial consent of the Hospodar, in order to remonstrate with the Czar on the conduct of the Russian soldiers, who, in violation of the solemn promise given to the Porte, treated the Danubian Provinces as a conquered country, 15 and committed numberless extortions therein. The Russians can certainly not be accused of seeking to make propaganda by making themselves popular in the Principalities.

Russia continues its armaments with the same ostentation as before. *The Hamburger Nachrichten* publishes the following Imperial manifesto, dated 20 Petersburg, 23d July: "By the Grace of God, we, Nicholas I., by our manifesto of August 1st, (13th) 1834, have ordered that every year levies shall take place in certain parts of our empire: to-day we order:

1. For completing our forces, maritime as well as land, the tenth partial *recrutement* shall take place in the Eastern part of our Empire, at the rate 25 of 7 men in every 1,000, the same as the recruitment which took place in 1852 in the Western portion of the Empire.

2. Besides, a levy of 3 in every 1,000 shall take place in the Eastern Provinces of our Empire as completing the proportion of 6 in every 1,000, of which only one half had been levied by the previous recruitment.

30 3. To the Districts of Pskow, Vitebsk, and Mohilew, which had been exempted in virtue of our manifesto of 31st Oct., 1845, and of 26th Sept., 1846, on account of the bad harvest, the recruitment for 1853 shall be proceeded with at the rate of 3 in every 1,000. With regard to the Jews in the Districts of Vitebsk and Mohilew, the recruitment among them shall take 35 place the same as in the other Districts, at the rate of 10 in every 1,000.

4. The levy shall begin on 1st November and be completed on 1st December.

Given at St. Petersburg.

Nicholas I."

The manifesto is followed by two ukases, regulating the details of this new 40 and extraordinary levy. Beside the above-mentioned districts, there shall take place, according to a third ukase, a recruitment among the *odnodworzes*

and inhabitants of towns in the districts of Kiew, Podolia, Volhynia, Minsk, Grodno, Wilna and Kowno.

The *Hamburger Correspondent* reports as follows:

"The armaments in the interior of the Empire continue without interruption. The reserve battalions of the 4th infantry corps are being concentrated near Tula. We learn from an order of the day that the guards and grenadiers still occupy their positions in the camps near Krasnoe Selo, and near Pudosh, not far from Gatshina. The field maneuvers of these two corps, amounting to 100,000 men, continue." 5

The *Post Zeitung* of Stockholm, of July 16, announces that the Emperor of Russia had given orders for the arming and fitting out of the Baltic fleet, composed of 20 vessels of the line, and of 15 frigates. The *Kölnische Zeitung* of 29th July, states: 10

"The return of the Danish-Swedish fleet before the term fixed for its evolutions has taken place, in consequence of an order received by the commander to immediately repair to the Baltic." 15

Both the French journals and *The Morning Chronicle*, of to-day, contain a telegraphic dispatch from Vienna of the 30th of July, stating that America had offered the Porte money and active assistance.

The impression produced on the Continental mind, by the threatening attitude of Russia, combined with the threatening prospect of the harvests, is most significantly reflected in the following words of *The Economist*: 20

"The Czar has awakened into life and hope the revolutionary spirit of Europe, and we read of plots in Austria, plots in Italy, and plots in France; and there begins to be more alarm lest there should be fresh revolutionary disturbances than that governments should go to war." 25

A well informed Danish gentleman, who has very recently arrived here from fear of the cholera now raging in Copenhagen to such an extent that already 4,000 persons have been attacked with it, and that no less than 15,000 applications for passports to leave the Danish capital have been made, informs me that the Royal message concerning the succession was chiefly carried through the abstention from voting of a great number of Eydermen, who had hoped to avoid a crisis by their passive attitude. The crisis which they apprehended, however, has come upon them in the shape of the octroyed Constitution, and that Constitution is aimed especially against the "peasant's friends"-party by whose support the Danish Crown has achieved its previous triumphs in the succession question. As I propose to recur to this subject in a special letter, I will merely observe here, that the Danish government has laid before the United Diet, (the Landthing and the Volksting together) the notes exchanged with the Great Powers on the subject of its propositions. 30 35 40

Of these documents the most interesting pieces are especially at this moment, the note of England and the note of Russia. The "silent" Clarendon not only approves of the Royal Message, but distinctly hints to the Danish Government that it could not go on with the old Democratic Constitution, with Universal Suffrage, and with no House of Lords. The silent Clarendon therefore has taken the initiative, for the interests of Russia, to recommend and provoke the Danish coup d'état. The Russian note, addressed by Count Nesselrode to Baron Ungern-Sternberg, after having reviewed the articles of the Treaty of London, dated 8th of May, 1852, concludes as follows:

10 "The treaty of the 8th of May does not formally prescribe that the Lex Regia should be canceled; because such a disposition would not have been opportune in a treaty concluded between independent States. It would have been contrary to diplomatic usage, and still more to the respect due to the sovereign dignity of the Danish crown. But the Powers in giving their assent

15 to a retrocession destined to supplant the arrangements of the Lex Regia, where the necessity of employing it would occur, in promising their support, have naturally been obliged to leave to his Majesty the King of Denmark the choice of the means adequate toward realizing the object by way of legislating. His majesty, by making use of his royal prerogative, has manifested his intention of establishing an order of succession, for all the States subject to his rule, by which, in case of the male descendants of Frederic III. becoming extinct, all claims arising from articles 27 and 40 of the Lex Regia should be excluded, and Prince Christian of Glücksburg called upon the throne with a view of securing the Danish crown to him and his male de-

25 scendants by his marriage with Princess Louisa of Hesse. Such are the stipulations of the Royal Message of October 4, 1852. They express the views which, at least on the part of the Imperial Government, have served as the foundation of the present negotiations. They form in the eyes of the Imperial Cabinet, a whole and cannot be retrenched; for, it appears to us that the

30 abrogation of Articles 27 and 40 of the Lex Regia is a necessary consequence and a condition *sine qua non* not only of the stipulations which called Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his descendants to the throne, but also of the principle established in the preambulum of the treaty; that a contingency by which the male descendants should be called to the succession of the throne,

35 in the totality of the States now subjected to the sovereignty of Denmark, was the safest means for securing the integrity of that monarchy. They declare in article II. of the treaty that they recognize in a permanent manner the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy... They have promptly made known their intention of preventing, combinedly, the return of the complications which have signaled in so unfortunate a manner the course

40 of the last year ... The extinction of the male line of Prince Christian de

Karl Marx

Glücksburg would revive, without contradiction, the eventual claims which His Majesty the Emperor has renounced in favor of that Prince. The initiative, however, expressly reserved to the King of Denmark, as well as the cooperation of the three Great Powers, in the aforesaid contingencies, when they shall happen, offer henceforth a guarantee to the Danish patriots against the ambitious plans and designs existing nowhere except in their own imagination."

Thus Russia gives to understand, that the temporary suppression of the Lex Regia as agreed upon in the protocol of the 8th May must be interpreted as a permanent one, that the permanent resignation of the Emperor of Russia is only a temporary one, but that the Danish patriots may henceforth repose on the protection of their country's integrity by the European Powers. Do they not witness how the integrity of Turkey has been protected since the treaty of 1841?

Karl Marx. 15

Karl Marx
Advertisement Duty—Russian Movements—
Denmark—The United States in Europe

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3850, 19. August 1853

Advertisement Duty—Russian Movements— Denmark—The United States in Europe.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Aug. 5, 1853.

- 5 The act for the repeal of the Advertisement Duty received the Royal assent last night, and comes into operation this day. Several of the morning papers have already published their reduced terms for advertisements of all kinds.
- The dock-laborers of London are on the strike. The Company endeavor to get fresh men. A battle between the old and new hands is apprehended.
- 10 The Emperor of Russia has discovered new reasons for holding the Principalities. He will hold them no longer as a material guarantee for his spiritual aspirations, or as an indemnity for the costs of occupying them, but he must hold them now on account of "internal disturbances" as provided by the Treaty of Balta-Liman. And, as the Russians have actually put everything
- 15 in the Principalities topsy-turvy, the existence of such disturbances cannot be denied. Lord Clarendon confirmed, in the sitting of the House of Lords of August 2d, the statement given in my last letter with regard to the Hospodars having been prohibited from transmitting their tribute to Constantinople, and from entertaining further communications with Turkey.
- 20 Lord Clarendon declared with great gravity of countenance, and a pompous solemnity of manner, that he would "instruct, by the messenger who leaves London this night, Sir Hamilton Seymour to demand from the Russian Cabinet the *explanation* which England is entitled to." While Clarendon sends all the way to St. Petersburg to request *explanations*, the *Patrie* of
- 25 to-day has intelligence from Jassy of the 20th ultimo, that the Russians are fortifying Bucharest and Jassy; that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia are placed under a Russian Board of Control composed of three mem-

bers; that contributions in kind are levied on the people, and that some refractory Boyards have been incorporated in Russian regiments. This is the "explanation" of the manifesto of Prince Gortschakoff, according to which "his august master had no intention of modifying the institutions which governed the country, and the presence of his troops would impose upon the people neither new contributions nor charges." In the sitting of the House of Commons of the same day Lord John Russell declared, in answer to a question put by Lord Dudley Stuart, that the four powers had convened at Vienna on a common proposition to be made to the Czar, "acceptable" to Russia and to Turkey, and that it had been forwarded to St. Petersburg. In answer to Mr. Disraeli he stated: "The proposition was in fact an *Austrian proposition*, though it came originally from the Government of France." This original Frenchman, naturalized in Austria, looks very suspicious, and *The Neue Preussische Zeiung* gives, in a Vienna letter, the *explanation* that "the Russian and Austrian Cabinets have fully resolved in common not to allow English influence to predominate in the East." The Englishman observes, on the *explanations* of the coalition-ministry: "They are great in humiliation, strong in imbecility, and most eloquent in taciturnity."

Moldavia and Wallachia once Russified, Galicia, Hungary and Transylvania would be transformed into Russian *"enclaves."*

I have spoken in a former letter of the "hidden treasures" in the Bank of St. Petersburg, forming the metal reserve for a three times larger paper circulation. Now, the Russian Minister of War has just applied for the transfer of a portion of this treasure into the military chest. The Minister of Finance having objected to this step, the Emperor applied himself to the Holy Synod, the depository of the Church-Property, for a loan of 60 millions of rubles. While the Czar is wanting in wealth, his troops are wanting in health. It is stated on very reliable authority, that the troops occupying the Principalities have suffered enormously from heat on their march, that the number of sick is extraordinary, and that many private houses at Bucharest and Jassy have been converted into hospitals.

The Times of yesterday denounced the ambitious plans of Russia on Turkey, but tried, at the same time, to cover her intrigues in Denmark. It does the work of its august master even while ostentatiously quarreling with him.

"We discredit," says *The Times*, "the assertion that the Russian Cabinet has succeeded in establishing its hold upon the Court of Copenhagen, and the statement that the Danish Government have proceeded, under Russian influence, to abrogate or impair the Constitution of 1849, is wholly inaccurate. The Danish Government have caused a bill or draft to be published containing *some modifications of the Constitution* now in force, but this bill

is to be submitted to the discussion and vote of the Chambers when they reassemble, and it has not been promulgated by Royal authority."

The dissolution of a Legislative Assembly into four separate feudal provincial diets, the right of self-assessment canceled, the election by universal
5 suffrage suppressed, the liberty of the press abolished, free competition supplanted by the revival of close guilds, the whole official, i.e. the only intelligent class in Denmark excluded from being eligible except on Royal permission, that you call "some modifications of the Constitution?" As well
10 you might call Slavery a slight modification of Freedom. It is true that the Danish King has not dared to promulgate this new "fundamental law" as law. He has only sent, after the fashion of Oriental Sultans, the silken string to the Chambers with orders to strangle themselves. Such a proposition involves the threat of enforcing it if not voluntarily submitted to. So much for the "some modifications of the Constitution." Now to the "Russian in-
15 fluence."

In what way did the conflict between the Danish King and the Danish Chambers arise? He proposed to abrogate the Lex Regia, viz: The existing law of succession to the throne of Denmark. Who urged the King to take this step? Russia, as you will have seen from the note of Count Nesselrode,
20 dated 11th May, 1853, communicated in my last letter. Who will gain by that abrogation of the Lex Regia? No one but Russia. The Lex Regia enables the female line of the reigning family to succeed to the throne. By its abrogation the agnates would remove from the succession all the claims of the cognates hitherto standing in their way. You know that the kingdom of Denmark
25 comprehends, besides Denmark Proper, viz: the Isles and Jutland, also the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The succession to Denmark Proper and Schleswig is regulated by the same Lex Regia, while in the Duchy of Holstein, being a German fief, it devolves to the agnates, according to the Lex Salica. By the abrogation of the Lex Regia the succession to Denmark
30 and Schleswig would be assimilated to that of the German Duchy of Holstein, and Russia, having the next claims on Holstein, as the representative of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, would in the quality of chief agnate, also obtain the next claim on the Danish throne. In 1848—50, Denmark, being assisted by Russian notes and fleets, made over to Germany in order to maintain the
35 Lex Regia, which forbade Schleswig to be united with Holstein, and to be separated from Denmark. After having beaten the German revolution, under the pretext of the Lex Regia, the Czar confiscates democratic Denmark by abrogating the same law. The Scandinavians and the Germans have thus made the experience that they must not found their respective national claims
40 on the feudal laws of Royal succession. They have made the better experience, that, by quarrelling amongst themselves, instead of confederating,

Germans and Scandinavians, both of them belonging to the same great race, only prepare his way to their hereditary enemy, the Slave.

The great event of the day is the appearance of American policy on the European horizon. Saluted by one party, detested by the other, the fact is admitted by all. 5

"Austria must look to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire for indemnification for the loss of her Italian provinces—a contingency not rendered less likely by the quarrel she has had the folly to bring on her with Uncle Sam. An American squadron in the Adriatic would be a very pretty complication of an Italian insurrection, and we may all live to see it, for the Anglo-Saxon spirit is not yet dead in the West." 10

Thus speaks *The Morning Herald*, the old organ of the English Aristocracy.

"The Koszta affair," says the Paris *Presse*, "is far from being terminated. We are informed that the Vienna Cabinet has asked from the Washington Cabinet a reparation, which it may be quite sure not to receive. Meanwhile, Koszta remains under the safeguard of the French Consul." 15

"We must go out of the way of the Yankee, who is half of a buccanier and half a backwoodsman, and no gentleman at all," whispers the Vienna *Presse*. 20

The German papers grumble about the secret treaty pretended to have been concluded between the United States and Turkey, according to which the latter would receive money and maritime support, and the former the harbor of Enos in Rumelia, which would afford a sure and convenient place for a commercial and military station of the American Republic in the Mediterranean. 25

"In due course of time," says the Brussels *Emancipation*, "the conflict at Smyrna between the American Government and the Austrian one, caused by the capture of the refugee Kosta, will be placed in the first line of events of 1853. Compared with this fact, the occupation of the Danubian Principalities and the movements of the western diplomacy and of the combined navies at Constantinople, may be considered as of second-rate importance. The event of Smyrna is the beginning of a new history, while the accident at Constantinople is only the unraveling of an old question about to expire." 30

An Italian paper, *Il Parlamento*, has a leader under the title "*La Politica Americana in Europa*," from which I translate the following passages literally: 35

"It is well known," says the *Parlamento*, "that along time has elapsed since the United States have tried to get a maritime station in the Mediterranean and in Italy, and more particularly at such epochs when complications arose in the Orient. Thus for instance in 1840, when the great Egyptian question 40

was agitated, and when St. Jean d'Acre was assailed, the Government of the United States asked in vain from the King of the Two Sicilies to temporarily grant it the great harbor of Syracuse. To-day the tendency of American policy for interfering with European affairs cannot be but more lively and more
5 steadfast. There can be no doubt but that the actual Democratic Administration of the Union manifests the most clamorous sympathies with the victims of the Italian and Hungarian revolution, that it cares nothing about an interruption of the diplomatica! intercourse with Austria, and that at Smyrna it has supported its system with the threat of the cannon. It would
10 be unjust to grumble at this aspiration of the great transatlantic nation, or to call it inconsistent or ridiculous. The Americans certainly do not intend conquering the Orient and going to have a land war with Russia, But if England and France make the best of their maritime forces, why should not the Americans do so, particularly as soon as they will have obtained a station,
15 a point of retreat and of 'approvisionnement' in the Mediterranean? For them there are great interests at stake, the republican element being diametrically opposed to the Cossack one. Commerce and navigation having multiplied the legitimate relations and contracts between all peoples of the world, none can consider itself a stranger to any sea of the Old or New Continent, or to
20 any great question like that of the destiny of the Ottoman Empire. The American commerce, and the residents who exercise it on the shores of our seas, require the protection of the stars and stripes, and in order to make it permanent and valid in all seasons of the year, they want a port for a military marine that ranks already in the third line among the maritime
25 powers of the world. If England and France interfere directly with all that regards the Isthmus of Panama, if the former of those powers goes as far as to invent a king of the Mosquitoes, in order to oppose territorial rights to the operations of the United States, if they have come to the final understanding, that the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific shall be opened
30 to all nations, and be possessed by a neutral State, is it not evident then, that the United States must pretend at exercising the same vigilance with regard to the liberty and neutrality of the Isthmus of Suez, holding their eyes closely fixed on the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, which will be likely to devolve Egypt and Syria wholly or partly to the dominion of some first-rate
35 power? Suez and Panama are the two great doorways of the Orient, which, shut till now, will hereafter compete with each other. The best way to secure their ascendancy in the Transatlantic question is to cooperate in the Mediterranean question. We are assured that the American men-of-war in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles do not renounce the pretension to enter them
40 whenever they please, without being subjected to the restrictions convened upon by the Great Powers in 1841, and this for the incontrovertible reason,

Karl Marx

that the American Government did not participate in that Convention. Europe is amazed at this boldness, because it has been, since the peace of 1783, in the habit of considering the United States as in the condition of the Swiss Cantons after the Westphalian treaty, viz: as peoples allowed a legitimate existence, but which it would be too arduous to ask to enter into the aristocracy of the primitive Powers, and to give their votes on subjects of general policy. But on the other side of the Ocean the Anglo-Saxon race sprung up to the most exalted degree of wealth, civilization and power, cannot any longer accept the humble position assigned to it in the past. The pressure exercised by the American Union on the Council of Amphictyons of the Five Powers, till now the arbiters of the globe, is a new force that must contribute to the downfall of the exclusive system established by the treaties of Vienna. Till the Republic of the United States succeed in acquiring a positive right and an official seat in the Congresses arbitrating on general political questions, it exercises with an immense grandeur, and with a particular dignity the more humane action of natural rights and of the *jus gentium*. Its banner covers the victims of the civil wars without distinction of parties, and during the immense conflagration of 1848—49 the hospitality of the American Navy never submitted to any humiliation or disgrace."

Karl Marx. 20

Γ'

Karl Marx

The War Question—British Population
and Trade Returns—Doings of Parliament

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3854, 24. August 1853

The War Question—British Population and Trade Returns—Doings of Parliament.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Aug. 12, 1853.

5 Bonaparte compensates the French Navy for their humiliating position in
Besika Bay by a reduction in the price of tobacco to the sailors, as we are
informed by to-day's *Moniteur*. He won his throne by sausages. Why should
he not try to hold it by tobacco? At all events, the Eastern complication will
have produced the *démonétisation* of Louis Bonaparte in the eyes of the
10 French peasants and the army. They have learned that the loss of liberty at
home is not made up by a gain of glory abroad. The "Empire of all the glories"
has sunk even lower than the "Cabinet of all the talents."

From the Constantinople journals which have just arrived, we learn that
the Sultan's manifesto to his subjects appeared on the 1st August, that the
15 Russian Consul at Adrianople has received orders from St. Petersburg to
withdraw from Turkey, that the other Russian Consuls expect similar orders,
and that the Constantinople papers have been prohibited in the Principalities.
The *Impartial* of Smyrna, of Aug. 1, has the following communication with
regard to Persia:

20 "The Shah of Persia, after the correspondence exchanged between the
Porte and the Russian Cabinet on the occasion of the pending dispute, had
been communicated to him on his request, has officially declared that all the
right was on the side of the Porte, and that in case of war, he will fairly stand
by her. This news had made a great impression on the Russian Ambassador
25 at Teheran, who is said to prepare for demanding his passports."

The contents of the proposition made to Russia, and accepted by the Czar,
according to the mysterious Petersburg dispatch, form the subject of con-

jecture through the whole European Press. The Palmerstonian *MorningPost* avers:

"On the 25th of July M. de Meyendorff transmitted to his Imperial master, not indeed the formal propositions, (accepted at the Vienna Conference,) but an account of what had passed at the conference of the 24th_____We believe we shall not be far wrong when we confidently affirm that the affair is settled in such a manner as to preserve intact the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The mode of settlement will be this: Reschid Pasha will address the Count Nesselrode a note, in which he will inclose the firmans in which are accorded to the Greek Christians, subjects of the Sultan, more privileges than even Russia had asked for them. He will say many civil things to the Czar and assure him of the excellent disposition of the Sultan towards his own subjects, to whom he has accorded such and such rights. This note will be presented by a Turkish Ambassador, and the affair will be at an end. ... By the 10th of September the last Russian soldier will have crossed the Prath!"

On the other hand, private letters from Vienna, alluding to the appearance of Russian gun-boats above the confluence of the Pruth and the Danube, confirm the statement given in my last letter, that the propositions sent to St. Petersburg, do not include at all the withdrawal of the Russian armies from the Principalities, that they emanate from the Austrian Cabinet, to whose intervention the British Ambassador at Vienna, "that true lover of harmony," had appealed, after the French and English proposals had been rejected by the Czar; and that they afford Russia the desired opportunity for prolonging negotiations *in infinitum*. According to the semi-official Frankfort *Ober-Postamts-Zeitung*, Russia has only permitted Austria to enlighten Turkey with regard to her own interests.

The lately published Population Returns prove the slow but steady decrease of the population of Great Britain. In the quarter ending June, 1853, the number of deaths was 107,861 while the number of births was 158,718 Nett increase of births 50,857 as far as the registered districts are concerned.

The excess of births over deaths in the United Kingdom is assumed to be 79,820 Number of emigrants during the Quarter 115,959 Excess of emigration over increase of births 36,139 The last Return showed an excess of emigration over births of only 30,000.

The decrease of population, resulting from emigration coincides with an unprecedented increase in the powers of production and capital. When we

remember Parson Malthus denying emigration any such influence, and imagining he had established, by the most elaborate calculations, that the united navies of the world could never suffice for an emigration of such dimensions as were likely to affect in any way the overstocking of human
 5 beings, the whole mystery of modern political economy is unraveled to our eyes. It consists simply in transforming transitory social relations belonging to a determined epoch of history and corresponding with a given state of material production, into eternal, general, never-changing laws, natural laws, as they call them. The thorough transformation of the social relations re-
 10 sulting from the revolutions and evolutions in the process of material production, is viewed by the political economists as a mere Utopia. They see the economical limits of a given epoch, but they do not understand how these limits are limited themselves, and must disappear through the working of history, as they have been created by it.

15 The accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the six months ending July 5, 1853, as published by the Board of Trade, show in general a great increase when compared with the exports, imports, and shipping in the corresponding period of the year 1852. The import of oxen, bulls, cows, calves, sheep and lambs has considerably increased.

| | | | |
|----|--|-------|------------|
| 20 | The total import of grains amounted, in the six months ending July 5th, 1852, to | qrs. | 2,604,201 |
| | But in the corresponding months of 1853, to | qrs. | 3,984,374 |
| | The total imports of Flour and Meal amounted, during six months of 1852, to | qrs. | 1,931,363 |
| 25 | And in the corresponding months, 1853, to | qrs. | 2,577,340 |
| | Total imports of Coffee, 1852 | lbs. | 19,397,185 |
| | Total imports of Coffee, 1853 | lbs. | 21,908,954 |
| | Total imports of Wine, 1852 | gals. | 2,850,862 |
| | Total imports of Wine, 1853 | gals. | 4,581,300 |
| 30 | Total imports of Eggs, 1852 | No. | 64,418,591 |
| | Total imports of Eggs, 1853 | No. | 67,631,380 |
| | Total imports of Potatoes, 1852 | cwts. | 189,410 |
| | Total imports of Potatoes, 1853 | cwts. | 713,941 |
| | Total imports of Flax, 1852 | cwts. | 410,876 |
| 35 | Total imports of Flax, 1853 | cwts. | 627,173 |
| | Total imports of Raw Silk, 1852 | lbs. | 2,354,690 |
| | Total imports of Raw Silk, 1853 | lbs. | 2,909,733 |
| | Total imports of Cotton, 1852 | cwts. | 4,935,317 |
| | Total imports of Cotton, 1853 | cwts. | 5,134,680 |
| 40 | Total imports of Wool, (sheep and lambs) 1852 | lbs. | 26,916,002 |

Karl Marx

| | | |
|---|------|------------|
| Total imports of Wool, (sheep and lambs) 1853 | lbs. | 40,189,398 |
| Total imports of Hides, (tanned) 1852 | lbs. | 1,075,207 |
| Total imports of Hides, (tanned) 1853 | lbs. | 3,604,769 |

A decrease is found in cocoa, guano, unrefined sugar, tea, etc. As to the exports we find: 5

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Those of Cotton Manufactures in 1852 | £11,386,491 |
| Those of Cotton Manufactures in 1853 | 13,155,679 |

As to cotton yarn—and the same remark applies to linen and silk yarn—we find that the exported *quantity* has decreased, but that the declared *value* had considerably risen. 10

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|----|
| Linen Manufactures, 1852 | £2,006,951 | |
| Linen Manufactures, 1853 | 2,251,260 | |
| Silk Manufactures, 1852 | 467,838 | |
| Silk Manufactures, 1853 | 806,419 | |
| Woolen Manufactures, 1852 | 3,894,506 | 15 |
| Woolen Manufactures, 1853 | 4,941,357 | |
| Earthen Ware Manufactures, 1852 | 590,663 | |
| Earthen Ware Manufactures, 1853 | 627,218 | |
| Glass Manufactures, 1852 | 187,470 | |
| Glass Manufactures, 1853 | 236,797 | 20 |
| Haberdashery and Millinery, 1852 | 884,324 | |
| Haberdashery and Millinery, 1853 | 1,806,007 | |
| Hardware and Cutlery, 1852 | 1,246,639 | |
| Hardware and Cutlery, 1853 | 1,663,302 | |
| Machinery, 1852 | 476,078 | 25 |
| Machinery, 1853 | 760,288 | |
| Iron Bars, Bolts and Rods, 1852 | 1,455,952 | |
| Iron Bars, Bolts and Rods, 1853 | 2,730,479 | |
| Wrought Iron, 1852 | 696,089 | |
| Wrought Iron, 1853 | 1,187,059 | 30 |
| Wire, 1852 | 42,979 | |
| Wire, 1853 | 106,610 | |

With regard to the imports of manufactures, the greatest increase is found in shoes, boots and gloves, and the greatest decrease in glass manufactures, watches, woolen stuffs, and Indian silk manufactures. With regard to exports, the increase is greatest in linen, silks, woolens and metals. As to the importations of articles of consumption, we find that, with the exception of grains and cattle, the increase in nearly all articles bears witness that the 35

home consumption of the higher and middle classes has advanced in a much larger proportion than that of the working classes. While, for instance, the consumption of wine has doubled, the consumption of cocoa, unrefined sugar, and tea has decidedly retrograded.

5 Out of 260 reports on the wheat crops throughout the United Kingdom, only 25 speak of the crop as fine and abundant, 30 as an average one, and above 200 reports declare it to be bad and deficient. Oats, barley and beans are expected to turn out less unfavorable, as the wet has benefitted them; but the potatoes are blighted in all parts of the country. Messrs. J. and
10 C. Sturge & Co. remark, in their last circular on the wheat crop:

"The wheat crop on the aggregate will probably be the least productive of any since 1816, and unless the harvest of 1854 is very early, we may require an importation of all kinds of grain and breadstuffs greater even than that of 1847—probably not less than 15,000,000 quarters—but our present prices
15 are sufficient to induce imports to this extent, unless France should compete with us in the producing markets."

As to a very early crop in 1854, there seems to be no great prospect of that, inasmuch as experience has shown that bad harvests generally follow in succession just as the good ones; and the succession of good harvests since
20 1848 has already been unusually long. That England will obtain a sufficient supply of corn from foreign countries is, perhaps, pretty sure; but that the exportation of her manufactures will, as Freetraders expect, keep pace with the importations of grains, cannot, be presumed. The probable excess of importation over exportation will, besides, be accompanied by a falling off
25 in the home consumption of manufactures. Even now the bullion reserve in the Bank of England is decreasing week after week, and has sunk to £17,739,107.

The House of Lords in its sitting of Friday last rejected the Combination of Workmen bill, which had passed through the Commons. This bill was but
30 a new interpretation of the old Combination-Act of 1825, and intended, by removing its cumbrous and equivocal terminology^ to place the workingmen on a more equal footing with their employers, as far as the legality of combination is concerned. The sentimental lords who please themselves in treating the workingmen as their humble clients, feel exasperated whenever that
35 rabble asks for rights instead of sympathies. The so-called Radical papers have, of course, eagerly seized on this opportunity to denounce the Lords to the proletarians as their "hereditary foes." I am far from denying it. But let us now look at these Radicals, the "natural friends" of the workingmen. I told you in a former letter that the Manchester master-spinners and manu-
40 facturers were getting up an association for resisting the demands of their "hands." This association calls itself "an association for the purpose of

aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among the operatives in the Manchester district." It purports to have been formed for the following purposes:

"1. The establishment of wages for various operations connected with spinning and weaving, similar to those paid in the other districts of the cotton trade. 5

2. The mutual protection of its members in the payment of such wages against the resistance offered to them on the part of the operatives employed by them respectively.

3. The securing to the operatives themselves the advantage of a uniformity of adequate wages, to be paid to them throughout town and neighborhood." 10

In order to effect these purposes they have resolved to set up a whole organization, by forming local associations of master-spinners and manufacturers, with a central committee. "They will resist all demands made by *associated bodies* of mill-hands, as any concession to them would be injurious to employers, operatives, and the trade generally." They will not allow the machinery set up by and for themselves to be counterbalanced by a similar machinery set up by their men. They intend fortifying the monopoly of capital by the monopoly of combination. They will dictate terms as an associated body. But the laborers shall only dispute them in their individual capacity. They will attack in ranged battle, but they will not be resisted, except in single fight. This is "*fat competition*," as understood by the Manchester radicals and model free traders. 15 20

In its sitting of Aug. 9, the House of Lords had to decide on the fate of three Ireland Bills, carried through the Commons after ten months deliberation, viz: the *Landlord and Tenant Bill*, removing the laws concerning mortgages, which form at present an insuperable bar to the effective sale of the smaller estates not falling under the *Encumbered Estates Act*; the *Leasing Powers Bill*, amending and consolidating more than sixty acts of Parliament which prohibit leases to be entered into for 21 years, regulating the tenant's compensation for improvements in all instances where contracts exist, and preventing the system of sub-letting; lastly, the *Tenant's Improvement Compensation Bill*, providing compensation for improvements effected by the tenant in the absence of any contract with the landlord, and containing a clause for the retrospective operation of this provision. The House of Lords could, of course, not object to parliamentary interference between landlord and tenant, as it has laden the statute book from the time of Edward IV to the present day, with acts of legislation on landlord and tenant, and as its very existence is founded on laws meddling with landed property, as for instance the *law of Entail*. This time, the noble lords sitting 25 30 35 40

as Judges on their own cause, allowed themselves to run into a passion quite surprising in that hospital of invalids. "Such a bill," exclaimed the Earl of Clanricarde, "as the Tenants' Compensation Bill, such a total violation and disregard of all contracts, was never before, he believed, submitted to
5 Parliament, nor had he ever heard of any government having ventured to propose such a measure as was carried out in the retrospective clauses of the bill." The Lords went as far as to threaten the Crown with the withdrawal of their feudal allegiance, and to hold out the prospect of a landlord rebellion in Ireland. "The question," remarked the same nobleman, "touched nearly
10 the *whole question of the loyalty* and confidence of the landed proprietors in Ireland in the Government of this country. If they saw landed property in Ireland treated in such a way, he would like to know what was to *secure their attachment to the Crown, and their obedience to its supremacy?*" Gently, my lord, gently! What was to secure their obedience to the supremacy
15 of the Crown? One magistrate and two constables. A landlord rebellion in Great Britain! Has there ever been uttered amore monstrous anachronism? But for a long time the poor Lords have only lived upon anachronisms. They naturally encourage themselves to resist the House of Commons and public opinion. "Let not their lordships," said old Lord St. Leonards, "for the sake
20 of preventing what was called a *collision* with the other House, or for the sake of popularity, or on account of a pressure from without, pass imperfect measures like these." "I do not belong to any party," exclaimed the Earl of Roden, "but I am highly interested in the welfare of Ireland." That is to say, his lordship supposes Ireland to be highly interested in the welfare of the
25 Earl of Roden. "This is no party question, but a Lords' question," was the unanimous shout of the House; and so it was. But between both parties, Whig Lords and Tory Lords, Coalition Lords and Opposition Lords, there has existed from the beginning a secret understanding to throw the bills out, and the whole impassioned discussion was a mere farce, performed for the
30 benefit of the newspaper reporters.

This will be evident when we remember that the bills which formed the subject of so hot a controversy were originated, not by the Coalition Cabinet, but by Mr. Napier, the Irish Attorney-General under the Derby Ministry, and that the Tories at the last elections in Ireland appealed to the testimony of
35 these bills introduced by them. The only substantial change made by the House of Commons in the measures introduced by the Tory Government was the excluding of the growing crops from being distrained upon. "The bills are not the same," exclaimed the Earl of Malmesbury, asking the Duke of Newcastle whether he did not believe him. "Certainly not," replied the
40 Duke. "But whose assertion would you then believe?" "That of Mr. Napier," answered the Duke. "Now," said the Earl, "here is a letter of Mr. Napier,

stating that the bills are not the same." "There," said the Duke, "is another letter of Mr. Napier, stating that they are."

If the Tories had remained in, the Coalition-lords would have opposed the Ireland Bills. The Coalition being in, on the Tories fell the task of opposing their own measures. The Coalition having inherited these bills from the Tories and having introduced the Irish party into their own cabinet, could of course, not oppose the bills in the House of Commons; but they were sure of their being burked in the House of Lords. The Duke of Newcastle made a faint resistance, but Lord Aberdeen declared himself contented with the bills passing formally through a second reading, and being really thrown out for the session. This accordingly was done. Lord Derby, the chief of the late ministry, and Lord Lansdowne, the nominal President of the present ministry, yet at the same time one of the largest proprietors of land in Ireland, managed, wisely, to be absent from indisposition.

On the same day the House of Commons carried the *Hackney Carriages Duties Bill* through the third reading, renewing the official price-regulations of the 17th century, and accepting the clause proposed by Mr. F. Scully, which subjects cab proprietors' strikes to legal penalties. We have not now to settle the question of state interference with private concerns. We have only to state that this passed in a free-trade House. But, they say, that in the cab trade there exists monopoly and not free competition. This is a curious sort of logic. First they subject a particular trade to a duty, called license, and to special police regulations, and then they affirm that, in virtue of these very burdens imposed upon it, the trade loses its free-trade character and becomes transformed into a state monopoly.

The *Transportation Bill* has also passed through Committee. Except a small number of convicts who will continue to be transported to Western Australia, the penalty of transportation is abolished by this bill. After a certain period of preliminary imprisonment the offenders will receive tickets of leave in Great Britain, liable to be revoked, and then they will be employed on the public works at wages to be determined by Government. The philanthropic object of the latter clause is the erection of an artificial surplus in the labor market by drawing forced convict-labor into competition with free labor; the same philanthropists forbidding the workhouse paupers all sort of productive labor from fear of creating competition with private capital.

The London Press, a weekly journal, inspired by Mr. Disraeli, and certainly the best informed paper as far as ministerial mysteries are concerned, made, on Saturday last, and accordingly before the arrival of the Petersburg dispatch, the following curious statement:

"We are informed, that in their private and confidential circles, the ministers declare that there is not only now no danger of war, but that the peril,

if it ever existed, has long been averted. It seems that the proposition formally forwarded to St. Petersburg, had been previously approved by the Emperor; and while the British Government assume in public countenance a tone which is exercising a deleterious influence on the trade of the country, in private
5 they treat the panic as a hoax, scoff at any idea of war having ever been seriously contemplated by any power, and speak of the misunderstanding in question 'as a thing that has been settled these three weeks.' What does all this mean, what is the mystery of all this conduct? ... The propositions now at St. Petersburg, and which were approved by the Emperor before they
10 were transmitted to St. Petersburg, involve a complete concession by Turkey to Russia of all those demands, a resistance to which brought about the present war between these two countries. Those demands were resisted by the Porte under the counsel and at the special instigation of England and France. By the advice and special instigation of England and France, those
15 demands, according to this project, are now to be complied with. There is some change of form, but there is nothing material in that change. The Emperor of Russia, in virtually establishing the Protectorate over the great bulk of the population of European Turkey, is to declare, that in so doing he has no wish to impugn the sovereign rights of the Sultan. Magnanimous
20 admission!"

Royalty in Great Britain is supposed to be only a nominal power, an assumption which accounts for the peace all parties keep with it. If you were to ask a Radical why his party abstained from attacking the prerogatives of the Crown, he would answer you: It is a mere State decoration which we
25 don't care about. He would tell you that Queen Victoria has only once dared to have a will of her own, at the time of the famous bed chambermaid's catastrophe, when she insisted upon retaining her female Whig *entourage*, but was forced to yield to Sir Robert Peel, and dismiss it. Various circumstances, however, connected with the Oriental question—the inexplicable
30 policy of the Ministry, the denunciations of foreign journals, and the successive arrival of Russian princes and princesses, at a moment when England was supposed to be on the eve of a war with the Autocrat—have accredited the rumor that there existed, during the whole epoch of the Eastern crisis, a Court conspiracy with Russia, sustaining the good old Aberdeen in office,
35 paralyzing the showy alliance with France, and counteracting the official resistance to Russian encroachments. The Portuguese counter revolution is hinted at, which was enforced by an English fleet, for the sole interest of the Coburg family. It is iterated that Lord Palmerston, too, had been dismissed from the Foreign Office in consequence of Court intrigues. The
40 notorious friendship between the Queen and the Duchess of Orleans is alluded to. It is remembered that the Royal Consort is a Coburg, that the

Queen's uncle is another Coburg, highly interested as King of Belgium and as the son-in-law of Louis Philippe, in the fall of Bonaparte, and officially received into the circle of the Holy Alliance, by the marriage of his son with an Austrian Archduchess. Lastly, the reception which the Russian guests meet with, is contrasted with the imprisonment and chicanery English travelers lately met with in Russia. 5

The Paris *Siècle* some weeks ago denounced the English Court. A German paper dwelt on the Coburg-Orleans conspiracy, which, for the sake of family interests, had, through the medium of King Leopold and Prince Albert, enforced upon the English Ministry a line of policy dangerous to the Western nations, and fostering the secret intentions of Russia. The Brussels *Nation* had a long report of a Cabinet Council held at London, in which the Queen had formally declared that Bonaparte, by his pretensions to the Holy Shrines, had been the only cause of the present complications, that the Emperor of Russia wished less to humiliate Turkey than his French rival, and that she would never give her Royal assent to any war against Russia for the interest of a Bonaparte. 10 15

These rumors have been delicately alluded to by *The Morning Advertiser*, and have found a loud echo in the public, and a cautious one in the weekly press. 20

"Without desiring," says *The Leader*, "to put constructions too wide, let us simply observe facts. The Princess Olga has come to England with her husband, and her sister, the Duchess of Leuchtenberg, the Emperor's most diplomatic daughter. She has been received by Baron Brunnow, and she is at once welcomed *at Court*, and surrounded by the representatives of good society in England, Lord Aberdeen being among that number." Even *The Examiner*, the first of the first-rate London weekly papers, announces the arrival of these guests under the laconic rubric "*More Russians*." In one of its leaders we find the remark, "No earthly reason now exists why the Peace Society should not reappear before the world, in the most approved form, *under the patronage of His Royal Highness, Prince Albert*." A more direct allusion is not allowable in a journal of the standing of *The Examiner*. It concludes the article from which I quote by contrasting the English Monarchy with the Transatlantic Republic: "If the Americans should be ambitious to seize the place we once held in Europe, that is no affair of ours. Let them reap the present honor and ultimate advantage of enforcing the law of nations, and of being revered as the protectors of the feeble against the strong. England is content, provided only Consols be at par, and her own coasts secure against any immediate attack of a foreign army." 25 30 35

On a vote of £5,820, to defray the charge of works, repairs, furniture, etc., at the residence of the British Ambassador at Paris, for the year ending 31st 40

March, 1854, being proposed, Mr. Wise asked what had become of the £1,100 a year, voted for the last thirty years, in order to keep in repair the residence of the British Ambassador at Paris. Sir William Molesworth was compelled to own that the public money had been misapplied, and that, according to
5 the architect Albano, sent by Government to Paris, the residence of the British Ambassador was in a most dilapidated state. The verandah around the house had fallen in; the walls were in a state of decay; the house had not been painted for several years; the staircases were unsafe; the cesspools were exhaling a most offensive effluvium; the rooms were full of vermin,
10 which were nirming over the tables, and maggots were in every place on the furniture and on the curtains, while the carpets were stained by the dirt of dogs and cats.

Lord Palmerston's *Smoke Nuisance Suppression Bill* has passed a second reading. This measure once carried, the metropolis will assume anew aspect,
15 and there will remain no dirty houses in London, except the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Urquhart—Bern—The Turkish Question
in the House of Lords

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3862, 2. September 1853

**Urquhart—Bern—The Turkish Question
in the House of Lords.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, August 16, 1853.

David Urquhart has published four letters on the Oriental question, pur- 5
porting to expose four delusions—firstly, that regarding the identity of the
Oriental and Russian Churches; secondly, of there being a diplomatical
contest between England and Russia; thirdly, of there being a possibility of
war between England and Russia; and lastly, the delusion of union between 10
England and France. As I intend to recur another time more fully to these
letters, I confine myself for the present to communicating to you the follow-
ing letter addressed by Bern to Rechid Pasha, a letter published for the first
time by Mr. Urquhart.

"Monseigneur! Not seeing the order arrive to command my presence at 15
Constantinople, I conceive it to be my duty to address to your Highness some
considerations which appear to me to be urgent. I commence by declaring
that the Turkish troops which I have seen, cavalry, infantry, and field
artillery, are excellent. In bearing, instruction, and military spirit, there can
be no better. The horses surpass those of any European cavalry. That which 20
is inappreciable is the desire felt by all the officers and all the soldiers to
fight against Russia. With such troops I would willingly engage to attack a
Russian force double their number, and I should be victorious. And as the
Ottoman Empire can march against the Russians more troops than that
Power can oppose to them, it is evident that the Sultan may have the satis- 25
faction to see restored to his sceptre all the Provinces treacherously
withdrawn from his ancestors by the Czars of Moscow ... Bern."

The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs has sent to all the European

Courts a note relative to the conduct of the American frigate *St. Louis*, in the Koszta affair, denouncing the American policy in general. Austria contends that she has the right to kidnap foreigners from the territory of a neutral power, while the United States have no right to commence hostilities in order
 5 to defend them.

On Friday, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Malmesbury did not inquire into the mystery of the Vienna Conference, or of the propositions forwarded by it to the Czar, nor did he inquire as to the present state of transactions. His curiosity was rather of a retrospective and antiquarian character. What
 10 he moved for was "simple translations" of the two manifestos addressed by the Emperor, in May and June, to his diplomatical agents, and published in the *Sr. Petersburg Gazette*, and also "for any answer which Her Majesty's Government might have sent to the statements therein contained." The Earl of Malmesbury is no ancient Roman. Nothing could be more repulsive to
 15 his feelings than the Roman manner of openly examining foreign Ambassadors amid the *patres conscripti*. The two Russian circulars he stated himself to "have been published openly to all Europe by the Emperor of Russia in his own language, and have also appeared in the English and French languages, in the public prints." What possible good, then, could result from
 20 translating them again from the language of the writers of the public prints into the language of the clerks of the foreign office? "The French Government did answer the circulars immediately and ably ... The English reply, as we are told, was made soon after that of the French Government." The Earl of Malmesbury was anxious to know how the indifferent prose of M.
 25 Drouyn de l'Huys might look when translated into the noble prose of the Earl of Clarendon.

He felt himself bound to remind "his noble friend opposite," that John Bull, after thirty years of peace, of commercial habits, and of industrial pursuits, had become "somewhat nervous" with regard to *war*, and that this
 30 nervousity had, since the month of March last, "increased from the continued and lengthened mystery which the Government have drawn over their operations and negotiations." In the interest of peace, therefore, Lord Malmesbury interpellates, but in the same interest of peace the Government keeps silence.

The first signs of aggression of Russia on European Turkey no one was more annoyed at than the noble Earl himself. He had never suspected such a thing as Russian designs upon Turkey. He would not believe in what he saw. There was above all "the honor of the Emperor of Russia." But did the aggrandizement of his Empire ever damage the honor of an Emperor? There
 40 was "his conservative policy which he had emphatically proved during the revolutions of 1848." Indeed, the Autocrat did not join in the wickedness

of those revolutions. Especially, in 1852, when the noble Earl held the Foreign office "it was impossible for any Sovereign to give more repeated assurances, or to show a more sincere interest in the maintenance of the treaties by which Europe is bound, and the maintenance of the territorial arrangements which have existed for the happiness of Europe for so many 5 years." Certainly, when the Baron Brunnow induced the Earl of Malmesbury to sign the treaty of 8th May, 1852, with regard to the succession of the Danish throne, he caught him with repeated assurances as to the foible of his august master for existing treaties; and when he persuaded him, at the time the Earl hailed the usurpation of Bonaparte, to enter into a secret alliance with Russia, 10 Prussia, and Austria against this same Bonaparte, he made a great show of his sincere interest in the maintenance of the existing territorial arrangements.

In order to account for the sudden and unexpected change which has overcome the Emperor of Russia, the Earl of Malmesbury then enters into 15 a psychological analysis of "the new impressions made on the *Emperor of Russia's mind*." The "feelings" of the Emperor, he ventures to affirm, "were irritated at the conduct of the French Government in regard to the Holy Shrines in Palestine." Bonaparte, it is true, in order to allay those irritated feelings, dispatched M. de la Cour to Constantinople, "a man of singularly 20 mild and conciliatory conduct." But says the Earl, "it appears that in the Emperor of Russia's mind, what had passed had not been effaced," and that there remained a residue of bitter feeling with regard to France. M. De la Cour, it must be confessed, settled the question finally and satisfactorily, before Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople. "Still the impression 25 on the mind of the Russian Emperor remained unaltered." So strong was this impression, and the mental aberration resulting from it, "that the Emperor still suspected the Turkish Government of wishing to impose upon Russia conditions which she had no right to impose." The Earl of Malmesbury owns that it is "impossible" not only for "any human being," but even for an 30 English Lord, to "read the human mind;" nevertheless, "he cannot help thinking that he can account for those strange impressions effected upon the Emperor of Russia's mind." The moment, he says, had arrived, which the Russian population had been taught for many generations to look forward to as the "predestinated epoch of their obtaining Constantinople, and re- 35 storing the Byzantine Empire." Now he supposes "these feelings" to have been shared by "the present Emperor." Originally, the sagacious Earl intended to explain the Emperor's obstinate suspicion, that the Turkish government wanted to hurt him in his rights, and now he informs us that he suspected Turkey, because he thought the proper moment to have arrived 40 of swallowing her. Arrived at this point the noble Earl had necessarily to

change the course of his deductions. Instead of accounting for the new impressions on the Emperor of Russia's mind which altered the old circumstances, he accounts now for the circumstances, which restrained for some time the ambitious mind and the old traditional feeling of the Czar, from
 5 "giving way to temptation." These circumstances resolve themselves in the one great fact, that at one period the Earl of Malmesbury was "in," and that at the other period he was "out."

When "in" he was the first, not only to acknowledge Boustrapa, but also to apologize for his perjury, his murders, and his usurpation. But, then, "the
 10 newspapers of the day continually found fault with what they called a subservient and cringing policy to the French Emperor." The Coalition Ministry came, and with it Sir J. Graham and Sir Charles Wood, "condemning at public meetings the policy and character of the French Emperor, and condemning the French people, too, for the choice of this prince as their sovereign." Then
 15 followed the Montenegro affair, and the coalition "allowing Austria to insist on the Sultan giving up any further coercion of the rebellious Montenegrins, and not even securing to the Turkish army a safe and peaceable retreat, thus causing Turkey a loss of from 1,500 to 2,000 men." At a later period the recall of Col. Rose from Constantinople, the refusal of the British Government to
 20 order simultaneously with France their fleet to Besika Bay or Smyrna—all these circumstances together, produced the impression on the Emperor of Russia's mind that the people and the Government of England were hostile to the French Emperor, and that no true alliance was possible between the two countries.

25 Having thus traced with a delicacy worthy of a romance-writer, who analyzes the undulating feelings of his heroine, the succession of circumstances belaboring the Emperor of Russia's impressionable mind and seducing him from the path of virtue, the Earl of Malmesbury flatters himself to have broken through the prejudices and antipathies which had alienated
 30 for centuries the French from the English people by his close alliance with the oppressor of the French people, he congratulates the present Government upon having inherited from him the intimate alliance with the Western Czar, and upon having reaped where the Tories had sown. He forgets that it is exactly this intimate alliance under the auspices of which the Sultan has
 35 been sacrificed to Russia, the Coalition being backed by the French Emperor, while the French Soulouque eagerly seizes the opportunity of slipping on the shoulders of the Mussulman into a sort of Vienna Congress and becoming respectable. In the same breath in which he congratulates the Ministry on their close alliance with Bonaparte, he denounces the very policy which has
 40 been the fruit of that *mésalliance*.

We shall not follow the Earl in his expectations on the importance of

Turkish integrity, in his denial of her decay, in his repudiation of the Russian religious Protectorate, nor in his reproaches to the Government for not having declared the invasion of the Principalities a *casus belli*, and for not having answered the crossing of the Pruth by sending out their fleet. He has nothing new except the following letter, "perfectly unsurpassed for insolence," addressed by Prince Menchikoff to Rechid Pasha on the eve of his departure from Constantinople:

"Bujukdere, May 9, (21st.)

At the moment of departure from Constantinople, the undersigned ambassador of Russia, has learnt that the Sublime Porte manifested its intention to proclaim a guaranty for the exercise of the spiritual rights vested in the clergy of the Eastern Church, which, in fact, renders doubtful the maintenance of the other privileges which that Church enjoys. Whatever may be the motive of this determination, the undersigned is under the necessity of informing his Highness, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that a declaration or any other act, which, although it may preserve the integrity of the purely spiritual rights of the orthodox Eastern Church, tends to invalidate the other rights, privileges and immunities accorded to her religion and clergy, from the most ancient times, and which they enjoy at the present moment, will be considered by the Imperial Cabinet as an act of hostility to Russia and to her religion.

The undersigned begs, etc.

Menchikoffr

The Earl of Malmesbury "could hardly believe that the Russian Emperor countenanced the conduct of Prince Menchikoff, or the manner in which he acted," a doubt confirmed by Nesselrode's notes following Menchikoff's departure, and the Russian army following Nesselrode's notes.

The "silent" Clarendon, "painful as it was to him," was obliged "to give the same answer over and over again," viz: to give no answer at all. He felt it "his public duty not to say a word" which he had not already said, of "not laying any communication before them, and of not producing any separate dispatch." The noble Earl accordingly gave not one iota of information which we did not know before. His principal aim was to establish that, during the whole time that the Austrian and Russian Cabinets were making their encroachments, he was in "constant communication" with them. Thus he was in constant communication with the Austrian Government when it sent Prince Leiningen to Constantinople and its troops to the frontier, "because," at least this, says the innocent Clarendon, was the "reason given"—"because it apprehended an outbreak of its own subjects on the frontier." After the

Sultan had yielded to Austria, by withdrawing his force, the energetic Clarendon "was again in communication with Austria, in order to insure the full execution of the treaty." "I *believe*," continues the credulous Lord, "it was carried out, *for* the Austrian Government *assured* us that such was the

5 case." Very good, my Lord! As to the *entente cordiale* with France, it had ever existed since 1815! As to the part the French and English Governments took "with respect to the sending of their respective fleets," there "was not a shade of difference." Bonaparte ordered his fleet to proceed to Salamis, "believing that danger was imminent," and, "although he (Clarendon) told

10 him the danger was not so imminent, and that for the moment it was not necessary for the French fleet to leave the French ports, he ordered the French fleet to leave them; but this circumstance did not make the *slightest difference because* it was much more handy and more advantageous to have one fleet at Salamis and the other at Malta, than to have one at Malta and

15 the other at Toulon." Lord Clarendon further states that throughout the insolent pressure of Prince Menchikoff on the Porte "it was a matter of satisfaction that the fleet was not ordered out because no one could say that the Turkish government acted under their dictation." After what has passed, it is indeed probable, that, had the fleet then been ordered out, the Sultan

20 would have been forced to draw in. As to Menchikoff's "valedictory letter," Clarendon owned it to be correct, "but such language in diplomatic negotiations with governments was, fortunately, rare, and he hoped would long remain so." As to the invasion of the Principalities, the English and French governments "advised the Sultan to waive his undoubted right of treating

25 the occupation of the Principalities as a *casus belli*."

As to the negotiations yet pending, all he would say was that, "an official communication had been received this morning from Sir Hamilton Seymour, that the propositions agreed upon by the Ambassadors at Vienna, *if slightly modified*, would be received at St. Petersburg." As to the terms of the

30 settlement, he would rather die than let them slip out.

The noble Lord was responded to by Lord Beaumont, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and the Earl of Ellenborough. There was not one single voice to felicitate her Majesty's Government on the course pursued in these negotiations. There were very great apprehensions on all

35 sides that the ministerial policy had been the wrong way; that they had acted as mediators in behalf of Russia, instead of as defenders of Turkey, and that an early display of firmness on the part of England and France, would have placed them in a better position than that which they now hold. The old obstinate Aberdeen answered them, that "it was .easy to speculate on what.

40 would have been the case, after the event had occurred; to say what might have been the case, had they followed a different course." However, his most

Karl Marx

startling and important statement was the following: "Their Lordships must be aware that they were not bound by any treaty. He denied that this country was bound by the stipulations of any treaty to take part in any hostilities in support of the Turkish Empire."

The Emperor of Russia, when England and France first showed their disposition to meddle with the pending Turkish affair, utterly repudiated the binding force of the treaty of 1841 upon his own dealings with the Porte, and the right of interposition resulting therefrom on the part of the Western Cabinets. At the same time he insisted upon the exclusion of the ships of war of the other Powers from the Dardanelles, in virtue of the same treaty of 1841. Now, Lord Aberdeen, in open and solemn assembly of Parliament, endorses this arrogant interpretation of a treaty which is only respected by the Autocrat when it excludes Great Britain from the Euxine.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Turkish Question in the Commons

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3862, 2. September 1853

The Turkish Question in the Commons.

London, Friday, Aug. 19, 1853.

Correspondence of the N.Y.Tribune.

Lord John Russell having postponed his explanations on the Turkish ques-
5 tion again and again, till at last, the last week of the Parliamentary session
had happily arrived, came suddenly forward on Monday last, and gave notice
that he would make his long deferred statement on Tuesday. The noble lord
had ascertained that Mr. Disraeli had left London on Monday morning. In
the same manner Sir Charles Wood, when he knew Sir J. Pakington and his
10 partisans to be out of the House, suddenly brought in his India Bill, as
amended by the House of Lords, and carried, in a thin house without division,
the re-enactment of the Salt-Monopoly. Such mean and petty tricks are the
nerves **and** sinews of Whig Parliamentary tactics.

The Eastern question in the House of Commons, was a most interesting
15 spectacle. Lord J.Russell opened the performances in a tone quite con-
formed to the part he had to play. This diminutive earthman, supposed to
be the last representative of the once powerful Whig tribe, spoke in a dull,
low, dry, monotonous, and barren-spirited manner—not like a Minister, but
like a police reporter, who mitigates the horrors of his tale by the trivial,
20 common-place, and business-like style in which he relates it. He offered no
"apology," but he made a confession. If there was any redeeming feature
in his speech, it was its stiffness itself, which seemed intended to conceal
some painful impressions laboring in the little man. Even the inevitable
phrase of "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire," sounded
25 like an old reminiscence, recurring, by some inadvertence, in a funeral
oration over that same Empire. The impression produced by this speech,
which purported to announce the settlement of the Eastern complication,

may be judged from the fact that, as soon as transmitted by telegraph to Paris, the funds fell immediately.

Lord John was right in stating that he had not to defend the Government, the Government not having been attacked; on the contrary, every disposition had been shown on the part of the House to leave negotiations in the hands of the Executive. Indeed no motion has been put by any member of Parliament to force discussion upon Ministers, and there has not been held any meeting out of the House to force such a motion upon members of Parliament. If the ministerial policy has been one of secrecy and mystification, it was so with the silent consent of Parliament and of the public. As to the withholding of documents while negotiations were pending, Lord John asserted it to be an eternal law established by parliamentary tradition. It would be tedious to follow him in the narration of events familiar to everybody, and infused with no new life by his manner of rather enumerating than reciting them. There are, however, some important points Lord John was the first officially to confirm.

Before Prince Menchikoff's arrival at Constantinople the Russian Ambassador informed Lord John that the Czar intended to send a special mission to Constantinople with propositions relating exclusively to the Holy Cross and the immunities of the Greek Church connected with them. The British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and the British government at home suspected no other intention on the part of Russia. It was not until the beginning of March, when the Turkish Minister informed Lord Stratford (Mr. Layard, however, affirms that Colonel Rose and many other persons at Constantinople were already initiated in the secret) that Prince Menchikoff had proposed a secret treaty incompatible with Turkish independence, and that he had declared it to be the intention of Russia to consider any communication of the fact to either France or England as an act of direct hostility against Russia. It was known at the same time, not from mere rumor, but from authentic reports that Russia was accumulating great masses of troops on the frontiers of Turkey and at Odessa.

As to the note forwarded by the Vienna Conference to the Czar, and agreed upon by him, it had been prepared at Paris by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, who took the reply of Rechid Pasha to the last Russian note for his basis. It was afterward taken up, in an altered form, by Austria, as her own proposition, on the 24th July, and received its final touch on the 31st of July. The Austrian Minister having previously communicated it to the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, it was already, on the 24th, conveyed to St. Petersburg before it was finally arranged, and it was not sent to Constantinople till the 2d of August, when the Czar had already agreed to it. Thus, after all, it is a Russian note addressed through the means of the Four Powers to the Sultan, instead of

a note of the Four Powers addressed to Russia and Turkey. Lord John Russell states that this note has "not the *exact form of Prince Menchikoff's note*" owning thereby that it has its exact contents. To leave no doubt behind, he adds: "*The Emperor considers that his objects will be attained.*" The draft
5 contains not even an allusion to the evacuation of the Principahties. "Supposing that note," says Lord John, "to be finally agreed upon by Russia and Turkey, *there will still remain the great question of the evacuation of the Principalities.*" He adds at the same time, that the British Government
10 "considers this evacuation to be essential," but upon the mode by which this object is to be obtained he asks permission to say nothing. He gives us, however, sufficiently to understand that the fleets of England and France may have to leave Besika Bay before the Cossacks shall have left the Principalities. "We ought not to consent to any arrangement by which it may be stipulated that the advance of the fleets to the neighborhood of the Dar-
15 danelles should be considered as equivalent to an actual invasion of the Turkish Territories. But, of course, if the matter is settled, if peace is secured, Besika Bay is not a station which would be of any advantage either to England or France." Now, as no man in his senses has ever supposed the French and English fleets are to remain for all time at Besika Bay, or France
20 and England to enter into a formal stipulation forbidding them to advance to the neutral neighborhood of the Dardanelles, these ambiguous and cumbersome phrases, if they have any meaning at all, mean that the fleets will retire, after the note shall have been accepted by the Sultan and the Cossack promised to evacuate the Principalities. "When the Russian Government,"
25 says Lord John, "had occupied the Principalities, Austria declared that, in conformity with the spirit of the Treaty of 1841, it was absolutely necessary that the representatives of the Powers should meet in conference, and should endeavor to obtain some amicable solution of a difficulty which might otherwise threaten the peace of Europe."
30 Lord Aberdeen, on the contrary, declared some days ago in the House of Lords, and also, as we are informed from other sources, in a formal note communicated to the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Constantinople in the course of last June, that "the Treaty of 1841 did not in any way impose upon the Powers who signed it the obligation of actual assistance in behalf of the
35 Porte," (but of a temporary abstention from entering the Dardanelles!) "and that the Government of Her British Majesty held themselves perfectly free to act or not to act, according to its own interests." Lord Aberdeen only repudiates all obligations toward Turkey, in order not to possess any right against Russia.
40 Lord John Russell concludes with "*a fat aspect*" of the negotiations approaching their crowning result. This seems a very sanguine view of the

matter, at the moment when the Russian note, arranged at Vienna and to be presented by Turkey to the Czar, has not yet been accepted by the Sultan, and when the *sine qua non* of the Western Powers, viz: the evacuation of the Principalities, has not yet been pressed upon the Czar.

Mr. Layard, the first speaker who rose in response to Lord John, made by far the best and most powerful speech—bold, concise, substantial, filled with facts, and proving the illustrious scholar to be as intimately acquainted with Nicholas as with Sardanapalus, and with the actual intrigues in the Orient as well as with the mysterious traditions of its past. 5

Mr. Layard regretted that Lord Aberdeen had "on several occasions, and in several places, declared that his policy is essentially a policy based on peace." If England shrunk from maintaining her honor and interests by war, she encouraged on the part of a lawless Power like Russia, pretensions which must inevitably lead sooner or later to war. The present conduct of Russia must not be considered as a mere casual and temporary occurrence, but as part and parcel of a great scheme of policy. 10 15

As to the "concessions" made to France and the "intrigues" of M. de Lavalette, they could not even afford a pretext to Russia, because "a draught of the firman making those concessions, of which Russia complains, was delivered by the Porte to M. de Titoff some days, if not weeks, before it was issued, and no objection whatever was made to the terms of that firman." 20

Russia's designs with regard to Servia, Moldo-Wallachia and the Christian population of Turkey were not to be misunderstood. Immediately after his public entry at Constantinople, Prince Menschikoff demanded the dismissal of M. Garashanin, from his post of Servian minister. That demand was complied with, although the Servian Synod protested. M. Garashanin was one of the men brought forward by the insurrection of 1842, that national movement against Russian influence which expelled the then reigning Prince Michel from Servia; he and his family being mere tools in the hands of Russia. In 1843 the Russian Government claimed the right of interference in Servia. Completely unauthorized by any treaty, she was authorized by Lord Aberdeen, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, who declared, "*that Russia had the right to place her own construction on her own treaties.*" "By her success in that transaction," says Mr. Layard, "Russia showed that she was mistress of Servia and could check any rising independent nationality." 25 30 35

As to the Danubian Principalities, Russia first took advantage of the national movement of 1848 in those provinces, compelling the Porte to expel from them every man of liberal and independent opinions. Then, she forced upon the Sultan the treaty of Balta Liman, by which she established her right to interfere in all the internal affairs of the Principalities, "and her present 40

occupation of them has proved that Moldavia and Wallachia are to all intents and purposes Russian provinces."

There remained the Greeks of Turkey and the Slavonians of Bulgaria professing the Christian religion. "The spirit of inquiry and independence
5 has sprung up among the Greeks, and this together with their commercial intercourse with the free States of Europe, has greatly alarmed the Russian Government. There was another cause, viz: the spread of the Protestant faith among the Christians of the East, mainly through the influence and teachings of American missionaries, scarcely a considerable town exists in Turkey, in
10 which there is not a nucleus of a Protestant community. (Another motive for American intervention.) The Greek clergy, backed by the Russian mission have done all in their power to check this movement, and, when persecution was no longer available, Prince Menchikoff appeared at Constantinople. The great end of Russia has been to crush the spirit of religious and political
15 independence, which has manifested itself of late years among the Christian subjects of the Porte."

As to the establishment of a so-called *Greek Empte at Constantinople*, Mr. Layard, meaning of course the Greeks in contradistinction to the Slavonians, stated that the Greeks amount hardly to 1,750,000; that the
20 Slavonians and Bulgarians have been struggling for years to throw off all connection with them, by refusing to accept for their clergy and bishops the priests of the Greek nation; that the Servians have created a Patriarch of their own in lieu of that at Constantinople; and that establishing the Greeks at Constantinople would be playing the whole of Turkey into the hands of
25 Russia.

To the members of the House, who declared that it would signify little whether Constantinople was in the hands of Russia or not, Mr. Layard replied that, Constantinople being broken, all the great Provinces which constitute Turkey, as, for instance, Asia-Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia, would fall into
30 a state of confusion and anarchy. The power into whose hands they were to fall, would command India. The power which held Constantinople, would ever be looked upon in the East as the dominant power of the world.

Russia, however, was aware that no European State would permit her to take possession of Constantinople at this time. Meanwhile, "her object is
35 to render all independent nationalities in that country impossible—to weaken the Turkish power gradually, but surely; and to show to those who would oppose her designs, that any such opposition is not only useless, but would entail upon them her vengeance; in fact, to render any other government but her own impossible in Turkey. *In those designs she has enttely succeeded*
40 *on this occasion.*"

Mr. Layard represented that the Government, after the demand of a secret

treaty by Prince Menchikoff, and the great Russian armaments on the frontier and at Odessa, they were satisfied with the explanations and assurances given at St. Petersburg, and failed to declare that England and France would consider the passing of the Pruth as a *casus belli*, and that they had not interdicted Russia from entering into any treaties or engagements with Turkey without their participation. "If we had taken that step Russia would never have dared to cross the Pruth." 5

Mr. Layard then exposed how the Principalities, independent, united with Bessarabia and leaning on Hungary, would ultimately be the only means of preserving Constantinople from the Russians, and for cutting the great Slave race in two. He thinks that Russia *will* evacuate the Principalities. "It would not be worth the while of Russia to engage in a war with the great Powers of Europe on account of those provinces, which are already, to all intents and purposes, her own. Russia has gained, without firing a shot, what is worth to her a bloody and expensive campaign; she has established her power in the East; she has humiliated Turkey; she has compelled her to go to all the expense of a war, and has exhausted her resources; but, what is more, she has humiliated this country and France in the eyes of her own subjects and of the populations of the East." 10 15

The note drawn up by the Vienna Conference will have the result that, "if the Porte declines to adhere to it, Russia will have turned the tables completely upon us, and made us her ally against Turkey in compelling her to accept an unjust proposal. If she accept, England has directly sanctioned the right of Russia to interfere in behalf of twelve millions of Christians, the subjects of the Porte ... Look at the question as we will, it is clear that we have taken the place of a second-rate Power in it, and conceded that of a first-rate Power to Russia alone ... We had an opportunity which, perhaps, will never occur again of settling on a proper basis this great Eastern question ... Russia has been enabled to strike a blow from which Turkey will never recover ... The result of the policy which this country has pursued will not end here. Sweden, Denmark, every weak State of Europe, which has placed dependence on the character of this country, will see that it is useless any more to struggle against the encroachments of Russia." 20 25 30

Sir John Pakington next made some remarks, which were important as declaratory of the views of the Tory opposition. He regretted that Lord John Russell could not make a statement more satisfactory to the House and to the country. He assured the Government that its determination to consider the evacuation of the Principalities as a *sine qua non*, will "be supported not only by the opinion of this House, but by the almost unanimous opinion of the people of this country." Till the papers should have been produced, he must reserve his judgment on the policy of advising Turkey not to consider 35 40

Γ

the occupation of the Principalities as a *casus belli*, of not following a more vigorous and decisive policy at an earlier period, of injuring and holding in suspense the interests of Turkey and of Great Britain, and their commerce, by transactions protracted for six months.

5 Lord Dudley Stuart indulged in one of his habitual good-natured Democratic declamations, which are certainly more gratifying to the man who spouts them than to anybody else. If you compress inflated balloons or blown up phrases, there remains nothing in your hands, not even the wind that made them appear like something. Dudley Stuart repeated the often repeated
10 statements on the improvements going on in Turkey, and on the greater liberality of the Sultan's rule, whether in regard to religion or commerce, when compared with that of Russia. He remarked, justly, that it was useless to boast of peace, while the unhappy inhabitants of the Danubian Principalities actually endured the horrors of war. He claimed for the inhabitants
15 of these provinces the protection of Europe against the terrible oppression to which they were now subjected. He showed, by facts from Parliamentary history, that the members of the House had the right of speechifying, even while negotiations were going on. He forgot hardly anything, which must be familiar to a true and constant reader of *The Daily News*. There were two
20 "points" in his speech: "Although the explanation of the noble lord (J. Russell) had not been very full, for he told the House nothing but what it knew before, still, from its very omissions, he was afraid that they must come to the conclusion, *that the noble lord had been doing something of which he ought to be ashamed.*" As to the Earl of Aberdeen, "he had told them that
25 peace had been preserved for thirty years, with great advantage to the prosperity and liberty of Europe, but he (Dudley Stuart) denied that the liberty of Europe had been benefited by the peace. Where, he would ask, was Poland? where Italy? where Hungary?—nay, where Germany?" Borne along by the power of fluency, that fatal gift of third-rate orators, the
30 Democratic lord cannot stop, till he arrives, from the despots of the Continent, to his native monarch, "who rules in the hearts of her subjects."

Mr. M. Milnes, one of those ministerial retainers, on whose brow you read:

35 "Do not talk of him
But as a property,"

did not dare to make a decidedly ministerial speech. He made an alternative speech. On the one side he found that Ministers, by withholding the papers from the table of the House, "acted with very great prudence and judgment," but, on the other hand, he gave them to understand that they would have
40 acted "more strongly and firmly" the other way. On the one hand he thought

the Government might have been right in submitting to the demands of Russia, but, on the other hand, it seemed questionable to him whether they had not, in some degree, encouraged Turkey to pursue a line of policy which they were not prepared to support, etc., etc. On the whole, he made out that "the more he reflected on those subjects, the more extreme were the difficulties which they presented to his mind"—the less he understood those subjects, the better he understood the temporizing policy of the Government. 5

After the alternative juggle and perplexed mind of Mr. Monckton Milnes we are refreshed by the rough straightforwardness of Mr. Muntz, M.P. for Birmingham, and one of the matadores of the Reform-House of 1831. "When the Dutch Ambassador made to Charles II. some very objectionable proposition, the King replied: 'God bless me! you never made such a proposition to Oliver Cromwell.' 'No,' said the Ambassador, 'you are a very different man from Oliver Cromwell.' If this country had had now such a man as Oliver Cromwell, we should have had a different Minister, and a very different Government, and Russia would never have marched into the Danubian Provinces. The Emperor of Russia knew, that nothing would make this country go to war: witness Poland, witness Hungary. This country was now reaping the benefit of its own conduct in those instances. He considered the state of this country in relation to its foreign affairs was a very objectionable and a very unsatisfactory one. And he believed that the people of England felt that their character had been degraded, and that all sense of honor on the part of the Government was absorbed in consideration of mere pounds, shillings and pence. The only questions mooted by the Government now were, simply what would be the expense, and would war be agreeable to the different tradesmen of the nation?" Birmingham happening to be the center of an armament-manufacturing and musket-selling population, the men of that town naturally scoff at the Manchester Cotton-Peace-Fraternity. 10 15 20

Mr. Blackett, the member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, did not believe that the Russians would evacuate the Principalities. He warned the Government "not to be swayed by any dynastic sympathies or antipathies." 30

Assailed on all sides, from all shades of opinion, the ministers sat there mournful, depressed, inanimate, broken down; when Richard Cobden suddenly rose, congratulating them for having adopted his peace doctrines and applying that doctrine to the given case, with all the sharp ingenuity and fair sincerity of the *monomaniac*; with all the contradictions of the *idéologue*, and with all the calculating cowardice of the shop-keeper. He preached what the ministry had openly acted, what the Parliament had silently approved, and what the ruling classes had enabled the ministry to do and the Parliament to accept. From fear of war he attained for the first time to something like 35 40

historical ideas. He betrayed the mystery of middle-class policy, and therefore he was repudiated as a traitor. He forced middle-class England to see herself as in a mirror, and as the image was by no means a flattering one, he was ignominiously hissed. He was inconsistent, but his inconsistency
 5 itself was consistent. Was it his fault if the traditional fierce phrases of the aristocratic past did not harmonize with the unanimous facts of the stock-jobbing present?

He commenced by declaring that there was no difference of opinion on the question: "Still, there was apparently very great uneasiness on the
 10 subject of Turkey." Why was this? Within the last twenty years there had been a growing conviction that the Turks in Europe were intruders in Europe; that they were not domiciled there; that their home was Asia; that Mohammedanism could not exist in civilized States; that we could not maintain the independence of any country, if she could not maintain it for herself; that
 15 it was now known that there were three Christians to every Turkish European Turkey. "We could not take a course which would insure Turkey in Europe as an independent power against Russia, unless the great bulk of the population were with us in our desire to prevent another power from taking possession of that country... As to sending our fleets up to Besika Bay, and keeping
 20 out the Russians, no doubt we could do that, because Russia would not come into collision with a maritime power; but we were keeping up these enormous armaments, and were not settling the Eastern Question... The question was, what were they going to do with Turkey, and with the Christian population of Turkey. Mohammedanism could not be maintained; and we should be
 25 sorry to see this country fighting for Mohammedanism in Europe." Lord Dudley Stuart had talked about maintaining Turkey on account of commerce. He (Cobden) never would fight for a tariff. He had too much faith in free trade principles to think that they needed fighting for. The exports to Turkey had been overrated. Very little of it was consumed in the countries under
 30 the dominions of the Turks. "All the commerce which we had in the Black Sea, was owing to the encroachments of Russia upon the Turkish coast. Our grain and flax we did not now get from Turkey, but from Russia. And would not Russia be as glad to send us her tallow, hemp and corn, whatever aggressions she might make on Turkey? We had a trade with Russia in the
 35 Baltic ... What prospect had we of a trade with Turkey? It was a country without a road. Russia was the more commercial people. Let us look at St. Petersburg, at her quays and wharves, and warehouses ... What national alliance then could we have with such a country as Turkey? ... Something had been said about the balance of power. That was a political view of the
 40 question ... A great deal had been said about the power of Russia, and the danger to England in consequence of her occupying those countries on the

Bosphorus. Why, what an absurdity it was to talk of Russia coming to invade England. Russia could not move an army across her own frontiers, without coming to Western Europe for a loan... A country so poor, a mere aggregate of villages without capital and without resources, as compared with England, never could come and injure us, or America, or France ... England was ten 5 times more powerful than she had ever been, and far more able to resist the aggressions of a country like Russia."

And now Cobden passed to the incomparably greater dangers of war to England in her present condition, than at former epochs. The manufacturing 10 population had greatly increased. They were far more dependent on the export of their produce and on the import of raw materials. They possessed no longer the monopoly of manufacture. The repeal of the navigation laws had thrown England open to the competition of the world in shipping as well as in everything else. "He begged Mr. Blackett to consider that no port would 15 suffer more than that which he represented. The Government had done wisely in disregarding the cry of thoughtless men ... Their taking up a position for maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire he did not blame, as that was a traditional policy handed down to them ... The Government of the day would obtain credit for having been as peaceable as the people would allow them to be." 20

Richard Cobden was the true hero of the drama, and shared the fate of all true heroes—a tragical one. But then came the sham hero; the fosterer of all delusions, the man of fashionable lies and of courtly promises; the mouth-piece of all brave words that may be said in the act of running away; 25 Lord Palmerston came. This old, experienced and crafty debater saw at once that the criminal might escape sentence by disavowing his advocate. He saw that the Ministry, attacked on all sides, might turn the tables by a brilliant diatribe against the only man who dared to defend it, and by refuting the only grounds on which its policy possibly might have been excused. There was 30 nothing easier than to show the contradictions of Mr. Cobden. He had stated his perfect concurrence with the precedent orators, and ended by differing from them on every point. He had defended the integrity of Turkey, and did everything to show that she was worth no defence. He, the preacher of peace, had advocated the aggressions of Russia. Russia was weak, but a war with 35 Russia would be inevitable ruin to England. Russia was a conglomerate of mere villages, but St. Petersburg being a finer city than Constantinople, Russia was entitled to possess them both. He was a free-trader, but he preferred the protective system of Russia to the free-trade system of Turkey. Whether Turkey consumed herself, or was a canal through which passed 40 articles of consumption to other parts of Asia, was it indifferent to England that she should remain a free passage? Mr. Cobden was a great advocate for

the principle of non-intervention, and now he would dispose, by parliamentary enactments, of the destinies of the Mahomedans, Greeks, Slavonians, and other races inhabiting the Turkish Empire. Lord Palmerston exalted the progress Turkey had made, and the forces she now commanded. "Turkey, 5 it is certain, has no Poland and no Siberia." Because Turkey possessed so much strength, Lord Palmerston would, of course, compel her to suffer a few provinces to be invaded by the Russians. A strong empire can suffer anything. Lord Palmerston proved to Richard Cobden that there existed not one sound reason for adopting the course adopted by Lord Palmerston and 10 his colleagues, and, interrupted at each sentence by enthusiastic cheers, the old histrion contrived to sit down, with the impudent and self-contradictory phrase: "I am satisfied that Turkey has within itself the elements of life and prosperity, and I believe that the course adopted by Her Majesty's government is a sound policy, deserving the approbation of the country, and which 15 it will be the duty of every English government to pursue." (Cheers.) Palmerston was great in "*fearful bravery*," as Shakespeare calls it. He showed, as Sidney said, "a fearful boldness, daring to do that which he knew that he knew not how to do."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Affairs Continental and English

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3864, 5. September 1853

Affairs Continental and English.

Correspondence of the N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Aug. 23, 1853.

The German and Belgian papers affirm, on the authority of telegraphic dispatches from Constantinople, of the 13th inst, that the Porte has acceded to the proposals of the Vienna conference. The French papers, however, having received dispatches from Constantinople of the same date, state merely that the Divan had shown a willingness to receive those proposals. The definitive answer could hardly reach Vienna before the 20th inst. The pending question, and a very serious one, is, whether the Porte will send its Ambassador to St. Petersburg before or after the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Principalities.

The last accounts from the Black Sea announce that the north-east winds had begun to disturb the navigation. Several ships anchored at Penderaklia and other places on the coast, had been compelled to quit their anchorage to avoid being cast ashore.

You know that after the events in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sultan had ordered the Hospodars to leave the Principalities for Constantinople, and that the Hospodars refused to comply with their sovereign's demands. The Sultan has now deposed the Hospodar of Wallachia on account of his favorable reception of the Russian troops and the support he gave them. On the 9th inst. this firman was read to the Assembly of Boyards, who resolved to petition the Hospodar not to abandon the Government in the present critical circumstances. The Prince acted accordingly. Mano, the Secretary of State, and Yvandis, the Director of the Ministry of the Interior, have also been summoned to Constantinople; they, however, refused to go, on the pretext that public order might be disturbed. The French and British Consuls, upon this, suspended immediately all relations with the rebel Government.

Affairs in Servia are taking a complicated turn. The Paris *Constitutionnel* of last Friday had the following Constantinople intelligence. Austria, taking advantage of the Sultan's difficulties, had pressed certain demands upon him. An Austrian Consul General, having lately made a tour of inspection through
5 Bosnia and Servia, declared to Alexander, the Prince of Servia, that Austria was prepared to occupy Servia with her troops in order to suppress any dangerous movement among the population. The Prince, having refused the offer of the Consul General, at once dispatched a special messenger to Constantinople with an account of this Austrian overture, and Rechid Pasha
10 referred to the Baron de Bruck for explanations. The latter said that the Consul General had previously communicated with the Prince, alleging the fear Austria was in, lest her subjects, on the borders of Servia, should become involved in any disturbances arising in that province. The reply of Rechid Pasha was to the effect that any occupation of Servia by Austrian troops
15 would be considered an act of hostility by the Porte, which would itself be answerable for the tranquillity of that province; moreover, the Pasha promised that a special Commissioner should be at once sent to see and report on the state of affairs in Servia.

The day after, several London papers announced the entrance into Servia
20 of the Austrian troops, an announcement which, however, has turned out to be unfounded. Yesterday the same papers communicated the outbreak of a counter-revolution in Servia, yet this news likewise rested on no better foundation than a false translation of the German word, *Auflauf*, the fact being that only a small riot had taken place. To-day the German papers
25 publish news from Constantinople of the 9th inst. According to them, several divans had been held on Servian affairs. The conduct of Prince Alexander was much approved of, and the decision arrived at that, if Austrian troops should attempt to occupy that province, they should, if necessary, be expelled by force. A division of troops has actually been directed towards the
30 frontiers of Bosnia. Private letters received at Constantinople on the 8th inst., conveyed thither the news of Prince Alexander having, in consequence of his conflict with the Austrian Consul, appealed to the decision of the Consuls of France and England, and absented himself momentarily from Belgrade. It is said that he went to Nissa, there to wait for orders from the Porte.
35 Mr. D. Urquhart, in a letter addressed to *The Morning Advertiser* of this day, remarks, with regard to the Servian complication:

"War with Turkey is not at present contemplated by Russia; for, by the cooperation of Austria, she would lose her Greek allies, but she involves Austria in a preparatory collision, which will bring Servia into a condition
40 parallel to that of the Principalities. Thus will be introduced a religious warfare between Latins and Greeks ... Russia, by a sudden shifting of

decorations, may render her own occupation of the Principalities acceptable to Turkey, as a protection against the Austrian occupation of Servia, and thus mutually engage Austria and Turkey in projects of dismemberment, and support them therein."

The Hospodar of Moldavia proposes to contract a loan with Russian bankers in order to meet the extraordinary expenses of the occupation. 5

The want of provisions is so great in the fortresses of Bulgaria that the strictest economy has to be observed, and the garrisons are suffering severely.

The *Journal de Constantinople* reports from Aleppo: 10

"A discovery has recently been made of a gang of evil-disposed Turks about to rise, as in 1850, against the Christian population of that town. But thanks to the extreme vigilance of the Governor Pasha, and of Ah' Asmi Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the troops at Aleppo, their attempts have been suppressed and public order has been preserved. On this occasion 15 Demetrius, the patriarch of the Greek Catholic creed, and Basilius, the patriarch of the Armenian creed, have addressed in the name of their respective communities, a collective letter of gratitude to Rechid Pacha, for the protection afforded to the Christians by the Sultan's government."

The German *St. Petersburg Gazette* has the following in a leader on Oriental Affairs: 20

"What the friends of peace could only hope for at the commencement of July, has become a certainty in the latter days. The work of mediation between Russia and Turkey is now definitively placed in the hands of Austria. At Vienna there will be devised a solution of the Eastern question, 25 which in these latter times has kept in suspense all the action between the Black Sea and the Ocean, and which alone has prevented European Diplomacy from taking its habitual holidays."

Observe the studious affectation with which, in lieu of the Four Powers, Austria alone is constituted mediator, and which places the suspense of 30 nations, in the true Russian style, only on a scale with the interrupted holidays of diplomacy.

The Berlin *National Zeitung* publishes a letter from Georgia, dated 15th July, stating that Russia intends a new campaign against the people of the Caucasus at the end of the present month, and that a fleet in the sea of Azof 35 is fitted out in order to support the operations of the land army.

The session of 1853 was brought to a close on Saturday last—Parliament being prorogued until October 27. A very indifferent and meager speech, purporting to be the Queen's message, was read by commission. In answer to Mr. Milnes Lord Palmerston assured Parliament that it could safely dis- 40 band, as far as the evacuation of the Principalities was concerned, giving,

however, no pledge of any kind but "his confidence in the honor and the character of the Russian Emperor," which would move him to withdraw his troops *voluntarily* from the Principalities. The Coalition Cabinet thus re-
venged itself for his speech against Mr. Cobden, by forcing him to record
5 solemnly his "confidence in the character and the honor" of the Czar. The
same Palmerston received on the same day a deputation from the aristocratic
fraction of the Polish Emigration at Paris and its collateral branch at London,
presenting his lordship with an address and medallions in gold, silver and
bronze of Prince Adam Czartoryski, in testimony of their gratitude to his
10 lordship for allowing the sequestration of Cracow in 1846, and for otherwise
exhibiting sympathy with the cause of Poland. The inevitable Lord Dudley
Stuart, the patron of the London branch of the Paris society, was of course
the master of ceremonies. Lord Palmerston assured these simple-minded
men "of his deep interest in the history of Poland, which was a very painful
15 history." The noble lord omitted not to remind them that he spoke not as
a member of the Cabinet, but received them only as a private amateur.

The first half of the long protracted session of 1853 was filled up with the
death-struggle of the Derby Ministry, with the formation and final victory
of the Coalition Cabinet, and with the Easter recess of Parliament. As to
20 the real session, its most remarkable features were the dissolution of all the
old political parties, the corruption of the members of Parliament, and the
petrification of the privileged constituencies revealing the curious working
of the Government, embracing all the shades of opinion, and all the talents
of the official world, proclaiming postponement of the solution of all ques-
25 tions, shifting all difficulties by half and half measures, feeding upon
promises, declaring "performance as a kind of will or testament which argues
a great weakness in his judgment that makes it," retracting, modifying,
unsettling its own legislative acts as quickly as it brought them in, living upon
the inheritance of predecessors whom it had fiercely denounced, leaving
30 the initiative of its own measures to the house which it presumed to
lead, and reaping failure as the inevitable fate of the few acts, the uncon-
troverted authorship of which it holds. Thus parliamentary reform, national
education reform, and law reform (a few trifles apart) have been postponed.
The Transportation bill, the Navigation bill, etc., were inherited from the
35 Derby Cabinet. The Canada Clergy Reserves bill was dreadfully mutilated
by the Government a few days after having introduced it. As to the budget,
the Succession act was proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer only
after he had voted against it. The Advertisement act was undergone by him
only when his opposition to it had twice been voted down. The new regulation
40 of the licensing system was finally abandoned, after it had suffered various
transformations. Introduced by Mr. Gladstone with pretensions to a great

scheme, a thing worth the budget as a whole, it came out of the House as a miserable patch-work, as a mere conglomerate of fortuitous, incoherent and contradictory little items. The only great feature of the India bill, the non-renewal of the Company's charter, was introduced by the Ministry after they had announced its renewal for 20 years more. The two acts truly and exclusively belonging to the Ministry of all the talents; the Cab-act and the Conversion of the Public Debt, had scarcely passed the threshold of the House, when they were publicly hissed as failures. The foreign policy of the "strongest Government England ever saw," is owned by its own partisans to have been the *nec plus ultra* of helpless, vacillating weakness. The Chesham Place Treaty, however, contracted between the Peelite bureaucrats, the Whig oligarchs and the sham-Radicals, has been linked the more strongly by the threatening aspect of things abroad and by the even more imminent symptoms of popular discontent at home—manifested through the unprecedented intensity and generality of strikes, and the renewal of the Chartist agitation. In judging the external policy of the ruling classes and of the Cabinet, we must not lose sight of a war with Russia training behind it a general revolutionary conflagration of the Continent, and at this time likely to meet with a fatal echo from the masses of Great Britain.

As to the House of Lords, its doings admit of a very short *résumé*. It has exhibited its bigotry by the rejection of the Jewish Emancipation bill, its hostility to the working classes by burking the Workingmen's Combination bill, its interested hatred of the Irish people by shelving the Irish Land bills, and its stupid predilection for Indian abuses by re-establishing the Salt monopoly. It has acted throughout in secret understanding with the Government that whatever progressive measures might by chance pass the Commons, should be canceled by the enlightened Lords.

Among the papers laid on the table of Parliament before its prorogation, there is a voluminous correspondence carried on between the British and Russian Governments with regard to the obstructions to navigation in the Sulina mouth of the Danube. The correspondence begins on Feb. 9, 1849, and concludes in July, 1853, having concluded nothing whatever. Things have now arrived at such a point that even the Austrian Government is forced to announce that the mouth of the Danube has become impassable for navigation, and that its own mails to Constantinople will be henceforth forwarded by Trieste. The whole difficulty is the fruit of British connivance at Muscovite encroachments. In 1836 the English Government acquiesced in the usurpation of the mouth of the Danube by Russia, after having instructed a commercial firm to resist the interference of the officers of the Russian Government.

The so-called peace concluded with Burmah, announced with a proclama-

tion of the Governor-General of India, dated June 30, 1853, and upon which the Queen is made to congratulate Parliament, is nothing but a simple truce. The King of Ava, starved into submission, expressed his desire for the cessation of war, set the British prisoners at liberty, asked for the raising
 5 of the river blockade, and forbade his troops to attack the territories of Mecadeay and Tungaoo, where the British Government had placed garrisons—in the same manner as the Turkish Government has forbidden its troops to attack the Russians stationed in the Principalities. But he does not recognize the claims of England to Pegu or to any other portion of the
 10 Burmese Empire. All that England has got by this struggle is a dangerous and controverted frontier instead of a secure and acknowledged one. She has been driven out of the ethnographical, geographical and political circumscription of her Indian dominions, and the Celestial Empire itself no longer forms any natural barrier to her conquering force. She has lost her point of
 15 gravitation in Asia and pushed into the indefinite. She is no longer mistress of her own movements, there being no stopping but where the land falls into the sea. England seems thus to be destined to open the remotest Orient to Western intercourse, but not to enjoy nor to hold it.

The great colliers' strikes in South Wales not only continue, but out of them
 20 have arisen new strikes among the men employed at the iron mines. A general strike among the British sailors is anticipated for the moment when the Merchant Shipping bill will come into operation, the foreigners being, as they say, admitted only for the purpose of lowering their wages. The importance of the present strikes, to which I have repeatedly called the attention of your
 25 readers, begins now to be understood even by the London middle-class press. Thus, *The Weekly Times* of last Saturday remarks:

"The relations between employer and employed have been violently disturbed. Labor throughout the length and breadth of the land has bearded capital, and it may safely be asserted that the quarrel thus evoked has only
 30 just commenced. The working classes have been putting forth strong feelers to try their position. The agitation at present is limited to a series of independent skirmishes, but there are indications that the period is not very distant when this desultory warfare will be turned into a systematic and universal combination against capital."

35

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Michael Bakunin
To the Editor of the "Morning Advertiser"

The Morning Advertiser.
Nr. 19406, 2. September 1853

Michael Bakunin.

To the Editor of the Morning Advertiser.

Sir—Messrs. Herzen and Golovine have chosen to connect the *New Rhenish Gazette*, edited by me in 1848 and 1849, with the polemics going on between 5
them and "F.M.," with regard to Bakunin. They tell the English public that
the calumny against Bakunin took origin in that paper, which had even
ventured to appeal to the testimony of George Sand. Now, I care nothing
about the insinuations of Messrs. Herzen and Golovine. But, as it may
contribute to the settlement of the question raised about Michael Bakunin, 10
permit me to state the real facts of the case:

On July 5th, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette* received two letters from
Paris—the one being the authographic correspondence of the Havas-Bureau,
and the other a private correspondence, emanating from a Polish refugee,
quite unconnected with that concern—both stating that George Sand was in 15
possession of papers compromising Bakunin as having lately entered into
relations with the Russian Government.

The *New Rhenish Gazette*, on July 6th, published the letter of its Paris
correspondent.

Bakunin, on his part, declared in the *Neue Oder Zeitung* (a Breslau paper), 20
that, *before the appearance* of the Paris correspondence in the *New Rhenish
Gazette*, similar rumours had been secretly colported at Breslau, that they
emanated from the Russian embassies, and that he could not better answer
them, than by appealing to George Sand. His letter to George Sand was 25
published simultaneously with his declaration. Both the declaration and the
letter were reprinted immediately by the *New Rhenish Gazette*, (vide *New
Rhenish Gazette*, July 16, 1848). On August 3, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette*

received from Bakunin, through the means of M. Koscielski, a letter addressed by George Sand to its editor, which was published on the same day, with the following introductory remarks:—

"In number 36, of this paper, we communicated a rumour circulating in
5 Paris, according to which George Sand was stated to be possessed of papers which placed the Russian refugee, Bakunin, in the position of an agent of the Emperor Nicholas. We gave publicity to this statement, because it was communicated to us simultaneously by two correspondents wholly unconnected with each other. By so doing, we only accomplished the duty of the
10 public press, which has severely to watch public characters. And, at the same time we gave to Mr. Bakunin an opportunity of silencing suspicions thrown upon him in certain Paris circles. We reprinted also from the *Nieuwe Ouder Zeitung*, Mr. Bakunin's declaration, and his letter addressed to George Sand, without waiting for his request. We publish now a literal translation of a letter
15 addressed to the Editor of the *New Rhenish Gazette*, by George Sand, which perfectly settles this affair."—(Vide *New Rhenish Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1848.)

In the latter part of August, 1848, I passed through Berlin, saw Bakunin there, and renewed with him the intimate friendship which united us before the outbreak of the revolution of February.

20 In its number of October 13, 1848, the *New Rhenish Gazette* attacked the Prussian ministry for having expelled Bakunin, and for having threatened him with being delivered up to Russia if he dared to re-enter the Prussian States.

In its number of February 15, 1849, the *New Rhenish Gazette* brought out
25 a leading article on Bakunin's pamphlet—"Aufruf an die Slaven," which article commenced with these words—"Bakunin is our Mend. This shall not prevent us from subjecting his pamphlet to a severe criticism."

In my letters, addressed to the *New York Daily Tribune*, on "Revolution and Contre-revolution in Germany," I was, as far as I know, the first German
30 writer who paid to Bakunin the tribute due to him for his participation in our movements, and, especially in the Dresden insurrection, denouncing, at the same time, the German press and the German people for the most cowardly manner in which they surrendered him to his and their enemies.

As to "F.M." proceeding, as he does, from the fixed idea, that continental
35 revolutions are fostering the secret plans of Russia, he must, if he pretend to anything like consistency, condemn not only Bakunin, but every continental revolutionist as a Russian agent. In his eyes revolution itself is a Russian agent. Why not Bakunin?

Karl Marx.

40 London, August 30, 1853.

Karl Marx
Rise in the Price of Corn—Cholera—Strikes-
Sailors' Movement

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3873,15. September 1853

**Rise in the Price of Corn—Cholera—Strikes-
Sailors' Movement.**

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Aug. 30, 1853.

The Breslaw *Gazette* states that the exportation of corn from Wallachia is 5
definitively prohibited.

There is at this moment a somewhat greater question at issue than the
Eastern one, viz: the question of subsistence. Prices of corn have risen at
Königsberg, Stettin, Dantzic, Rostock, Cologne, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and
Antwerp, and of course at all importing markets. At the principal provincial io
markets in England wheat has advanced from 4 to 6s. per qr. The constantly
increasing prices of wheat and rye in Belgium and France, and the con-
sequent dearness of bread, create much anxiety. The French Government
is buying up grain in England, at Odessa, and in the Baltic. The conclusive 15
report of the crops in England will not be out before next week. The potatoe
disease is more general here than in Ireland. The export of grain has been
prohibited by all Italian Governments, including that of Lombardy.

Some cases of decided Asiatic cholera occurred in London during the last
week. We also hear that the cholera has now reached Berlin.

The battle between labor and capital, between wages and profits, con- 20
tinues. There have been new strikes in London on the part of the coal-heav-
ers, of the barbers, of the tailors, ladies' boot and shoe makers, umbrella and
parasol coverers, shirtmakers and makers of underclothing generally, and
of other working people employed by slopsellers and wholesale export-
houses. Yesterday, a strike was announced from several bricklayers, and 25
from the Thames lightermen, employed in the transit of goods between the
wharfs and ships in the river. The strikes of the colliers and iron-workers

in South Wales continues, and a new strike of colliers in Resolven has to be added to the list, etc., etc.

It would be tedious to go on enumerating, letter after letter, the different strikes which come to my knowledge week after week. I shall therefore
5 merely dwell occasionally on such as offer peculiar features of interest, among which, though not yet exactly a strike, the pending conflict between the police-constables and their chief, Sir Richard Mayne, deserves to be mentioned. Sir Richard Mayne, in his circular addressed to the several divisions of the metropolitan police force, has prohibited policemen from holding
10 meetings, or combining, while he professed himself willing to attend to individual complaints. The policemen respond to him that they consider the right of meeting to be inalienable from Englishmen. He reminds them that their scale of wages was struck at a time when provisions were much dearer than they are at present. The men reply that "their claim is not grounded on
15 the price of provisions only, but that it rests on the assurance that flesh and blood are not so cheap as they have been."

The most important incident in this history of strikes is the declaration of the "Seamen's United Friendly Association," calling itself the Anglo-Saxon Sailor's Bill of Rights. This declaration refers to the Merchant Shipping Bill,
20 which repeals the clause of the Navigation Act, rendering it imperative on British owners to carry at least three-fourths of British subjects on board their ships; which bill now throws open the coasting trade to foreign seamen even where foreign ships are excluded. The men declare this bill to be, not a Seamen's bill but an Owners bill. Nobody had been consulted but the
25 ship-owner. The manning clause had acted as a check on the conduct of masters in the treatment and retention of crews. The new law would place seamen completely in the power of any bad officer. The new law proceeded upon the principle "that the 17,000 masters were all men of kind disposition, overflowing with generosity, benevolence and amiability; and that all seamen
30 were untractable, unreasonable and naturally bad." They declare that while the owner may take his ships wherever he pleases, their labor is restricted to their own country, as the Government has repealed the Navigation law without first procuring reciprocal employment for them in the ships of other nations. "Parliament having offered up the seamen as a holocaust to the
35 owners, we as a class are constrained to combine and take measures for our own protection." These measures consist chiefly in the intention of the seamen to uphold on their part the *manning clause*, it being declared at the same time "that the seamen of the United States of America be considered as British; that an appeal be made to them for aiding their union; and that,
40 as there would be no advantage to sail as an Englishman after the first of October, when the above law will be passed ; as on the contrary freedom from

Karl Marx

impressment or service in Her Majesty's Navy during war might be secured by serving as foreigners in British ships during peace, and as there would be more protection during peace by possessing the freedom of America, the seamen will procure certificates of the United States citizenship, on arrival at any port of that Republic."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx

'Calumniate, calumniate,' says a French proverb, 'something will always remain.' The calumny against Bakunin, countenanced in 1848 by one of his friends, has been reproduced in 1853 by an unknown person.

'One is never betrayed but by one's own connexion,' says another proverb; 'and it is better to deal with a wise enemy, than with a stupid friend.' The conservative journals have not become the organ of the calumny insinuated against Bakunin. A friendly journal undertook that care. 5

Revolutionary feeling must be but slightly developed, when it can be forgotten for a moment, as Mr. Marx has forgotten, that Bakunin is not of the stuff of which police spies are made. Why, at least, did he not do, as is the custom of the English papers—why did he not simply publish the Letter of the Polish refugee, which denounced Bakunin? He would have retained the regret of seeing his name associated with a false accusation!" 10

The Foreign Correspondent
in Saturday's "Morning Advertiser."

15

"It is better to deal with a wise enemy than a stupid friend.' Exactly so.

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who is astonished at the discovery, that a controversy involves antagonistic opinions, and that historical truth cannot be extricated but from contradictory statements?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who thinks necessary to find fault with explanations in 1853, with which Bakunin himself was satisfied in 1848, to 'plunge Russia anew in its despotism,' from which she has never emerged, and to call French a trite Latin proverb? 20

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who assures a paper to have 'countenanced' a statement made by its Foreign Correspondent and unmarked by its editor? 25

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who sets up 'conservative journals' as models for 'revolutionary feeling' at its highest pitch, invented the *lois des suspects*, and suspected the 'stuff of a traitor even in the Dantons, the Camille Desmoulins, and the Anacharsis Cloots, who dares attack third persons in the name of Bakunin, and dares not defend him in his own name? 30

In conclusion, let me tell the friend of proverbial common place that I have now done with him and with all such like friends of Bakunin."

Karl Marx.

London, September 4th.

Karl Marx
The Vienna Note—The United States and Europe—
Letters from Shumla—Peel's Bank Act

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3881, 24. September 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Sept. 9,1853.

When I told you in my letter of August 30, that the Vienna Note was "re-
jected" by the Porte, inasmuch as the alterations demanded by it and the
5 condition of immediate and previous evacuation cannot be considered other-
wise than as a refusal of Russia's pretensions, I found myself in contradiction
with the whole Press, which assured us that the alterations were insignificant,
not worth speaking of, and that the whole affair might be regarded as settled.
Some days later, *The Morning Chronicle* startled the confiding stockjobbers
10 with the announcement that the alterations proposed by the Porte were of
a very serious character, and by no means easy to be dealt with. At this
moment there exists only one opinion, namely that the whole Eastern
Question has come back to its point of issue, an impression in no way
impaired by the complete publication in yesterday's papers, of the official
15 Note addressed by Rescbid Pasha, to the Representatives of Austria, France,
Great Britain, and Prussia, dated August 19, 1853.

That the Russian Emperor will reject the Turkish "alterations" there is
not the slightest doubt. Already we are informed by the *Assemblée Natio-
nale*, the Paris *Moniteur* of the Emperor of Russia, that, "according to
20 correspondences received to-day at Paris, the first impressions produced on
the Cabinet of St. Petersburg were by no means favorable to the modi-
fications proposed by the Porte. Whatever may be the resolution of that
Cabinet we must prepare ourselves beforehand to take it coolly and to
repress our fears. We have to consider that even were the Russian Cabinet
25 to refuse the proposed change of the note, there would remain the resource
of fresh negotiation at Constantinople." The intimation contained in this last
hint, that Russia will attempt to gain another delay of the decision of the
dispute is confirmed by the Berlin *Lithographic Correspondence*: "The
Austrian government has presented a memorial to the Emperor Nicholas

containing new propositions of modification, and it has undertaken to terminate the crisis in a manner quite different from all previous attempts." In a letter published by the Vienna *Wanderer* from Odessa dated 26th Aug. the solution of the Oriental question is stated "to be not so near at hand as was expected by some people. The armaments have not been suspended for one day, and the army in the Principalities continually receives reinforcements." The Cronstadt *Satellite* positively announces that the Russian troops will take up their winter-quarters in the Principalities. 5

A note issued from Washington could scarcely have produced a greater sensation in Europe than your editorial remarks on Capt. Ingraham. They have found their way, with and without commentaries, into almost the whole weekly press of London, into many French papers, the Brussels *Nation*, the Turin *Parlamento*, the *Basle Gazette*, and every liberal newspaper of Germany. Your article on the Swiss-American alliance having simultaneously been reprinted in a number of German journals you may consider the following passage from an article of the Berlin *Lithographic Correspondence* as partly addressed to you: "Some time since the press has had various occasions to pronounce itself on the United States theory with regard to intervention. Very recently the Koszta affair at Smyrna has renewed the discussion, and this affair is not yet terminated, when already foreign and native journals hold out the prospect of an intervention on the part of the United States in favor of Switzerland, if it should be threatened by an attack. To-day we are informed that several Powers have the intention of making a collective declaration against the doctrine of international right put forth by the United States, and that we may hope to see those Cabinets arrive at a perfect understanding. If the American intervention theories were not *refuted* in a peremptory manner, *the extirpation of the revolutionary spirit in Europe would meet with an insuperable obstacle*. We may add, as an important fact, that France is among the Powers ready to participate in this remonstrance." On this last point, the *Constitutionnel* of Tuesday last takes good care not to leave any doubt, when it says: "It is necessary to be candid in all things. It is not as a citizen of the United States that Koszta is defended against Austria by the agents of the American Republic, but as a revolutionist. But none of the European Powers will ever admit as a principle of public law that the Government of the United States has the right to protect revolution in Europe by force of arms. On no grounds would it be permitted to throw obstacles in the way of the exercise of the jurisdiction of a government, under the ridiculous pretense that the offenders have renounced their allegiance, and from the real motive that they are in revolt against the political constitution of their country. The Navy of the American Union might not always have such an easy triumph, and such headstrong conduct as that pursued 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

by the Captain of the St. Louis might on another occasion be attended with very disastrous consequences."

The *Impartial* of Smyrna, received to-day, publishes the following interesting letters from Schumla:

"Schumla, Aug. 8, 1853.

The Commander-in-Chief, Omer Pasha, has so ably distributed his troops, that on the first emergency, he may within 24 hours concentrate at any point on the Danube, a mass of 65,000 men, infantry and cavalry, and 180 pieces of cannon. A letter I received from Wallachia, states that typhus is making frightful havoc in the Russian army, and that it has lost not less than 13,000 men since its entry into campaign. Care is taken to bury the dead during the night. The mortality is also very high among the horses. Our army enjoys perfect health. Russian detachments, composed of 30 to 60 soldiers, and dressed in Moldavian uniform, appear from time to time on the opposite bank of the Danube. Our general is informed of all their movements. Yesterday 1,000 Roman Catholic Albanians arrived. They form the vanguard of a corps of 13,000 men expected without delay. They are sharpshooters. Yesterday there arrived also 3,000 horse, all of them old soldiers, perfectly armed and equipped. The number of our troops is increasing every day. Ahmet Pasha started yesterday for Varna. He will wait there for the Egyptian forces, in order to direct them to the points they are to occupy."

"Schumla, Friday, Aug. 12, 1853.

On the 9th inst. two regiments of infantry and one battery of light artillery, belonging to the guards of the Sultan, started for Rasgrad. On the 10th we
 25 got news that 5,600 Russians had encamped themselves on the bank of the Danube near the port of Turtukai, in consequence of which the outposts of the two armies are only at the distance of a rifle-shot from each other. The gallant Colonel Skander-Bey has left for that post, with several officers. Omer Pasha has established telegraphs, with a view of having communicated
 30 to the headquarters at every time of day or night the events passing on every point of the river. We have had continual rains for some days past, but the works of fortification have none the less been continued with great activity. A salute of cannon is fired twice a day, at sunrise and sunset. We hear nothing of this sort from the opposite side of the river. The Egyptian troops, after
 35 having undergone their quarantine at Constantinople, will embark for Varna, whence they are to be directed to Babadagh. The Brigadier Izzet Pasha expects them there. In the district of Dobrudja-Ovassi 20,000 Tartars have assembled, in order to participate in the war against the Russians. They are for the greater part ancient emigrants, who left the Crimea at the time of its

conquest by Russia. The Ottoman army, whose strength augments every day by the arrival of troops, both regular and irregular, is tired of passiveness, and burns with the desire of going to war. It is to be feared that we shall have one of these days a transit across the Danube without superior orders, especially now that the presence of the Russians, who show themselves on the opposite bank, adds to the excitement. Several physicians, Mussulmans and Christians, left some days ago, in order to establish military hospitals on the European plan at Plevna, at Rasgrad, at Widdin, and at Silistria. On the 11th there arrived from Varna two superior English officers. They have had a long audience with Omer Pasha, and have visited the fortifications, attended by several Turkish officers. They have found them in a perfect state of defense, provided with ample magazines, baking-stoves, fountains of fresh water, etc. All these fortifications are constructed with the greatest solidity. The most severe discipline prevails among our troops."

"Schumla, Monday, Aug. 15, 1853.

On the 13th, the English General O'Donnell arrived from Constantinople. He had an interview of two hours' duration with Omer Pasha, and left on the following day, attended by an aide-de-camp of the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of inspecting the fortifications. Yesterday three batteries and an immense train of ammunition arrived from Varna. To-morrow a reinforcement of one battery, two batalhons of infantry, and 1,000 horse, will leave for the port of Hirsova. The engineers at this place are busily engaged in restoring the fortifications destroyed by the Russians in 1828. Turkey may have unbroken confidence in her army."

The Earl of Fitzwilliam addressed a letter on Thursday last to the meeting of Sheffield cutlers, in which he protests against the monstrous assumption with which Parliament was closed by the heroic Palmerston, that "reliance was to be placed on the honor and character of the Emperor of Russia."

Mr. Disraeli has summoned his constituents to meet him at Aylesbury on the 14th inst. *The Daily News* of yesterday attempted, in a long and dull article, to combat what Mr. Disraeli is supposed by it to be likely to tell his electors. Such a performance I tlink *The Daily News* might have left with greater propriety to its venerable grandsire, *The London Punch*.

It is now the fourth time since January that the rate of interest has been raised by the Bank of England. On Sept. 4, it was fixed at 4 per cent. "Another attempt has been made *to reduce the ckculating medium of the country*—another effort to arrest the tide of national prosperity," exclaims *The London Sun*. On the other hand, it comforts itself with the consideration that the Bank of England has lost much of its mischievous power in consequence of the Peel Act of 1844.

The Sun is mistaken in what it fears, and in what it hopes. The Bank of England has as little as any other bank, either the power of expanding or of contracting the currency of the country. The really mischievous powers possessed by it are by no means restricted, but on the contrary strengthened
5 by the Peel Act of 1844.

As the Bank Act of 1844 is generally misunderstood, and as its working will become, in the approaching crisis, of paramount importance not only to England but to the whole commercial world, I propose briefly to explain the tendency of the act.

10 Peel's Bank Act of 1844 proceeds on the assumption that the metallic circulation is the normal one; that the amount of the currency regulates prices; that in the case of a purely metallic circulation, the currency would expand, with a favorable exchange and with an influx of bullion, while it would be contracted by an adverse exchange and a drain of bullion; that à
15 circulation of bank notes has exactly to imitate the metallic circulation; that accordingly there had to be a degree of correspondence between the variations in the amount of bullion in the vaults of the Bank of England and the variations in the quantity of its notes circulating among the public; that the issue of notes must be expanded with a favorable, and contracted with an
20 unfavorable exchange ; lastly, that the Bank of England had the control over the amount of its notes in circulation.

Now there is not one of these premises which is not utterly fallacious and contradictory to facts. Suppose even a purely metallic circulation, the amount of currency could not determine prices, no more than it could de-
25 termine the amount of commercial and industrial transactions; but prices on the contrary would determine the amount of currency in circulation. Unfavorable exchanges, and a drain of bullion, would not contract even a purely metallic circulation, as they would not affect the amount of currency in circulation, but the amount of currency in reserve, sleeping in the banks as
30 deposits, Or in private hoards. On the other hand, a favorable exchange and a concomitant influx of bullion, would augment, not the currency in circulation, but the currency deposited with bankers or hoarded by private individuals. The Peel Act, therefore, starting upon a false conception of a purely metallic circulation, naturally arrives at a false imitation of it by a
35 paper circulation. The idea itself, that a bank of issue has a control over the amount of its outstanding notes, is utterly preposterous. A bank issuing convertible notes or advancing notes generally, on commercial securities, has neither the power of augmenting the natural level of circulation nor the power to cripple it by one single note. A bank may certainly issue notes to
40 any amount its customers will accept; but, if not wanted for circulation, the notes will be returned to it in the form of deposits, or in payment for debts,

or in exchange for metal. On the other hand, if a bank intend to forcibly contract its issues, its deposits would be withdrawn to the amount needed for filling up the *vacuum* created in the circulation. Thus a bank has no power whatever over the quantity of circulation, whatever may be its power for the abuse of other people's capital. Although in Scotland banking was practically unrestricted before 1845, and the number of banks had considerably increased since 1825, the circulation declined, and there was only £1 (of paper) per head of population, while there was in England £2 per head, notwithstanding that the whole circulation below £5 was metallic in England and paper in Scotland. 5 10

It is an illusion that the amount of circulation must correspond to the amount of bullion. If the bullion increases in the vaults of a bank, that bank certainly tries by all means to extend its circulation, but, as experience teaches, to no purpose. From 1841—'43, the bullion in the Bank of England rose from £3,965,000 to £11,054,000, but its total circulation declined from £35,660,000 to £34,049,000. Thus the Bank of France had, on March 25, 1845, an outstanding circulation of 256,000,000f., with a bullion reserve of 234,000,000f.; but on March 25, 1846, its circulation was 249,404,000f., with a bullion reserve of only 9,535,000f. 15

It is an assumption no less incorrect, that the internal circulation must diminish in the case of a drain of bullion. At this moment, for instance, while the efflux of bullion is going on, \$3,000,000 have been brought to the mint and added to the circulation of the country. 20

But the main fallacy rests on the supposition that demand for pecuniary accommodation, i.e. loan of capital, must converge with demand for additional means of circulation; as if the greater amount of commercial transactions were not effected by bills, checks, bookcredits, clearing-houses, and other forms of credit quite unconnected with the so-called circulation. There can exist no better mode of verifying the faculty of Bank-accommodations than the market rate of interest, and no more efficient means for ascertaining the amount of business actually done by a Bank, than the return of bills under discount. Let us proceed on this twofold scale of measurement. Between March and September, 1845, when with the speculation-mania the fictitious capital reached its utmost high and the country was inundated with all possible enterprises on an immense scale, the rate of interest being nearly 2½ per cent., the circulation of Bank notes remained nearly stationary, while at a later period in 1847, the rate of interest being 4½ per cent., the price of shares having sunk to the lowest ebb, and discredit spreading in all directions, the circulation of Bank notes reached its maximum. 25 30 35

The note circulation of the Bank of England was £21,152,853 on the 17th April; £19,998,227 on the 15th of May; and £18,943,079 on the 21st of 40

August, 1847. But while this falling off in the circulation occurred, the market-rate of interest had declined from 7 and 8 to 5 per cent. From the 21st Aug., 1847, the circulation increased from £18,943,079 to £21,265,188 on Oct. 23. At the same time the market-rate of interest rose from 5 to 8 per cent. On the 30th of August the circulation was £21,764,085, the interest paid in Lombard-st. amounting to 10 per cent. Take another instance:

| Bank of England. | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Bills under Discount. | Notes in Circulation. |
| Sept. 18, 1846 | £12,321,816 | £20,922,232 |
| 10 April 5, 1847 | 18,627,116 | 20,815,234 |

So that the Banking accommodation in April, 1847, greater by 6,000,000 than that of Sept., 1846, was carried on with a less amount of circulation.

Having exposed the general principles of Peel's Bank Act, I come now to its practical details. It assumes that £14,000,000 of bank notes form the necessary minimum amount of circulation. All notes issued by the Bank of England beyond that amount shall be represented by bullion. Sir Robert Peel imagined he had discovered a self-acting principle for the issue of notes, which would determine with mechanical accuracy, the amount of the circulation, and which would increase or diminish in the precise degree in which the bullion increased or decreased. In order to put this principle into practice, the Bank was divided into two departments, the Issue Department and the Banking Department, the former a mere fabric of notes, the latter the true Bank, receiving the deposits of the State and of the public, paying the dividends, discounting bills, advancing loans, and performing in general the business with the public, on the principles of every other banking concern. The Issue Department makes over its notes to the Banking Department to the amount of £14,000,000, plus the amount of bullion in the vaults of the Bank. The Banking Department negotiates those notes with the public. The amount of bullion necessary to cover the notes beyond £14,000,000, remains in the Issue Department, the rest being surrendered to the Banking Department. If the amount of bullion diminish beneath the circulation exceeding £14,000,000, the notes returning to the Banking Department in discharge of its advances, or under the form of deposits, are not reissued nor replaced, but annihilated. If there were a circulation of £20,000,000, with a metallic reserve of £7,000,000, and if the Bank were further drained by an efflux of £1,000,000, all the bullion would be requested by the Issue Department, and there would not remain one sovereign in the Banking Department.

Now everybody will understand that this entire machinery is illusory on the one hand, and of the most pernicious character on the other hand.

40 Take, for instance, the Bank returns in last Friday's *Gazette*. There you

find, under the head of the Issue Department, the amount of notes in circulation stated to be £30,531,650, *i.e.*, £14,000,000 + £16,531,650—the latter sum corresponding to the bullion reserve of last week. But turning to the head of Banking Department, you will find £7,755,345 in notes in its assets. This is the portion of the £30,531,650 not accepted by the public. Thus the self-acting principle determines only the £30,531,650 in notes to be transported from the Issue Department to the Banking Department. But there they remain. As soon as the Banking Department comes into contact with the public, the amount of circulation is regulated, not by Peel's Act, but by the wants of business. The self-acting principle, accordingly, extends its operation not beyond the vaults of the Bank premises.

On the other hand, there occur moments, when the Bank of England, by her exceptional position, exercises a real influence, not only on English commerce, but on the commerce of the world. This happens in moments of general discredit. In such moments the Bank may, by raising in accordance with the Peel Act, its minimum rate of interest, correspondingly with the efflux of bullion, and by refusing her accommodation, depreciate the public securities, lower the prices of all commodities, and enormously aggravate the disasters of a commercial crisis. It may, in order to stop the efflux of bullion and to turn the exchanges, transform every commercial stagnation into a monetary peril. And in this manner the Bank of England has acted and was forced to act by the Peel Act in 1847.

This, however, is not all. In every banking concern, the heaviest Uabilities are not the amount of notes in circulation, but the amounts of notes and metals in deposit. The banks of Holland, for instance, had, as Mr. Anderson stated before a Committee of the House of Commons, before 1845, £30,000,000 in deposit, and £3,000,000 only in circulation. "In all commercial crises," says Mr. Alex. Baring, "for instance, in 1825, the claims of the depositors were the most formidable, not those of the holders of notes." Now, while the act of Peel regulates the amount of bullion to be held in reserve for the convertibility of notes, it leaves Directors the power to do with the deposits as they please. Yea, more. The very regulations of this act, as I have shown, may force the Banking Department to stop the payment of the deposits and of the dividends, while bullion to any amount may lie in the vaults of the Issue Department. This happened, indeed, in 1847. The Issue Department being yet possessed of £61,000,000 of bullion, the Banking Department was not saved from bankruptcy but by the interference of Government suspending, on their responsibility, the Peel Act, on 25th Oct., 1847.

Thus the result of the Peel Act has been that the Bank of England changed its rate of interest thirteen times during the crisis of 1847, having changed

it only twice during the crisis of 1825; that it created amid the real crisis a series of money panics in April and October, 1847; and that the Banking Department would have been obliged to stop but for the stoppage of the act itself. There can, therefore, exist no doubt that the Peel Act will aggravate the incidents and severity of the approaching crisis.

Karl Marx

Political Movements—Scarcity of Bread in Europe

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3886, 30. September 1853

Political Movements- Scarcity of Bread in Europe.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Sept. 13,1853.

The Sunday Times published in its last number a dispatch from Lord Clarendon to Sir H. Seymour, in answer to the note of Count Nesselrode of June 20. This dispatch bears date July 16. It is a mere "doubliere" of the reply of M. Drouin de l'Huys. A correspondent of *The Leader* on Saturday last, expresses himself in the following spirited manner on the "antagonism" between Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston: 5 10

"Lord Aberdeen could never understand Lord Palmerston's affectations—never seeing that consequent upon these affectations, *Lord Palmerston was always able to promote unmolested the Russian system, even better than Lord Aberdeen himself..* Lord Palmerston disguises cynicism in *Compromise* ... Lord Aberdeen did, as Lord Palmerston did not, express his convictions ... Lord Palmerston sees the expediency, and Lord Aberdeen does not see the expediency of talking intervention, while acting non-intervention ... Lord Aberdeen knowing, from his acquaintance with the governing classes, how seats are got, and voters bought, does not think the British Constitution the most perfect of human institutions ; and, calculating that the people of Continental Europe are not more amiable or more honest than the people of Great Britain, he abstains from urging on continental governments the desirability of abolishing paternal despotism in favor of self-government by governing classes ... Lord Aberdeen perceives that Great Britain is a power made up of conquests over nationalities, and scorns a foreign policy affecting to befriend struggling nationalities. Lord Aberdeen does not see why England, which has conquered and plundered India, and keeps India down for India's good, should set up for a hater of Czar Nicholas, who is 15 20 25

a good despot in Russia, and keeps Poland down for Poland's obvious good. Lord Aberdeen does not see why England, which has crushed small rebellions in Ireland, should be fanatically angry with Austria for keeping down Hungary; and knowing that England forces an alien Church on Ireland, he
5 understands the eagerness of the Pope to plant Cardinal Wiseman in Westminster. He knows that we have had Kaffir wars and does not think Nicholas a ruffian for thinning his army among the Caucasians ; he knows that we send off periodically, rebellious Mitchells and O'Briens to Van Diemen's land, and does not feel horror because Louis Napoleon institutes a Cayenne.
10 Whenever he has to write to the Neapolitan Government about Sicilian affairs, he does not plunge into ecstatic liberalism, because he bears in mind that Great Britain has a proconsul at Corfu ... It is a happy arrangement, a Coalition Government, which includes, with Lord Aberdeen *acting* the Russian, Lord Palmerston to *iaZfcthe* Bermondsey *policy*."

15 As a proof that I have not undervalued the heroism of Switzerland, I may allege a letter addressed by its Federal Council to the Ticinese Government, contending that "the affair of the Capuchins is purely a Cantonal question, and that consequently it is for the Canton of Ticino to consider whether it is better for it to resist, and continue subject to the rigorous measures of
20 Austria, or to make to the Government offers of renewal of négociations." Thus it appears that the Swiss Federal Council tries to bring down its dispute with Austria within the proportions of a simple Cantonal affair. The same Council has just ordered the expulsion of the Italians, Clementi, Cassola and Grillanzoni, after the Jury at Chur had acquitted them from the charge of
25 having abetted the Milan insurrection by the forwarding of arms across the Ticinese frontier.

The British support to Juggernaut appears not yet to have been altogether done away with. On the 5th of May, 1852, the following dispatch was addressed by the Court of Directors to the Governor of India:

30 "We continue to be of opinion that it is desirable finally to dissever the British Government from all connection with the temple, and we therefore authorize to make arrangements for accomplishing this object by the discontinuance of any periodical allowance to it, in lieu of which some final payment may be made in the way of compensation to any persons who may appear
35 upon a Uberai construction of past engagements or understandings to be entitled to such indemnifications."

On the 11th April, 1853, however, nothing had been done by the Indian Government, the subject being still under consideration at that date.

40 A week has been consumed in a government inquiry into the cruelties practised upon the prisoners in Birmingham jail, cruelties which have induced several of them to commit and others to attempt suicide. Startled on

one side by an exposition of atrocities not surpassed by any committed in an Austrian or Neapolitan *carcere duro*, we are on the other side surprised at the tame acquiescence of the visiting magistrates in the representations which were made to them by interested parties, and at their utter want of sympathy with the victims. Their solicitude for the barbarous goaler was so 5 great that they regularly forewarned him of their approaching visits. The chief culprit, Lieutenant Austin, is one of those persons whom Carlyle designated in his "Model Prisons" as the true officers of the pauper and criminal.

One of the topics of the day is *Railway morality*. The Yorkshire and 10 Lancashire Board of Directors particularly announce on their tickets that "whatever accident may happen, whatever injury may be inflicted through their own negligence or that of their servants, they would hold themselves absolved from all legal responsibility." At the same time the Directors of the Birmingham and Shrewsbury line appeared before the Vice-Chancellor's 15 Court on Saturday for having cheated their own shareholders. There exists a rivalry between the Great Western and the North-Western lines as to which of the two should absorb the above line in question. The majority of the shareholders being in favor of amalgamation with the North-Western, and the Directors of absorption into the Great Western, it occurred to the latter 20 to turn a number of shares held by them in trust for the Company to account, for the manufacture of fictitious voters. For this purpose the shares were transferred to a number of nominal holders—in some instances it would seem without the concurrence of the parties whose names were used, and in one instance to a child of nine years of age—who paid no consideration for the 25 shares, but executed re-transfers of them into the hands of the Directors, and supplied them, in virtue of their nominal ownership, with a given number of proxies, to insure a majority in favor of the union with the Great Western. The learned Judge remarked that "anything more flagrant or more gross could scarcely be conceived, and the way in which the plan had been carried 30 out was still more gross." With this reflection he dismissed the guilty parties, as is usual among the bourgeoisie, while a poor devil of a proletarian would have been sure to be transported for a theft beyond five pounds.

It is curious to observe the British public in its fluctuating indignation now against the morality of mill lords, and now against the pit-owners, now against 35 the little dealers in adulterated drugs, and then against the railwaymen who have supplanted the obsolete highwaymen; in short, against the morality of every particular class of capitalists. Taking the whole, it would seem that capital possesses a peculiar morality of its own, a kind of superior law of a *raison d'état*, while ordinary morals are a thing supposed to be good for 40 the poor people.

Manchester Parliamentary Reformers seem to be in a pretty fix. The election revelations of the last session concerned almost exclusively boroughs, and even the great ones, as Hull, Liverpool, Cambridge and Canterbury. The Uberai election-broker, Mr. Coppock, confessed in a fit of veracity:
 5 "What St. Albans was aU other boroughs are." Now the oUgarchy meditate turning these exposures to recount in effecting a reform in favor of counties and at the cost of boroughs. The Manchester Reformers, who desire no general extension of the suffrage, but only one within the borough-limits, are, of course, dumb under such a proposition. It is pitiful to see how their
 10 organ, *The Daily News*, struggles to get out of this difficulty.

On January 14, 1846, the Bank rate of interest was raised to **372** per cent.; on Jan. 21, 1846, to 4 per cent.; and it was not until April, 1847, that the rate rose to 5 per cent.; but it is known that in the last three weeks of April, 1847, almost aU operations of credit were at a dead-lock. In 1853, the upward
 15 movement of the Bank rate of interest was by far more rapid. From 2 per cent., at which it was on 24th April, 1852, it rose to **2V2** per cent, on Jan. 8, 1853; to 3 per cent, on the 22d of the same month, to **3V2** per cent, on the 4th June, to 4 per cent, on the 1st of September, and already the rumor runs through the city that it will shortly rise to 5 per cent. In Nov. 1846, the average
 20 price of wheat was 56s. 9d. per qr.; in the latter weeks of August, 1853, it had reached 65s. to 66s. About this period last year the Bank of England

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| held in its cellars | £21,852,000 |
| It now holds only | 16,500,068 |
| Being a difference of | £ 5,351,932 |

25 The buUion decreased during last week but one by £208,875, and in last week by £462,850. The effect upon prices at the Stock Exchange has been immediate, every description of security declining. We read in the Money article of last Wednesday's *Times*:

30 "Notwithstanding the depression in the Stock market, Exchequer Bills remained at 2 per cent, discount to 1 per cent, premium, but an impression is entertained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to sustain the price, causes them to be purchased on Government account, in the absence of any funds immediately available for that purpose, by the sales of 3 per cent, stocks held on account of Savings Banks."

35 This would be a masterpiece on the part of Mr. Gladstone : seUing Consols at a low figure and purchasing Exchequer Bills at a high one, causing a loss of half the income of the 3 per cent, stocks by converting them into Exchequer Bills bearing Uttle more than **IV2** per cent, interest.

40 How can we reconcile an unfavorable exchange or drain of bullion with the unprecedented increase of British exports, which at the end of the year will surpass by £16,000,000 even the exports of 1852?

"As we give credit to all the world in the case of our exports and pay ready money in the case of our imports, a large expansion of our trade at any moment must necessarily lead to a considerable balance in the payments against us at the time, but which must all be returned when the credit upon our exports has expired and remittances are to be made for them." 5

So says *The Economist*. According to this theory, if the exports of 1854 were to surpass again those of 1853, the exchange must continue to be against England, and a commercial crisis would be the only means of adjustment. *The Economist* thinks that disasters like those of 1847 are out of the question, because no considerable portion of capital has been fixed now as then, in 10 railways, etc. He forgets that it has been converted into factories, machinery, ships, etc. On the other hand, *The Observer* laments the "foolish investments in *foreign railways*, and other companies of very doubtful and suspicious character." *The Economist* thinks that the extended commercial operations, so far as Europe is concerned, may receive a *wholesome check* from the high 15 price of corn, but that *America and Australia*, etc., are *sure*. *The Times* at the same time asserts that the tightness of the New-York money market will put a *wholesome check* on American operations. "We must not calculate on the same extent of orders from the United States that we have hitherto experienced," exclaims *The Leader*. Australia remains. Here steps in *The 20 Observer*:

"Exports have been pushed injudiciously forward. From the 74,000 tons of shipping now entered in London for the Southern Colonies, the condemnatory notices we gave from Adelaide, Melbourne, etc., will receive their justification. It is not to be denied that present prospects are not promising." 25

As to the Chinese market all reports are unanimous on the point that there exists a great alacrity to sell, but as great a reluctance to buy, the precious metals being hoarded, and any alteration of this state of things remains out of question as long as the revolutionary movement in the monster Empire 30 has not accomplished its end.

And the home market?

"Large numbers of the power-loom-weavers in Manchester and its neighborhood have followed the example of Stockport, in striking for an advance of 10 per cent, on their wages... The factory hands will probably find, before 35 the end of the winter, that the question is not whether an increase of 10 per cent, will be conceded, but whether the manufacturers will allow work to be resumed at the present rate of wages."

In these terms, not to be misunderstood, *The Morning Chronicle* alludes to the imminent decline of the domestic market. 40

I have repeatedly dwelt on the immense enlargement of the old factories,

and the unparalleled erection of new ones. I reported to you upon some new built mills which form, as it were, whole manufacturing towns. I stated that at no former epoch had such a proportion of the floating capital accumulated during the period of prosperity, been directly sunk for manufacturing purposes. Now, take these facts on the one hand, and on the other the symptoms of overstocked markets at home and abroad; remember, also, that an unfavorable exchange is the surest means to precipitate over-exports into foreign markets.

But it is the bad harvest which, above all, will drive the long accumulated elements of a great commercial and industrial crisis to eruption. Every other sort of produce, when enhanced, checks its own demand; but Corn, as it becomes appreciated, is only the more eagerly sought for, drawing depreciation on all other commodities. The most civilized nation, like the most brutal savage, must procure its food before it can think of procuring anything else, and the progress of wealth and civilization is generally in the same proportion, in which the labor and cost of producing food diminish.—A general bad harvest is in itself a general contraction of markets, at home and abroad. Now the present harvest is at least as deficient in the southern part of Europe, in Italy, France, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, as it was in 1846—47. It is by no means promising in the north-west and north-east. As to England, the *Mark-lane Express*, that *Moniteur* of the London Corn Exchange, states in its number of yesterday week:

"That the produce of wheat in the United Kingdom will be the smallest gathered for many years, does not admit of question. The average yield will fall materially short in almost all parts of the kingdom, independent of which it must be borne in mind that the breadth of land sown was, owing to the unpropitious weather during the seeding time, at least one fourth less than usual."

This situation will not be alleviated by the delusion of commercial convulsions, industrial over-production, and bad harvests having been simultaneously done away with by *Free Trade*. On the contrary. "Holders" remarks the same *Mark-lane Express*, "can not yet realize the idea of scarcity under Free Trade. Hence few are disposed to hold heavy stocks. If our necessities should drive us hereafter to import largely, the chances are, that we shall have to pay *dearly* for supplies." *The Mark-lane Express* of yesterday adds:

"There is still so large a proportion of the crops abroad that the character of the weather for some weeks to come will have great influence on trade. The quality of the grain exposed in the fields has already suffered from the last rains, and a continuance of wet might be productive of an immense amount of mischief... The ultimate result of the harvest threatens to be less

satisfactory than appeared likely a week or two ago ... The accounts which have reached us the last few days with regard to *potatoes*, are less favorable than those previously received ... Notwithstanding the enormously large supplies from abroad during last week, (88,833 qrs.) the reaction on prices has been only small, the fall from the highest point not having exceeded Is. 5 to 2s. per quarter ... The probable result of the harvest in the Baltic is on the whole of an unsatisfactory character... According to the latest advices, wheat was at 60s. f .o.b. at Dantzig, at 56s. 3d. at Königsberg, 54s. at Stettin, 58s. at Rostock."

The consequences of the dearth are already appearing, as in 1847, on the 10 political horizon. At Naples the town authorities are without means to employ the laborers on public works, and the Exchequer is unable to pay the State officers. In the Papal States, at Tolentino, Terni, Ravenna and Trastevere, there have been bread riots by no means mitigated by the recent 15 arrests, the invasion of the Austrians, and the threat of the bastinado. In Lombardy the political consequences of dearth and industrial stagnation will not be avoided by Count Strassoldo's imposing an additional tax of **6V2** kreuzer per florin, payable on the 20th Sept. and 10th Oct., this year, and to be levied on all payers of direct taxes, including the income tax and the 20 tax upon salaries. The general distress in Austria is betrayed by her lingering after a new loan, introduced on the market as usual by the assertion that she wants the money only to reduce her army. The feverish anxiety of the French Government may be inferred from its false harvest accounts, its false assize of bread at Paris, and its immense purchases of corn on all markets. The 25 provinces are disaffected, because Bonaparte feeds Paris at their expense; the bourgeoisie are disaffected because he interferes with commerce in behalf of the proletarians; the proletarians are disaffected because he gives wheat bread instead of brown to the soldiers, at the moment when peasants and workmen are menaced with the prospect of no bread at all; lastly, the 30 soldiers are disaffected because of the humble anti-national attitude of France in the Eastern question. In Belgium several food-riots have echoed the foolish festivities lavished by the Coburgs on the Austrian Archduchess. In Prussia the fear of the Government is so great that several corn-brokers have been arrested by way of show, and the rest summoned before the 35 Police-President, who "requested" them to sell at "honest" prices.

I conclude by again recording my opinion, that neither the declamation of the demagogues, nor the twaddle of the diplomats will drive matters to a crisis, but that there are approaching economical disasters and social convulsions which must be the sure fore-runners of European revolution. Since 1849 commercial and industrial prosperity has stretched the lounge on 40 which the counter-revolution has slept in safety.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Western Powers and Turkey—Imminent Economic Crisis—
Railway Construction in India

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3889, 4.Oktober 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1853.

In my letter of July 19, I said:

"The Western Powers *commence* by encouraging the Sultan to resist the
5 Czar, from fear of the encroachments of Russia, and *terminate by compelling*
the former to yield, from fear of a general war giving rise to a general revolu-
tion."

Now, at this moment the strength of the combined fleets is intended to
be used *for Russia against Turkey*. If the Anglo-French fleet enter the
10 Dardanelles at all, it will be done not to bombard Sebastopol, but to reduce
to terms the Mussulmans who might prevent the Sultan from accepting
without conditions the Vienna Note.

"On the 13th of September," says D. Urquhart, "the four Foreign Secre-
taries quietly assembled in Downing-st., and decided to send orders to
15 Constantinople to enforce upon the Porte the withdrawal of the modi-
fications which the European Conference had accepted. Not content with
this, and in case the Sultan should find himself unable to resist the exaspera-
tion of his people, they sent orders for the squadron to advance into the
waters of the Bosphorus to support him against his subjects. Nor content
20 with this, they also dispatched orders to Omar Pacha to forbid him from
passing from one province to another in his Sovereign's Dominions. They
have consequently contemplated the rebellion as the result of their dispatch,
and provided means for putting it down, these means being the allied squad-
ron."

25 It was from Sunday's *Journal des Débats* that the English public became
acquainted with this news. The *Journal des Débats* stated that Mr. Reeve,
having left London on the 13th inst., with dispatches for Lord Stratford de
Redcliffe, arrived in Paris on the morning and left it on the evening of the
14th, after he had communicated to the French Government the tenor of his

instructions, ordering the English Ambassador to demand the entire adhesion of the Porte to the Vienna proposals, the retraction of its modifications of the 19th August, threatening it with the withdrawal of the support of the four Powers in the event of a war arising from her refusal to yield, and offering it the assistance of the French and English fleets for putting down any insurrection that might break out in Constantinople if the Porte were to comply with the Vienna Note, and against Omar Pacha, if he dared to act in disobedience to the orders of the Porte. Before the arrival of the *Journal des Débats*, we were informed that the Vienna Conference, on receipt of the Emperor's refusal, sent proposals to the Sultan that he should recall his words, that he should sign the note he had refused to sign, and be content with an assurance that the Conference would put any interpretation on the note agreeable to the Sultan himself. *The Times* avoids speaking of the compromising revelations made by the *Journal des Débats*. So does *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post*, and the whole of the governmental London press. In the meantime *The Morning Post* denounces the fanaticism of the Constantinople mob, *The Morning Chronicle* is exciting its dull readers by romantic descriptions of the fierce and undisciplined Asiatic hordes inundating European Turkey, and swelling Omar Pacha's army; the gallant *Globe* publishes day after day carefully selected extracts from the peace-mongering press of the Manchester school, and, in due time, the respectable classes of England will be prepared "to annihilate Paganism," and to shout with Prince Gortchakoff, "Long life to the Czar! Long life to the God of the Russians!"

In its to-day's number *The Times* discovers that "the Turkish question has plainly become a question of words;" the inference to be drawn from its premises being, that the Sultan who intends exposing the peace of the world for mere words, must be forcibly brought to reason by the more sober-minded Palmerstons and Aberdeens. The Czar, we are told by *The Times*, having preferred unjust demands upon the Sultan, the Sultan rejected them, the Czar seized the Danubian Principalities, England and France dispatched their fleets to Besika Bay, and the representatives of these Powers met those of Austria and Prussia in Vienna.

Why did they meet them in Vienna? *In favor of Turkey*, says *The Times*. "Not only could there be no desire of coercing the Ottoman Government, but there was no occasion for such an action." If, then, there is now a desire on the part of the four Powers for coercing the Ottoman Government, "it is simply because there is now" an occasion for "such an action." Would it then be wrong to suppose that the sole and principal aim of the Vienna Conference and of the interference of Palmerston and Aberdeen has been the affording such an occasion, that they made only a show of resistance

to Russia, in order to gain a pretext for coercing Turkey into submission to her?

"The demands of Russia," continues *The Times*, were "thought unjustifiable by the other great Powers, incompatible with the sovereign rights of the Sultan," and therefore, the great Powers drew up a Note to be presented by the Sultan to the Czar, ratifying all the demands of the Czar and something more. "The terms of this document," says *The Times*, "were liable to misconstruction, but, two points were unimpeachably clear—first, that the four Powers intended to maintain the territorial and administrative rights of the Porte; and, next, that in the event of dispute *they would have been bound by this intention.*"

Why should the Sultan not subscribe a note, derogatory of his sovereign rights and surrendering the protectorate of twelve millions of his subjects to the control of the autocrat, while he feels himself backed by the good "intentions" of the four Powers and by their being bound by hidden "good intentions" in the case of a dispute? As the Sultan has had occasion to learn, the four Powers feel themselves not bound either by the law of nations, or by explicit treaties, to defend him in the event of a dispute with Russia; why should he not trust to their valor in the event of a dispute arising from a note which endows Russia with open claims and Turkey with "hidden intentions?"

"Let us take," says *The Times*, "the extreme case of supposing that, after the acceptance *pure et simple* of the original Vienna note, the Czar should have availed himself of those opportunities with which the note is thought to have provided him." What then? "*The Sultan would have protested*, and the case would have arisen from the application of the adjustment of 1853." As if there had arisen no case from the application of the adjustment of 1840 and 1841, of the treaty of Balta-Liman, and of the violation of the law of nations, characterized by Lord Clarendon himself as "an act of piracy!" "The ambiguity," says *The Times*, "would merely have misled the Emperor of Russia." Exactly so, as the treaty of 1841 has "misled" him to keep the united fleets out of the Dardanelles while he himself entered the Principalities.

The Sultan, however, is stiff-necked. He has refused compliance with a note which was able to express its good intentions for Turkey only by delivering her up to Russia. He proposed certain modifications in this note, and "the four Powers," says *The Times*, "showed by their approval of the Turkish modifications, that they believed them to coincide with their own proposals." But, as the Emperor of Russia is of a contrary opinion, and as *The Times* thinks it most undoubtedly true, that the Czar's "proceedings in this dispute deserve *no consideration whatever*," *The Times* comes to the conclusion that, as Russia will not yield to the reasonable conditions of

Turkey, Turkey must yield to the unreasonable conditions of Russia, and that "a state which is yet so impotent as to require European protection at every menace of aggression from without or insurrection from within, *must at least so far pay the penalty of its weakness as to receive aid indispensable to its existence on the terms least onerous to its supporters.*" The four Powers, 5 of course, must join Russia against Turkey, because Turkey is supposed to want their aid in order to resist Russia.—Turkey must "pay the penalty for its weakness," in having had recourse to the four great Powers she is obliged by treaties to appeal to.

"There is no alternative. Either the laws of England have to be exercised 10 in their penal rigor upon the persons of four traitors, (Aberdeen, Clarendon, Palmerston, and Russell), or the Czar of Russia commands the world." Such declamation as this uttered in *The Morning Advertiser*, by D. Urquhart, is good for nothing. Who is to judge the four traitors? Parliament. Who forms that Parliament? The representatives of the Stockjobbers, the Millocrats, and 15 the Aristocrats. And what foreign policy do these representatives represent? That of the *paix partout et toujours*. And who execute their ideas of foreign policy? The identical four men to be condemned by them as traitors, according to the simple-minded *Morning Advertiser*. One thing must be evident at least, that it is the Stockjobbers, and the Peacemongering Bourgeoisie, 20 represented in the Government by the Oligarchy, who surrender Europe to Russia, and that in order to resist the encroachments of the Czar, we must, above all, overthrow the inglorious Empire of those mean, cringing and infamous adorers of the *veau d'or*.

Immediately after the arrival of the Vienna note at Constantinople, the 25 Ottoman Porte called 80,000 men of the Redifs under arms. According to a telegraphic dispatch dated Constantinople, Sept. 5, the Turkish Ministry had resolved, after a conference held at the house of the Grand Vizier, to maintain their last note at the hazard of war. The enthusiasm of the Mussulman population has reached its highest pitch. The Sultan, having reviewed the 30 Egyptian troops, and being received with deafening acclamations, was, after the review, lifted from his horse by the multitude and carried in triumph through the streets of Stambul. He has reiterated to the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia his order to quiet the principalities. As the Russian subjects resident at Constantinople have been convicted of intriguing against 35 the Turkish Government, Reschid Pacha has given a warning to the Russian Consul on their behalf. A Constantinople journal states that the Israelite community at Constantinople has offered to the Sultan a million of piasters in order to contribute to the expenses occasioned by the military preparations of the Empire. The Smyrna Israelites are said to have come to a similar 40 resolution. A letter in the *Vienna Press* informs us that several Boyards have

been arrested at Galatz because they had entered into a secret correspondence with Omar Pacha informing him of all details with regard to the state of the Russian army in the Principalities. A letter of Omar Pacha has been found inviting these Boyards to enlist as many foreigners as possible.

Prince Menchikoff had arrived at Vienna on the 13th instant, accompanied by a Secretary, and as the bearer of a new manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas, addressed to the European Powers, and explaining his reasons for rejecting the Turkish modifications. The Emperor himself will arrive at Olmütz on the 21st instant, accompanied by Count Nessehode and by Baron de Meyendorff. The King of Prussia whom he had summoned by the Prince de Lieven to the Olmütz Conference, has refused to make his appearance on the ground that, under existing circumstances, such a step on his part would have too much *éclat*. A Russian corps d'armée 30,000 strong is stationed now at Krajowo on the frontiers of Bulgaria. Until now there have existed only eight army commissariats in the Russian Empire. A regular ninth commissariat has just been established at Bucharest—a sure indication that the Russians do not think of evacuating the Principalities.

On the 15th of Sept. the Bank of England raised its rates of interest to 4½ per cent. The Money article in to-day's *Times* tells us that "The measure is regarded with general satisfaction." In the same article, however, we find it stated that, "At about 2 p.m. business at the Stock Exchange was in fact almost wholly suspended, and when the announcement was made, shortly afterward, of the advance to 4½ per cent., prices declined to 95 for money and 95½ to 96 for the 13th of Oct. A general opinion prevailed, that if the advance had been to 5 instead of 4½ per cent., the effect on the market would possibly have been less unfavorable, since the public would then have considered the probability of any further action to have ceased ... In the Railway market a severe relapse occurred, after the breaking up of the Bank Court, and prices of all kinds left off with a very unsettled appearance." The writer in *The Times* congratulates the Bank Directors on their following up the policy of the Peel Act. "In proportion as the circulation diminished from the drain of gold, the Directors have asked a higher price for the use of what remained, and have thus allowed the Bank Charter Act of Sir R. Peel that *free course*, by which alone its soundness can be demonstrated, and which was prevented by the infatuated proceedings of the Directors in 1847." Now I have shown in a former letter that the infatuation of the Directors in 1847 consisted precisely in their close adherence to the Peel Act, the "free course" of which had to be interrupted by Government, in order to save the Banking Department from the necessity of stopping payment. We read in *The Globe*:

"It is highly improbable that the causes which have produced our present prosperity will continue to operate in the same proportion. Unhealthy results have already appeared in Manchester, where some of the largest firms have been compelled to limit their amount of production ... All departments of the Stock Exchange continue in a very depressed state. The Railway market is in a complete state of panic ... The efflux of gold to the Continent continues, and nearly half a million of money goes over to St. Petersburg in a day or two by steamer ... One object of its (the Bank's) husbanding its resources of specie is probably a desire to assist the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the seven or eight millions which he will require to pay off the South-Sea stockholders and other dissentients."

The Morning Post of the 14th inst. reports from Manchester:

"The market for cloth and yarn is dull, and the prices of all descriptions of manufactures are barely supported. The absence of demand from almost every foreign market and the anticipated money pressure at home, have mainly contributed to a state of things which is most anomalous, when contrasted with the accounts of prosperity generally current."

The same journal, of the 15th inst., winds up a leading article on the collecting elements of the approaching crisis in the following terms:

"We warn the commercial world that we are at a phase in which care and steady consideration are eminently requisite in the conception and conduct of enterprise. Our financial position, besides, is one which, in our view, is full of dangers even more serious and more difficult of avoidance than our commercial."

From the combined statements of *The Globe* and *Morning Post*, it follows that while the demand is declining on the one hand, the supply, on the other, has been overdone. Manufacturers will attempt to cover their retreat by falling back on the quarrel existing with their workmen. The trade reporter in yesterday's *Morning Chronicle* writes from Manchester:

"Manufactures are becoming greatly indifferent about entering into engagements, from the persuasion that an extensive, if not *universal stoppage of mills* must take place before any settlement of the wages question can be effected. On this subject there have been conferences among employers in various parts of the districts within the last few days; and it is evident that the exorbitant clamors set up by the operatives, together with the wild attempts at dictation, are forcing the millowners into a general combination for self-defense."

We read in the money article of *The Times*:

"Masters are forming Unions for self-defense, in all the districts. At Ashton, Staleybridge, Hyde, and Glossop, nearly 100 firms have placed their names to a deed of Union within the last few days. At Preston the masters

have entered into heavy bonds to each other to resist the operatives by closing their mills for three months."

A telegraphic dispatch from Marseilles reports that wheat has again advanced by 2frs. 25cent. per hectolitre. The augmentation of the interest on
5 treasury bonds, announced in *The Moniteur*, produced a most unfavorable impression at the Bourse; that measure being generally considered as a sign that the Government is in want of money. A loan was spoken of which the Government would be obliged to contract. The Minister of Finance has sent
10 a circular to a vast number of landed proprietors, asking them to pay six months' taxes in advance, as a mark of gratitude for the great benefits which the present Government had conferred on them, and for the additional value which it had imparted to property. "This," remarks *The Observer*, "is the beginning of the end."

Having dwelt in a former letter on the vital importance of railways for
15 India, I think fit to give now the latest news which has been published with regard to the progress and prospects of the intended network. The first Indian railway was the line now in operation between Bombay and Tannah. Another line is now to be carried from Calcutta to Russnehael on the Ganges, a distance of 180 miles, and then to proceed along the right bank of the river
20 to Patna, Benares and Allahabad. From Allahabad it will be conducted across the Doab to Agra and thence to Delhi, traversing in this manner a space of 1,100 miles. It is contemplated to establish steam ferry-boats across the Soane and Tunona, and that the Calcutta line will finally proceed from Delhi to Lahore. In Madras a railway is to be commenced forthwith, which, running
25 70 miles due west, will branch off into two arms—one pursuing the Ghauts and terminating at Calicut, the other being carried on by Bellary and Poonah to Bombay. This skeleton of the chain of railways will be completed by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the preliminary surveys for which are now proceeding under the sanction of the Court of Directors. This
30 line will pass from Bombay by Baroda to Agra, where it will meet the great trunk railway from Calcutta to Delhi, and by its means Bombay, the Capital of Western India, and the best port of communication with Europe for all Hindostán, will be put in communication with Calcutta on the one hand, and with the Punjaub and the north-western provinces on the other. The promot-
35 ers of this scheme intend also to throw out branches into the great cotton district of the interior. In the meantime, measures are in progress for extending the electric telegraph throughout the whole of the peninsula of India.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

The Western Powers and Turkey—Symptoms of Economic Crisis

New-York Daily Tribune.

Nr. 3892, 7. Oktober 1853

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Sept. 23, 1853.

The Globe, in its number of Sept. 20, denies the authenticity of the statement of the *Journal des Débats* with regard to the mission of Mr. Reeve, and *The Times* of Wednesday reprints the article of *The Globe* under the head of *gobemoucherie*, accusing the French press of trading in *canards*. But did not the leading article of *The Times* I analyzed in my last letter wholly confirm the statement of the *Journal des Débats*? Has there appeared any refutation in the Paris *Moniteur*? Did not, on the same day that *The Globe* gave the lie to the *Débats*, the *Assemblée Nationale* reiterate that "Lord Redcliffe was to notify to the Sultan that, if he refused to withdraw his modification, the English fleet would enter the Dardanelles, and the French fleet would not be slow to follow?" Did not *The Times*, on the same day on which it reproduced the denial of *The Globe*, explicitly declare that "England and France had no business to interfere between Russia and Turkey, except on the terms proposed by the four allied Powers, and accepted by Russia, whether these terms were agreeable to the haughty spirit of Turkey or not?" Were we not told by *The Morning Post*, before the *Journal des Débats* had arrived at London, that "on the receipt of the Emperor of Russia's answer to the proposal for the modifications of the Vienna note, the conference of the representatives of the great Powers had immediately assembled, and on the 4th inst. dispatched a courier to Constantinople with certain communications from the Conference to the Divan, which it was hoped would induce the Porte to accept the Vienna note?" Finally, we read in a morning paper of to-day that "Mr. Reeve is going to Constantinople, that he is the bearer of dispatches from Lord Clarendon to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and that a connection of the most intimate kind exists between him and the Foreign Office, he having been the channel of communication between Downing-st. and Printing-house Square."

The truth is, that since the last revelations made by the French Press, the Eastern question has again assumed quite a new aspect, and the ignominious

resolutions the English Ministry had decided upon are likely to be frustrated by events contrary to all their calculations and expectations.

Austria has seceded from the joint action with her pretended allies; the Vienna conference has been broken off, at least for a moment. Russia has
5 pulled off the mask she thùiks no longer of any avail, and the English ministry is driven out of its last entrenchments.

"Lord Aberdeen," as *The Liverpool Courier* justly remarks, "recommended that the Sultan should have recourse to a transparent and contemptible fraud; that the parties to the Vienna conference should exercise
10 a *mental reservation* with regard to the note, and that the Sultan should read it in an *unnatural* sense, i.e., the terms of the note being clear and precise, and the Emperor of Russia having refused point blank to adopt the Sultan's modifications, the Powers should hold themselves prepared, hereafter, to act
as if those modifications had been received."

15 *Mr. Drouin de l'Huys* suggested to the Vienna conference an explanatory note conceived in that hypocritical sense, and to be communicated to the Porte, but Count Buoi rejected this proposition, declaring that it "was too friendly to the Porte, that the time was gone by for collective action, and that each power was free to act as it pleased." Thus the English ministry has
20 lost the resource of covering itself with the *common* arbitration of the *European* Areopagus, that joint stock company disappearing before one word of the Austrian Minister, as it had been conjured up by him. In the beginning Austria wanted no conference at all till Russia had crossed the Pruth. Russia having advanced to the Danube, Austria does want the con-
25 ference no more, at least no more on its primitive conditions. On the other hand Count de Nessehode has published two circulars, which do not any longer allow backing the original Vienna note by hidden "good intentions" or interpreting it in any other sense than its literal one.

The modifications proposed by the Porte have reduced the whole question
30 to "a mere question of words," shouted the whole ministerial press.

By no means, says Nessehode. The Czar puts the same interpretation upon the original text as the Sultan did. The original note is nothing and has never been intended to be anything but a second edition of Menchikoff's note, and we do abide by the text, the whole text, and nothing but the text. The ministe-
35 rial *Globe* is of course amazed at the discovery that both the Czar and the Sultan, regard the original note "as implying recognition of those demands which Russia had preferred, which Turkey had refused, and which the four Powers did not (?) intend to indorse," and that "Russia insists upon an
absolute recognition of the claims which she first advanced." And why
40 should she not? If she was bold enough to advance those claims four months ago, why should she desist now after having won the first campaign?

The same G/obewhich pretended some days ago the Turkish modifications to be scholastic *quibbles*, *superfluous* subtilities, is now obliged to own that "the Russian interpretation shows that they were *necessary*."

The *fst* dispatch of Nesselrode is not yet made public, but *The Morning Post* assures us that it declares "the Vienna note to be neither more nor less 5 than the equivalent of Prince Menchikoff's note," and *The Evening Globe* adds, that according to it,

"The Emperor regarded the Vienna note as securing for him that recognition on Turkey, and that hold upon her Government, which the Porte, with the support of the four Powers, had refused, and which it was the object of 10 the mediation to prevent. That the Emperor never ceased to reserve to himself the right of dealing directly with Turkey alone, setting aside the mediators whom he affected to acknowledge."

At no time did he affect to acknowledge them as mediators. He permitted three of them to march in the rear of Austria, while he allowed Austria herself 15 to come an humble supplicant to him.

As to the *second* dispatch, dated St. Petersburg, 7th, published by the *Berlin Zeit*, on the 18th inst., and addressed to Baron Meyendorf at Vienna, Nesselrode is perfectly right in stating that the original note was described to him as an "*ultimatum*" by the Austrian Envoy, which Russia obliged 20 herself to give her consent to upon the express condition of its being accepted by the Porte *without any alteration whatever*. "Will any one refuse to hear this testimony to the loyauté of the Emperor?" It is true that he has committed a little act of "piracy" on the Principalities; that he has overrun them, seized them, taxed them, governed them, plundered them, appropriated 25 them, eaten them up, notwithstanding the proclamations of Gortchakoff; but never mind. Did he not, on the other hand, "on the receipt of a first draft of a note, notify his accession to it by telegraph, *without waiting to learn if it had been approved in London or in Paris?*" Could he be expected to do more than to notify by telegraph, that a note, dictated by a Russian Minister 30 at Vienna, would not be rejected by a Russian Minister at St. Petersburg? Could he do more for Paris and London than not even to wait for their approval? But he did more, indeed. The draft, whose acceptance he condescended to notify by telegraph, was "*altered*" at Paris and London, and "did he retract his consent, or raise the smallest difficulty?" It is true, that ac- 35 cording to his own statement, the note in its "final form" is "neither more nor less than an *equivalent* of Prince Menchikoff's note;" but an equivalent note remains, at all instances, "*different*" from the original one; and had he "not stipulated the acceptance of the Menchikoff note without *any alteration?*" Might he not, "on this ground alone, have refused to take it into 40 consideration?" He did not do so. "Could a more conciliatory spirit be

shown?" The *ultimatum* of the Vienna Conference is no business of his; it is their own property. "It is *their affair* to consider the *delays* which will result" from the Sultan not yielding. He, for his part, does not care about staying some months longer in the Principalities, where his troops are clothed
5 and fed for nothing.

Odessa does not suffer from the mouth of the Danube being blocked, and, if the occupation of the Principalities contributes to raise the price of wheat at Mark-lane, the profane Imperials will find the quicker their way back to the Holy Russia. It is, therefore, for Austria and the Powers to "declare to
10 the Porte, frankly and firmly, that they, after having in vain opened up to it the only road that could lead to an immediate restoration of its relations with us henceforth leave *the task for itself alone*." They did enough for the Sultan by having opened the road to the Danube to the Czar and closed the road to the Black Sea to the Allied Squadron. Nesselrode's "august master"
15 denounces then, "the wari/Ae inspiration which seems at present to influence the Sultan and the majority of his Ministers." He, on his part, would certainly prefer the Sultan taking it coolly, opposing peace tracts to gun-boats, and compliments to Cossacks. "He has exhausted the measure of concessions, without the Porte having yet made a single one. His Majesty can go no
20 further." Certainly not, he *can go no further*, without crossing the Danube. Nesselrode compresses his whole argument into a masterly dilemma not to be escaped from. Either the alterations proposed by the Porte mean nothing, or they mean something. If they mean nothing, why should the Porte insist upon them? If they mean something, "it is very simple that we refuse to
25 accede to them."

"The evacuation of the Principalities," said Lord Clarendon, "is a *sine qua non, preliminary* to any settlement." Quite the contrary, answers Nesselrode. "The settlement, i.e. the arrival of the Turkish Ambassador bearing the Austrian note without *alterations* is a *sine qua non* preliminary to the evacu-
30 ation of the Principalities."

In one word, the magnanimous Czar is ready to part with the Vienna Conference humbug, as it is no longer wanted for terminating his first campaign; but he will hold the closer the Principalities, as they are the indispensable condition for commencing the second one.

35 If it be true, as we are informed to-day by telegraphic dispatch, that the Conference has resumed business, the Powers will repeat to Nicholas the song Alexander was received with by the Paris mob:

40
Vive Alexandre,
Vive le roi des rois,
Sans rien prétendre
Il nous donne des lois.

The Czar himself, however, holds no longer his former control over the Eastern complication. The Sultan has been forced to conjure up the old fanatic spirit, to cause a new invasion of Europe by the rude warlike tribes of Asia, not to be soothed down with diplomatic notes and conventional lies, and there seems transpiring, even through the insolent note of the Muscovite, 5 something like an apprehension at the "warlike spirit" domineering over Stambul. The manifesto, addressed by the Sultan to the Mussulmans, declines any other concession to Russia, and a deputation of the Ulemas is said have called upon the Sultan to abdicate or to declare war without further 10 delay. The division in the Divan is extreme, and the pacific influence of Reschid Pacha and Mustapha Pacha is giving way to that of Mehemet Ali, the Seraskier.

The infatuation of the so-called *radical* London press is quite incredible. After having told us some days ago, that "the laws of England have to be exercised in their *penal rigor upon the persons of four traitors*" (Aberdeen, 15 Clarendon, Palmerston and Russell,) *The Morning Advertiser*, of yesterday, concludes one of its leaders as follows: "Lord Aberdeen must, therefore, make way for a successor. Need we say who that successor must be? There is but one man to whom the country points at this important junction, as fit to be entrusted with the helm of affairs. *That man is Lord Palmerston.*" *The 20 Morning Advertiser* being unable to read events and facts, should at least be able to read the articles of Mr. Urquhart, published day after day in its own columns.

On Tuesday evening a meeting of the inhabitants of Sheffield was called, by requisition to the Mayor, "to take into consideration the present 25 and unsatisfactory state of the Eastern question and the propriety of memorializing government on the subject." A similar meeting is to be held at Stafford and many other attempts are afloat at getting up public demonstrations against Russia and the ministry of "all the talents." But, generally, public attention is absorbed by the rate of discount, corn prices, strikes and com- 30 mercial apprehensions, and more yet by the *cholera* ravaging Newcastle and being met with explanatory notes by the London Board of Health. An order in council has been issued, putting in force the provisions of the *Epidemic Disease Act* for the next six months throughout the Islands; and hasty 35 preparations for the due reception of the scourge are making in London and other great towns. If I shared the opinions of Mr. Urquhart, I should say, that the Czar had dispatched the Cholera morbus to England with the "*secret mission*" to break down the last remnant of what is called the Anglo-Saxon spirit.

A wonderful change has come over the manufacturing districts during the 40 last four weeks. In July and the beginning of August there was nothing to

be seen but bright prosperity, only slightly overshadowed by the distant cloud of the "Eastern Question," and more so, perhaps, by the fear that a shortness of hands would prevent our cotton-lords to explore to the dregs, that immense mine of profitable business which they saw before them. The Eastern
5 dispute seemed settled, the crop might certainly turn out a little short, but there was free trade to keep prices down with the never-failing supplies of America, of the Black Sea and the Baltic. Day after day the demand for manufactured goods went on increasing. California and Australia poured forth their golden treasures into the lap of British industry. *The Times*,
10 forgetting Malthus and all its own former rhapsodies about overpopulation, seriously discussed the question whether the shortness of the supply of working-hands, and consequent rise of wages, would not, by raising the cost of production of British manufactures in a proportionate manner, put a stop to this flourishing trade, unless the Continent sent a colony of workmen. The
15 working classes were, as their employers said, only *too well off*, so much so, that their demands knew no bounds, and their "impudence" was daily becoming more intolerable. But that was in itself a proof of the immense, unheard-of prosperity which the country was enjoying; and what could be the cause of this prosperity but Free Trade? And what was worth more than
20 all this, was the certitude that the enormous trade done was *sound*, that there were no stocks, no wild speculation. Thus the manufacturers, one and all, were wont to express themselves, and they acted upon these views; they built factories by the hundred, they ordered steam engines of thousands of horse-power, thousands of power-looms, hundreds of thousands of spindles. Never
25 was engineering and machine-making a more profitable trade than in 1853. Establishments broken down in the whole of their internal organization by the great strike of 1851, now regained their position, and even improved it; and I could name more than one first-rate and celebrated machine-making firm who, but for this unprecedented business, would have succumbed under
30 the consequence of the blow inflicted by the mechanics during the great turn-out.

The fact is that the bright sunshine of prosperity is for the moment hidden by gloomy clouds. No doubt, the altered aspect of the Eastern dispute has contributed a good deal; but that affects the home, American and Colonial
35 trade very little. The raising of the rate of discount is less a cause than a symptom of something being rotten in the state of Denmark. The shortness of the crop and increase in the price of provisions are no doubt causes which have counteracted and will counteract still more the demand for manufactured goods from those markets which are exposed to the operation of these
40 causes, and among these the home market, the mainstay of British industry, stands in the first rank. But the rise in the price of provisions is at this

moment, in most districts of England and Scotland, very nearly or altogether compensated by the rise of wages, so that the purchasing power of the consumer can hardly be said to have been *already* lessened much. Then the rise in wages has raised the cost of production in those branches of industry in which manual labor prevails; but the price of nearly all manufactured goods was, up to August, pushed a good deal ahead of the cost of production by the large demand. All these causes have cooperated to deaden business; but, after all, they are not sufficient to account for the general anxiety that pervades the commercial classes of the manufacturing districts. 5

The fact is, that the spell of the Free Trade delusions is vanishing away, and the bold industrial adventurers begin to have aghammering that economical revulsions, commercial crises and recurrence of over-production are yet not quite so impossible in a Free Trade country as they dreamt. And over-production there has been, there is, there must be, for even those bugbears of the *Manchester Guardian*, the "*Stocks*," are there; aye, and increasing too. The demand for goods is decidedly falling off, while the supply increases every day. The largest and most numerous of the new industrial constructions are only *now gradually coming into operation*. The shortness of hands, the strikes of the building trades, the impossibility of supplying the enormous quantities of machinery on order, have caused many an untoreseen delay and postponed, for a time, the eruption of those symptoms of industrial plethora which otherwise would have shown themselves sooner. Thus the largest mill in the world, Mr. T. Salt's, near Bradford, was only to be opened this week, and it will take some time yet, ere the whole of the productive power employed there can be brought fully to bear on the market. 10 15 20 25

Thus plenty of the larger new concerns in Lancashire will not be fit for work before winter, *while it will be spring, and perhaps later, before the market will feel the full effect of this new and stupendous accession of productive power*. According to the last news from Melbourne and Sidney, import markets were becoming much duller, and many shipments will now be indefinitely postponed. As to *over-speculation*, we shall hear of that by and by, when accounts come to be closed. Speculation has been distributed over such a variety of articles that it shows less this time than before, although there is plenty of it. 30

Karl Marx. 35

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Panic on the London Stock Exchange—Strikes

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3900, 17. Oktober 1853

London, Thursday, Sept. 29, 1853.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

The intelligence that the combined fleets had passed up the Dardanelles, concurrent with rumors of a change in the Ministry and of commercial
5 difficulties, produced a real panic at the Stock Exchange on Saturday:

"To describe the state of the English funds, or the scene that has prevailed in the Stock Exchange, would be a task of no small difficulty. It is rare that such excitement is witnessed, and it is well that it is infrequent ... It is perhaps no inflation to assert that the *Bearing* at the present time equals
10 almost what took place during the French Revolution ... Funds have this week been done at 91¹/₄ and have not been so low since 1849... In the railway market there has been an incessant fall."

Thus says *The Ministerial Observer*. All the leading railway shares were about 68s. to 80s. cp under the prices of the previous week. As to the sudden
15 pressure of stock upon the market, it would not signify much, as the mere time-dealers are able, at a given moment, to turn the market and intimidate the *bona fide* stockholders. But, coinciding, as it does, with general symptoms of a commercial crisis, the great fluctuation of funds, even if it be of a more speculative character, will prove fatal in its consequences. At
20 all events, this consternation in the money market is condemnatory of any State loans looming in the future, and particularly so of the Austrian ones. Moreover, capitalists are reminded that Austria did pay, in 1811, a dividend Is. 7d. farthing in the pound on their promissory notes; that, notwithstanding her revenue having been screwed up from £12,000,000 to £18,000,000 Ster-
25 ling, by means of a greatly increased pressure of taxation exerted on Hungary and Lombardy since 1849; her annual deficit amounts, on an average, to more than one-quarter of her whole revenue; that about £50,000,000 have been added to her national debt since 1846; and that she only has been prevented
30 from a new bankruptcy by the interested forbearance of the children of Israel, who still hope to rid their tills of heaps of Austrian paper accumulated in them.

"Trade has been pushed on somewhat beyond its proper limits, and our commercial habilities have partially outstripped our means," says *The Observer*. "It is useless," exclaims *The Morning Post*, "to evade the question, for although there are some favorable features in the pending crisis which did not exist in 1847, it must be perceptible to every intelligent observer of passing events that, to say the least of it, a very trying condition of affairs has arrived." The bullion reserve in the Bank of England has again decreased by £338,954, and its reserve of notes—i.e., the fund available for discounts—amounts but to seven millions, a sum fully required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for paying off the dissentient holders of South Sea stock. As to the state of the Corn Market, we learn the following from yesterday's *Mark-lane Express*:

"With average crops we have for years consumed some millions of quarters of foreign Wheat per annum. What, then, are our requirements likely to be under existing circumstances? The produce of Wheat at the utmost cannot be estimated at more than three-quarters of an average, and there is no excess in the yield of any other crop. Potatoes are seriously affected by disease, and have been forced into consumption so rapidly, owing to their unfitness for storing, that this article of food must very shortly become scarce. So enormous has been our consumption that with an importation of 3,304,025 qrs. of Wheat and 3,337,206 cwts. of Flour during the eight months ending the 5th inst, the stocks in granary are by no means excessive. We are anxious not to exaggerate the difficulties the country may be placed in, but *that difficulties exist it would be folly to deny...* The reports as to the yield of Wheat are *very unsatisfactory*; in many cases where the produce has been tested by thrashing, the quantity turned out little more than half of what had been calculated upon."

While thus the bright sunshine of commercial and industrial prosperity is hidden by gloomy prospects, *strikes* are still forming, and will for some time yet form, an important feature of our industrial condition; only they are beginning to change their character contemporary with the change that is now going on in the general condition of the country.

At Bury a new advance of 2d. per 1,000 hanks has been asked on the part of the spinners. Masters refusing, they left work, and the weavers will do so as soon as they have worked up the yarn on hand. At Preston, while the weavers still demand an advance of 10 per cent, being supported by the operatives of the surrounding districts, six masters have already locked up their mills and the others are likely to follow them. Two thousand operatives have thus been thrown out of work. At Blackburn the mechanics of Mr. Dickinson, iron-founder, still remain out. At Wigan the capreelers of one mill have struck for an advance of 1d. per score, and the throstle-spinners of

another mill refused to commence work until their wages were advanced. The mills were closed. At the same place the coal-miners' strike, embracing about 5,000 hands, is going on. The Earl of Crawford, and other extensive coal-miners in the neighborhood, dismissed their hands on Wednesday
 5 evening. A numerous meeting of the colliers was then held in Scales' Orchard. At Manchester, 5,000 looms stand still, besides the minor strikes going forward, such as that of the fustian-dyers, the skein-dyers, felt-hat makers, etc. At Bolton, meetings of the operative cotton-spinners are being held for an advance of wages. There are shoemakers' strikes at Trenton, Bridgewater,
 10 etc. ; cab-drivers' strikes at Glasgow ; masons' strikes at Kilmarnock; threatened turn-outs of the police at Oldham, etc. At Birmingham, nailers demand an advance of 10 per cent. ; at Wolverhampton, the carpenters one of 6d. per day; the London carpenters ditto, and so on. While through the principal manufacturing towns of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, etc., the opéra-
 is tives are holding public meetings, to decide upon measures for the support of their suffering brethren, the masters on the other hand are resolved to close their establishments for an indefinite period, with the design of starving their hands into subjection.

"We find," says *The Sunday Times*, "that generally speaking, the demand
 20 for an advance of wages has not exceeded 6d. a day; and, looking at the present price of provisions, it can hardly be said that the demand is an unreasonable one. We know it has been said that one aim of the present strikers is to obtain a sort of *communistic share* of the real or supposed profits of the manufacturer; but the comparison between the *increased demand*
 25 *for wages* and the *enhanced value of the prime necessities of life*, furnishes an ample refutation of the charge."

When the working people ask for more than "the prime necessities of life," when they pretend "to share" in the profits resulting from their own
 30 industry, then they are accused of *communistic* tendencies. What has the price of provisions to do with the "eternal and supreme law of supply and demand?" In 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842, while there was a continued rise in the price of provisions, wages were sinking until they reached the starvation point. "Wages," said then the same manufacturers, "don't depend upon the price of provisions, but upon the eternal law of supply and demand."
 35 "The demands of the working people," says *The Sunday Times*, "may be submitted to when 'urged in a *respectful manner*'." What has *respect* to do with the "eternal law of supply and demand?" Has any one ever heard of the price of coffee rising at Mincing-lane when "urged in a *respectful manner*?" The trade in human flesh and blood, being carried on in the same
 40 manner as that of any other commodity, give it at least the chances of any other.

The wages-movement has been going on now for a period of six months. Let us judge it by the test acknowledged on the part of the masters themselves, by the "eternal laws of supply and demand," or are we, perhaps, to understand, that the eternal laws of political economy must be interpreted in the same manner as the eternal peace-treaties Russia has concluded with Turkey? 5

Six months ago the workpeople, had they even found their position not strengthened by the great demand for their labor, by constant and enormous emigration to the gold fields and to America, must have inferred the enhancement of industrial profits from the general prosperity-cry uttered by the middle-class press exulting at the blessings of Free Trade. The workmen, of course, demanded their share of that so loudly proclaimed prosperity, but the masters fought hard against them. Then, the workmen combine, threaten to strike, enforce their demands in a more or less amicable manner. Wherever a strike occurs, the whole of the masters and their organs in pulpit, platform and press, break out into immoderate vituperation of the "impudence and stupidity" "of such *attempts at dictation*." Now, what did the strikes prove, if not that the workmen preferred applying a mode of their own of testing the proportion of the supply to the demand rather than to trust to the interested assurances of their employers? Under certain circumstances, there is for the workman no other means of ascertaining whether he is or not paid to the actual market value of his labor, but to strike or to threaten to do so. In 1852, on an average, the margin between the cost of the raw material and the price of the finished goods—for instance, the margin between the cost of raw cotton and that of yarn, between the price of yarn and that of cotton goods, was greater, consequently the profit of the spinner and the manufacturer was undoubtedly larger than it has been in 1853. Neither yarn nor goods have, until very lately, risen in the same proportion as cotton. Why, then, did the manufacturers not advance wages at once in 1852? There was no cause, say they, in the relative position of supply and demand justifying such a rise of wages in 1852. Indeed? Hands were not quite as short a year ago as they are now, but the difference is out of proportion to the sudden and repeated rise of wages forced out of the manufacturers since then, by virtue of the law of supply and demand, as expounded by turn-outs. There are, certainly, more factories at work than last year, and more able-bodied workmen have emigrated since then, but at the same time never has there been such a supply of factory labor poured into our "hives of industry" from agricultural and other pursuits, as during the last twelve months. 10 15 20 25 30 35

The fact is that the "hands," as usual, perceived, only too late, that the value of their labor had risen 30 per cent, many a month ago, and then, in the summer of this year—only then—they began to strike, first for 10 per cent., 40

then for another 10 per cent., and so on, for as much, of course, as they could get. The constant success of these strikes, while it generalized them all over the country, was the best proof of their legitimacy and their rapid succession in the same branch of trade, by the same "hands" claiming fresh advances,
5 fully proved that according to supply and demand the work-people had long been entitled to a rise of wages, which was merely kept from them on account of their being ignorant of the state of the labor market. When they at last became acquainted with it, the manufacturers, who had all the while preached "the eternal law of supply and demand," fell back on the doctrine
10 of "enlightened despotism," claiming the right to do as they liked with themselves, and propounding as their angry *ultimatum* that the work-people don't know what is good for them.

The change in the general commercial prospects must change the relative position of the work-people and their employers. Sudden as it came on, it
15 found many strikes begun, still more in preparation. No doubt, there will be more, in spite of the depression, and, also, for a rise of wages, for as to the argument of the manufacturer, that he cannot afford to advance, the workmen will reply, that provisions are dearer; both arguments being equally powerful. However, should, as I suppose, the depression prove lasting, the
20 work-people will soon get the worst of it, and have to struggle—very unsuccessfully—against *reduction*. But then their activity will soon be carried over to the *political field*, and the *new organization of trades, gained in the strikes, will be of immense value to them.*

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
The Russians in Turkey

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3900, 17. Oktober 1853

The Russians in Turkey.

The certainty of war, and the probability that each steamer that now arrives from Europe will report the manoeuvres of armies and the results of battles, render it more than ever necessary accurately to understand the respective positions and forces of the combatants, and the various facts which will govern the movements of the campaign. This necessity we propose to meet by a succinct analysis of the elements of offense and defense on both sides, and of the leading strategic considerations which are likely to have weight on the minds of the opposing commanders. 5

The Russian troops occupying the Danubian Principalities consisted, at the beginning, of two infantry corps and the usual amount of reserve cavalry and artillery. An infantry corps in Russia, counts three divisions, or six brigades of infantry, several regiments of light cavalry, and a brigade of artillery, which, altogether, should amount to about 55,000 men, with about a hundred guns. To every two infantry corps there is a "reserve cavalry corps" and some reserve artillery, including heavy siege artillery. Thus, the original army of occupation amounts, upon paper, to something like 125,000 men. A third infantry corps has since begun to cross the Pruth, and we may, therefore, after all due deductions, consider the Russian forces concentrated on the Danube, to number from 140,000 to 150,000 fighting men. How many, in a given moment, may be able to rally around the standards, depends upon the sanitary condition of the district, the greater or less efficiency of the Russian commissariat, and other circumstances of a similar nature which it is impossible correctly to estimate at a distance. 10 15 20

From all the information at our command, the Turkish army opposed to the Russians on the Danube, may be estimated at the very outside, at 110,000 to 120,000 men. Before the arrival of the Egyptian contingent, it was generally asserted not to surpass 90,000 men. There is, then, as far as we can judge, an evident inferiority of numbers on the part of the Turks. And as to the 25

intrinsic value and quality of either army, an equal superiority on the part of the Russians must be admitted. It is true that the Turkish artillery, formed by excellent French and Prussian officers, enjoys a high reputation, while the Russian gunners are notoriously poor marksmen; but in spite of all recent
5 improvements, the Turkish infantry cannot be compared to Russian grenadiers, and Turkish horsemen still lack that discipline and steadiness in battle which will allow of a second and a third charge after the first has been repulsed.

The Generals, on both sides, are comparatively new men. The military
10 merits of Prince Gorchakoff, the Russian commander, and the reasons why the Emperor appointed him to that post, we have already had occasion to state to our readers. An honest man, and a zealous partisan of Russia's "manifest destiny," it yet remains to be seen whether he can conduct a campaign of such magnitude as that now opening. Omer Pasha, the Turkish
15 generalissimo, is better known, and what we know of him is generally favorable. His expeditions against Kurdistan and Montenegro were, the first successful under difficult circumstances; the second, exceedingly well planned, and certain of almost bloodless success, but for the interference of diplomacy. The chief superiority, then, which can be found on the side
20 of the Turks is, perhaps, that of generalship; in most other respects the Russians have the advantage.

Though the Turks have declared war, and are perhaps, more vehement in their disposition to come to blows than the Russians; it seems evident, that as the weaker party, they will find the greater advantage in defensive, and
25 the Russians in offensive action. This of course excludes the chances which may arise from glaring mistakes in the arrangements of either General. If the Turks were strong enough for the offensive, their tactics would be plain. They would then have to deceive the Russians by false maneuvers on the upper Danube, concentrate their forces rapidly between Silistria and Hir-
30 sova, cross the lower Danube, fall upon the enemy where his position is weakest, namely, at the narrow strip of land forming the frontier between Wallachia, and Moldavia; and then separating the Russian troops in both PrincipaUties from each other, repel with concentrated forces the corps in Moldavia, and crush that which would find itself isolated and cut off in
35 Wallachia. But as all the chances of an offensive movement are against the Turks, they could reasonably undertake a similar operation in consequence only of egregious blunders on the part of the Russian General.

If the Russians seize the opportunity for offensive action, they have two natural obstacles to pass before they penetrate to the heart of the Turkish
40 empire; first the Danube and then the Balkan. The passage of a large river, even in presence of a hostile army, is a military feat so often performed

during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, that every lieutenant now-a-days can tell how it is to be done. A few feigned movements, a well appointed pontoon train, some batteries to cover the bridges, good measures for securing the retreat, and a brave vanguard, are about all the conditions required. But the crossing of a great mountain range, and especially one provided with so few passes and practicable roads as the Balkan, is a more serious operation. And when this mountain range runs parallel to the river, at a distance of no more than forty or sixty miles, as the Balkan does to the Danube, the matter becomes more serious still, as a corps defeated on the hills may, by active pursuit, be cut off from its bridges and thrown into the river before succor can arrive; an army, thus defeated in a great battle, would be inevitably lost. It is this proximity and parallel direction of the Danube and the Balkan which forms the natural military strength of Turkey. The Balkan, from the Macedo-Servian frontier to the Black Sea, that is the Balkan proper, "Veliki Balkan," has five passes, two of which are high roads, such as high roads are in Turkey. These two are the passes of Ichtiman, on the road from Belgrade, through Sofia, Philippople and Adrianople to Constantinople, and of Dobrol, on the road from Silistria and Shumla. The other three, of which two are between the above and the third towards the Black Sea, may be considered as impracticable for a large army, with the impediments of war. They may give passage to smaller corps, perhaps even to light field artillery, but they cannot be made the lines of operation and of communication for the main body of the invaders.

In 1828 and 1829, the Russian forces operated upon the line from Silistria by Dobrol to Adrianople, and indeed, this route being the shortest and most direct from the Russian frontier to the Turkish Capital, offers itself as the most natural to any Russian army which comes from the north, is supported by a fleet in **undisputed** possession of the Black Sea, and whose object is to bring matters to a speedy decision by a victorious march upon Constantinople. In order to pass by this road, a Russian army, after having passed the Danube, has to force a strong position flanked by the two fortresses of Shumla and Varna, to blockade or to take both of these fortresses, and then to pass the Balkan. In 1828, the Turks risked their main strength in this position. They were defeated at Kulevcha; Varna and Shumla were taken, the defense of the Balkan was but feeble, and the Russians arrived at Adrianople, very much enfeebled, it is true, but yet having encountered no resistance, as the Turkish army was completely dissolved and not a brigade at hand for the defense of Constantinople. The Turks committed, on that occasion, a great mistake. A range of mountains, as every officer understands, must not be defended by a defensive position in front of it, nor by dividing the defending armies so as to block up all the passes; but by taking

up a central position behind it, by observing all the passes, and when the enemy's intentions are clearly developed, by falling with concentrated forces upon the heads of his columns as they emerge from the various ravines of the mountain range. The strong position across the Russian line of operations
5 between Varna and Shumla led the Turks to make that decisive stand there, which, with more concentrated strength and against an enemy necessarily weakened by sickness and detachments, they ought to have made in the plain of Adrianople.

Thus we see that in the defense of the line from Silistria to Adrianople
10 the passage of the Danube ought to be defended without risking a decisive action. The second stand should be made *behind*, not *between*, Shumla and Varna, and no decisive action risked unless the chances of victory are *very great*. Retreat across the Balkan is the next step leaving the passes defended by detachments, capable of as much resistance as may appear advisable
15 without bringing on a decisive engagement. In the mean time the Russians will weaken themselves by blockading the fortresses, and, if they follow their anterior practice, they will again take these fortresses by storm, and lose a great many men by the operation; for it is a curious fact, and characteristic of the Russian army, that up to the present time it has, unaided, *never been*
20 *able to lay a regular siege*. The want of skillful engineers and artilleryists, the impossibility of creating in a barbarous country large magazines of war, material for sieges, or even to carry across immense tracts of country whatever material may exist, have always driven the Russians to the necessity of carrying every fortified place by assault after a short, violent, but
25 seldom very effective cannonade. Thus Suworow took Ismail and Ochakof ; thus, in 1828 and 1829, the Turkish fortresses in Europe and Asia were stormed; and thus they carried Warsaw in 1831. In either case the Russian army will arrive at the passes of the Balkan in a weakened condition, while the Turks have had time to concentrate their detachments from all sides. If
30 the invaders are not repelled while attempting to cross the Balkan, by a dash of the whole Turkish army, the decisive battle may be fought under the walls of Adrianople, and then, if the Turks are defeated, they will at least have exhausted all the chances left them.

But a Russian victory at Adrianople can, under present circumstances,
35 decide very little. The British and French fleets are at Constantinople, and in their teeth no Russian General can march upon that capital. The Russians, arrested at Adrianople, unable to rely on the support of their fleet, which itself would be menaced, would soon fall victims by thousands to disease, and have to retrace their steps beyond the Balkan. Thus, even in victory,
40 they would be defeated as regards their great object in the war. There is, however, another line of operations which they may, perhaps, more advanta-

geously take. It is indicated by the route which leads from Widdin and Nikopolis, by way of Sofia, to Adrianople. Apart from political considerations, it would never enter the head of any sensible Russian General to follow this route. But so long as Russia can depend on Austria—so long as the approach of a Russian army to the Servian frontier, combined with Russian intrigues in Servia, may excite insurrectionary movements in that country, in Montenegro, and among the predominant Greco-Slavic population of Bosnia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria—so long as the crowning operation of a strictly military campaign, the taking of Constantinople, is out of the question, from the presence of a European fleet—so long this plan of campaign will be the only one which the Russians can adopt with much chance of success, and without forcing England and France to determined hostile action by too direct a march upon Constantinople.

It appears, indeed, from the present position of the Russian army, that something of this sort is projected. Its right wing has been extended to Krajowa, near the western frontier of Wallachia, and a general shifting of its array toward the upper Danube has taken place. As this maneuver is entirely out of the line of operations by Silistria and Shumla, it can only have for its object to put the Russians in communication with Servia, the center of Slavonic nationality and Greek Catholicism in Turkey. A defensive position on the lower Danube, combined with an advance across the upper Danube toward Sofia, would be perfectly safe if supported by Austria, combined with a movement of the Turkish Slavonians in favor of national independence; and such a movement could not be more forcibly provoked than by a march of the Russian army into the very heart of the Slavonic population of Turkey. Thus, the Czar will obtain far more easily and in a far less offensive manner what he has claimed throughout the controversy. This is the organization of all the Turkish Slavonians in distinct principalities, such as Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia now are. With Bulgaria, Montenegro and Macedonia under the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan and the real protection of the Czar, Turkey in Europe would be confined to the environs of Constantinople and deprived of its nursery of soldiers, Albania. This would be a far better result for Russia than a decisive victory at Adrianople, followed by a dead stand of her armies. It is a result which appearances indicate that she is about to try for. Whether she is not mistaken in relying on the Slavonians of Turkey is a doubtful question, though there will be no cause of astonishment should they all declare against her.

Karl Marx
Lord Palmerston
(As published in the "New-York Tribune")

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3902, 19. Oktober 1853

Palmerston.

The Eastern complications have worked a great change in England, if not as to parties, at least as to the men at the head of parties. Lord Palmerston has again become a popular favorite. He is in everybody's mouth, he is the
5 only man to save England, he is confidently announced as the indispensable Premier of any modified Cabinet, extolled alike by the Tories, the Whigs, the self-styled patriots, the press, and public opinion in general.

So extraordinary a phenomenon is the Palmerston mania that one is tempted to suppose it to be of a merely factitious character, got up not for home
10 consumption, but as an article of export, destined for foreign use. This, however, would be a mistake. Ruggiero is again and again fascinated by the false charms of Alcine, which, as he knows, disguise an old witch, "sans eyes, sans teeth, sans taste, sans everything," and the knight-errant cannot withstand falling in love with her anew, whom he knows to have transmuted all
15 her former adorers into asses and other beasts. The English public is another Ruggiero and Palmerston another Alcine. Although a septuagenarian, who, since 1807, has occupied the public stage almost without interruption, he continues to remain a novelty, and to evoke all the hopes that used to center upon untried and promising youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed
20 not to have begun his true career. If he were to die to-morrow all England would be surprised to learn that he had been a Secretary of State, for half a century.

If not a good statesman of all work he is a good actor of all work. He succeeds in the comic as in the heroic, in pathos as in familiarity, in tragedy
25 as in farce, although the latter may be more congenial to his feelings. He is not a first-class orator, but an accomplished debater. Possessed of a wonderful memory, of great experience, of consummate tact, of never-failing presence of mind, of gentleman-like variety of talent, of the most minute knowledge of parliamentary tricks, intrigues, parties and men, he handles

difficult cases in an admirable manner, and with a pleasant volatility, sticking to the prejudices and the susceptibilities of his audience, secured from any surprise by his cynic impudence, from any self-confession by his selfish dexterity, and from running into a passion by his profound frivolity, his perfect indifference, and his aristocratic contempt. Being an exceedingly 5
happy joker, he ingratiates himself with every body. Never losing his temper, he imposes on passionate antagonists. If unable to master a subject, he knows how to play with it. If wanting general views, he is always ready to weave a web of elegant generalities.

Endowed with a restless and indefatigable spirit, he abhors inactivity and 10
pines for agitation, if not for action. A country like England allows him, of course, to busy himself in every corner of the earth. If he can do nothing, he will devise anything. Where he dares not interfere, he intermeddles. When unable to vie with a strong enemy he extemporizes a weak one. What he aims at is not the substance, but the mere appearance of success. Being no man 15
of deep designs, pondering on no combinations of long standing, pursuing no great object, he embarks in difficulties with a view to disentangle himself from them in a showy manner. He wants complications to feed his activity, and when he finds them not ready, he will create them. He exults in show-
conflicts, show-battles, show-enemies, diplomatic notes to be exchanged, 20
ships to be ordered to sail, all ending in violent parliamentary debates, which are sure to prepare for him an ephemeral success—the constant and exclusive object of all his exertions. He manages international conflicts like an artist, driving matters to a certain point, retreating when they threaten to become serious, but having got, at all events, the dramatic excitement he desires. The 25
history of the world is, in his eyes, a pastime, expressly invented for the noble Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston. He is a great sample of that species designated by Thomas Carlyle as the sham captains of the world.

Yielding to foreign influence in fact, he opposes it in words. Having in-
herited from Canning England's mission of propagating Constitutionalism 30
on the continent, he never lacks a theme to pique the national prejudices, so as to counteract revolution abroad, and, at the same time to keep awake the suspicious jealousy of foreign powers. Having succeeded in this easy manner in becoming the *bête noire* of the continental courts, he could not fail to be set up as the truly English minister at home. Although a Tory by 35
origin, he has introduced into the management of foreign affairs all the shams that form the essence of Whiggism. He knows how to conciliate a large phraseology with narrow views, how to clothe the policy of a peace-mongering middle-class in the haughty language of England's aristocratic past, how to appear an aggressor where he yields, and a defender where he 40
betrays, how to manage his apparent enemy, and how to exasperate his

pretended ally, how to find himself, at the opportune moment, on the side of the stronger against the weak, and how to utter brave words in the act of running away.

Accused by one party of being in the pay of Russia, he is supposed by the
5 others to be made up of Carbonarism. If, in 1848, he had to defend himself
against a motion of impeachment for having acted as the minister of Nicholas, he had, in 1850, the satisfaction of being persecuted by a conspiracy of
foreign ambassadors, which was successful in the House of Lords but baffled
in the House of Commons. If he has betrayed foreign peoples, he did it with
10 great politeness, politeness being the small coin of the devil, which he gives
in change for the life-blood of his dupes. If the oppressors were always sure
of his active support, the oppressed never lacked a great ostentation of his
rhetorical generosity. Poles, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, found him in
office, whenever they were crushed, but their despots suspected him always
15 of secret conspiracy with the victims he had already allowed them to make.
At all events, it has been till now a probable chance of success to have him
for one's adversary, and a sure chance of ruin to have him for one's friend.
But, if his art of diplomacy does not shine in the actual results of his foreign
negotiations, it shines the more brilliantly in the construction he has induced
20 the English people to lay upon them, by accepting phrases for facts, phan-
toms for realities, and high-sounding pretexts for shabby motives.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, deriving his title from a peerage
of Ireland, was nominated Lord of the Admiralty in 1807, on the formation
of the Duke of Portland's administration. In 1809 he was created Secretary
25 at War, and continued to hold this office till May, 1828. In 1830 he went over
to the Whigs, who made him their permanent minister of Foreign Affairs.
Excepting the intervals of Tory administration from November, 1834, till
April, 1835, and from 1841 to 1846, he is responsible for the whole foreign
policy of England from the revolution of 1830 till December, 1851.

30 Is it not a very curious thing to find, at first view, this Quixotte of free
institutions and this Pindar of the "glories of the constitutional system," a
permanent and active member of the Tory Administrations of Mr. Perceval,
the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich and the Duke of Wellington,
during the fatal epoch when the Anti-Jacobin war was carried on, the
35 monster debt contracted, the corn laws enacted, foreign troops stationed in
England, the people "Weeded" from time to time, the press gagged, meetings
suppressed, the mass of the nation disarmed, individual liberty together with
the regular jurisdiction of the courts, suspended, the whole country placed
as it were under a state of siege—in one word, during the most infamous and
40 most reactionary epoch of English history?

His debut in Parliamentary life was of a no less characteristic sort. On

February 3, 1808, he rose to defend—what? Secrecy in diplomatic negotiations, and the most disgusting act ever committed by any nation against another nation, namely, the bombardment of Copenhagen and the capture of the Danish fleet at a time when England was supposed to be in profound peace with Denmark. As to the first point, he stated that, in this particular case, his Majesty's ministers "are pledged to secrecy," but he improved on this statement: "I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information." Vidocq would have defended the identical cause in the identical terms. As to the act of piracy itself, while admitting that Denmark had evidenced no hostility whatever to Great Britain, he justified the bombarding its capital and the stealing its fleet on the plea that it had been done to prevent Danish neutrality from being converted into open hostility on the compulsion of France. This was the new law of nations he proclaimed.

When again speechifying, we find this English minister *par excellence* engaged in the defense of the foreign troops, called over from the Continent to England with the express mission of maintaining forcibly the oligarchic rule, to establish which William had come over in 1688, accompanied by his Dutch troops. To the well-founded "apprehensions for the liberties of the country," originating from the presence of the King's German Legion, Palmerston answered with great flippancy of manner: "Why should we not have 16,000 of those foreigners at home, while you know that we employ a far larger proportion of foreigners abroad?" When similar "apprehensions" arose from the large standing army, maintained since 1815 in England, he found "a sufficient protection of the constitution in the very constitution of our army," a large proportion of the officers being "men of property and connections." When the large standing army was attacked from a financial point of view, he made the curious discovery, that "much of our commercial embarrassment has been caused by our former low peace establishment." When the "burdens of the country" and the "misery of the people" were contrasted with the vast military expenditure, he reminded Parliament that those burdens and that misery "were the price which we (the English Oligarchy) agreed to pay for *our* freedom and independence."

If in his eyes, military despotism was to be apprehended, it was only from the exertions of "those self-called but misled reformers who demand that sort of reform in the country which, according to every just principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism." While large standing armies were thus his panacea for maintaining the constitution of the country, corporal punishment and flogging were his panacea for maintaining the constitution of the army. He defended flogging in the debates

on the Mutiny bill on March 5, 1824; he declared it to be "absolutely indispensable" on March 11, 1825; he recommended it again on March 10, 1828; he stood by it in the debates of April, 1833, and he has proved a true amateur of flogging on every subsequent occasion. There has existed no abuse in the
 5 army which he would not gift with plausible reasons, if it happened to foster the momentary interests of aristocratic parasites. An instance of this may be found in the debates on the sale of half-pay commissions, on March 12, 1828.

Lord Palmerston likes to parade his constant exertions for the establish-
 10 ment of religious liberty. Now, he voted against Lord John Russell's motion for the "*Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*," and why? Because he was "a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty, and could, therefore, not allow the Dissenters to be relieved from imaginary grievances, while real inflictions pressed upon the Catholics." "I regret," he informs us, "to see
 15 the increasing number of Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predominant one in this country;" and from pure love and zeal for religious liberty he wants this Established Church to be fed at the expense of the misbelievers. His jocose Lordship accuses the rich Dissenters of satisfying the ecclesiastical wants of the poorer ones, while "with
 20 the Church of England it is the poor alone who want church accommodations; it would be preposterous to say that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their small earnings." It would of course be yet more preposterous to say that the rich members of the Established Church ought to subscribe for churches out of their large earnings.

Let us now look at his exertions for Catholic Emancipation—one of his
 25 great aims having been to gain the gratitude of the Irish people. We do not dwell on the circumstance that, having declared himself for Catholic Emancipation when a member of the Canning ministry, he nevertheless entered the Wellington ministry avowedly hostile to that measure. Did Lord Palmerston,
 30 then consider religious liberty as one of the rights of man, not to be intermeddled with by legislation? He may answer for himself: "Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit these claims to stand upon the *ground of right*. If I thought the Catholics were asking for their right, I, for one, would not go into the Committee." And why did he oppose their
 35 asking for their right? "Because the legislature of a country has the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community as it may deem necessary for the safety and the welfare of the whole. This belongs to the *fundamental principles* on which a civilized government is founded." Here, then, we have the most cynical confession ever made, that the mass
 40 of the people have no rights at all, but that they may enjoy that quantity of immunities the legislature, or in other words, the ruling class, may deem fit

to grant them. In accordance with this, Lord Palmerston declared in plain words, "Catholic Emancipation to be a measure of grace and favor."

It was then entirely upon the ground of expediency that he condescended to discontinue the Catholic disabilities. And what was lurking behind this expediency? Being himself one of the great Irish landed proprietors, he 5 wanted to entertain the delusion that "other remedies for Irish evils than -Emancipation are impossible;" that it would cure Absenteeism, and prove a cheap substitute for poor laws. This great philanthropist, who afterward cleared his Irish estates of their Irish natives, could not allow Irish misery to darken, even for one moment, with its inauspicious clouds, the bright sky 10 over the Parliament of landlords and money lords. "It is true," he exclaims, "that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy all the comforts which are enjoyed by the peasantry of England." Only think of all the comforts enjoyed by a family at the rate of seven shillings a week. "Still," he continues, "still, however, the Irish peasant has his comforts. He is well supplied with fuel, 15 and is seldom (only five days out of six) at a loss for food." But this is not all the comfort he has. He has a greater "cheerfulness of mind" than his English fellow-sufferer. As to the extortions of Irish landlords, he deals with them in a no less pleasant way than with the comforts of the Irish peasantry. "It is said that the Irish landlord insists on the highest possible rent that can 20 be extorted. Why, Sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance. Certainly, in England the landlord does the same thing." Are we, then, to be surprised that this man, so deeply initiated into the mysteries of "the glories of the English Constitution" and the comforts of "free institutions," aspires at spreading them all over the Continent? 25

It is known that, when the Reform-movement had grown irresistible, Lord Palmerston deserted the camp of the Tories, and skilfully effected his junction with the Whigs. We have seen that he once apprehended danger of military despotism from the demands of the self-called Reformers. Nevertheless, as early as 1828, he patronised the extension of the franchise 30 to such large industrial places as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester, "*not because I am a friend to Reform in principle, but because I am its decided enemy,*" calculating that some timely compromise with the overgrown factory-kings might be the only way of escaping "*the introduction of general reform.*" Having passed over to the Whigs, he did not even pretend that their 35 Reform bill aimed at breaking through the narrow trammels of the Venetian Constitution, but, on the contrary, at increasing its strength and solidity, by severing the middle-class interest from the people's opposition. "The feelings of the middle classes will be changed, and their dissatisfaction will be converted into that attachment to the Constitution, which will give to it a vast 40 increase of strength and solidity." He consoled the Peers by telling them that



the Reform bill would neither weaken "the influence of the House of Lords," nor put a stop to its "interfering in elections." He told the Aristocracy that the Constitution was not to lose its feudal character, "the landed interest being the great foundation upon which rests the fabric of society and the
5 institutions of the country." He allayed their fears by throwing out ironical hints that "we have been charged with not being in earnest or sincere in our desire to give to the people a real representation," that "it was said we only proposed to give a different form of influence to the aristocracy and the landed interest." He even went so far as to own that, beside the inevitable
10 concessions to be made to the overgrown manufacturing interest, "disfranchisement," that is to say, a new kind of distribution of rotten boroughs between the Tory Aristocrats and the Whig Aristocrats was the chief and leading principle of the Reform bill.

We will now return to his performances in the foreign branch of policy
15 during the Tory period of his Ufe. In 1823, when, in consequence of the resolutions of the Congress of Verona, a French army was marched into Spain, in order to overturn the Constitution of that country and to deliver it up to the merciless vengeance of the Bourbon idiot and his suite of bigot monks, Lord Palmerston disclaimed any Quixotic crusade for "abstract
20 principles"—any intervention in favor of a people whose heroic resistance had saved England from Napoleon, The words he addressed on that occasion to his Whig opponents are a true and lively picture of his own foreign policy, after he had become their permanent Minister of Foreign Affairs. "Some," said he, "would have had us use threats in negotiation without being prepared
25 for going to war, if negotiation failed. To have talked of war and to have meant neutrahty—to have threatened an army and to have retreated behind a state-paper—to have brandished the sword of defiance in the hour of deliberation and to have ended in a penful of protests on the day of battle, would have been the conduct of a cowardly bully, and would have made us
30 the object of contempt and the laughing-stock of Europe."

At last we arrive at the Grecian and Turkish debates, which afforded Lord Palmerston the first opportunity of displaying publicly his talents as the unflinching and persevering advocate of Russia in the Cabinet and in the House. One by one he reechoed the watchwords given by Russia, of Turkish
35 monstrosity—Greek civilization, religious liberty, Christianity, etc. At first we meet him repudiating, as the Minister of War, any intention of passing a censure "upon the meritorious conduct of Admiral Codrington," which caused the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, although he admitted that "the battle took place against a power with which we are not at war."

40 After this, having left office, he opened his long series of attacks upon Lord Aberdeen by reproaching him with having been too slow in the execution of

the Czar's orders. "Has there been much more energy and promptitude in fulfilling our engagements to Greece? July, 1829, is coming fast upon us, and the treaty of July, 1827, is still unexecuted. The Morea indeed, has been cleared of the Turks, but why were the arms of France checked at the Isthmus of Corinth? The narrow policy of England stepped in and arrested her progress. But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the Isthmus as they have done with that to the South, by occupying at once all that which must be assigned to Greece? I should have thought that the allies had had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece." 5

It is well known that it was Prince Metternich, who at that time opposed the encroachments of Russia, and that her diplomatic agents, such as Pozzo di Borgo, Prince Lieven and others, had accordingly received orders to denounce Austria, as the stupid ally of the Sultan. Lord Palmerston followed of course in the beaten track: "By the narrowness of her views, the unfortunate prejudices of her policy, Austria has almost reduced herself to the level of a second-rate power," and in consequence of the temporizing policy of Aberdeen, "England is now represented as the keystone of that arch of which Miguel and Spain and Austria and Mahmud, are the component parts. It is thus that people see in the delay in executing the treaty of July not so much fear of Turkish resistance, as invincible repugnance to Grecian freedom." 10 15 20

For half a century one phrase has stood as a barrier between Russia and Constantinople—the phrase of the integrity of the Turkish Empire being necessary to the balance of power. "I object" exclaims Palmerston on Feb. 5, 1830, "to the policy of making the integrity of the Turkish dominion in Europe an object essentially necessary to the interests of Christian and civilized Europe." Again he returns to attack Aberdeen: "I, for one, shall not be satisfied with a number of dispatches from the Government of England, which will no doubt read well and smooth enough, urging in general terms, the propriety of conciliating Russia, but accompanied, perhaps, by strong expressions of the regard which England bears to Turkey, which when read by an interested party, might easily be made to appear more than was really intended. I should like to see, that while England adopted a firm resolution—almost the only course she could adopt—upon no consideration and in no event to take part with Turkey in that war, that that decision was fairly and frankly communicated to the Turk. There are three merciless things: time, fire and the Sultan." 25 30 35

Before proceeding further, let us recall to memory a few historical facts: Russia having seized on Gokcheh, a strip of land bordering on the lake of Sevan, (the undisputed possession of Persia,) demanded, as the price of its evacuation, the abandonment of Capan—another portion of the Persian 40

territory. Persia not yielding, was overrun, vanquished, and forced to subscribe to the treaty of Turcomanchai, in February, 1828. According to this treaty, Persia had to pay an indemnity of two millions sterling to Russia, to cede the provinces of Erivan and Nuktchivan, including the fortresses of
5 Erivan and Abassabad, in order to define the common frontier by the Araxes; this being the only means, as Nicholas pretended, of preventing any future disputes between the two empires. But at the same time, he refused to give back Talish and Moghan, situated beyond the Russian side of the Araxes. Finally, Persia was also bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian Sea. Such
10 were the origin and the results of the Russo-Persian war. As to the religion and the liberty of Greece, Russia cared, then, as much about them, as the "God of the Russians" cares now about the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and the famous Cupola. It was the traditional policy of Russia to excite the Grecians to revolt, and then to abandon them to the vengeance of the Sultan.
15 So profound was her sympathy for the regeneration of Hellas, that she treated them as rebels at the Congress of Verona, acknowledging the Sultan's right to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his Christian subjects. In fact, the Czar "offered to aid the Porte in suppressing the Greek rebellion"—a proposition which was, of course, rejected. Having
20 failed in this attempt, he turned round upon the great Powers, by proposing "to march an army into Turkey, for the purpose of dictating peace under the walls of the Seraglio." But, in order to hold his hands bound by common act, the Powers concluded with him a treaty at London, on July 6, 1827, by which they mutually engaged to enforce the adjustment of the differences between
25 Turkey and Greece. A few months after signing that treaty, Russia concluded with Turkey the treaty of Akerman, on the express understanding that she should renounce all interference in Greece. This treaty had been brought about after Russia had induced the Prince Royal of Persia to invade the Ottoman dominions, and after she had inflicted the greatest injuries on the
30 Porte, in order to drive it to a rupture. All this having taken place, the resolutions of the London treaties of July 6, 1827, were presented one fine morning, to the Porte, in the name of Russia and the other Powers.

In consequence of the complications resulting from the Russian lies and frauds, the Czar at last found a pretext to begin the war of 1828 and 1829.
35 This was terminated by the treaty of Adrianople, whose substance is contained in the following quotation from McNeill's celebrated pamphlet on the progress of Russia in the East:

"By the treaty of Adrianople the Czar acquired Anapa and Poti, with a considerable extent of coast on the Black Sea, a portion of the Pachalik of
40 Akhilska, with the two fortresses of Akhilska and Akhilkilak, the islands formed by the mouth of the Danube. The destruction of the Turkish fortress

of Georgiova and the abandonment by Turkey of the right bank of the Danube to the distance of several miles from the river, were stipulated—partly by force, and partly by the influence of the priesthood many thousand families of the Armenians were removed from the Turkish provinces in Asia to the Czar's territories. He established for his own subjects in Turkey an exemption from all responsibility to the national authorities, and burdened the Porte with an immense debt under the name of expenses for the war and for commercial losses, and finally retained Moldavia and Wallachia and Silistria in pledge for its payment. Having by this treaty imposed upon Turkey the acceptance of the protocol of March 22, which secured to her the suzerainty of Greece, and a yearly tribute from this country, Russia used all her influence to procure the *independence of Greece* which was indeed erected into an independent state; of which Count Capo d'Istria, *who had been a Russian Minister*, was named President.

These are the facts. Now look at the picture drawn of them by the master-hand of Lord Palmerston in a speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 16, 1830: "It is perfectly true that the war between Russia and Turkey arose out of aggressions made by Turkey on the commerce and rights of Russia, and violations of treaties." We find him, however, as the Whig Minister of Foreign Affairs improving on this theme: "The honorable and gallant member (Col. Evans) has represented the conduct of Russia as one of unvarying aggression upon other States, from 1815 to the present time. He adverted more particularly to the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey. Russia was the aggressor in neither of them, and although the result of the Persian war was an aggrandizement of her power, it was *not a result of her own seeking*. Again, in the Turkish war Russia was not the aggressor. It would be fatiguing to the House to detail all the provocations Turkey offered to Russia; but I believe there cannot be a doubt that she violated all the provisions of the treaty of Ackerman, and then, upon complaint made, denied redress; so that, *if ever there was a just ground for going to war Russia had it for going to war with Turkey*. She did not, however, on that occasion acquire any increase of territory, at least, in Europe. I know that there was a continued occupation of certain points (Moldavia and Wallachia are only points, and the mouths of the Danube are mere zeros,) and some additional acquisitions on the Euxine in Asia, but she had an agreement with the other European powers, that success in that war should not lead to any aggrandizement in Europe."

Our readers will now understand Sir Robert Peel's telling Lord Palmerston in a public session of the House, that "he did not know whose representative he was." This was a plain way of saying he was not the representative of liberty, or honesty, or what makes the best character of England. Such as the noble lord was then, and in the earlier part of his career which we have

reviewed, he is at this day, and none who know him can expect at his hands any but false service to the cause of justice and human rights in the present momentous crisis. What remains of his public history we leave for another day; we are sorry to say that it is not the better half.

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3916, 4. November 1853

5

Palmerston and Russia.

At a recent meeting in London, to protest against the action of the British Ministry, in the present controversy between Russia and Turkey, a gentleman who presumed to find special fault with Lord Palmerston, was saluted and silenced by a storm of indignant hisses. The meeting evidently thought
10 that if Russia had a friend in the Ministry it was not the noble Viscount, and would no doubt have rent the air with cheers, had some one been able to announce that his Lordship had become Prime Minister. This astonishing confidence in a man so false and hollow, is another proof of the ease with which people may be imposed on by brilliant abilities, and a new evidence
15 of the necessity of taking off the mask from this wily enemy to the progress of human freedom. Accordingly, with the history of the last twenty-five years, and the debates of Parliament for guides, we proceed with the task of exposing the real part which this accomplished actor has performed in the drama of modern Europe.

20 The noble Viscount is generally known as the chivalrous protector of the Poles, and never fails of giving vent to his painful feelings with regard to Poland, before the deputations which are once every year presented to him by "dear dully-deadly" Dudley Stuart, who has been described by one, not too friendly or too just to his Lordship, as "a worthy who makes speeches,
25 passes resolutions, votes addresses, goes up with deputations, has at all times the necessary quantity of confidence in the necessary individual, and can also, if necessary, give three cheers for the Queen."

The Poles had been in arms for about a month when Lord Palmerston came into office, in November, 1830. As early as August 8, 1831, Mr. Hunt presents
30 to the House a petition from the Westminster Union in favor of the Poles, and "for the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from His Majesty's councils." Mr. Hume stated on the same day that he concluded from the silence of the noble Lord that the Government "intended to do nothing for the Poles, but allow them to remain at the mercy of Russia." To this Lord Palmerston
35 replied, "that whatever obligations existing treaties imposed would at all

times receive the attention of the Government." Now what sort of obligations were, in his opinion, imposed upon England by existing treaties? "The claim of Russia to the possession of Poland bears the date of the Treaty of Vienna," he tells us, in a speech made in the House of Commons, on July 9, 1833; and that treaty makes this possession dependent on the observance of the Polish Constitution by the Czar. But from a subsequent speech we learn that "the mere fact of this country being a party to the treaty of Vienna was not synonymous with our (England's) guaranteeing that there would be no infraction of that treaty by Russia." That is to say, you may guarantee a treaty, without guaranteeing that it shall be observed. This is the principle on which the Milanese said to the Emperor Barbarossa: "If you have had our oath remember that we never swore to keep it."

In one respect the treaty of Vienna was good enough. It gave to the British Government, as one of the contracting parties, "a right to entertain and express an opinion on any act which tends to a violation of that treaty.—The contracting parties to the treaty of Vienna had a right to require that the Constitution of Poland should not be touched, and this is an *opinion* which I have not concealed from the Russian Government. I communicated it by anticipation to that Government previous to the taking of Warsaw, and before the result of hostilities was known. I communicated it again when Warsaw fell. The Russian Government, however, took a *different* view of the question." So said our hero on the 9th of July, 1833. He had quietly anticipated the downfall of Poland, and had availed himself of the opportunity to entertain and express an opinion on certain articles of the treaty of Vienna, persuaded as he was, that the Czar was merely waiting till he had crushed the Polish people by armed force, to do homage to a Constitution he had trampled upon when they were yet possessed of unbounded means of resistance. At the same time the noble Lord charged the Poles with having "taken the uncalled-for and in his opinion unjustifiable step of the dethronement of the Emperor. He could also say that the Poles were the *aggressors*, for they *commenced* the contest."

When the apprehensions that Poland would be extinguished became universal and troublesome, he declared that "to exterminate Poland, either morally or politically, is so perfectly impracticable, that I think there need be no apprehension of its being attempted." When afterward reminded of the vague expectation thus held out, he averred that he had been misunderstood, and that he said so, not in the political, but the Pickwickian sense of the word, meaning that "the Emperor of Russia was unable to physically exterminate so many millions of men as the Polish Kingdom, in its divided state contained." When the House threatened to interfere during the struggle in favor of the Poles, he appealed to his ministerial responsibility. When the

thing was done, he told them coolly that "no vote of that House would have the slightest effect in reversing the decision of Russia." When the atrocities committed by the Russians, after the fall of Warsaw, were denounced, he recommended the House to cherish a great tenderness toward the Emperor
5 of Russia, declaring that "no person could regret more than he did, the expressions which had been uttered;" that "the present Emperor of Russia was a man of high and generous feelings;" that "where cases of undue severity on the part of the Russian Government to the Poles had occurred, they might set this down as a proof that the power of the Emperor of Russia
10 was practically limited, and they might take it for granted, that the Emperor had, in those instances, yielded to the influences of others, rather than followed the dictates of his spontaneous feelings." When on the one side the utter ruin of Poland was secured, and on the other the dissolution of the Turkish Empire became imminent from the progress of Ibrahim Pasha, he
15 assured the House that "affairs in general were proceeding in a satisfactory train." A motion for granting subsidies to the Polish refugees having been made, it was "exceedingly painful to him to oppose the grant of any money to those individuals, which the natural and spontaneous feelings of every generous man would lead him to acquiesce in," but "it was not consistent
20 with his duty to propose any grant of money to those unfortunate persons," this same tender-hearted man having secretly defrayed, as we shall see by and by, in a great part, the cost of Poland's fall out of the pockets of the English people. The noble Lord took good care to withhold all state papers about the Polish catastrophe from Parliament, but several statements made
25 in the House of Commons, which he has never so much as attempted to controvert, leave no doubt about the game he played at that fatal epoch.

After the Polish revolution had broken out, the Consul of Austria did not quit Warsaw, and his Government went as far as to send a Polish agent, Mr. Walewski to Paris, for the purpose of negotiating with the Governments
30 of France and of England, about the re-establishment of a Polish Kingdom. The Court of the Tuileries declared "it was ready to join England in case of her consenting to the project." Lord Palmerston repudiated the proposal. In 1831, M. de Talleyrand, the then Ambassador of France at the Court of St. James, proposed a plan of combined action on the part of France and
35 England, but met with a distinct refusal, and with a note from the noble Lord stating "that an amicable intermediation on the Polish question would be declined by Russia; that the Powers had just declined a similar offer on the part of France, that the intervention of the two Courts, France and England, could only be by force in case of a refusal on the part of Russia, and that
40 the amicable and satisfactory relations between the Cabinet of St. James and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg would not allow His British Majesty to under-

take such an interference. The time was not yet come to undertake such a plan with success against the will of a sovereign, whose rights were indisputable."

The so-called kingdom of Poland having disappeared from the map of Europe, there still remained a fantastic remnant of the Polish nationality in the free town of Cracow. The Czar Alexander, during the general anarchy resulting from the downfall of the French empire, had not conquered the Duchy of Warsaw, but simply seized upon it and wished to keep it, together with Cracow, which had been incorporated in the Duchy by Bonaparte. Austria, once possessed of Cracow, wished to have it again. The Czar being unable to obtain it for himself, and being unwilling to cede it to Austria, proposed to constitute it as a free town, and accordingly the treaty of Vienna contained the following stipulation:

"The town of Cracow, with its territory, is to be forever a free, independent and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia and Prussia, and the Courts of Russia, Austria and Prussia *engage* to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretense whatever."

In 1831, Cracow was temporarily occupied by Russian troops. This, however, was considered as a transitory necessity of war, and in the turmoil of that time it was not adverted upon. In 1836, Cracow was again occupied by the troops of Russia, Austria and Prussia, on the pretext of their being obliged to accomplish, in that way, the expulsion of some Polish refugees from the town and its territory. On this occasion the noble Lord abstained from all remonstrance on the ground, as he stated, in 1836 and in 1840, "that it was difficult to give effect to our remonstrances."—As soon, however, as Cracow was definitively confiscated by Austria, a simple remonstrance appeared to him to be "the only effectual means."—In March, 1836, when interpellated on the occupation of Cracow, he declared it to be of a merely transitory character. In fact, so palliative and apologetic was the construction he put on the doings of his three northern allies, that he felt himself obliged to stop suddenly, and interrupt the even tenor of his speech by the assertion: "I stand not up here to defend a measure, which, on the contrary, I must censure and condemn. I have merely stated those circumstances which, though they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, *might yet afford a justification*" etc. He admitted that the treaty of Vienna bound the three powers to abstain from any step without the previous consent of England, but "they may be justly said to have paid an involuntary homage to the justice and the plain dealing of this country by supposing that we would never give our assent to such a proceeding."

Mr. Patrick M. Stewart, however, having found out that there existed better means for the preservation of Cracow than the "abstention from remonstrance," moved, on April 20, 1836, that the Government should be ordered to send a representative to Cracow as Consul, there being Consuls
5 there from the three other powers, Austria, Russia and Prussia. The joint arrival at Cracow of an English and French Consul would have proved an event, and must, in any case, have prevented the noble lord from afterward declaring himself unaware of the intrigues pursued at Cracow by the Austrians, Russians and Prussians. He induced Mr. Stewart to withdraw his motion
10 by solemnly promising that the Government "intended to send a Consular Agent to Cracow." On March 22, 1837, being interpellated by Lord Dudley Stuart with regard to that promise, he answered that "he had altered his intention, and had not sent a Consul or Agent to Cracow, and it was not at present his intention to do so."

15 Lord Dudley Stuart having given notice that he should move for papers to elucidate this singular transaction, the noble Viscount defeated the motion, by the simple process of being absent, and causing the House to be counted out on May 25, 1837. He never stated why or wherefore he had not fulfilled his pledge, and withstood all attempts to squeeze out of him any papers on
20 the subject. Ten years afterward, when Cracow was doomed, and when the noble Lord was again asked for the production of papers relating to the non-appointment of a British Consul at Cracow, he declared that "the subject had no necessary connection with the discussion on the incorporation of Cracow, and he saw no advantage in reviving an angry discussion on a subject
25 which had only a passing interest." He now proved true to his opinion on the production of State papers as expressed on March 17, 1837 by saying, "If the papers bear upon a question now under consideration, their production would be dangerous; if they refer to questions that are gone by, they can obviously be of no use." The British Government was, however, very
30 exactly informed as to the importance of Cracow, not only in a political, but also in a commercial point of view, the Consul at Warsaw, Col. du Plat, having reported in detail thereupon.

Lord Palmerston, himself, was obliged to confess in the House, that the Cracow insurrection of 1846 had been intentionally provoked by the three
35 great powers. "He believed the original entrance of the Austrian troops into the territory of Cracow, was in consequence of an application from the Government. But then those Austrian troops retired. Why they retired had never yet been explained. With them retired the Government and the authorities of Cracow; the immediate, at least the early consequence of that
40 retirement, was the establishment of a Provisional Government at Cracow." On the 22d of February, 1846, the forces of Austria, and afterward those of

Russia and Prussia, took possession of that city. On the 26th of February, the Prefect of Tarnow issued his proclamation calling on the peasants to murder their landlords, promising them "a sufficient recompense in money," which proclamation was followed by the Gallician atrocities and the massacre of about 2,000 land-holders. On March 12, appeared the Austrian proclamation to "the faithful Gallicians, who have aroused themselves for the maintenance of order and of law, and destroyed the enemies of order." In the official *Gazette* of April 28, Prince Frederic of Schwartzenberg stated officially "that the acts that had taken place *had been* authorized by the Austrian Government," which, of course, acted on a common plan with Russia and Prussia. Now, after all these abominations had passed, the noble Lord was not ashamed to declare in the House, that "he had too high an opinion of the sense of justice and of right, that must animate the Governments of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, to believe that they can feel *any* disposition or intention to deal with Cracow, otherwise than Cracow is entitled by treaty engagements to be dealt with." For him the only business then in hand was to get rid of Parliament, whose session was drawing to a close. He assured the Commons, that "on the part of the British Government everything should be done to insure a due respect being paid to the provisions of the treaty of Vienna." When Mr. Hume uttered a doubt about Lord Palmerston's "intention to cause the Austro-Russian troops to retire from Cracow," the noble Lord begged of the House not to give credence to the statements made by Mr. Hume, as he was in possession of better information and was convinced that the occupation of Cracow was only a temporary one.

The Parliament of 1846 having been got rid of in the same manner as the Parliament of 1853, out came the Austrian proclamation of Nov. 11, 1846, incorporating Cracow into the Austrian dominions. When Parliament reassembled on January 19, 1847, it was informed by the **Queen's** Speech that Cracow was gone, but that in its place there existed a protest on the part of the brave Palmerston. But in order to deprive his protest even of the appearance of meaning anything at all, the noble Lord had contrived, at that very epoch, to engage England in a quarrel with France on occasion of the Spanish marriages, which came very near bringing the two countries into collision—a performance which was sharply overhauled by Mr. Smith O'Brien, in the House of Commons, on March 16, 1847. When the French Government applied to the noble Lord for cooperation in a joint protest against the incorporation of Cracow, Lord Normanby—under the instructions of the noble Viscount—answered that the outrage of which Austria had been guilty, in annexing Cracow, was not greater than that of France, in effecting a marriage between the Duke of Montpensier and the Spanish Infanta, the one act being

a violation of the treaty of Vienna, and the other of the treaty of Utrecht. Now, the treaty of Utrecht which had been renewed in 1782, was definitively abrogated by the Anti-Jacobin war and had, therefore, ever since 1792, ceased to be operative. There was no man in the House better informed of
5 this circumstance than the noble lord, as he had stated himself to the House on the occasion of the debates on the blockades of Mexico and Buenos Ayres that "the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht had long since lapsed in the variations of war, with the exception of the single clause relating to the boundaries of Brazil and French Guiana, because that clause had been by
10 express words incorporated into the treaty of Vienna."

But we have not yet exhibited all the exertions of the noble lord in resisting the encroachments of Russia upon Europe.

There once existed a curious convention between England, Holland, and Russia—the so-called Russian-Dutch Loan. During the Anti-Jacobin war the
15 Czar Alexander had contracted a loan with the Messrs. Hope & Co. at Amsterdam, and after the downfall of Bonaparte, the King of the Netherlands, "desirous to make a suitable return to the Allied powers for having delivered his territory," and for having annexed to it Belgium, to which he had no right whatever, obliged himself, as the other powers waived their
20 common claims in favor of Russia, which was then in great need of money, to execute with that power a convention agreeing to pay her, by successive installments, the 25,000,000 florins she owed to the Messrs. Hope. England, in order to cover the robbery she had committed on Holland with regard to the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, of Demerara, Esquibo and Berbice,
25 became a party to this convention, and bound herself to pay a certain proportion of the subsidy granted to Russia. This stipulation became a part of the treaty of Vienna, but upon the express condition "that the payment should cease, if the union between Holland and Belgium were broken prior to the liquidation of the debt." When Belgium separated herself by a revolution
30 from Holland, the latter, of course, refused to pay her portion, on the ground that the loan had been contracted to continue her in the undivided possession of the Belgian provinces, and that she no longer had the sovereignty of that country. On the other hand there remained, as Mr. Herries stated in Parliament, "not the smallest iota of claim on the part of Russia for the continuance
35 of debt by England." Lord Palmerston, however, found it quite natural, that "at one time Russia should be paid for supporting the union of Belgium with Holland, and that at another time she should be paid for supporting the separation of those countries." He appealed in a very solemn manner for the faithful observance of treaties, and above all, of the treaty of Vienna,
40 and he contrived to carry a new Convention with Russia, dated on Nov. 16, 1831, in the preamble of which it is expressly stated, that it was contracted

"in consideration of the general arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, which remain in full force." When the convention, relating to the Russian-Dutch Loan, had been inserted into the treaty of Vienna, the Duke of Wellington exclaimed, "this is a masterstroke of diplomacy on the part of Lord Castlereagh, for Russia has been tied down to the observance of the Vienna treaty by a pecuniary obligation." When Russia, therefore, withdrew her observance of the treaty of Vienna, by the confiscation of Cracow, Mr. Hume moved a resolution to stop any further annual payment to Russia from the British treasury. The noble Viscount, however, thought that, although Russia had a right to violate the treaty of Vienna with regard to Poland, England must remain bound by that very treaty with regard to Russia. But this is not the most extraordinary incident in these curious transactions. After the Belgian revolution had broken out, and before Parliament had granted the new loan to Russia, the noble Lord defrayed the costs of the Russian war against Poland, under the pretext of paying off the old debt contracted in 1815, although we can state, on the authority of the greatest English lawyer, the then Sir Edward Sugden, now Baron St. Leonards, "that there was not a single debateable point in that question, and the government had no power whatever to pay a shilling of the money;" and on the authority of Sir Robert Peel, who declared, "that Lord Palmerston was not warranted by law in advancing the money."

Our readers will now understand why the noble Lord reiterates, on every occasion, that "nothing can be more painful to men of proper feeling than discussions turning on the subject of Poland." They can also appreciate the degree of earnestness he is now likely to exhibit in resisting the encroachments of the power he has so uniformly served.

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3930, 21. November 1853

A Chapter of Modern History.

There are those who expect that in the war between Turkey and Russia, which has now begun, the British Government will at last abandon its system of half-way measures and fruitless negotiations to act with energy and effect in repelling the Muscovite invader back from his prey and from the universal dominion he dreams of. Such an expectation may not be without some ground of abstract probability and policy to justify it; but how Utile real reason there is for it will appear to whoever ponders the facts below set forth with regard to the past conduct of that English Minister who is thought to be most hostile to the advance of Russian despotism in Europe. Indeed, most people in

England who are dissatisfied with the policy of the Government in the contest between Turkey and Russia, fondly believe that matters would be in a very different state if Lord *Palmerston* had the control of them. Such persons, in recalling the noble Viscount's history, must leave blank the whole
5 eventful period from 1832 to 1847—a blank which we will fill up for their instruction.

The great and ever-recurring theme of the Palmerstonian self-glorification is the services rendered to the cause of Constitutional freedom all over the Continent. It must be admitted that the world is indebted to him for the
10 constitutional model-kingdoms of Portugal, Spain and Greece. Having placed Portugal at the disposition of that fattest of women, Maria da Gloria, backed by a Coburg, he exclaimed in the House of Commons: "Portugal must now be looked upon as one of the substantive Powers of Europe." The noble Lord had hardly uttered these words when, at his command, six British ships-
15 of-the-line anchored at Lisbon, in order to protect the substantive daughter of Don Pedro from the Portuguese people, and to help her destroy the constitution she had sworn to defend. Spain, crushed beneath the yoke of another Maria—the she-wolf of Naples—"holds out to us," according to his sanguine view of the case, "a fair and legitimate hope that she may yet
20 become what she has proved in former times—a flourishing and even a formidable power among the European Kingdoms." Nor was he short of apologetic reasons, even for having placed the native country of Pericles and Sophocles under the sway of an idiot Bavarian boy. "King Otho belongs to a country where there exists a free constitution." A free constitution in
25 Bavaria, the German Bceotia! This passes the *licentia poetica* of rhetorical flourish, the legitimate hopes held out by Spain and the substantive power of Portugal. As to Belgium, all Lord Palmerston ever did for it was to burden it with a part of the Dutch debt, while docking it of the province of Luxembourg, and adding to it a Coburg dynasty. But let us come to the Turks and
30 Russians.

One of those facts which are hardly adverted to by contemporaries, but which broadly mark the boundaries of historical epochs, was the military occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, in 1833. The eternal dream of Russia was at last fulfilled. The barbarian from the icy banks of the Neva
35 held in his iron grasp, however temporarily, the luxurious Byzantium and the sunlit shores of the Bosphorus. As Sir Robert Peel declared in the House of Commons in 1834, "The occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops sealed the fate of Turkey as an independent power. The fact of Russia having occupied Constantinople even for the purpose of saving it, was as decisive
40 a blow to Turkish independence, as if the flag of Russia now waved on the Seraglio."

In consequence of the unfortunate war of 1828-1829, and the treaty of Adrianople, the Porte had lost its prestige in the eyes of its own subjects. As usual with Oriental Empires where the paramount power is weakened, successive revolts of powerful Pashas broke out against the Sultan, and Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who had supported the Porte during the Greek 5 insurrection, marched his troops, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, his son, into Syria. The transactions between Mehemet Ali and the Sultan commenced as early as October, 1831. In the spring of 1832 Syria was invaded by Ibrahim Pasha; in July the battle of Horns decided the fate of that 10 Province; Ibrahim crossed the Taurus; the last Turkish army was annihilated at Konieh, in December 21, and the victorious Egyptian forces moved on the way to Stambul. On February 2, 1833, the Sultan was forced to apply to St. Petersburg for succor. On February 17, the French Admiral Roussin arrived at Constantinople, remonstrated with the Porte, and engaged to bring 15 about a retreat of the Pasha on certain terms, including the refusal of Russian assistance; but unassisted as he was, he could not hope to vie with Russian influence. "You have asked for me, and you shall have me." On February 20, a Russian squadron suddenly sailed from Sebastopol, and disembarked a large body of Russian troops upon the shores of the Bosphorus, to occupy 20 the capital. So eager was Russia for the protection of Turkey, that simultaneously a Russian officer was dispatched to the Pashas of Erzerum and Trebizond to inform them that in the event of Ibrahim's army marching toward Erzerum, both that place and Trebizond should be immediately *protected* by a Russian army. Some months later Count Orloff arrived, intimating to the Sultan that without the concurrence of any Minister and 25 without the knowledge of any diplomatic agent at the Porte, he was to subscribe a little bit of paper he had brought with him from St. Petersburg. Thus originated the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. According to it the Porte entered for eight years upon an alliance, offensive and defensive, with 30 Russia; precluded itself from contracting during that time any new treaties with other powers except with the concurrence of the Czar; and confirmed all her former treaties with Russia. By a secret article, appended to the treaty, the Porte obliged itself "in favor of the Imperial Court of Russia to close the straits of the Dardanelles and not to allow any foreign man-of-war to enter 35 them under any pretext whatever."

To whom was the Czar indebted first for materially holding Constantinople by his troops, and then for morally transferring, by virtue of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the supreme seat of government from Constantinople to St. Petersburg? To nobody else than the Right Hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a member of Her Majesty's 40 most honorable Privy Council, Knight of the Great Cross of the most honor-

able Order of the Bath, a Member of Parliament, and then the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On July 8, 1833, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was concluded. On July 11, 1833, Mr. H. L. Bulwer was curious enough to ask the noble lord for the
5 production of papers with respect to Turkish and Syrian affairs. The noble lord opposed the motion, "because the transactions to which the papers called for referred, were incomplete, and the character of the whole transaction would depend upon its termination. As the results were not yet known, the motion was premature."

10 Being accused by Mr. Bulwer of having failed to defend the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, and to prevent the advance of the Russian army, he began that curious system of defense and of confession, developed on later occasions, the *membra disjecta* of which we now gather together for the first time. On July 11, 1833, he said, "he was not prepared to deny that the latter part of
15 last year an application was made on the part of the Sultan to this country for assistance." This formal application for assistance the Porte made at first in the course of August, 1832. No, not in August. "The request of the Porte for naval assistance was made in the month of October, 1832." No, it was not in October, as we learn from a speech made a year later. "Assistance
20 was asked by the Porte on November 3, 1832." The noble lord is as uncertain as to the date when the Porte implored his assistance as Falstaff was of the number of rogues in buckram who beset him and whom he put to rout.

He is not prepared, however, to deny that Russia having offered her armed assistance to the Porte, it was refused, and he was applied to. He refused
25 his assistance. However, the Porte again applied to the noble lord. First, it sent Mr. Maurojeni to London, imploring his aid. Then it sent Namick Pasha to entreat the assistance of a naval squadron, undertaking to defray all the expenses, and promising, in further requital for such succor, the grant of new commercial privileges and advantages to British subjects in Turkey. So sure
30 was Russia of refusal on the part of the noble lord, that she joined the Turkish Envoy in praying for his lordship's assistance. He tells us himself, in August, 1833: "It was but justice that he should state, that so far from Russia having expressed any jealousy as to this Government granting that assistance, the Russian Ambassador officially communicated to him, while the request was
35 still under consideration, that he had learned that such an application had been made, and that, from the interest taken by Russia in the maintenance and preservation of the Turkish Empire, it would afford satisfaction if Ministers could find themselves able to comply with that request." His lordship remained however inexorable to the demands of the Porte, even
40 when backed by disinterested Russia herself. Then, of course, the Porte knew what it was about, and comprehended that it was doomed to accept the

Russian assistance. "Great Britain," says the noble lord, "never complained of Russia granting that assistance, but, on the contrary, was glad that Turkey had been able to obtain effectual relief from any quarter."

At whatever epoch the Porte may have applied for assistance from Lord Palmerston, he is forced to own that "no doubt if England had thought fit to interfere, the progress of the invading army would have been stopped, and the Russian troops would not have been called in." Why then did he not think fit to interfere, and to avoid having the Russian troops called in? At first he pleads want of time. Having himself stated that the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali arose as early as October, 1831, while the battle of Konieh did not happen till December, 1832, could he find no time during all this period? A great battle was won by Ibrahim in 1832, and he again found no time from July to December. But all this time he was waiting for a formal application on the part of the Porte and, according to his last version, that was not made until November 3. "Was he then," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "so ignorant of what was passing in the Levant that he must wait for a *formal* application?" From the 3d of Nov. 1832, when the *formal* application was made, till the latter part of February, 1833, there elapsed four long months, and the Russians did not arrive till Feb. 20. Why did he not arrive before them? But he has a better reason in reserve.

The Pasha of Egypt was but a rebellious subject. The Sultan was the sovereign. The observance of etiquette did not allow the noble lord to intermeddle between them. "As it was a war against a sovereign by a subject, and that sovereign was in alliance with the King of England, it would have been inconsistent with good faith to have had any communication with the Pasha." Like the Spanish grandee, the noble lord would rather let the Queen burn to ashes than step over etiquette and interfere with her petticoats. But it happens that the noble lord had already, in 1832, accredited Consuls and Diplomatic Agents to the Egyptian subject of the Sultan without the consent of the Sultan; that he had entered into treaties with Mehemet Ah altering existing regulations and arrangements touching matters of trade and revenue; that he did not ask the consent of the Porte beforehand, nor even care for its approbation afterward; and that he had thus treated "the rebellious subject" as an independent power. Accordingly the then chief of the noble Viscount, Earl Grey stated in the House of Lords that "they had at that moment extensive commercial relations with Mehemet Ah, which it would not have been our interest to disturb."

But the fleets of the noble Viscount were occupied in the Douro and the Tagus, and in blockading the Scheldt, and doing the office of midwife at the birth of the constitutional empires of Portugal and Belgium, and he was therefore not in a situation to send a single man-of-war for such trifles as pre-

venting Russia from occupying Constantinople, or Mehemet Ali from endangering the *status quo* of the world; and what the Sultan asked for was, unfortunately, naval assistance. For argument's sake, we will grant that he was unable to dispose of one single vessel. But there are great authorities
5 asserting that not even a single vessel was wanted, but only a single word on the part of the noble lord, in order to check the ambition of Mehemet Ali and the armies of Ibrahim Pasha. Lord Mahon tells us this, and when he made his statement he had just been employed at the Foreign Office under Sir Robert Peel. Admiral Codrington, the destroyer of the Turkish fleet at
10 Navarino, holds similar language. "Mehemet Ali," he states, "had of old felt the strength of our representation on the subject of the evacuation of the Morea. He had then received orders from the Porte to resist all applications to induce him to evacuate it at the risk of his head, and he did resist accordingly, but at last prudently yielded, and evacuated the Morea."—Or take
15 the testimony of the Duke of Wellington: "If, in the session of 1832 or 1833, they had plainly told Mehemet Ali that he should not carry on his contest in Syria and Asia Minor, they would have put an end to the war without the risk of allowing the Emperor of Russia to send a fleet and an army to Constantinople."

20 But there are still better authorities. Hear the noble lord himself: "Although His Majesty's Government did not comply with the demand of the Sultan for naval assistance, yet the moral assistance of England was afforded; and the communications made by the British Government to the Pasha of Egypt and to Ibrahim Pasha, commanding in Asia Minor, did
25 materially contribute to bring about that arrangement (of Kutayah) between the Sultan and the Pasha, by which the war was terminated." Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley and a Member of the Palmerston Cabinet, also "boldly asserts that what stopped the progress of Mehemet Ah was the distinct declaration of France and England that they would not permit the occupation
30 of Constantinople by his troops."

Thus, according to Lord Palmerston himself and to his colleague—and this is the most curious feature of these curious transactions—it was by no means the Russian army and squadron, but a distinct declaration on the part of the British Consular Agent at Alexandria, that stopped Ibrahim Pasha in his
35 victorious march upon Constantinople and brought about the convention of Kutayah, according to which Mehemet Ah obtained, besides Egypt, the Pashalik of Syria and that of Adana with other places added as an appendage. But the noble lord thought fit not to allow his Consular agent at Alexandria to make this declaration till after the Turkish army was annihilated, Constantinople occupied by Cossacks, and the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi signed
40 by the Sultan and pocketed by the Czar.

If want of time and want of fleets prevented the noble lord from assisting the Sultan; if a superfluity of etiquette prevented him from checking the Pasha; did he at least employ his Ambassador at Constantinople to guard against the excessive influence of Russia and to keep her interference confined to narrow bounds? Quite the contrary. The noble Viscount, in order not to clog the movements of Russia, took good care that there should be no Ambassador at all at Constantinople, during the most fatal period of the crisis. "If ever there was a country," exclaims Lord Mahon, "in which the weight and station of an Ambassador was useful, or a period in which that weight and station might be advantageously exerted, that country was Turkey, during the six months before the 8th of July, 1833." Now the noble Viscount tells us himself that Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador, left Constantinople in September, 1832, that Lord Ponsonby, then at Naples, was appointed, in his place, in November, and that "difficulties were experienced in making the necessary arrangements for his conveyance," although a man-of-war was in waiting for him, "and the unfavorable state of weather did prevent him getting to Constantinople until the end of May, 1833."

Sir Stratford Canning is recalled in September and Lord Ponsonby appointed in November. But Ibrahim Pasha had not yet crossed the Taurus, not yet fought the battle of Konieh and the Russians had not yet seized upon Czarigrad. Accordingly Lord Ponsonby is ordered to employ seven months in sailing from Naples to Constantinople.

But why should Lord Palmerston prevent the Russians from occupying Constantinople? "If he had quietly beheld the temporary occupation of the Turkish capital by the forces of Russia, it was because he had *full confidence in the honor and good faith of Russia*. The Russian Government, in granting aid to the Sultan, had pledged its honor, and in that pledge, he reposed the most *implicit* confidence." With the same confidence he had relied upon Russia not abolishing the Polish Constitution and Nationality. Meanwhile the Czar had abolished both by the Organic Statute of 1832—but the most implicit confidence of the noble lord remained unshaken. Not his is the fault, if nature has developed his protuberance of confidence to anomalous dimensions. So inaccessible, integral, indestructible, inexpugnable, imperishable, incalculable, incommensurable, irremediable and unchangeable, so boundless, dauntless, matchless, is his confidence, that even on March 17, 1834, after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had become a *fait accompli*, he goes on declaring that "in their confidence Ministers were not deceived." Beside the security he possessed in the honor and good faith of Russia, he had another security "in the doubt that any intention to partition that Empire (the Ottoman Empire) at all entered into the policy of the Russian Government."

Certainly, Russia has never desired to partition that Empire, but to keep the whole of it. He had another security in the other "doubt, whether it enters into the policy of Russia at present to accomplish the object," and a third security in another "doubt, whether the Russian nation would be prepared
5 to see that transference of power, of residence, and authority to the Southern Provinces, which would be the necessary consequence of the conquest by Russia of Constantinople."

The contents of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi were published by the journals of London on August 21, 1833. On August 24, Lord Palmerston was
10 interrogated by Sir Robert Inglis, in the House of Commons, "whether there had really been concluded a treaty offensive and defensive between Russia and Turkey?" Sir Robert Inglis hoped "that the noble lord would be prepared before the prorogation of Parliament to lay before the House, not only the treaty that had been made, but all communications connected with the
15 formation of those treaties between Turkey and Russia." The noble lord answered that "when they were sure that such a treaty as that alluded to really did exist, and when they were in possession of that treaty, it would then be for them to determine what was the course of policy they ought to pursue, and it could be no blame to him, when the newspapers were some-
20 times beforehand with the Government." Seven months afterwards, he averred that "it was perfectly impossible that the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which was not ratified at Constantinople until the month of September, should have been officially known to him in August."

Now, was the noble lord really not sure in August that such a treaty
25 "really" existed? Was he at that time not yet in possession of that treaty? At a later epoch, in March, 1848, he himself stated that "the British Government was surprised to find that when the Russian troops quitted the Bosphorus they carried that treaty with them." This proved that he was in possession of the treaty before it had been concluded. "No sooner," said Mr. Anstey,
30 in a speech in 1848, "had the Porte received it than the treaty was communicated by them to the British Embassy at Constantinople, with a prayer for our protection against Ibrahim Pasha and against Nicholas. The application was rejected. But that was not all. With an atrocious perfidiousness, the fact was made known to the Russian Minister. Next day, the very copy of
35 the treaty, which the Porte had lodged with the British Embassy, was returned to the Porte by the Russian Ambassador, who ironically advised the Porte to choose better, another time, its confidants."

But all the noble Viscount cared for he had obtained. Having been inter-rogated with respect to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, on August 24, 1833,
40 Parliament was prorogued on August 29, receiving from the throne the consolatory assurance, that "the hostilities which had disturbed the peace

of Turkey, had been terminated; and they might be assured that the King's attention would be carefully directed to any events which might affect the present state or the future independence of that Empire." Here then we have the key to the mystery of the famous Russian treaties of July. In July they are concluded ; in August something transpires about them through the public 5 press ; Lord Palmerston is interrogated in the Commons ; he, of course, knows nothing about them; Parliament is prorogued, and, when it reassembles, the treaty has grown old, or, as in the instance of the treaty of July, 1840, the noble lord has employed the interval in executing it, in spite of Parliament and public opinion. 10

On August 29, 1833, Parliament was prorogued. On February 5, 1834, it reassembled, but the interval between its prorogation and its meeting, was marked by two incidents intimately connected with each other. On the one hand, the united French and English fleets had proceeded to the Dardanelles, and having displayed the tricolor and the union-jack, both sailed away to 15 Smyrna and thence to Malta. On the other hand, on January 29, 1834, a new treaty was concluded between the Porte and Russia—the treaty of St. Petersburg. Scarcely had this treaty been signed, when the united fleet was withdrawn.

This combined maneuver was intended to stultify the British people and 20 Europe into the belief that the hostile demonstration on the Turkish seas and coasts, directed against the Porte for having concluded the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, had induced Russia to replace it by the new treaty of St. Petersburg. This treaty, promising the evacuation of the Principahties with the exeption of Silistria, and reducing the Turkish payments to Russia by two-thirds, 25 apparently relieved the Porte from some engagements forced on it by the treaty of Adrianople. In all other respects it was a simple ratification of the treaty of Adrianople, not at all relating to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, nor dropping a single word about the passage of the Dardanelles. On the contrary, the small alleviations it granted to Turkey were the bribe paid for the ex- 30 elusion of Europe obtained by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in favor of Russia. Let us hear Mr. Anstey on this head: "At the very day that the demonstration of the British fleet was being made, an assurance was given by the noble lord to the Russian Ambassador at this Court, that this combined movement of the combined squadrons was not intended in any sense hostile 35 to Russia, nor to be taken as a hostile demonstration against her, but that, in fact, it meant nothing at all. I say this on the authority of Lord Ponsonby, the noble lord's own colleague, the Ambassador at Constantinople."

Parliament having reassembled, there appeared in *The London Globe*, the organ of the Foreign Office, a paragraph announcing the treaty of St. Peters- 40 burg as "a *proof* either of the moderation or good sense of Russia, or of the

influence which the union of England and France, and the firm and concerted language of those two countries, have acquired in the councils of St. Petersburg." Thus public attention was to be diverted from the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and the animosity soothed down which it had aroused in Europe
5 against Russia.

Artful as this dodge was, it would not do. On March 17, 1834, Mr. Sheil brought in a motion for "copies of the treaties between Turkey and Russia, and of any correspondence between the English, Russian, and Turkish Governments, respecting those treaties." The noble lord resisted this motion
10 to the utmost. So grossly contradictory were his reasons for not indulging the request of Mr. Sheil, that Sir Robert Peel, in his Parliamentary language, could not but call him "a very unconvincing reasoner," and that the noble lord's own Colonel Evans could not avoid exclaiming that: "the speech of the noble lord appeared to him the most unsatisfactory he had ever heard
15 from him." When the production of papers was first demanded, on July 11, 1833, the motion was "premature," because the «transactions were incomplete," and "the result not yet known." When the noble lord was again interrogated, on August 24, 1833, "the treaty was not officially signed, and he was not in possession of it." Now, on March 17, 1834, "communications
20 were still carrying on—the discussions, if he might so call them, were not yet completed." He enjoined the House not to press upon him, as "peace could be preserved only by the House reposing confidence in the Government," which, if let alone, would certainly protect the interests of England from encroachment. Three years later, in a thin House, composed almost entirely
25 of his retainers, he came roundly out and told Mr. Thomas Attwood very coolly that "the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was a matter which had gone by," and that it had never been "the intention of the Government to have recourse to hostile measures to compel Russia and Turkey—two independent powers—to cancel the treaty made between them."

The noble lord, so far from endeavoring to refute Mr. Sheil's statement, that "the consequence of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was the same as if the Porte surrendered to Russia the possession of the Dardanelles," was obliged to own that it closed the Dardanelles to British men-of-war, and that
30 "he did not mean to say, that under its provisions even merchant vessels might not, in effect, be practically excluded from the Black Sea," in the case of a war of England with Russia. But if the Government acted "with temper," if it "showed no unnecessary distrust," that is, if it submitted quietly to the encroachments of Russia, he was "inclined to think that the case might not arise in which that treaty would be called into operation, and that therefore
40 it would, in practice, remain a dead letter." And besides, "the assurances and explanations which the British Government had received from the

contracting parties to that treaty, greatly tended to remove his objections to it." In order to mystify the House, he dropped some words to the effect, according to the language held by Russia, the treaty must be looked upon "as one of reciprocity, that reciprocity being, that if the Dardanelles should be closed against England in the event of war, they should be closed against Russia also." This statement was simply false, but if true, "this certainly was Irish reciprocity, for it was all on one side." 5

Thus then, it was not the articles of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, but the assurances Russia gave with respect to them; it was not the acts of Russia, he had, in his opinion, to look upon, but rather the language she thought fit to hold. Yet, when on the same day the attention of the noble lord was called to the protest of the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Lagrené, against the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and the offensive and contumelious language of Count Nessehode, answering him that the Emperor of Russia would act "as if the declaration contained in the note of M. de Lagrené had no existence," then the noble lord, eating his own words, propounded the opposite doctrine, that it "was on all occasions, the duty of the English Government to look rather to the acts of a foreign power, than to the language which that power might hold on any particular subject or occasion." At one moment he appeals from the acts of Russia to her language, and the other from her language to her acts. Fourteen years afterward, when the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had long elapsed and the noble lord was just about acting the play of the *Truly English Minister* and the *Civis Romanus sum*, he told Parliament plainly that: "The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was, *no doubt*, to a certain degree forced upon Turkey by Count Orloff, the Russian Envoy, under circumstances"—created by the noble lord himself—"which rendered it difficult for Turkey to refuse acceding to it—that it gave practically to the Russian Government a power of interference and dictation in Turkey not consistent with the independence of that State." The great triumphant argument which, during the whole transactions with respect to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the noble lord had ready to oppose to all the attacks upon his connivance with Russia, was that of his intimate alliance with France. Like the clown in the comedy, he had an answer of monstrous size, that must meet all demands and serve all questions, namely: The Anglo-French Alliance. When he was pointed at with sneers because he had allowed the Russian occupation of Constantinople, he retorted that, "if the present relations established between this country and France were pointed at in these sneers, he would only say, that he should look with feelings of pride and satisfaction at the part he had acted in bringing about that good understanding." When the production of the papers relating to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was demanded, he answered, that "England and France had now cemented a friendship, which had only grown stronger." 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

But Sir Robert Peel exclaimed that "he could but remark that whenever the noble lord was thrown into a difficulty, as to any part of our foreign European policy, he at once found a ready means of escape by congratulating the House upon the close alliance of this country with France." At the same time the
5 noble lord took good care not to quench the suspicions of his Tory opponents, that he had been compelled to connive at an aggression upon Turkey by Mehemet Ah, because France had directly encouraged it.

Thus at that time the apparent alliance with France was to cover a secret infeasibility to Russia, just as in **1840**, the artificially managed rupture with
10 France was to sanction an official alliance with Russia.

While the noble lord fatigued the world by publishing ponderous folios of fruitless negotiations on the affairs of the Constitutional Empire of Belgium, and with ample explanations, verbal, and documentary, with regard to the substantive power of Portugal, to this moment it has proved quite impossible
15 to wrest from him any document whatever relating to the first Syriac and Turkish war and to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Even in **1848** he resisted the production of those papers, although Mr. Anstey stated plainly that, in asking for them, he did so with the view to prove the noble lord's collusion with the Czar. The noble lord preferred killing time by a five hours' speech
20 to killing suspicion by self-speaking documents.

His system of fictions, pretexts, contradictions, traps and incredible statements reached its climax, when, on December **14, 1837**, he objected to a resolution of Mr. T. Attwood for the production of the papers connected with the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, on the ground that "the papers connected with
25 that treaty were laid before the House three years ago," viz., in **1834**, and that "it was a treaty entered into for a limited period," and "that period having expired, its introduction by the honorable member was wholly unnecessary and uncalled for." The noble Viscount knew as well that the papers were not laid before the House in **1834**, or at any other period, as that the treaty
30 of Unkiar Skelessi, far from having expired on December **14, 1837**, continued to remain in full vigor **until July 8, 1841**.

Such a gross system of fraud formed the last refuge of an English Minister, who had opened Constantinople to a Russian army, and closed the Dardanelles to the English navy, and who had helped the Czar to get possession
35 of Constantinople for months and the control of Turkey for years. How absurd then to suppose that he is now likely to turn about and oppose a friend he has so long and so faithfully served.

E n g l a n d a n d R u s s i a .

Lord Palmerston's resignation seems to be working in England all the marvels he could have hoped from it. While the public indignation is becoming more and more active against the Cabinet he has abandoned, and whose policy he had on all occasions, up to the last moment of his connection 5 with them, emphatically endorsed, the very parties loudest in their denunciations of the Coalition, vie with each other in the praise of Palmerston. And while they call for energetic and honorable resistance to the encroachments of Russia, on the one hand, they seem to desire nothing so much 10 as the restoration of their favorite statesman to high office on the other. Thus this accomplished and relentless actor deludes the world. It would be an amusing spectacle were the interests involved less momentous. How deep is the delusion we have already had occasion to show, and now add below a new demonstration of the truth that, for some reason or other, Lord Palmerston has steadily labored for the advancement of Russia, and has used 15 England for that purpose. Those who seek to look behind the scenes of current history and to judge events and men at their real value will, we think, find our exposure instructive.

One glance over the map of Europe will show us on the western side of the Black Sea the outlets of the Danube, the only river which springs up in 20 the very heart of Europe, and may be said to form a natural highway to Asia. Exactly opposite, on the eastern side of the Euxine, southwards of the river Kuban, begins the mountainous range of the Caucasus, which, stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian in a south-easterly direction for some 700 miles, separates Europe from Asia. 25

The power which holds the outlets of the Danube necessarily holds the Danube also, the highway to Asia, and with it controls a great deal of the commerce of Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, and above all of Moldavia and Wallachia. But give the same power the Caucasus in addition, and the Black Sea will exclusively belong to it as a *mare clausum*, and only 30 Constantinople and the Dardanelles are wanted in order to shut its door. The possession of the Caucasian mountains insures at once the control of Trebizond, and through its position with reference to the Caspian Sea, of the northern seaboard of Persia.

The greedy eye of Russia has embraced at once the outlets of the Danube 35 and the mountainous range of the Caucasus. There the business in hand was to conquer supremacy; here, to maintain it. The chains of the Caucasus mountains separate Southern Russia from the luxurious provinces of Geor-

gia, Mingrelia, Imeritia and Guriel, which the Muscovite had wrested from the Mussulman. Thus the foot of the monster empire is cut off from its main body. The only military road winds from Mozdok to Tiflis through the narrow pass of Dariel, secured by a continuous chain of intrenched places, and
5 exposed on both sides to eternal attacks from the hostile Caucasian tribes. The union of the Caucasian tribes under one military chief might even endanger the bordering country of the Cossacks. "The thought of the dreadful consequences which a union of the hostile Caucasians under one head would produce in the south of Russia fills one with terror," exclaims
10 Mr. Kupffer, a German who presided over the scientific commission which in 1829 accompanied the expedition of Gen. Emmanuel to Elbruz.

At this very moment our attention is directed with equal anxiety to the banks of the Danube, where Russia has seized the two granaries of Europe, and to the Caucasus, where she is menaced with expulsion from Georgia.
15 Her movements in both these regions have a common origin. It was by the treaty of Adrianople that the usurpation of Moldo-Wallachia was prepared, and that were founded her claims on the Caucasus.

Art. IV of that treaty has the following stipulation:

"All the countries situated to the north and east of the line of demarcation
20 between the two empires (Russia and Turkey) toward Georgia, Imeritia and Guriel, as well as all the shore of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban as far as the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, shall remain under the domination of Russia."

With regard to the Danube the same treaty stipulates:

25 "The frontier line will follow the course of the Danube to the mouth of St. George, leaving all the islands formed by the different branches in the possession of Russia. The right bank will remain, as formerly, in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. It is, however, agreed, that that right bank, from the point where the arm of St. George departs from that of Sulina, shall
30 remain *uninhabited* to a distance of two hours (six miles) from the river, and that no kind of structure shall be raised there; and in *like manner* on the islands which still remain in the possession of Russia. With the exception of quarantines which will be there established, it will not be permitted to make any other establishment or fortification."

35 Both these paragraphs, inasmuch as they secured to Russia new possessions and exclusive commercial advantages, infringe on the protocol of April 4, 1826, drawn up by the Duke of Wellington at St. Petersburg, and the treaty of July 6, 1827, concluded between Russia and the other powers at London. The English Government, therefore, refused to recognize the treaty
40 of Adrianople. The Duke of Wellington protested against it. Lord Aberdeen protested against it as Lord Mahon says: "In a dispatch to Lord Heytesbury,

dated 31st October, 1829, he commented with no small dissatisfaction on many parts of the treaty of Adrianople, and especially noticed the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube. He denies that that treaty has respected the territorial rights of sovereignty of the Porte and the condition and the interests of all maritime States in the Mediterranean." Earl Grey said: 5
 "That the independence of the Porte would be sacrificed and the peace of Europe endangered by this being agreed to." Lord Palmerston himself, in his speech of March 17, 1837, informs us: "As far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned on the mouth of the Danube, the south of the 10
 Caucasus and the shores of the Black Sea, it is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe previous to the commencement of the Turkish war."

The eastern shores of the Black Sea, by blockading of which and cutting off the supply of arms and gunpowder to the north-western Circassian districts, Russia could alone hope to realize her claim on the Caucasus she had 15
 wrested from Turkey—the shore of the Black Sea, as well as the outlets of the Danube, are certainly no places "where an English action could possibly take place," as was lamented by Lord Palmerston in the case of Cracow. By what mysterious contrivance then has the Muscovite, nevertheless, succeeded 20
 in blocking up the Danube, in blockading the shore of the Euxine and in forcing England to submit not only to the treaty of Adrianople, but at the same time to the violations by Russia herself of that identical treaty?

These questions were put to the noble Viscount in the House of Commons on April 20, 1836. Petitions were simultaneously presented from the merchants of London, of Glasgow, and other commercial towns, against the 25
 fiscal regulations of Russia on the Black Sea, and her enactments and restrictions, intended to interrupt English commerce on the Danube.

There had appeared on February 7, 1836, an ukase which, by virtue of the treaty of Adrianople, established a quarantine on one of the islands formed 30
 by the mouths of the Danube. In order to execute the quarantine regulations, Russia claimed a right of boarding and search, of levying fees and seizing and marching off to Odessa refractory sailors, proceeding on their voyage up the Danube. Before the quarantine was established, or rather before, under the false pretense of a quarantine, a fort and a custom-house were 35
 erected, the Russian authorities had thrown out feelers to ascertain what risk they would run with the British Government. Lord Durham, acting upon instructions received from England, remonstrated with the Russian Government for these hinderances to British trade. He was referred to Count Nesselrode. Count Nesselrode referred to the Governor of South Russia, and 40
 the Governor of South Russia again referred to the Consul at Galatz, who communicated with the British Consul at Ibraila, who was instructed to send

down the captains from whom toll had been exacted, to the mouth of the Danube, the scene of their injuries, in order that inquiry might be made into the subject, it being well known that the captains referred to were then in England.

5 The formal ukase of Feb. 7, 1836, aroused, however, the general attention of British merchants, since, as Mr. Stewart stated in the House of Commons on April 20, 1836, "many ships had sailed and others were going out, to whose captains strict orders had been given not to submit to the right of boarding and search which Russia claimed. The fate of these ships must be inevitable,
10 unless some expression of opinion was made on the part of the House. Unless that were done, British shipping to the amount of not less than 5,000 tons would be seized and marched off to Odessa, until the insolent commands of Russia were complied with."

We have stated that Russia acquired the marshy islands at the mouths of
15 the Danube, in virtue of the treaty of Adrianople, which treaty was a violation of that which she had previously concluded with England and the other powers on July 26, 1827. Her bristling the mouths of the Danube with fortifications, and these fortifications with guns, was also a violation of the treaty of Adrianople, which expressly prohibited any fortifications to be erected
20 within six miles of the river. The exacting of tolls and the obstruction of the navigation was a violation of the treaty of Vienna, which declared that "the navigation of rivers along their whole course, from the point where each of them became navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free," that "the amount of the duties shall, in no case, exceed those now (in 1815) paid," and that
25 "no increase shall take place except with the common consent of the States bordering on their river." Thus then, the only points on which Russia could plead not guilty, was an infraction of the treaty of 1827, by the treaty of Adrianople, an open violation by herself of the treaty of Adrianople, and an insolent rupture of the treaty of Vienna.

30 It appeared quite impossible to wring out of Lord Palmerston any declaration whether he did or did not recognize the treaty of Adrianople. As to the treaty of Vienna, "he had received no *official* information that any thing had occurred which is not warranted by the treaty. When such a statement should be made by the parties concerned, it should be dealt with in such manner
35 as the law advisers of the Crown should deem consistent with the rights of the subjects of England."

By Art. V. of the treaty of Adrianople, Russia "guarantees the prosperity of the Danubian Principalities and full liberty of trade for them." Now, Mr. Patrick Stewart proved that the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia
40 were objects of deadly jealousy to Russia, as their trade had taken a sudden development since 1834, as they vied with Russia's own staple production,

as Galatz was becoming the great *dépôt* of all the grain of the Danube and driving Odessa out of the market. To this Lord Palmerston answered in these words:

"If my honorable friend had been able to show, that whereas some years ago we had had a large and important commerce with Turkey, and that that commerce had by the aggression of other countries, or by the neglect of the government of this, dwindled down to an inconsiderable trade, then there might have been ground to call upon Parliament. In lieu of such an occurrence, my honorable friend has shown that during the last few years the trade with Turkey has risen from next to nothing to a very considerable amount."

"Russia obstructs the Danube navigation, because the trade of the Principalities is growing important," says Mr. Stewart. "But she did not do so when that trade was next to nothing," answers Lord Palmerston. "You neglect to oppose Russia's recent encroachment on the Danube," says Mr. Stewart. "But did we do so before these encroachments were ventured upon?" asks Lord Palmerston. His Lordship succeeded in preventing the House from coming to a resolution by assuring it that "there was no disposition of Her Majesty's Government to submit to aggressions on the part of any power, be that power what it may, and be it more or less strong," and by warning the House that "they should also cautiously abstain from anything which might be construed by other powers, and reasonably so, as being a provocation on their part."

A week after these debates had taken place in the House of Commons a British merchant addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston with regard to the Russian ukase. He was answered by the Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office as follows:

"I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acquaint you that his lordship has called upon the law adviser for the crown for his opinion as to the regulations promulgated by the Russian ukase on Feb. 7, 1836; but, in the meantime, Lord Palmerston directs me to acquaint you, with respect to the latter part of your letter, that it is the opinion of His Majesty's Government that no toll is justly demanded by the Russian authorities at the mouth of the Danube, and you have acted properly in directing your agents to refuse to pay it."

The merchant on acting according to this letter was abandoned to Russia by the noble lord; a Russian toll, as Mr. Urquhart states, is now exacted in London and Liverpool by Russian Consuls on every English ship sailing for the Turkish ports of the Danube, and the quarantine still stands on the island of Leti.

But Russia did not limit her invasion of the Danube to a quarantine estab-

lished, to fortifications erected, and to tolls exacted. The only mouth of the Danube still navigable, the Sulina mouth, came into the possession of Russia through the treaty of Adrianople. As long as it was possessed by the Turks, a depth of water was kept in the channel of from 14 to 16 feet. Since it has
5 been possessed by Russia, the water has become reduced to 8 feet, a depth wholly inadequate to the conveyance of vessels employed in the corn trade. Now Russia is a party to the treaty of Vienna, and that treaty stipulates in article 113, that "each State shall be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing paths, and shall maintain the necessary works in order that no
10 obstruction shall be experienced by the navigation." Russia found no better means for keeping the channel in a navigable state than choking up its mouth with an accumulation of sand and mud, and paving its bar with shipwrecks. To this systematic and protracted violation of the treaty of Vienna, Russia has added another violation of the treaty of Adrianople, which forbids the
15 erecting of any establishment at the mouth of the Sulina, except for quarantine and light-house purposes, since, at her dictation, there has sprung up there a small Russian town, supported by the extortions, the occasion for which has been afforded by the delays and expenses for lighterage consequent upon the obstruction of the channel.

20 "Of what use" said Lord Palmerston, on April 30, 1823, "is it to dwell upon abstract principles with despotic governments who are accused of measuring right by power, and of ruling their conduct by expediency, and not by justice?" According to his own maxim the noble Lord took good care to content himself with dwelling upon abstract principles with the despotic government
25 of Russia. But he went further. While he assured the House on July 6, 1840, that the freedom of the Danube was "guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna;" and while he lamented on July 13, 1840, that, although the occupation of Cracow was a violation of the treaty of Vienna, "there were no means of enforcing the opinion of England because Cracow was evidently a place
30 where no English action could possibly take place," he two days later concluded a treaty with Russia, by virtue of which treaty, the Dardanelles were hermetically closed to English men-of-war during peace with Turkey, thus bereaving England of the only means of enforcing the treaty of Vienna, and transforming the Euxine into "a place, where no English action could possibly
35 take place." This point once obtained, he gave a sham satisfaction to public opinion by firing off a whole battery of papers reminding "the despotic government" which "measures right by power, and rules its conduct by expediency, and not by justice," in a very sententious and sentimental manner, that "Russia, when she compelled Turkey to cede to her the outlet
40 of a great European river which forms the commercial highway for the mutual intercourse of many nations, undertook duties and responsibilities

to other states, which she should take a pride in making good." To such a homily upon abstract principles, Count Nessehode answered steadily and flegmatically that "the subject should be carefully examined," and from time to time he expressed "a feeling of soreness on the part of the Imperial Government at the mistrust manifested as to their intentions." 5

Thus, through the management of the noble Lord, things have arrived in 1853 at the point where the navigation of the Danube had been declared *impossible*, and wheat is rotting at the mouth of the Sulina, while famine threatens to invade France, England and the South of Europe. Thus Russia has added, as *The Times* said, "to her other important possessions, that of an hon gate between the Danube and the Euxine." She has acquired the key of the Danube and of a bread-screw which she can put on, whenever the policy of Western Europe becomes obnoxious to punishment. 10

The mystery, however, of Lord Palmerston's transactions with Russia as to her schemes on the Danube was not revealed till during the course of the debates on Circassia. Then it was proved by Mr. Anstey on February 23, 1848, that "the noble Viscount's first act on coming into office (as the Minister of Foreign Affairs) was to accept the treaty of Adrianople,"—the same treaty against which the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen had protested. 15 20

How this was done and how Circassia was delivered by Lord Palmerston to Russia, as far as he had the power to deliver it, may perhaps, form the subject of another article.

Karl Marx
Lord Palmerston
(As published in the "People's Paper")

The People's Paper.
Nr. 77, 22. Oktober 1853

Lord Palmerston.

First Article.

Ruggiero is again and again fascinated by the false charms of Alcine, which, he knows to disguise an old witch—

- 5 Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,
and the knight-errant cannot withstand falling in love with her anew whom he knows to have transmuted all her former adorers into asses and other beasts. The English public is another Ruggiero, and Palmerston is another Alcine. Although a septuagenarian, and since 1807 occupying the public
10 stage, almost without interruption, he contrives to remain a novelty, and to evoke all the hopes that used to centre on an untried and promising youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed not yet to have begun his true career. If he were to die to-morrow, all England would be surprised at learning that he has been a Secretary of State half this century.
- 15 If not a good statesman of all work, he is at least a good actor of all work. He succeeds in the comic as in the heroic—in pathos as in familiarity—in the tragedy as in the farce; although the latter may be more congenial to his feelings. He is no first class orator, but he is an accomplished debater. Possessed of a wonderful memory, of great experience, of a consummate
20 tact, of a never-failing *présence d'esprit*, of a gentlemanlike versatility, of the most minute knowledge of parliamentary tricks, intrigues, parties, and men, he handles difficult cases in an admirable manner and with a pleasant volubility, sticking to the prejudices and susceptibilities of his public, secured from any surprise by his cynic impudence, from any self-confession by his
25 selfish dexterity, from running into a passion by his profound frivolity, his perfect indifference, and his aristocratic contempt. Being an exceedingly happy joker, he ingratiates himself with everybody. Never losing his temper, he imposes on an impassioned antagonist. When unable to master a subject,

he knows how to play with it. If wanting of general views, he is always ready to tissue elegant generalities.

Endowed with a restless and indefatigable spirit, he abhors inactivity, and pines for agitation, if not for action. A country like England allows him, of course, to busy himself in every corner of the earth. What he aims at is not the substance, but the mere appearance of success. 5

If he can do nothing, he will devise anything. Where he dares not interfere, he intermeddles. Not able to vie with a strong enemy, he improvises a weak one.

Being no man of deep designs, pondering on no combinations of long standing, pursuing no great object, he embarks in difficulties with a view to disentangle himself in a showy manner. He wants complications to feed his activity, and when he finds them not ready, he will create them. He exults in show-conflicts, show-battles, show-enemies, diplomatical notes to be exchanged, ships to be ordered to sail, the whole movement ending for him in violent parliamentary debates, which are sure to prepare him an ephemeral success, the constant and the only object of all his exertions. He manages international conflicts like an artist, driving matters to a certain point, retreating when they threaten to become serious, but having got, at all events, the dramatic excitement he wants. In his eyes, the movement of history itself is nothing but a pastime, expressly invented for the private satisfaction of the noble Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston. 10 15 20

Yielding to foreign influence in facts, he opposes it in words. Having inherited from Canning England's mission to propagate Constitutionalism on the Continent, he is never in need of a theme to pique the national prejudices, and, to counteract revolution abroad, and, at the same time, to hold awake the suspicious jealousy of foreign powers. Having succeeded in this easy manner to become the *bête note* of the continental courts, he could not fail in being set up as the truly English minister at home. Although a Tory by origin, he has contrived to introduce into the management of foreign affairs all the shams and contradictions that form the essence of Whiggism. He knows how to conciliate a democratic phraseology with oligarchic views, how to cover the peacemongering policy of the middle classes with the haughty language of England's aristocratic past—how to appear as the aggressor, where he connives, and as the defender where he betrays—how to manage an apparent enemy, and how to exasperate a pretended ally—how to find himself, at the opportune moment of the dispute, on the side of the stronger against the weak, and how to utter brave words in the act of running away. 25 30 35

Accused by the one party of being in the pay of Russia, he is suspected by the other of Carbonarism. If, in 1848, he had to defend himself against 40

the motion of impeachment for having acted as the minister of Nicholas, he had, in 1850, the satisfaction of being persecuted by a conspiracy of foreign ambassadors, which was successful in the House of Lords, but baffled in the House of Commons. If he betrayed foreign peoples, he did it with great politeness—politeness being the small coin of the devil, which he gives in change for the life-blood of his dupes. If the oppressors were always sure of his active support, the oppressed did never want a great ostentation of his rhetorical generosity. Poles, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, found him in office, whenever they were crushed, but their despots always suspected him of secret conspiracy with the victims they had allowed him to make. Till now, in all instances, it was a probable chance of success to have him for one's adversary, and a sure chance of ruin to have him for one's friend. But, if this art of diplomacy does not shine in the actual results of his foreign negotiations, it shines the more brilliantly in the construction he induced the English people to lay upon them, by accepting phrases for facts, phantasies for realities, and high sounding pretexts for shabby motives.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, deriving his title from a peerage of Ireland, was nominated Lord of the Admiralty in 1807, on the formation of the Duke of Portland's Administration. In 1809, he became Secretary of War, and he continued to hold this office till May, 1828. In 1830 he went over, very skilfully too, to the Whigs, who made him their permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Excepting the intervals of Tory administration, from November 1834 to April 1835, and from 1841 to 1846, he is responsible for the whole foreign policy, England has pursued from the revolution of 1830 to December 1851.

Is it not a very curious thing to find, at first view, that Quixote of "free institutions," and that Pindarus of the "glories of the constitutional system," a permanent and an eminent member of the Tory administrations of Mr. Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, during the long epoch of the Anti-Jacobin war carried on, the monster-debt contracted, the Corn Laws promulgated, foreign mercenaries stationed on the English soil, the people—to borrow an expression from his colleague, Lord Sidmouth—"bled," from time to time, the press gagged, meetings suppressed, the mass of the nation disarmed, individual liberty suspended together with regular jurisdiction, the whole country placed as it were in a state of siege—in one word, during the most infamous and most reactionary epoch of English history?

His *debutin* parliamentary life is a characteristic one. On February 3, 1808, he rose to defend—what?—secrecy in the working of diplomacy, and the most disgraceful act ever committed by one nation against another nation, viz., the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the capture of the Danish fleet, at the

time when England professed to be in profound peace with Denmark. As to the former point, he stated that, "In this particular case, his Majesty's Ministers are pledged (by whom?) to secrecy;" but he went farther: "I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information." Vidocq would have defended the identical cause in the identical terms. As to the act of piracy, while admitting that Denmark had evidenced no hostility whatever towards Great Britain, he contended that they were right in bombarding its capital and stealing its fleet, because they had to prevent Danish neutrality from being, perhaps, converted into open hostility by the compulsion of France. This was the new law of nations, proclaimed by my lord Palmerston.

When again speechifying, we find that English minister *par excellence*, engaged in the defence of foreign troops, called over from the continent to England, with the express mission of maintaining forcibly the oligarchic rule, to establish which William had, in 1688, come over from Holland, with his Dutch troops. Palmerston answered to the well-founded "apprehensions for the liberties of the country," originating from the presence of the King's German Legion, in a very flippant manner. Why should we not have 16,000 of those foreigners at home; while you know, that we employ "a far larger proportion of foreigners abroad." (House of Commons, March 10, 1812.)

When similar apprehensions for the constitution arose from the large standing army, maintained since 1815, he found "a sufficient protection of the constitution in the very constitution of our army," a large proportion of its officers being "men of property and connexions." (House of Commons, March 8, 1816.)

When the large standing army was attacked from a financial point of view, he made the curious discovery that "much of our financial embarrassments had been caused by our former low peace establishment." (House of Commons, April 25, 1816.)

When the "burdens of the country," and the "misery of the people" were contrasted with the lavish military expenditure, he reminded parliament that those burdens and that misery "were the price which we (*viz.*, the English oligarchy) agreed to pay for our freedom and independence." (House of Commons, May 16, 1820.)

In his eyes, military despotism was only to be apprehended from the exertions of "those self-called, but misled Reformers, who demand that sort of reform in the country which, according to every first principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism." (House of Commons, June 14, 1820.)

While large standing armies were thus his panacea for maintaining the

constitution of the country, flogging was his panacea for maintaining the constitution of the army. He defended it in the debates on the Mutiny Bill, on the 5th of March, 1824, he declared it to be "absolutely indispensable" on March 11, 1825, he recommended it again on March 10, 1828; he stood
5 by it in the debates of April, 1833, and he proved an amateur of flogging on every subsequent occasion.

There existed no abuse in the army, he did not find plausible reasons for, if it happened to foster the interests of aristocratic parasites. Thus, for instance, in the debates on the Sale of Commissions. (House of Commons,
10 March 12, 1828.)

Lord Palmerston likes to parade his constant exertions for the establishment of religious liberty. Now, he voted against Lord Russell's motion for the Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts. Why? Because he was "a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty," and could, therefore, not allow the
15 Dissenters to be relieved from "imaginary grievances, while real afflictions pressed upon the Catholics." (House of Commons, Feb. 26, 1828.)

In proof of his zeal for religious liberty he informs us of his "regret to see the increasing numbers of the Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predominant Church in this country," and it is his wish
20 "that the Established Church should be fed at the expense of the misbelievers." His jocose lordship accuses the rich Dissenters of affording churches for the poor ones, while "with the Church of England it is the poor alone who feel the want of Church accommodation ... It would be preposterous to say, that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their
25 small earnings." (House of Commons, April 9, 1824.)

It would be, of course, more preposterous yet to say, that the rich members of the Established Church ought to subscribe for the church out of their large earnings.

Let us now look at his exertions for Catholic Emancipation, one of his great
30 "claims" on the gratitude of the Irish people. I shall not dwell upon the circumstances, that, having declared himself for Catholic Emancipation, when a member of the Canning Ministry, he entered, nevertheless, the Wellington Ministry, avowedly hostile to that emancipation. Perhaps Lord Palmerston considered religious liberty as one of the Rights of Man, not to
35 be intermeddled with by Legislature. He may answer for himself, "Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit those claims to stand upon the ground of right... K I thought the Catholics were asking for their right, I, for one, would not go into the committee." (House of Commons, March 1, 1813.)

40 And why is he opposed to their asking their right? "Because the Legislature of a country has the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class

Karl Marx

of the community, as it may deem necessary for the safety and the welfare of the whole... This belongs to the fundamental principles on which civilised government is founded." (House of Commons, March 1, 1813.)

There you have the most cynic confession ever made, that the mass of the people have no rights at all, but that they may be allowed that amount of immunities, the Legislature—or, in other words, the ruling class—may deem fit to grant them. Accordingly, Lord Palmerston declared in plain words, "Catholic Emancipation to be a measure of grace and favour." (House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1829.)

It was then entirely upon the ground of expediency that he condescended to discontinue the Catholic disabilities. And what was lurking behind this expediency?

Being himself one of the great Irish proprietors, he wanted to entertain the delusion, that "other remedies for Irish evils than Catholic Emancipation are impossible," that it would cure absenteeism, and prove a substitute for Poor Laws.—(House of Commons, March 18, 1829.)

The great philanthropist, who afterwards cleared his Irish estates of their Irish natives could not allow Irish misery to darken, even for a moment, with its inauspicious clouds, the bright sky of the landlords and moneylords. "It is true," he said, "that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy all the comforts which are enjoyed by all the peasantry of England," (only think of all the comforts enjoyed by a family at the rate of 7s. a week.) "Still," he continues, "still however, the Irish peasant has his comforts... He is well supplied with fuel, and is seldom, (only four days out of six), at a loss for food. What a comfort! But this is not all the comfort he has—he has a greater cheerfulness of mind than his English fellow sufferer!"—(House of Commons, May 7, 1829.)

As to the extortions of Irish landlords, he deals with them in as pleasant a way as with the comforts of the Irish peasantry. "It is said that the Irish landlord insists on the highest possible rent that can be extorted. Why Sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance ; certainly in England the landlord does the same thing."—(House of Commons, May 7, 1829.)

Are we then to be surprised that the man, so deeply interested in the mysteries of the "glories of the English constitution," and the "comforts of her free institutions," should aspire at spreading them all over the Continent?

S e c o n d A r t i c l e .

When the Reform Movement had grown irresistible, Lord Palmerston deserted the Tories, and slipped into the Whiggery camp. Although he had apprehended the danger of military despotism springing up, not from the
5 presence of the King's German legion on the English soil, nor from keeping large standing armies, but only from the "self-called Reformers," he patronised, nevertheless, already in 1828, the extension of the franchise to such large industrial places as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester. But why? "Not because I am a friend to Reform in principle, but because I am its
10 decided enemy."

He had persuaded himself that some timely concessions made to the overgrown manufacturing interest might be the surest means of escaping "the introduction of general reform." (House of Commons, June 27th, 1828.) Once allied with the Whigs, he did not even pretend that the Reform Bill
15 aimed at breaking through the narrow trammels of the Venetian Constitution; but, on the contrary, at the increase of its strength and solidity, by disjoining the middle classes from the people's opposition. "The feelings of the middle classes will be changed, and their dissatisfaction will be converted into that attachment to the constitution, which will give to it a vast increase of strength
20 and solidity." He consoled the peers with the prospect of the Reform Bill not really endangering the "influence of the House of Lords," and their "interfering in elections." He told the aristocracy that the constitution was not to lose its feudal character, "the landed interest being the great foundation upon which rests the fabric of society, and the institutions of the
25 country." He allayed their fears by throwing out the ironical hint that "we have been charged with not being in earnest or sincere in our desire to give to the people a real representation," that "it was said, we only proposed to give a different kind of influence to the aristocracy and the landed interest." He went even as far as to own that, besides the inevitable concession to be
30 made to the middle classes, "disfranchisement," viz., the disfranchisement of the old Tory rotten boroughs for the benefit of new Whig boroughs, "was the chief and leading principle of the Reform Bill." (House of Commons, March 24th, 1831, and May 14th, 1832.)

It is now time to return to the performances of the noble lord in the foreign
35 branch of policy:

In 1823, when, consequent on the resolutions of the Congress of Verona, a French army was marched into Spain, in order to overturn the constitution of that country, and to deliver it up to the merciless revenge of the Bourbon

idiot and his suite of bigot monks, Lord Palmerston disclaimed any "Quixotic crusades for abstract principles," any intervention in "favour of the people," whose heroic resistance had saved England from the sway of Napoleon. The words he addressed on that occasion to his Whig adversaries are a lively and true picture of his own foreign policy, after he had turned himself into the permanent Minister of Foreign Affairs for those who then were his opponents. He said, 5

"Some would have had us use threats in negotiation, without being prepared to go to war, if negotiation failed. To have talked of war, and to have meant neutrality; to have threatened an army, and to have retreated behind a state paper; to have brandished the sword of defiance in the hour of deliberation, and to have ended in a penful of protests on the day of battle, would have been the conduct of a cowardly bully, and would have made us the object of contempt, and the laughing stock of Europe."—(House of Commons, April 30, 1823.) 10 15

At last, we arrive at the Grecian-Turkish debates, affording to Lord Palmerston the first opportunity for displaying his unrivalled talents, as the unflinching and persevering advocate of Russian interests, in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons. One by one, he re-echoed all the watch words given out by Russia of Turkish cruelty, Greek civilisation, religious liberty, Christianity, and so forth. At first, we meet him repudiating, in his ministerial capacity, any intention of passing "a censure" upon the meritorious conduct "of Admiral Codrington," which had caused the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, although he admits that "this battle took place against a power with which we are not at war," and that it was "an untoward event."—(House of Commons, January 31, 1828.) 20 25

Then, having retired from office, he opens the long series of his attacks upon Aberdeen, by reproaching him with having been too slow in executing the orders of Russia.

"Has there been much more energy and promptitude in fulfilling our engagements to Greece? July, 1829, is coming fast upon us, and the treaty of July, 1827, is still unexecuted ... The Morea, indeed, has been cleared of the Turks ... But why were the arms of France checked at the Isthmus of Corinth? ... The narrow policy of England stepped in, and arrested her progress ... But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the Isthmus, as they have done with that to the south, and occupy at once all that which must be assigned to Greece? I should have thought that the allies had had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece."—(House of Commons, June 1, 1829.) 30 35

Prince Metternich was, as is generally known, at that time opposing the encroachments of Russia, and accordingly her diplomatic agents—I remind 40

you of the despatches of Pozzo di Borgo and Prince Liewen—had been advised to represent Austria as the great enemy of Grecian emancipation and of European civilisation, the furtherance of which was the exclusive object of Russian diplomacy. The noble lord follows, of course, in the beaten
5 track.

"By the narrowness of her views, the unfortunate prejudices of her policy, Austria almost reduced herself to the level of a second-rate power;" and consequent on the temporising policy of Aberdeen, England is represented as "the key-stone of that arch of which Miguel, Spain, Austria, and Mahmoud
10 are the component parts ... People see in the delay in executing the treaty of July not so much fear of Turkish resistance as invincible repugnance to Grecian freedom."—(House of Commons, June 11, 1829.)

Again he assails Aberdeen because of his anti-Russian diplomacy: "I, for one, shaU not be satisfied with a number of despatches from the government
15 of England, which will no doubt read well and smooth enough, urging, in general terms, the propriety of conciliating Russia, but accompanied, perhaps, by strong expressions of the regard which England bore to Turkey, which, when read by an interested party, might easily appear to mean more than was really intended... I should like to see that, whilst England adopted
20 a firm resolution—almost the only course she could adopt—upon no consideration and in no event to take part with Turkey in that war—that that decision was fairly and frankly communicated to Turkey... There are three most merciless things—time, fire, and the Sultan."—(House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1830.)

25 Arrived at this point, I must recall to memory some few historical facts, in order to leave no doubt about the meaning of the noble lord's philo-Hellenic feelings.

Russia, having seized upon Gokcheh, a strip of land bordering on the Lake of Sevan, which was an undisputed possession of Persia, demanded as the
30 price of its evacuation the abandonment of Persia's claims to another portion of her own territory, the lands of Kapan. Persia not yielding, she was overrun, vanquished, and forced to subscribe to the treaty of Turcomanchai, in February, 1828. According to this treaty Persia had to pay an indemnity Of two millions sterling to Russia to cede the provinces of Erivan and Nuktcha-
35 van, including the fortresses of Erivan and Abassabad, the exclusive purpose of this arrangement being, as Nicholas stated, to define the common frontier by the Araxes, the only means, he said, of preventing any future dispute of the two empires, although he refused simultaneously to give back Talish and Moghan, which are situated on the Persian bank of the Araxes. Finally, Persia
40 pledged herself to maintaining no navy on the Caspian Sea. Such were the origin and the results of the Russo-Persian war.

As to the religion and the liberty of Greece, Russia cared at that epoch as much about them as the god of the Russians cares now about the key of the "Holy Sepulchre" and the famous "Cupola." It was the traditionary policy of Russia, to excite the Greeks to revolt, and, then, to abandon them to the revenge of the Sultan. So deep was her sympathy for the regeneration of Hellas, that she treated them as rebels on the congress of Verona, acknowledging the right of the Sultan to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his Christian subjects. Yea, the Czar offered "to aid the Porte in suppressing the rebellion;" a proposition which was, of course, rejected. Having failed in that attempt, he turned round upon the Great Powers with the opposite proposition, "To march an army into Turkey, for the purpose of dictating peace under the walls of the Seraglio." In order to hold his hands bound by a sort of common action, the other Great Powers concluded a treaty with him at London, July 6, 1827, by which they mutually engaged in enforcing, if need be, by arms, the adjustment of the differences between the Sultan and the Greeks. A few months after she had signed that treaty, Russia concluded another treaty with Turkey, the treaty of Akerman, by which she bound herself to renounce all interference with Grecian affairs. This treaty was brought about, after Russia had induced the crown prince of Persia to invade the Ottoman dominions, and after she had inflicted the greatest injuries on the Porte, in order to drive her to a rupture. After all this had passed, the resolutions of the London treaty of July 6, 1827, were presented to the Porte by the English Ambassador, or in the name of Russia and the other Powers. By virtue of the complications resulting from these frauds and lies, Russia found at last the pretext for beginning the war of 1828 and 1829. That war terminated with the treaty of Adrianople, whose contents are resumed in the following quotations from McNeill's celebrated pamphlet on the "Progress of Russia in the East": "By the treaty of Adrianople the Czar acquired Anapa and Poti with a considerable extent of coast on the Black Sea, a portion of the Pashalik of Akhilska, with the fortresses of Akhilska, and Akhilkillak, the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube, the stipulated destruction of the Turkish fortress of Georgiova, and the abandonment by Turkey of the right bank of the Danube to the distance of several miles from the river ... partly by force, and partly by the influence of the priesthood, many thousand families of the Armenians were removed from the Turkish provinces in Asia to the Czar's territories ... He established for his own subjects in Turkey an exemption from all responsibility to the national authorities, and burdened the Porte with an immense debt, under the name of expenses for the war and for commercial losses—and, finally retained Moldavia, Wallachia, and Silistria, in pledge for the payment ... Having by this treaty imposed upon Turkey the acceptance of the protocol of March 22,

which secured the suzerainty of Greece, and a yearly tribute from that country, Russia used ail her influence to procure the independence of Greece, which was erected into an independent state, of which Count Capo d'Istria, who had been a Russian Minister, was named President."

5 Such are the facts. Now look at the picture drawn of them by Lord Palmerston's hand:—"It is perfectly true that the war between Russia and Turkey arose out of aggressions made by Turkey on the commerce and rights of Russia, and violations of treaties."—(House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1830.)

When the Whig-incarnation of the office of Foreign Affairs, he improved
10 on this statement:—"The honourable and gallant member (Col. Evans) has represented the conduct of Russia as one of unvarying aggression, upon other States from 1815 to the present time. He adverted more particularly to the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey. Russia was the aggressor in neither of them, and although the result of the Persian war was an aggrandisement
15 of her power, it was not the result of her own seeking... Again, in the Turkish war, Russia was not the aggressor. It would be fatiguing to the house to detail all the provocations Turkey offered to Russia; but I believe there cannot be a doubt that she expelled Russian subjects from her territory, detained Russian ships, and violated all the provisions of the treaty of Akerman, and
20 then, upon complaint being made, denied redress—so that, if there ever was a just ground for going to war, Russia had it for going to war with Turkey. She did not, however, on any occasion, acquire any increase of territory, at least in Europe. I know there was a continued occupation of certain points"—(Moldavia and Wallachia are only points, and the mouths of the
25 Danube are mere zeros)—"and some additional acquisitions on the Euxine in Asia; but she had an agreement with the other European powers that success in that war should not lead to any aggrandisement in Europe."—(House of Commons, August 7, 1832.)

Your readers will now understand Sir Robert Peel's telling the noble lord,
30 in a public session of the house, that "he did not know whose representative he was."

The People's Paper.
Nr.79, 5. November 1853

Third Article.

The noble viscount is generally known as the chivalrous protector of the Poles, and never fails to give vent to his painful feelings with regard to Poland
35 before the deputations that wait upon him once every year by "dear, dully,

deadly" Dudley Stuart, "a worthy who makes speeches, passes resolutions, votes addresses, goes up with deputations, has at all times the necessary quantity of confidence in the necessary individual, and can, also, if necessary, give three cheers for the Queen."

The Poles had been in arms for about a month when the noble lord came into office, in November, 1830. As early as August 8th, 1831, Mr. Hunt presents to the House of Commons a petition from the Westminster Union, in favour of the Poles, and "for the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from his Majesty's councils." Mr. Hume stated on the same day he concluded from the silence of the noble lord that the government "intended to do nothing for the Poles, but allow them to remain at the mercy of Russia." Lord Palmerston replied that, "whatever obligations existing treaties imposed, would at all times receive the attention of the government." Now, what sort of obligation was there imposed in his opinion upon England by existing treaties? "The claims of Russia," he tells us himself, "to the possession of Poland bear the date of the treaty of Vienna."—{House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

And that treaty makes this possession dependent upon the observance of the Polish constitution by the Czar, but "the mere fact of this country being a party to the treaty of Vienna, was not synonymous with our guaranteeing that there would be no infraction of that treaty by Russia. 'MHouse of Commons, March 25, 1834.)

If you guarantee a treaty, you do by no means guarantee the observance of the treaty. Thus answered the Milanese to the Emperor Barbarossa: "You have had our oath, but remember we did not swear to keep it."

For one thing, however, the treaty of Vienna is good. It gives to the British government, as one of the contracting parties, "a right to entertain and express an opinion on any act which tends to a violation of that treaty ... The contracting parties to the treaties of Vienna had a right to require that the constitution of Poland should not be touched, and this was an opinion which I have not concealed from the Russian government. I communicated it *by anticipation* to that government previous to the taking of Warsaw, and before the result of hostilities was known. I communicated it again when Warsaw fell. The Russian government, however, took a different view of the question."—{House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

He is quietly anticipating the downfall of Poland, and watches this opportunity for expressing and entertaining an opinion on certain articles of the treaty of Vienna, persuaded as he is that the magnanimous Czar waits only for having crushed the Polish people by armed force, in order to honour a constitution trampled upon when they were yet possessed of unbounded means of resistance. Simultaneously the noble lord charges the Poles with

having "taken the uncalled-for, and, in his opinion, *unjustifiable* step of the dethronement of the Emperor."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

"He could also say that the Poles were the aggressors, for they commenced the contest."—(House of Commons, August 7, 1832.)

5 When the apprehensions for the extinction of Poland became troublesome, he declared that "to exterminate Poland, either *morally or politically*, is so perfectly impracticable that I think there need be no apprehension of its being attempted."—(House of Commons, June 28, 1832.)

10 When reminded afterwards of the wayward expectations thus held out, he assures that he had been misunderstood, that he had said so not in the political but in the Pickwickian sense of the word, meaning that the Emperor of Russia was unable "to exterminate *nominally or physically* so many millions of men as the Polish kingdom in its divided state contained."—(House of Commons, April 20, 1836.)

15 When the house makes a pretence of interfering during the struggle of the Poles, he appeals to his ministerial responsibility. When the thing is done, he coolly tells them that "no vote of this house would have the slightest effect in reversing the decision of Russia."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

20 When the atrocities committed by the Russians, after the fall of Warsaw, are denounced, he recommends to the house great tenderness towards the Emperor of Russia, declaring that "no person could regret more than he did, the expressions which had been uttered," (House of Commons, June 28, 1832.) that "the present Emperor of Russia was a man of high and generous feelings"—that "where cases of undue severity on the part of the Russian
25 government to the Poles have occurred, we may set this down as a proof that the power of the Emperor of Russia is practically limited, and we may take it for granted that the Emperor has, in those instances, yielded to the influence of others, rather than followed the dictates of his spontaneous feelings."—(House of Commons, July 9, 1833.)

30 When the doom of Poland was sealed on the one hand, and on the other the dissolution of the Turkish empire became imminent, from the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, he assured the house that "affairs in general were proceeding in a satisfactory train."—(House of Commons, January 26, 1832.)

35 A resolution for granting subsidies to the Polish refugees having been moved, it is "exceedingly painful to him to oppose the grant of any money to those individuals which the natural and spontaneous feelings of every generous man would lead him to acquiesce in; but, it is not consistent with his duty to propose any grant of money to those unfortunate persons."—(House of Commons, March 25, 1834.)

40 The same tender-hearted man had defrayed as we shall see by and bye, the cost of Poland's fall, to a great extent, out of the pockets of the British people.

The noble lord has taken good care to withhold all state papers on the Polish catastrophe from the parliament. But statements made in the House of Commons which, he did never as much as attempt to controvert, leave no doubt as to the game he played at that fatal epoch.

After the Polish revolution had broken out, the Consul of Austria did not 5
quit Warsaw, and the Austrian government went so far as to send a Polish
agent, M. Walewski, to Paris, with the mission of negotiating with the govern-
ments of France and England about the re-establishment of a Polish kingdom.
The Court of the Tuileries declared "it was ready to join England in case
of her consenting to the project." Lord Palmerston rejected the offer. In 1831 10
M.de Talleyrand, the Ambassador of France, at the Court of St. James,
proposed a plan of combined action on the part of France and England, but
met with a distinct refusal, and with a note from the noble lord, stating that
"an amicable intermediation on the Polish question would be declined by
Russia. The powers had just declined a similar offer on the part of France; 15
the intervention of the two Courts of France and England could only be by
force in case of a refusal on the part of Russia, and the amicable and satis-
factory relations between the Cabinet of St. James and the Cabinet of
St. Petersburg, would not allow his British Majesty to undertake such an
interference. The time was not yet come to undertake such a plan with 20
success against the will of a sovereign, whose *rights were indisputable*" This
was not all. On February 23, 1848, Mr. Anstey made the following declaration
in the House of Commons:—"Sweden was arming her fleet for the purpose
of making diversion in favour of Poland, and of regaining to herself the
provinces in the Baltic, which have been so unjustly wrested from her in the 25
last war. The noble lord instructed our ambassador at the Court of Stock-
holm, in a contrary sense, and Sweden discontinued her armaments. The
Persian Court had, with similar purpose, despatched an army three days on
its march towards the Russian frontier, under the command of the Persian
crown prince. The Secretary of Legation, at the Court of Teheran, Sir John 30
McNeill followed the prince, at a distance of three days' march from his head
quarters, overtook him, and there, under instructions from the noble lord,
and in the name of England, threatened Persia with war if the prince ad-
vanced another step towards the Russian frontier. Similar inducements were
used by the noble lord to prevent Turkey from renewing war on her side." 35

To Colonel Evans asking for the production of papers with regard to
Prussia's violation of her pretended neutrality in the Russo-Polish war, the
noble lord objected, "that the ministers of this country could not have
witnessed that contest without the deepest regret, and it would be most
satisfactory for them to see it terminated."—(House of Commons, August 16, 40
1831.)

Certainly he wished to see it terminated as soon as possible, and Prussia shared in his feelings.

On a subsequent occasion, Mr. H. Gaily Knight thus resumed the whole proceedings of the noble lord with regard to the Polish insurrection:—"There
5 is something *curiously inconsistent* in the proceedings of the noble lord when Russia is concerned ... On the subject of Poland, the noble lord has disappointed us again and again. Remember when the noble lord was pressed to exert himself in favour of Poland, then he admitted the justice of the cause—the justice of our complaints; but he said, 'Only restrain yourselves
10 at present, there is an ambassador fast setting out of known liberal sentiments, you may be sure we will do all that is right; you will only embarrass his négociation, if you incense the power with whom he has to deal. So, take my advice, be quiet at present, and be assured that a great deal will be effected.' We trusted to those assurances; the Uberai ambassador went;
15 whether he ever approached the subject or not, was never known, but all we got were the fine words of the noble lord, and no results."—(House of Commons, July 13, 1840.)

The so-called kingdom of Poland having disappeared from the map of Europe, there remained still, in the free town of Cracow, a fantastic remnant
20 of Polish nationality. The Czar Alexander had, during the general anarchy resulting from the fall of the French empire, not conquered the Duchy of Warsaw, but simply seized it, and wished, of course, to keep it, together with Cracow, incorporated with the Duchy by Bonaparte. Austria, once possessed of Cracow, wished to have it back. The Czar being unable to obtain it himself
25 and unwilling to concede it to Austria, proposed to constitute it as a free town. Accordingly the treaty of Vienna stipulated in article VI., "that the town of Cracow with the territory is to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia," and in its article IX. "that the Courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia engage to
30 respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. *No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever.*"

Immediately after the close of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Russian troops suddenly entered Cracow, the occupation of which lasted two
35 months. This, however, was considered as a transitory necessity of war, and in the turmoil of that time, was soon forgotten.

In 1836, Cracow was again occupied by the troops of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the pretext of forcing the authorities of Cracow to deliver up the individuals concerned in the Polish revolution five years before. The con-
40 stitution of Cracow was abrogated, the three consular residenciers assumed the highest authority—the police was entrusted to Austrian spies—the senate

was overthrown—the tribunals were destroyed—the university of Cracow put down in consequence of the prohibitions to the neighbouring provinces—and the commerce of the free city with the surrounding countries destroyed.

On March 18th, 1836, when interpellated on the occupation of Cracow, the noble viscount declared that occupation to be of a merely transitory character. Of so palliative and apologetic a kind was the construction he put on the doings of his three northern allies, that he felt himself obliged suddenly to stop and to interrupt the even course of his speech by the solemn declaration "I stand not up here to defend the measure, which, on the contrary, I must censure and condemn. I have merely stated those circumstances which, though they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, might yet afford a justification, etc____" He admits that the treaty of Vienna bound the three Powers to abstain from any step without the previous consent of England, but, "they may be justly said to have paid an *in voluntary* homage to the justice and plain dealing of this country, by supposing that we would never give our assent to such a proceeding."

Mr. Patrick M. Stewart having, however, found out that there existed better means for the preservation of Cracow than the "abstention from remonstrance," moved on April 20, 1836, that the government should be ordered to send a representation to the free town of Cracow as consul, there being three consuls there from the three Northern Powers. The joint arrival of an English and French consul at Cracow would prove an event. The noble viscount seeing that the majority of the house was for the motion, induced Mr. Stewart to withdraw it by solemnly pledging himself that the government "intended to send a consular agent to Cracow." On March 22, 1837, being reminded by Lord Dudley Stuart of his promise, the noble lord answered that "he had altered his intention, and had not sent a consular agent to Cracow, and it was not at present his intention to do so." Lord D. Stuart having given notice that he should move for papers elucidatory of this singular declaration, the noble viscount succeeded in defeating the motion by the simple process of being absent and of causing the house to be counted out.

In 1840, the "temporary" occupation continued, and the people of Cracow had addressed a memorandum to the governments of France and England, which says, amongst other things:—"The misfortunes which overwhelm the free city of Cracow and its inhabitants, are such that the undersigned see no further hope for themselves and their fellow citizens than in the powerful and enlightened protection of the governments of France and England. The situation in which they find themselves placed, gives them a right to invoke the intervention of every power that subscribed to the treaty of Vienna."

Being interrogated on July 13th, 1840, about this petition from Cracow, the noble viscount declared "that between Austria and the British govern-

ment the question of the evacuation of Cracow remained only a question of time." As to the violation of the treaty of Vienna "there were no means of enforcing the opinions of England, supposing that this country was disposed to do so by arms, because Cracow was evidently a place where no English
5 action could possibly take place." Be it remarked that two days after this declaration the noble lord concluded a treaty with Russia, Austria, and Prussia for closing the Black Sea to the English navy, probably in order that no English action could take place in those quarters. It was at the very same time that the noble lord renewed a Holy Alliance with those Powers against
10 France. As to the commercial loss sustained by England, consequent upon the occupation of Cracow, the noble lord demonstrated that "the amount of general exports to *Germany* had not fallen off," which, as Sir Robert Peel justly remarked, had nothing to do with Cracow. As to his intentions on the subject and to the consular agent to be sent to Cracow, "he thought that his
15 experience of the manner in which his unfortunate assertion (made by the noble lord in 1836, in order to escape from the censure of a hostile house) of an intention to appoint a British Consul at Cracow, had been taken up by honourable gentlemen opposite, justified him in positively refusing to give any answer to such a question, which might expose him to similar un-
20 justifiable attacks." On August 17, 1846, he stated that "whether the treaty of Vienna is, or is not executed and fulfilled by the Great Powers of Europe, depends not upon the presence of a consular agent at Cracow." On January 28, 1847, when again asked for the production of papers relative to the *non-appointment of* a British Consul at Cracow, he declared that "the subject
25 had *no necessary* connexion with the discussion on the incorporation of Cracow, and he saw no advantage in reviving an angry discussion on a subject which had *only a passing interest*." He proved true to his opinion on the production of state papers, pronounced on March 17, 1837:—"If the papers bear upon questions now under consideration, their production would be
30 dangerous; if they refer to questions that are gone by, they can obviously be of no use."

The British government was very exactly informed of the importance of Cracow, not only from a political but also from a commercial point of view, their own Consul at Warsaw, Colonel Duplat having reported to them that
35 "Cracow, since its elevation into an independent state, has always been the depot of very considerable quantities of English merchandise sent thither by the Black Sea, Moldavia, and Gallicia, and even *via* Trieste; and which afterwards find their way to the surrounding countries. In the course of years it came into railway communication with the great Unes of Bohemia, Prussia,
40 and Austria ... It is also the central point of the important line of railway communication between the Adriatic and the Baltic. It will come in direct

communication of the same description with Warsaw... Looking, therefore, to the almost certainty of every great point of the Levant, and even of India and China, finding its way up the Adriatic, it cannot be denied that it must be of the greatest commercial importance, even to England, to have such a station as Cracow, in the centre of the great net of railways connecting the Western and Eastern Continent." 5

Lord Palmerston himself was obliged to confess to the house that the Cracow insurrection of 1846 had been intentionally provoked by the Three Powers. "I believe the original entrance of the Austrian troops into the territory of Cracow was in consequence of an application from the government. But, then, those Austrian troops retired. *Why* they retired has never yet been explained. With them retired the government and the authorities of Cracow ; the *immediate*, at least, the early consequence of that retirement, was the establishment of a provisional government at Cracow." (House of Commons, Aug. 17, 1846.) 10 15

On the 22nd of February, 1846, the army of Austria, and afterwards of Russia and Prussia, took possession of Cracow. On the 26th of the same month the Prefect of Tarnow issued his proclamation calling upon the peasants to murder their proprietors, and promising them "a sufficient recompence, in money," which proclamation was followed by the Gallician atrocities, and the massacre of about 2,000 proprietors. On March the 12th appeared the Austrian proclamation to the "faithful Gallicians having aroused themselves for the maintenance of order and law, and destroyed the enemies of order." In the official "Gazette" of April 28th, Prince Frederick of Schwarzenberg stated that "the acts that had taken place had been *authorised* by the Austrian government," which, of course, acted on a common plan with Russia and with Prussia, the footman of the Czar. Now, after all these abominations had passed, Lord Palmerston thought fit to declare in the house, "I have too high an opinion of the sense of justice and of right that must animate the governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to believe that they can feel any disposition or intention to deal with Cracow otherwise than Cracow is entitled by treaty-engagements to be dealt with." (House of Commons, Aug. 17th, 1846.) 20 25 30

For the noble lord the only business in hand was to get rid of parliament, the session drawing to a close. He assured the Commons that "on the part of the British government everything shall be done to ensure a due respect being paid to the provisions of the treaty of Vienna." Mr. Hume, giving vent to his doubts about Lord Palmerston's *intention* to cause the Austro-Russian troops to retire from Cracow," the noble lord begged of the house not to give credence to the statements made by Mr. Hume, as he was in possession of better information, and was convinced that the occupation of Cracow 35 40

was only a "temporary" one. The parliament of 1846 having been got rid of, in the same manner as that of 1853, out came the Austrian proclamation of November 11th, 1846, incorporating Cracow into the Austrian dominions. When parliament re-assembled on January 19th, 1847, it was informed by
5 the Queen's Speech that Cracow was gone, but that there remained in its place a protest on the part of the brave Palmerston. To deprive this protest of even the appearance of a meaning, the noble lord contrived at that very epoch to engage, on the occasion of the Spanish marriages, England in a quarrel with France, very near setting the two countries by the ears, as he
10 was twitted in the teeth by Mr. Smith O'Brien. The French government having applied to him for his co-operation in a joint protest against the incorporation of Cracow, Lord Normanby, under instructions from the noble viscount, answered that the outrage of which Austria had been guilty in annexing Cracow was not greater than that of France in effecting a marriage
15 between the Duke of Montpensier and the Spanish Infanta—the one act being a violation of the treaty of Vienna, and the other of the treaty of Utrecht. Now, the treaty of Utrecht, renewed in 1782, was definitively abrogated by the Anti-Jacobin war; and had, therefore, ever since 1792 ceased to exist. There was no man in the house better informed of this circumstance than
20 the noble lord, as he had stated himself on the occasion of the blockades of Mexico and Buenos Ayres, that "the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht have long lapsed in the variations of war, with the exception of the single clause relating to the boundaries of Brazil and French Guyana, because that clause had been expressly incorporated in the treaty of Vienna."

25 We have not yet done with the exertions of the noble lord for resisting the encroachments of Russia on Poland.

There existed a curious convention between England, Holland, and Russia—the so-called *Russian Dutch loan*. During the Anti-Jacobin war the Czar Alexander had contracted a loan with Messrs. Hope and Co., at Amsterdam;
30 and after the fall of Buonaparte, the King of the Netherlands "deshed to make a suitable return to the Allied Powers for having delivered his territories," and for having annexed to his own Belgium, upon which he had no claim whatever, and engaged himself—the other Powers waiving their common pretensions in favour of Russia, then in great need of money—to execute
35 a convention with Russia for paying her by successive instalments the twenty-five millions of florins she owed to Messrs. Hope and Co. England, in Order to cover the robbery she had comitted on Holland, of her colonies at the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, became a party to that convention, and bound herself to pay a certain proportion of
40 the subsidies granted to Russia. This stipulation became part of the treaty of Vienna, but upon the *express condition* "that the payment should cease

if the union between Holland and Belgium were broken prior to the liquidation of the debt." When Belgium separated itself by revolution from Holland, she of course refused to pay her portion to Russia. On the other hand, there remained, Mr. Herries stated, "not the smallest iota of a claim on the part of Russia for the continuance of debt by England." (House of Commons, Jan. 26, 1832.) 5

Lord Palmerston, however, found it quite natural that, "at one time Russia is paid for supporting the union of Belgium with Holland, and that at another time she is paid for the separation of these countries." (House of Commons, July 16th, 1832.) 10

He appealed in a very tragical manner to the faithful observance of treaties—and above all, of the treaty of Vienna; and he contrived to carry a new convention with Russia, dated 16th November, 1831, in the preamble of which it is expressly stated that it is contracted "in consideration of the general arrangement^ of the Congress of Vienna which remain in full force." 15

When the convention relating to the Russo-Dutch loan, had been inserted in the treaty of Vienna, the Duke of Wellington exclaimed—"This is a master-stroke of diplomacy on the part of Lord Castlereagh; for Russia has been tied down to the observance of the Vienna treaty by a pecuniary obligation." When Russia, therefore, withdrew her observance of the Vienna treaty by the Cracow confiscation, Mr. Hume moved to stop any further payment to Russia from the British Treasury. The noble viscount, however, thought that although Russia had a right to violate the treaty of Vienna with regard to Poland, England remained tied to the treaty with regard to Russia. 20 25

But this is not the most extraordinary incident of the noble lord's proceedings. After the Belgian revolution had broken out, and before parliament had sanctioned the new loan to Russia, the noble lord defrayed the costs of the Russian war against Poland, under the false pretext of paying off the old debt contracted by England in 1815, although we may state, on the authority of the greatest English lawyer, Sir E. Sugden, now Lord St. Leonards, that "there was not a single debatable point in that question, and the government had no power whatever of paying a shilling of the money." (House of Commons, Jan. 26, 1832.) And on the authority of Sir Robert Peel that "the noble lord was *not warrantable bylaw* in advancing the money." (House of Commons, July 12, 1832.) 30 35

Now we understand why the noble lord is reiterating on every occasion that "nothing can be more painful to a man of proper feeling than discussions upon the subject of Poland."

Fourth Article.

The great and eternal themes of the noble viscount's self-glorification are the services he has rendered to the cause of constitutional liberty aU over the continent. The world owes him, indeed, the invention of the "constitutional" kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and Greece,—three political phantoms, only to be compared with the *homunculus* of Faust's "Wagner." Portugal, under the yoke of that huge hill of flesh, Donna Maria da Gloria, backed by a Coburg, "must be looked upon as one of the *substantive* powers of Europe." (House of Commons, March 10, 1837.)

10 At the very time the noble viscount uttered these words, six British ships of the line anchored at Lisbon, in order to defend the "substantive" daughter of Don Pedro from the Portuguese people, and to help her to destroy the constitution she had sworn to defend. Spain, at the disposition of another Maria, who, although a notorious sinner, has never found a Magdalen, "holds
15 out to us a fair, a flourishing, and even a formidable power among the European kingdoms." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C, March 10, 1837.)

Formidable, indeed, to the holders of Spanish bonds. The noble lord has even his reasons ready for having delivered the native country of the Pericles
20 and the Sophocles to the nominal sway of an idiot Bavarian boy. "King Otho belongs to a country where there exists a free Constitution." (H. of C, August 8, 1832.)

A free constitution in Bavaria, the German Bceotia! This passes the *licentia poetica* of rhetorical flourish, the "legitimate hopes" held out by Spain, and
25 the "substantive" power of Portugal. As to Belgium, all Lord Palmerston did for it was, burdening it with a part of the Dutch debt, reducing it by the Province of Luxemburg, and adding to it a Coburg dynasty. As to the *entente cordiale* with France, waning from the moment he pretended to give it the finish by the Quadruple Alliance of 1834, we have already seen how far the
30 noble lord understood to manage it in the instance of Poland, and we shall hear, by and bye, what became of it in his hands.

One of those facts, hardly adverted to by contemporaries, but broadly marking the boundaries of historical epochs, was the military occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, in 1833.

35 The eternal dream of Russia was at last realised. The barbarian from the icy banks of the Newa held in his grasp luxurious Byzantium, and the sunlit shores of the Bosphorus. The self-styled heir to the Greek Emperors occupied, however temporarily, the Rome of the East.

"The occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops sealed the fate of Turkey as an independent power. The fact of Russia having occupied Constantinople even for the purpose (?) of saving it, was as decisive a blow to Turkish independence as if the flag of Russia now waved on the Seraglio." (Speech of Sir Robert Peel, H. of C, March 17, 1834.) 5

In consequence of the unfortunate war of 1828-29, the Porte had lost her prestige in the eyes of her own subjects. As usual with Oriental empires, when the paramount power is weakened, successful revolts of Pachas broke out. As early as October, 1831, commenced the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had supported the Porte during the Greek insurrection. In the spring of 1832, Ibrahim Pasha, his son, marched his army into Syria, conquered that province, by the Battle of Horns, crossed the Taurus, annihilated the last Turkish army at the battle of Coniah, and moved on the way to Stamboul. The Sultan was forced to apply to St. Petersburg, on Feb. 2, 1833. On February 17, the French Admiral Roussin arrived at Constantinople, remonstrated with the Porte two days afterwards, and engaged for the retreat of the Pasha on certain terms, including the refusal of Russian assistance; but, unassisted as he was, he was, of course, unable to cope with Russia. "You have asked for me, and you shall have me." On February 20, a Russian squadron sailed from Sebastopol, and disembarked a large force of Russian troops on the shores of the Bosphorus, and laid siege to the capital. So eager was Russia for the protection of Turkey, that a Russian officer was simultaneously dispatched to the Pashas of Erzerum and Trebizond, to inform them that, in the event of Ibrahim's army marching towards Erzerum, both that place and Trebizond should be immediately protected by a Russian army. At the end of May, 1833, Count Orloff arrived from St. Petersburg, and intimated to the Sultan that he had brought with him a little bit of paper, which the Sultan was to subscribe to, without the concurrence of any minister, and without the diplomatic agent, at the Porte. In this manner the famous treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was brought about and concluded for eight years to come. By virtue of it the Porte entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive with Russia, resigned the right of entering into any new treaties with other powers, except with the concurrence of Russia, and confirmed the former Russo-Turkish treaties, especially that of Adrianople. By a secret article, appended to the treaty, the Porte obliged herself, "in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia, to close the Straits of the Dardanelles—viz., not to allow any foreign man-of-war to enter it under any pretext whatever." 10 15 20 25 30 35

Whom was the Czar indebted to for occupying Constantinople by his troops, and for transferring, by virtue of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the supreme seat of the Ottoman empire, from Constantinople to StPeters- 40

burgh? To nobody else but to the Right Honourable Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of His Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, Knight of the Great Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member of Parliament, and His Majesty's Principal
5 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was concluded on July 8th, 1833. On July 11th, 1833, Mr. H. L. Bulwer moved for the production of papers with respect to the Turco-Syrian affairs. The noble lord opposed the motion, "because
10 the *transactions* to which the papers called for referred, were *incomplete*, and the character of the whole transaction would depend upon its termination. As the results were not yet known, the motion was premature."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

Accused by Mr. Bulwer of not having interfered for the defence of the Sultan against Mehemed Ah, and not having thus prevented the advance of
15 the Russian army, he began that curious system of defence and of confession, developed on later occasions, the *membra disjecta* of which I shall now gather together.

"He was not *prepared* to deny, that the latter part of last year an application was made on the part of the Sultan to the country for assistance."—(H. of
20 C, July 11, 1833.)

The Porte made formal application for assistance in the course of August.—(H. of C, August 24, 1833.)

No, not in August. "The request of the Porte for naval assistance had been made in the month of October, 1832."—(H. of C, August 28, 1833.)

25 No, it was not in October. "Its assistance was asked by the Porte in November 1832."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.)

The noble lord is as uncertain of the day when the Porte implored his aid, as Falstaff was of the number of rogues in buckram suits, who came at his back, in Kendal green. He is not *prepared*, however, to deny that the armed
30 assistance offered by Russia was rejected by the Porte, and that he was applied to. He refused to comply with her demands. The Porte did again apply to the noble lord. First she sent M. Maurojeni to London; then she sent Nehmik Pasha, who entreated the assistance of a naval squadron on the condition of the Sultan undertaking to defray all the expenses of that squad-
35 ron, and promising in future requital for that succour, the grant of new *commercial* privileges, and advantages to British subjects in Turkey. So sure was Russia of the noble lord's refusal, that she joined the Turkish Envoy in praying his lordship for the affording of the demanded succour. He tells us himself, "It was but justice that he should state, that so far from Russia
40 having expressed any jealousy as to this government granting this assistance, the Russian Ambassador officially communicated to him, while the request

was still under the consideration, that he had learned that such an application had been made, and that, from the interest taken by Russia in the maintenance and preservation of the Turkish empire, it would afford satisfaction if ministers could find themselves able to comply with that request."—(H. of C, August 28, 1833.) 5

The noble lord remained, however, inexorable to the demands of the Porte, although backed by disinterested Russia herself. Then, of course, the Porte knew what she was about. She understood that she was doomed to make the wolf shepherd. Still she hesitated, and did not accept the Russian assistance till three months later. "Great Britain," says the noble lord, "never 10 complained of Russia granting that assistance, but, on the contrary, was glad that Turkey had been able to obtain effectual relief from any quarter."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.)

At whatever epoch the Porte may have implored the aid of Lord Palmerston, he cannot but own, "No doubt if England had *thought fit* to interfere, 15 the progress of the invading army would have been stopped, *and the Russian troops would not have been called in.*"—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

Why then did he not "*think fit*" to interfere and to keep the Russians out?

First he pleads *want of time*. According to his own statement the conflict between the Porte and Mehemed Ali arose as early as October 1831, while 20 the decisive battle of Koniah was not fought till December 21, 1832. Could he find no time during all this period? A great battle was won by Ibrahim Pasha in July 1832, and again he could find no time from July to December. But he was all that time waiting for a *formal* application, which, according to his last version, was not made till the 3rd of November. "Was he then," 25 asks Sir Robert Peel, "so ignorant of what was passing in the Levant, that he must wait for a formal application?" (H. of C, March 17, 1834.) And from November, when the formal application was made, to the latter part of February, there elapsed again four long months, and Russia did not arrive until February 20, 1833. Why did not he? 30

But he has better reasons in reserve.

The Pasha of Egypt was but a rebellious subject, and the Sultan was the Suzerain. "As it was a war against the sovereign by a subject, and that sovereign was in alliance with the King of England, it would have been inconsistent with good faith to have had *any communication* with the Pasha." 35 (H. of C, August 28, 1833.) *Etiquette* prevented the noble lord from stopping Ibrahim's armies. *Etiquette* forbade him giving instructions to his Consul at Alexandria to use his influence with Mehemed Ali. Like the Spanish Grandee, the noble lord would rather let the Queen burn to ashes than infringe on *etiquette* and interfere with the petticoats. Perchance it so 40 appears that the noble lord had already in 1832, accredited consuls and

diplomatic agents to the "subject" of the Sultan without the consent of the Sultan, that he entered into treaties with Mehemed altering existing regulations and arrangements touching matters of trade and revenue and establishing other ones in their rooms; that he did so without the consent of the Porte
5 beforehand, or caring for its approbation afterwards—(H. of C, February 23, 1848.)

Accordingly, we are told by Earl Grey, the then chief of the noble viscount that "They had at the moment extensive commercial relations with Mehemed Ali which it would not have been their interest to disturb."—(House of Lords,
10 February 4, 1834.)

What commercial relations with the "rebellious subject."

But the noble viscount's fleets were occupied in the Douro, and the Tagus, and blockading the Scheldt, and doing the service of the midwife at the birth of the constitutional empires of Portugal, Spain, and Belgium, and he was,
15 therefore, not in a situation to spare one single ship.—(H. of C., March 17, 1834, and House of Lords, February 4, 1834.)

But what the Sultan insisted on was precisely naval assistance. For argument's sake we will grant the noble lord to have been unable to dispose of one single vessel. But there are great authorities assuring us that what was
20 wanted was not a single *vessel*, but only a single *word* on the part of the noble lord. There is Admiral Codrington, the destroyer of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. "Mehemed Ah," he states, "had of old felt the strength of our representations on the subject of the evacuation of the Morea. He had then received orders from the Porte to resist all applications to induce him to
25 evacuate it at the risk of his head, and he did resist accordingly, but at last prudently yielded and evacuated the Morea."—(H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

There is the Duke of Wellington. "If, in the session of 1832 or 1833, they had plainly told Mehemed Ali, that he should not carry on his contest in Syria and Asia Minor, they would have put an end to the war without the risk of
30 allowing the Emperor of Russia to send a fleet and an army to Constantinople."—(House of Lords, Feb. 4, 1834.)

But there are better authorities. There is the noble lord himself. "Although," he says, "his Majesty's government did not comply with the demand of the Sultan for naval assistance, yet the moral assistance of England
35 was afforded; and the communications made by the British government to the Pasha of Egypt, and to forahim Pasha, commanding in Asia Minor, did materially contribute to bring about that arrangement (of Kutayah) between the Sultan and the Pasha, by which that war was *terminated*."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.) There is Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, and a member of
40 the Palmerston Cabinet, who "boldly asserts that what stopped the progress of Mehemet AU, was the distinct declaration of France and England that they

would not permit the occupation of Constantinople by his troops."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834).

Thus then, according to Lord Derby and to Lord Palmerston himself, it was not the Russian squadron and army at Constantinople, but it was a *distinct declaration* on the part of the British consular agent at Alexandria, that stopped Ibrahim's victorious march upon Constantinople, and brought about the arrangement of Kutayah, by virtue of which Mehemed Ali obtained, besides Egypt, the Pashalik of Syria, of Adana and other places, added as an appendage. But the noble lord thought fit not to allow his consul at Alexandria to make this *distinct declaration* till after the Turkish army was annihilated, Constantinople overrun by the Cossack, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi signed by the Sultan, and pocketed by the Czar.

If want of time and want of fleets, forbade the noble lord to assist the Sultan, and a superfluity of *etiquette* to check the Pasha, did he at least employ his ambassador at Constantinople to guard against excessive influence on the part of Russia, and to keep her influence confined to narrow bounds? Quite the contrary. In order not to clog the movements of Russia, the noble lord took good care to have no ambassador at all at Constantinople during the most fatal period of the crisis.

"If ever there was a country in which the weight and station of an ambassador were useful—or a period in which that weight and station might be advantageously exerted—that country was Turkey, during the six months before the 8th of July."—(Speech of Lord Mahon, H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

Lord Palmerston tells us, that the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, left Constantinople in September, 1832—that Lord Ponsonby, then at Naples, was appointed in his place in November and that "difficulties experienced in making the necessary arrangements for his conveyance,"—although a man-of-war was in waiting for him—"and the unfavourable state of the weather, did prevent his getting to Constantinople, until the end of May, 1833."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.)

The Russian was not yet in, and Lord Ponsonby was accordingly ordered to require seven months for sailing from Naples to Constantinople.

But why should the noble lord prevent the Russians from occupying Constantinople? "He for his part had great doubts that *any* intention to partition the Ottoman Empire *at all* entered into the policy of the Russian government."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

Certainly not. Russia wants not to partition the empire but to keep the whole of it. Besides the security Lord Palmerston possessed in this *doubt* he had another security "in the *doubt*, whether it enters into the policy of Russia *at present* to accomplish the object," and a third "security" in this third *doubt* "whether the *Russian nation* (just tlink of a Russian *nationt*)

would be prepared for that transference of power, of residence, and authority to the southern provinces which would be the necessary consequence of the conquest by Russia of Constantinople."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

- Besides these negative arguments the noble lord had an affirmative one:
- 5 "if they had quietly beheld the temporary occupation of the Turkish capital by the forces of Russia, it was because they had full confidence in the honour and good faith of Russia. ... The Russian government in granting its aid to the Sultan had pledged its honour, and in that pledge *he* reposed the most implicit confidence."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)
- 10 So inaccessible, indestructible, integral, imperishable, inexpugnable, incalculable, incommensurable, and irremediable; so boundless, dauntless, and matchless was the noble lord's confidence, that still on March 17, 1834, when the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had become a *fait accompli*, he went on declaring that, "in their *confidence* ministers were not deceived." Not his is
- 15 the fault if nature has developed his protuberance of confidence to altogether anomalous dimensions.

The People's Paper.
Nr. 81, 19. November 1853

Fifth Article.

- The contents of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi were published by the "Morning Herald," on Aug. 21, 1833. On August 24, Sir Robert Inglis asked Lord
- 20 Palmerston in the House of Commons, "whether there really had been concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Turkey? He hoped that the noble lord would be prepared, before the prorogation of parliament to lay before the house, not only the treaties that had been made, but all communications connected with the formation of those treaties
- 25 between Turkey and Russia." Lord Palmerston answered that "when they were *sure* that such a treaty as that alluded to really did exist; and when they were in possession of that treaty, it would *then* be for them to determine what was the course of policy they ought to pursue ... It could be no blame to him if the newspapers were sometimes beforehand with the government."
- 30 (House of Commons, August 24, 1833.)
- Seven months afterwards he assures that "it was perfectly impossible that the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, not to be ratified at Constantinople until the month of September, should have been officially known to him in August." (H. of C, March 17, 1834.)
- 35 He did know the treaty, but not officially. "The British government was surprised to find that when the Russian troops quitted the Bosphorus, they

carried that treaty with them." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C, March 1, 1848.) Yea, the noble lord was in possession of the treaty *before* it had been concluded.

"No sooner had the Porte received it (viz., the draft of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi), than the treaty was communicated by them to the British Em- 5
bassy at Constantinople, with the prayer for our protection against Ibrahim Pasha, and against Nicholas. The application was rejected—but that was not all. With an atrocious perfidiousness, the fact was made known to the Russian Minister. Next day the very copy of the treaty which the Porte had lodged with the British Embassy, was returned to the Porte by the Russian io
Ambassador, who ironically advised the Porte—to choose better another time its confidants'." (H. of C, Feb. 8, 1848.)

But the noble viscount had obtained aU he cared for. He was interrogated with respect to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, of whose existence he was not sure on August 24, 1833. On August 29, parliament was prorogued, receiving 15
from the throne the consolatory assertion that "the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey had been terminated, and they might be assured that the king's attention would be carefully directed to any events which might affect the present state or the future independence of that empire." 20

Here we have the key to the famous Russian treaties of July. In July they are concluded; in August, something about them is transpiring through the public press. Lord Palmerston is interrogated in the Commons. He, of course, is aware of nothing. Parliament is prorogued—and, when it reassembles, the treaty has grown old, or, as in 1841, has already been executed, in spite of 25
public opinion.

Parliament was prorogued on August 29, 1833, and it reassembled on Feb. 5, 1834. The interval between the prorogation and its reassembling was marked by two incidents intimately interwoven with each other. On the one hand, the united French and English fleets proceeded to the Dardanelles, 30
displayed there the tricolour, and the national flag of England, sailed then-way to Smyrna, and returned from thence to Malta. On the other hand, a new treaty was concluded between the Porte and Russia, on January 29, 1834, the treaty of St. Petersburg. This treaty was hardly signed when the united fleet was withdrawn. 35

This combined manœuvre was intended to stultify the British people and Europe into the belief that the hostile demonstration on the Turkish seas and coasts, directed against the Porte, for having concluded the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, had enforced upon Russia the new treaty of St. Petersburg. This treaty, by promising the evacuation of the Principalities, and reducing the 40
Turkish payments to one-third of the stipulated amount, apparently relieved

the Porte from some engagements enforced on her by the treaty of Adrianople. In all other instances it was a ratification of the treaty of Adrianople, not at all relating to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, nor dropping a word about the passage of the Dardanelles. On the contrary, the alleviations it granted
5 to Turkey, were the purchase-money for the exclusion of Europe, by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, from the Dardanelles.

"The very day on which the demonstration (of the British fleet) was being made, an assurance was given by the noble lord to the Russian Ambassador at this court, that this combined movement of the squadrons was not intended
10 in any sense hostile to Russia, nor to be taken as a hostile demonstration against her; but, that in fact, it meant nothing at all. I say this on the authority of Lord Ponsonby, the noble lord's own colleague, the Ambassador, at Constantinople."-(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C, Feb. 23, 1848.)

After the treaty of St. Petersburg had been ratified, the noble lord ex-
15 pressed his satisfaction with the moderation of the terms imposed by Russia.

When Parliament had re-assembled, there appeared in the "Globe," the organ of the Foreign Office, a paragraph stating that "The treaty of St. Petersburg was a proof either of the moderation or good sense of Russia, or
20 of the influence which the union of England and France, and the firm and concerted language of those two powers had acquired in the councils of St. Petersburg."-("Globe," Feb. 24, 1834.)

Thus public attention was to be diverted from the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and the animosity it had aroused in Europe against Russia, to be soothed
25 down.

Artful as the dodging was, it would not do. On March 17, 1834, Mr. Sheil brought in a motion for "the copies of the treaties between Turkey and Russia, and of any correspondence between the English, Russian, and Turkish Governments, respecting those treaties, to be laid before the house."
30 The noble lord resisted this resolution to his utmost, and succeeded in baffling it by assuring the house that "peace could be preserved only by the house reposing confidence in the government," and refusing to accede to the motion. So grossly inapt were the reasons he stated to prevent him from producing the papers, that Sir Robert Peel called him, in his parliamentary
35 language "a very unconvincing reasoner," and his own Colonel Evans could not help exclaiming: "The speech of the noble lord appeared to him the most unsatisfactory he had ever heard from him."

Lord Palmerston strived to convince the house that, according to the *assurances* of Russia, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was to be looked upon
40 "as one of reciprocity," that reciprocity being, that if the Dardanelles should be closed against England in the event of war they should be closed against

Karl Marx

Russia also. The statement was altogether false, but if true, this certainly would have been Irish reciprocity, for it was all on one side. To cross the Dardanelles is for Russia not the means to get at the Black Sea, but on the contrary, to leave it.

So far from refuting Mr. Sheil's statement, "the consequence of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was the same as if the Porte surrendered to Russia the possession of the Dardanelles," Lord Palmerston owned that the treaty closed the Dardanelles to British men-of war, and that "under its provision even *merchant vessels* might, in effect, be practically excluded from the Black Sea," in the case of a war between England and Russia. But if the government acted with a "temper," if it "showed no unnecessary distrust," that is to say, if it quietly submitted to all further encroachments of Russia, he was "inclined to think that the case might not arise in which that treaty would be called into operation; and that therefore it would, in practice, remain a dead letter."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.)

Besides, "the assurance and explanations" which the British government had received from the contracting parties to that treaty greatly tended to remove its objections to it. Thus then it was not the articles of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, but the assurances Russia gave with respect to them, not the acts of Russia, but her language, he had in his opinion to look upon. Yet, as on the same day his attention was called to the protest of the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Lagrené, against the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and the offensive and contumelious language of Count Nessehode, answering in the "St. Petersburg Gazette" that "the Emperor of Russia would act as if the declaration contained in the note of M. Lagrené had no existence," then the noble lord, eating up his own words, propounded the opposite doctrine that "it was on all occasions the *duty* of the English government to look rather to the acts of Foreign power, than to the language which the power might hold on any particular subject or occasion." One moment he appealed from the acts of Russia to her language, and the other from her language to her acts. Still in 1837 he assured that "the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was a treaty between two independent powers."—(H. of C, December 14, 1837.)

Ten years later, the treaty having long since elapsed, and the noble lord being just about acting the play of the Truly English Minister and the "*civis romanus sum*," he told the house plainly, "the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was no doubt to a certain degree forced upon Turkey by Count Orloff, the Russian Envoy, under circumstances"—created by the noble lord himself—"which rendered it difficult for Turkey to refuse acceding to it.... It gave practically to the Russian government a power of interference and dictation in Turkey, not consistent with the independence of that state." (H. of C, March 1, 1848.)

During the whole course of the debates about the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the noble lord, like the clown in the comedy, had an answer of most monstrous size, that must fit all demands and serve all questions—the Anglo-French alliance. When his connivance with Russia was pointed at, in sneers, 5 he gravely retorted: "If the present relations established between this country and France, were pointed at in these sneers, he would only say, that he should look with feelings of pride and satisfaction at the part he had acted in bringing about that good understanding."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

When the production of the papers relating to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi 10 was demanded, he answered that "England and France had now cemented a friendship which had only grown stronger."—(H. of C, March 17, 1834.)

"He could but remark," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "that whenever the noble lord was thrown into a difficulty as to any part of our European policy, he at once formed a ready means of escape, by congratulating the house upon 15 the close alliance between this country and France." Simultaneously the noble lord was strengthening the suspicions of his Tory opponents that "England was compelled to connive at an aggression upon Turkey, which *France* had directly encouraged."

At that time, then, the ostensible alliance with France was to cover the 20 secret infeasibility to Russia, as, in 1840, the clamorous rupture with France was to cover the official alliance with Russia.

While the noble lord fatigued the world with ponderous folios of printed negotiations on the affairs of the constitutional empire of Belgium and with ample explanations, verbal and documentary, with regard to the "substantive 25 power" of Portugal; to this moment it has proved quite impossible to wrest out of him any document whatever relating to the first Syro-Turkish war, and to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. When the production of the papers was first demanded, on July 11th, 1833, "The motion was premature, the transactions incomplete, and the results not yet known." On August 24th, 1833, 30 "the treaty was not officially signed, and he was not in possession of it." On March 17th, 1834, "Communications were still carrying on ... the discussions, if he might so call them, were not yet completed." Still, in 1848, when Mr. Anstey told him that, in asking for the papers, he did ask for the proof of the noble lord's collusion with the Czar, the chivalrous minister 35 preferred killing time by a five hours speech to killing suspicion by self-speaking documents. Notwithstanding all this, he had the cynic impudence to assure Mr. T. Attwood, on December 14th, 1837, that "the papers connected with that treaty, viz., the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, were laid before the house three years ago," that is to say in 1834, when "peace could be 40 preserved only" by withholding the papers from the house. On the same day he told Mr. Attwood that "this treaty was a matter which had gone by, that

it was entered into for a limited period, and that period having expired, its introduction by the honourable member was wholly unnecessary and uncalled for." According to the original stipulation, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was to expire on July 8th, 1841. Lord Palmerston tells Mr. Attwood that it had already expired on December 14th, 1837. 5

"What trick, what devise, what starting hole, can'st thou now find to hide thee from this open and apparent shame? Come let's hear, Jack—what trick hast thou now?"

The People's Paper.
Nr. 84, 10. Dezember 1853

Sixth Article.

There is no such word in the Russian vocabulary as "honour." As to the thing itself, it is considered to be a French delusion. 10

"Schto takoi honneur? Eto Fransuski chimere," is a Russian proverb. For the invention of Russian honour the world is exclusively indebted to my Lord Palmerston, who, during a quarter of a century, used, at every critical moment, to pledge himself, in the most emphatical manner, for the "honour" of the Czar. So he did at the close of the Session of 1853, as at the close of the Session of 1833. 15

Now it happens that the noble lord, while he expressed "his most implicit confidence in the honour and good faith" of the Czar, had just got into possession of documents, concealed from the rest of the world, and leaving no doubt, if any existed, about the nature of Russian honour and good faith. He had not even to scratch the Muscovite in order to find the Tartar. He had caught the Tartar in his naked hideousness. He found himself possessed of the self-confessions of the leading Russian ministers and diplomatists, throwing off their cloaks, clapping out their most secret thoughts, unfolding, without constraint, their plans of conquest and subjugation, scornfully railing at the imbecile credulity of European Courts and Ministers, mocking the Villèles, the Metternichs, the Aberdeens, the Cannings, and the Wellingtons; and devising, in common, with the savage cynicism of the barbarian, mitigated by the cruel irony of the courtier, how to sow distrust against England at Paris, and against Austria at London, and against London at Vienna, how to set them all by the ears, and how to make all of them the mere tools of Russia. 20 25 30

At the time of the insurrection of Warsaw, the vice-royal archives kept in the palace of Prince Constantine, and containing the secret correspondence of Russian ministers and ambassadors from the beginning of 35

this century down to 1830, fell into the hands of the victorious Poles. Polish Refugees brought these papers over first to France, and, at a later period, Count Zamoy ski, the nephew of Prince Czartoryski, placed them in the hands of Lord Palmerston, who buried them in Christian oblivion. With these
5 papers in his pockets, the noble viscount was the more eager to proclaim in the British Senate and to the world "his most implicit confidence in the honour and good faith of the Emperor of Russia."

Not the fault of the noble viscount, that those startling papers were at length published at the end of 1835, through the famous "Portfolio." King
10 William IV., whatever he was in other respects, was a most decided enemy of Russia. His private secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, was intimately connected with David Urquhart, introducing this gentleman to the King himself, and from that moment royalty was conspiring with those two friends against the policy of the "truly English" minister.

15 "William IV*, ordered the above-mentioned papers to be given up by the noble lord. They were given up and examined at the time at Windsor Castle, and it was found desirable to print and publish them. In spite of the great opposition of the noble lord, the king compelled him to lend the authority of the Foreign Office to their publication, so that the editor, who took the
20 charge of revising them for the press, published not a single word which had not the signature or initials attached. I, myself, have seen the noble lord's initial attached to one of those documents, although the noble lord has denied these facts. Lord Palmerston was compelled to place the documents in the hands of Mr. Urquhart for publication. Mr. Urquhart was the real editor of
25 the 'Portfolio'." (Speech of Mr. Anstey, House of Commons, February 23rd, 1848.)

After the death of the king, Lord Palmerston refused to pay the printer of the "Portfolio," and disclaimed, publicly and solemnly, all connexion on the part of the Foreign Office, and induced, in what manner is not known,
30 Mr. Backhouse, his under secretary, to set his name to those denials. We read in the "Times" of January, 26th, 1839:—"It is not for us to understand how Lord Palmerston may feel, but we are sure there is no misapprehending how *any other person* in the station of a gentleman, and in the position of a minister, *would feel*, after the notoriety given to the correspondence between
35 Mr. Urquhart, whom Lord Palmerston dismissed from office, and Mr. Backhouse, whom the noble viscount has retained in office, by the 'Times' of yesterday. There never was a fact apparently better established through this correspondence than that the series of official documents contained in the well-known publication, called the 'Portfolio,' were printed and circulated
40 by Lord Palmerston's authority, and that his lordship is responsible for the publication of them, both as a statesman to the political world here and

abroad, and as an employer of the printers and publishers, for the pecuniary charge accompanying it."

In consequence of her financial distress, resulting from the exhaustion of the treasury by the unfortunate war of 1828—29, and the debt to Russia stipulated by the treaty of Adrianople, Turkey found herself compelled to extend that obnoxious system of monopolies by which the sale of almost all articles was granted only to those who had paid government licenses. Thus a few usurers were enabled to seize upon the entire commerce of the country. Mr. Urquhart proposed to King William IV., a commercial treaty to be concluded with the Sultan, which treaty, while guaranteeing great advantages to British commerce, intended at the same time to develop the productive resources of Turkey, to restore her Exchequer to health and thus to emancipate her from the Russian yoke. The curious history of this treaty cannot be better related than in the words of Mr. Anstey:

"The whole of the contest between Lord Palmerston on the one hand, and Mr. Urquhart on the other, was directed to this treaty of commerce. On the third of October, 1835, Mr. Urquhart obtained his commission as Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, given him for the one purpose of securing the adoption there of the Turkish commercial treaty. He delayed his departure however till June or July, 1836. Lord Palmerston pressed him to go. The applications to him urging his departure were numerous, but his answer invariably was: I will not go until I have this commercial treaty settled with the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office; and then I will accompany it, and procure its acceptance at the Porte ... Finally, Lord Palmerston gave his approbation to the treaty, and it was forwarded to Lord Ponsonby, the Ambassador at Constantinople. (In the meantime the latter had been instructed by Lord Palmerston to take the negotiations entirely out of the hands of Mr. Urquhart into his own, contrary to the engagement entered into with Mr. Urquhart.) As soon as the removal of Mr. Urquhart from Constantinople had been effected through the intrigues of the noble lord, the treaty was immediately thrown overboard. Two years later the noble lord resumed it, giving Mr. Urquhart before Parliament, the compliment of being the author of it, and disclaiming for himself all merits in it. But the noble lord had destroyed the treaty, falsified it in every part, and converted it to the ruin of commerce. The original treaty of Mr. Urquhart placed the subjects of Great Britain in Turkey, upon the footing of the most favoured nation—viz., the Russians. As altered by Lord Palmerston, it placed the subjects of Great Britain upon the footing of the taxed and oppressed subjects of the Porte. Mr. Urquhart's treaty stipulated for the removal of all transit duties, monopolies, taxes, and duties of whatever character, other than those stipulated by the treaty itself. As falsified by Lord Palmerston, it contained a clause,

declaring the perfect right of the Sublime Porte to impose whatever regulations and restrictions it pleased, with regard to commerce. Mr. Urquhart's treaty left importation subject only to the old duty of three shillings; that of the noble lord raised the duty from three shillings to five shillings.

5 Mr. Urquhart's treaty stipulated for an *ad valorem* duty in this manner, that if any article of commerce was so exclusively the production of Turkey, as to insure it a ready sale, at the prices usually received under the monopoly in foreign ports, then the export duty to be assessed by two commissioners appointed on the part of England and Turkey, might be a high one, so as to
10 be remunerative and productive of revenue, but that, in the case of commodities produced elsewhere than in Turkey, and not being of sufficient value in foreign ports to bear a high duty, a lower duty should be assessed. Lord Palmerston's treaty stipulated a fixed duty of twelve shillings *ad valorem* upon every article whether it would bear the duty or not. The original
15 treaty extended the benefit of Free Trade to Turkish ships and produce; the substituted treaty contained no stipulation whatever on the subject ... I charge these falsifications, I charge also the concealment of them, upon the noble lord, and further—I charge the noble lord with having falsely stated to the house that his treaty was that which had been
20 arranged by Mr. Urquhart."—(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C, February 23rd, 1848.)

So favourable to Russia, and so obnoxious to Great Britain, was the treaty as altered by the noble lord, that some English merchants in the Levante resolved to trade henceforth under the protection of Russian firms, and
25 others, as Mr. Urquhart states, were only prevented from so doing by a sort of national pride.

With regard to the secret relations between the noble lord and William IV., Mr. Anstey stated to the house, "The king forced the question of the process of Russian encroachment in Turkey, upon the attention of the noble
30 lord ... I can prove that the noble lord was obliged to take the directions in this matter from the late king's private secretary, and that his existence in office depended upon his compliance with the wishes of the monarch... The noble lord did on one or two occasions, as far as he dared, resist, but his resistance was invariably followed by *abject* expressions of *contrition and*
35 *compliance*. I will not take upon myself to assert that, on one occasion, the noble lord was actually out of office for a day or two, but I am able to say that the noble lord was in danger of a most unceremonious expulsion from office on that occasion. I refer to the discovery which the late king had made, that the noble lord consulted the feelings of the Russian government as to
40 the choice of an English ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, and that Sir Stratford Canning, originally destined for the embassy, was set aside to

make room for the late Earl of Durham, an ambassador more agreeable to the Czar."—(H. of C, Feb. 23, 1848.)

It is one of the most astonishing facts that, while the king was vainly struggling against the Russian policy of the noble lord, the noble lord and his Whig-allies succeeded in keeping alive the public suspicion that the king—who was known as a Tory—was paralysing the anti-Russian efforts of the "truly English" minister. The pretended Tory predelection of the monarch for the despotic principles of the Russian Court, was of course made to explain the otherwise inexplicable policy of Lord Palmerston. The Whig-Oligarchs smiled mysteriously when H. L. Bulwer informed the house, that "no longer ago than last Christmas Count Apponyi, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, stated, in speaking of the affairs of the East, that this Court had a greater apprehension of French principles than of Russian ambition."—(H. of C, July 11, 1833.)

They smiled again, when Mr. T. Attwood interrogated the noble lord "what reception Count Orloff, having been sent over to England after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, had met with at his Majesty's Court."—(H. of C, August 28, 1833.)

The papers intrusted by the dying king, and his Secretary, the late Sir Herbert Taylor, to Mr. Urquhart "for the purpose of vindicating, upon the fitting opportunity, the memory of William IV."—will, when published, throw a new light upon the past career of the noble lord and the Whig Oligarchy, of which the public generally know little more than the history of their pretensions, their phrases, and their so-called principles—in a word, the theatrical and fictitious part—the mask.

This is a fitting occasion to give his due to Mr. David Urquhart, the indefatigable antagonist for twenty years of Lord Palmerston, who has proved his only adversary—one not to be intimidated into silence, bribed into connivance, charmed into suitorship, while, what with cajoleries, what with seductions, Alcine Palmerston contrived to change all other foes into fools. We have just heard the fierce denunciation of his lordship by Mr. Anstey. "A circumstance most significant is that the accused minister sought the member—viz., Mr. Anstey—and was content to accept his co-operation and private friendship without the forms of recantation or apology. Mr. Anstey's recent legal appointment by the present government speaks for itself." (D. Urquhart's "Progress of Russia.")

On February 8th, 1848, the same Mr. Anstey had compared the noble viscount with "the *infamous* Marquis of Carmarthen, Secretary of State to William III., whom, during his visit to his court, the Czar, Peter I., found means to corrupt to his interests with the gold of British merchants."—(H. of C, February 8th, 1848.)

r

Lord Palmerston. Sixth Article. Seventh Article

Who defended Lord Palmerston on that occasion against the accusations of Mr. Anstey? Mr. Sheil; the same Mr. Sheil who had, on the conclusion of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, in 1833, acted the same part of accuser against his lordship as Mr. Anstey in 1848. Mr. Roebuck, once his strong antagonist, 5 procured him the vote of confidence in 1850. Sir Stratford Canning having denounced during a decennium the noble lord's connivance with the Czar, was content to be got rid of as Ambassador at Constantinople. The noble lord's own dear Dudley Stuart was intrigued out of Parliament for some years for having opposed the noble lord. When returned back to it, he had become 10 the *âme damnée* of the truly English minister. Kossuth, who might have known from the Blue Books that Hungary had been betrayed by the noble viscount, called him "the dear friend of his bosom" when landing at Southampton.

The People's Paper.
Nr. 85, 17. Dezember 1853

Seventh Article.

15 One glance at the map of Europe will show you on the Western litoral of the Black Sea the outlets of the Danube, the only river which, springing up in the very heart of Europe, may be said to form a natural highway to Asia. Strictly opposite, on the Eastern side, to the south of the river Kuban, begins the mountain-range of the Caucasus, stretching from the Black Sea to the 20 Caspian in a south-easterly direction for some seven hundred miles and separating Europe from Asia.

If you hold the outlets of the Danube, you hold the Danube, and with it the highway to Asia, and a great part of the commerce of Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, and above all of Moldo-Wallachia. If you hold 25 the Caucasus too, the Black Sea becomes your property, and to shut up its door, you only want Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The possession of the Caucasus mountains makes you at once master of Trebizonde, and through their domineering the Caspian Sea, of the northern seaboard of Persia.

30 The greedy eyes of Russia embraced at once the outlets of the Danube and the mountain-range of the Caucasus. There, the business in hand was to conquer supremacy, here to maintain it. The chain of the Caucasus separates Southern Russia from the luxurious provinces of Georgia, Mingrelia, Immeretia, and Gouriel, wrested by the Muscovite from the Musselman. 35 Thus the foot of the monster empire is cut off from its main body. The only military road deserving to be called such winds from Mozdok to Tiflis,

through the aeng-pass of Dariel, fortified by a continuous line of entrenched places, but exposed on both sides to the never-ceasing attacks from the Caucasian tribes. The union of those tribes under one military chief might even endanger the bordering country of the Cossacks. "The thought of the dreadful consequences which a union of the hostile Circassians under one head would produce in the south of Russia fills one with terror"—exclaims M. Kupffer, a German, who presided over the scientific commission, which, in 1829, accompanied the expedition of General Emmanuel to Elbruz. 5

At this very moment our attention is directed with equal anxiety to the banks of the Danube, where Russia has seized the two-corn magazines of Europe, and to the Caucasus, whence she is menaced in the possession of Georgia. It was the treaty of Adrianople, that prepared Russia's usurpation of Moldo-Wallachia, and recognised her claims to the Caucasus. 10

Article IV. of that treaty stipulates, "All the countries situated north and east of the line of demarcation between the two empires (Russia and Turkey), towards Georgia, Immeretia, and the Gouriel, as well as all the litoral of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban, as far as the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, shall remain under the domination of Russia." With regard to the Danube the same treaty stipulates, "The frontier line will follow the course of the Danube to the mouth of St. George, leaving all the islands formed by the different branches in the possession of Russia. The right bank will remain as formerly in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. It is however agreed that that right bank from the point where the arm of St. George departs from that of Sulina, shall remain uninhabited to a distance of two hours (six miles) from the river, and that no kind of structure shall be raised there, and in like manner, on the islands which still remain in the possession of the Court of Russia. With the exception of quarantines which will be there established, it will not be permitted to make any other establishment or fortification." 15 20 25

Both these paragraphs, inasmuch as they secure to Russia an "extension of territory and exclusive commercial advantages," openly infringed upon the protocol of April 4, 1826, drawn up by the Duke of Wellington at St. Petersburg, and on the treaty of July 6, 1827, concluded between Russia and the other Great Powers at London. The English Government, therefore, refused to recognise the treaty of Adrianople. The Duke of Wellington protested against it. (Speech of Lord Dudley Stuart, H. of C, March 17, 1837.) 30 35

Lord Aberdeen protested. "In a dispatch to Lord Heytesbury dated October 31st, 1829, he commented with no small dissatisfaction on many parts of the Treaty of Adrianople, and especially notices the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube. He denies that that peace (the Treaty of Adrianople), has respected the territorial rights of the Sovereignty of the Porte, and the condition and the interests of all maritime states 40

in the Mediterranean."—(Speech of Lord Mahon, H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

He declared that "the independence of the Porte would be sacrificed, and the peace of Europe endangered by this treaty being agreed to."-(Speech of Earl Grey, H. of L., Feb. 4th, 1834.)

Lord Palmerston himself informs us, "As far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned in the south of the Caucasus, and the shores of the Black Sea, it is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe, previous to the commencement of the Turkish war." (H. of C, March 17th, 1837.)

The Eastern litoral of the Black Sea, by blockading of which and cutting off supplies of arms and gunpowder to the north-western districts of the Caucasus, Russia could alone hope to realise her nominal claim to those countries—this litoral of the Black Sea and the outlets of the Danube are certainly no places "where an English action could possibly take place," as was lamented by the noble lord in the case of Cracow. By what mysterious contrivance, then, has the Muscovite succeeded in blockading the Danube, in blocking up the litoral of the Euxine, and in forcing Great Britain to submit, not only to the Treaty of Adrianople, but at the same time to the violation by Russia herself of that identical treaty?

These questions were put to the noble viscount, in the House of Commons, on April 20th, 1836, numerous petitions having poured in from the merchants of London, of Glasgow, and other commercial towns, against the fiscal regulations of Russia in the Black Sea, and her enactments and restrictions tending to intercept English commerce on the Danube. There had appeared, on February 7th, 1836, a Russian ukase, which, by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, established a quarantine on one of the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube. In order to execute that quarantine, Russia claimed a right of boarding and search, of levying fees, and seizing and marching off to Odessa refractory ships, proceeding on their voyage up the Danube. Before the quarantine was established, or rather before a custom-house and fort were erected, under the false pretence of a quarantine, the Russian authorities threw out their feelers, to ascertain the risk they might run with the British government. Lord Durham, acting upon instructions received from England, remonstrated with the Russian Cabinet, for the hindrance which had been given to British trade. "He was referred to Count Nesselrode, Count Nesselrode referred him to the Governor of South Russia, and the Governor of South Russia again referred him to the Consul at Galatz, who communicated with the British Consul at Ibraila, who was instructed to send down the captains from whom toll had been exacted, to the Danube, the scene of their injuries, in order that inquiry might be made on the subject, it being

well known that the captains thus referred to were then in England."—(H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

The formal ukase of the 7th Feb., 1836, aroused, however, the general attention of British commerce. "Many ships had sailed, and others were going out, to whose captains strict orders had been given, not to submit to the right of boarding and search, which Russia claimed. The fate of these ships must be inevitable, unless some expression of opinion was made on the part of that house. Unless that were done, British shipping, to the amount of not less than 5,000 tons, would be seized and marched off to Odessa, until the insolent commands of Russia, were complied with." (Speech of Mr. Patrick M. Stewart, H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

Russia required the marshy islands of the Danube, by virtue of a clause of the Treaty of Adrianople, which clause itself was a violation of the treaty she had previously contracted with England, and the other powers in 1827. The bristling the gates of the Danube with fortifications, and these fortifications with guns, was a violation of the Treaty of Adrianople itself, which expressly prohibits any fortification to be erected within six miles of the river. The exaction of tolls, and the obstruction of the navigation, was a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, declaring that "the navigation of rivers along their whole course, from the point where each of them becomes navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free," that "the amount of the duties shall in no case exceed those now (1815) paid;" and that "no increase shall take place, except with the common consent of the states bordering on the river." Thus, then, all the argument on which Russia could plead not guilty was the treaty of 1827, violated by the Treaty of Adrianople, the Treaty of Adrianople violated by herself, the whole backed by a violation of the Treaty of Vienna.

It proved quite impossible to wring out of the noble lord any declaration, whether he did or did not recognise the treaty of Adrianople. As to the violation of the Treaty of Vienna, he had "received no official information that anything has occurred which is not warranted by the treaty. When such a statement is made by the parties concerned, it shall be dealt with in such manner as the law advisers of the Crown shall deem consistent with the rights of the subjects of this country." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C, April 20, 1836.)

By the treaty of Adrianople, Art. 5, Russia guarantees the "prosperity" of the Danubian Principalities and full "liberty of trade" for them. Now, Mr. Stewart proved that the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were objects of deadly jealousy to Russia, as their trade had taken a sudden development since 1834, as they vied with Russia's own staple production, as Galatz was becoming the great depot of all the grain of the Danube, and

driving Odessa out of the market. "If," answered the noble lord, "if my honourable friend had been able to show that whereas some years ago we had had a large and important commerce with Turkey, and that that commerce had, by the aggression of other countries, or by the neglect of the
5 government of this, dwindled down to an inconsiderable trade, then there might have been ground to call upon parliament." In lieu of such an occurrence, "my honourable friend has shown that during the last few years the trade with Turkey has risen from next to nothing to a very considerable amount."

10 Russia obstructs the Danube navigation, because the trade of the Principalities is growing important, says Mr. Stewart. But she did not so when that trade was next to nothing, retorts Lord Palmerston. You neglect to oppose the recent encroachments of Russia on the Danube, says Mr. Stewart. We did not so at the epoch these encroachments were not yet ventured upon,
15 replies the noble lord. What "circumstances" have, *therefore*, "occurred against which the government are not likely to guard, unless driven thereto by the direct interference of this house?" He prevented the Commons from passing a resolution by assuring them that, "there is no disposition of her Majesty's government to submit to aggressions on the part of any power,
20 be that power what it may, and be it more or less strong," and by warning them that, "we should also cautiously abstain from anything which might be construed by other powers, and *reasonably* so, as being a provocation on our part." A week after these debates had taken place in the House of Commons, a British merchant addressed a letter to the Foreign Office with
25 regard to the Russian Ukase. "I am directed by Viscount Palmerston," answered the Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, "to acquaint you that his lordship has called upon the law adviser for the Crown for his opinion as to the regulations promulgated by the Russian Ukase of Feb. 7, 1836; but in the meantime Lord Palmerston directs me to acquaint you, with respect
30 to the latter part of your letter, that it is the opinion of his Majesty's government, that no toll is justly demanded by the Russian authorities, at the mouth of the Danube, and that you have acted properly in directing your agents to *refuse* to pay it."

The merchant acted according to this letter. He is abandoned to Russia
35 by the noble lord; a Russian toll is, as Mr. Urquhart states, now exacted in London and Liverpool by Russian Consuls, on every English ship sailing for the Turkish ports of the Danube; and "the quarantine still stands on the island of Leti."

Russia did not limit her invasion on the Danube to a quarantine established,
40 to fortifications erected, and to tolls exacted. The only mouth of the Danube remaining still navigable, the Sulina mouth, was acquired by her through

the treaty of Adrianople. As long as possessed by the Turks, there was kept a depth of water in the channel of from fourteen to sixteen feet. Since in the possession of Russia, the water became reduced to eight feet, a depth wholly inadequate to the conveyance of the vessels employed in the corn trade. Now Russia is a party to the treaty of Vienna, and that treaty stipulates in Art. 113, that "each state shall be at the expense of keeping in good repair the Towing Paths, and shall maintain the necessary work in order that no obstruction shall be experienced by the navigation." For keeping the channel in a navigable state, Russia found no better means than gradually reducing the depth of the water, paving it with wrecks, and choking up its bar with an accumulation of sand and mud. To this systematic and protracted infraction of the treaty of Vienna she added another violation of the treaty of Adrianople, which forbids any establishment at the mouth of the Sulina, except for quarantine and light-house purposes, while, at her dictation, a small Russian fort has there sprung up, living from the extortions upon the vessels, the occasion for which is afforded by the delays and expenses for lighterage, consequent upon the obstruction of the channel.

Cum principia negante non est disputandum—of what use is it to dwell upon abstract principles with despotic governments, who are accused of measuring right by power, and of ruling their conduct by expediency, and not by justice.—(Speech of Lord Palmerston, April 30, 1823.)

According to his own maxim the noble viscount was contented to dwell upon abstract principles with the despotic government of Russia; but he went farther. While he assured the house on July 6, 1840, that the freedom of the Danube navigation was "guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna"—while he lamented on July 13, 1840, that the occupation of Cracow, being a violation of the treaty of Vienna, "there were no means of enforcing the opinions of England, because Cracow was evidently a place where no English action could possibly take place;" two days later he concluded a Russian treaty, closing the Dardanelles to England "during times of peace with Turkey," and thus depriving England of the only means of "enforcing" the treaty of Vienna, and transforming the Euxine into a place where no English action could possibly take place.

This point once obtained, he contrived to give a sham satisfaction to public opinion by firing off a whole battery of papers, reminding the "despotic government, which measures right by power, and rules its conduct by expediency, and not by justice," in a sententious and sentimental manner, that "Russia, when she compelled Turkey to cede to her the outlet of a great European river, which forms the commercial highway for the mutual intercourse of many nations, undertook duties and responsibilities to other states which she should take a pride in making good." To this dwelling upon abstract

principles Count Nesselrode was giving the inevitable answer that, "the subject should be carefully examined," and expressing from time to time "a feeling of soreness on the part of the imperial government at the mistrust manifested as to their intentions."

- 5 Thus, through the management of the noble lord, in 1853 things arrived at the point where the navigation of the Danube was declared impossible, and corn rotting at the mouth of the Sulina, while famine threatened to invade England, France, and the South of Europe. Thus Russia was not only adding, as the "Times" says, "to her other important possessions, that of an iron gate
10 between the Danube, and the Euxine," she possessed herself of the key to the Danube, of a breadscrew, which she can put on, whenever the policy of Western Europe becomes obnoxious to punishment.

The People's Paper.
Nr. 86, 24. Dezember 1853

Eighth Article.

- The petitions presented to the House of Commons, on April 20th, 1836, and
15 the resolution moved by Mr. Patrick M. Stewart in reference to them, did not only refer to the Danube, but to Circassia too, the rumour having spread through the commercial world that the Russian government, on the plea of blockading the coast of Circassia, pretended to exclude English ships from landing goods and merchandise in certain ports of the Eastern litoral of the
20 Black Sea. On that occasion Lord Palmerston solemnly declared :—"Ji parliament will place their confidence in us—if they will leave it to us to manage the foreign relations of the country—we shall be able to protect the interests, and to uphold the honour of the country, without being obliged to have recourse to war."—(House of Commons, April 20th, 1836.)

- 25 Some months afterwards, on October 29th, 1836, the "Vixen," a trading vessel belonging to Mr. George Bell, and laden with a cargo of salt, set out from London on a direct voyage for Circassia. On November 25th, she was seized in the Circassian Bay of Soudjouk-Kale, by a Russian man-of-war, for "having been employed on a blockaded coast." (Letter of the Russian
30 Admiral Lazareff to the English Captain, Mr. Childs, December 24th, 1836.) The vessel, her cargo, and her crew were sent to the port of Sebastopol, where the condemnatory decision of the Russians was received on January 27th, 1837. This time, however, no mention was made of a "blockade," but the "Vixen" was simply declared a lawful prize, because "it was guilty
35 of smuggling;" the importation of salt being prohibited, and the Bay of Soudjouk-Kale, a Russian port, not provided with a Custom House. The

condemnation was executed in an exquisitely ignominious and insulting manner. The Russians, who effected the seizure, were publicly rewarded with decorations. The British flag was hoisted, then hauled down, and the Russian flag hoisted in its stead. The master and crew, put as captives on board the "Ajax"—the captor—were despatched from Sebastopol to Odessa, and from Odessa to Constantinople, whence they were allowed to return to England. As to the vessel itself, a German traveller, who visited Sebastopol a few years after this event, wrote, in a letter addressed to the "Augsburg Gazette":—"After all the Russian ships of the line which I visited, no vessel excited my curiosity more than the 'Soudjouk-Kale,' formerly the 'Vixen,' under Russian colours, she has now quite changed her appearance. This little vessel is now the best sailer in the Russian fleet, and is generally employed in transports between Sebastopol and the coast of Circassia."

The capture of the "Vixen" certainly afforded Lord Palmerston a great occasion for fulfilling his promise "to protect the interests, and to uphold the honour of the country." Besides the honour of the British flag and the interests of British commerce there was another question at stake—the *independence of Circassia*. At first Russia justified the seizure of the "Vixen" on the plea of an infraction of the blockade proclaimed by her; but the ship was condemned on the opposite plea of a contravention against her Custom House regulations. By proclaiming a blockade, Russia declared Circassia a hostile foreign country, and the question was whether the British government had ever recognised that blockade? By the establishment of Custom House regulations, Circassia was, on the contrary, treated as a Russian dependency, and the question was whether the British government had ever recognised the Russian claims to Circassia?

Before proceeding, let it be remembered that Russia was at that epoch, yet far from having completed her fortifications of Sebastopol.

Any Russian claim to the possession of Circassia could only be derived from the treaty of Adrianople, as explained in a previous article. But the treaty of July 6th, 1827, bound Russia to not attempting any territorial aggrandisement, nor securing any exclusive commercial advantage from her war with Turkey. Any extension, therefore, of the Russian frontier, attendant on the treaty of Adrianople, openly infringed the treaty of 1827, and was, as shown by the protest of Wellington and Aberdeen, not to be recognised on the part of Great Britain. Russia, then, had no right to receive Circassia from Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey could not cede to Russia what she never possessed, and Circassia had always remained so independent of the Porte that, at the time when a Turkish Pasha yet resided at Anapa, Russia herself had concluded several conventions with the Circassian chieftains as to the coast-trade, the Turkish trade being exclusively and legally restricted

to the port of Anapa. Circassia being an independent country, the municipal, sanitary, or customs' regulations with which the Muscovite might think fit to provide her were as binding as his regulations for the port of Tampico.

- 5 On the other hand, if Circassia was a foreign country hostile to Russia, the latter had only a right to blockade, if that blockade was no paper blockade—if Russia had the naval squadron present to enforce it, and really domineered the coast. Now, on a coast extending 200 miles, Russia possessed but three isolated forts; all the rest of Circassia remaining in the hands of
10 the Circassian tribes. There existed no Russian fort in the bay of Soudjouk-Kale. There was in fact, no blockade, because no maritime force was employed. There was the offer of the distinct testimony of the crew of two British vessels who had visited the bay—the one in September, 1834—the other, that of the "Vixen" itself—confirmed subsequently by the public
15 statements of two British travellers who visited the harbour in the years 1837 and 1838, that there was no Russian occupation whatever of the coast.—(Portfolio VIII, March 1, 1844.)

- When the "Vixen" entered the harbour of Soudjouk-Kale, "there were no Russian ships of war in sight nor in the offing ... A Russian vessel of war
20 came into the harbour 36 hours after the 'Vixen' had cast anchor, and at the moment when the owner and some of the officers were on shore in fixing the dues demanded by the Circassian authorities, and payable on the value of the goods ... The man-of-war came not coast-wise, but from the open sea."—(Speech of Mr. Anstey, H. of C, Feb. 23, 1848.)

- 25 But need we give further proofs than the St. Petersburg Cabinet itself seizing the "Vixen" *en pretext* of blockade, and confiscating it, *en pretext* of custom-house regulations?

- The Circassians thus appeared the more favoured by accident, as the question of their independence coincided with the question of the free
30 navigation of the Black-Sea—the protection of British commerce, and an insolent act of piracy committed by Russia on a British merchant ship. Then-chance of obtaining protection from the mistress of the seas seemed less doubtful as "the Circassian declaration of independence had a short time ago been published after mature deliberation and several weeks' correspondence
35 with different branches of the government, in a periodical ("The Portfolio") connected with the foreign department, and as Circassia was marked out as an independent country in a map, revised by Lord Palmerston himself."—(Speech of Lord Stanley, H. of C, June 21, 1838.)

- Will it then be believed that the noble and chivalrous Viscount knew how
40 to handle the case so masterly, that the very act of piracy committed by Russia against British property afforded him the long sought-for occasion

of formally recognising the treaty of Adrianople, and the extinction of Circassian independence?

On March 17, 1837, Mr. Roebuck moved, with reference to the confiscation of the "Vixen," for "a copy of all correspondence between the government of this country and the governments of Russia and Turkey relating to the treaty of Adrianople, as well as all transactions or negotiations connected with the ports and territories on the shores of the Black Sea by Russia since the treaty of Adrianople." 5

Mr. Roebuck, from fear of being suspected of humanitarian tendencies, and of defending Circassia on the ground of abstract principles, plainly declared:—"Russia may endeavour to obtain possession of all the world, and I regard her efforts with indifference; but the moment she interferes with our commerce, I call upon the government of this country (which country exists in appearance somewhere beyond the limits of all the world), to punish the aggression." Accordingly he wanted to know "if the British government had acknowledged the treaty of Adrianople?" 10 15

The noble lord, although pressed very hard, had ingenuity enough to make a long speech, and "to sit down without telling the house who was in actual possession of the Circassian coast at the present moment—whether it really belonged to Russia, and whether it was by right of a violation of fiscal regulations, or in consequence of an existing blockade, that the 'Vixen' had been seized, and whether or not he recognised the Treaty of Adrianople." (Speech of Mr. Hume, H. of C, March 17th, 1837.) 20

Mr. Roebuck stated that, before allowing the "Vixen" to proceed to Circassia, Mr. Bell had applied to the noble lord, in order to ascertain whether there was any impropriety or danger to be apprehended of a vessel landing goods in any part of Circassia, and that the Foreign Office answered in the negative. Thus, Lord Palmerston found himself obliged to read to the house the correspondence exchanged between himself and Mr. Bell. Reading these letters, one would fancy he was reading a Spanish comedy on the cloak and the sword, rather than an official correspondence between a minister and a merchant. When he heard the noble lord read the letters respecting the seizure of the "Vixen," Daniel O'Connell exclaimed, "He could not help calling to his mind the expression of Talleyrand that language had been invented to conceal thoughts." 25 30 35

For instance, Mr. Bell asks, "whether there were any restrictions on trade recognised by His Majesty's government—as, if not, he intended to send thither a vessel with a cargo of salt?" "You ask me," answers Lord Palmerston, "whether it would be for your advantage to engage in a speculation in salt," and informs him "that it is for commercial firms to judge for themselves whether they shall enter or decline a speculation." "By no means," replies 40

Mr. Bell. "All I want to know is, whether or not His Majesty's government recognise the Russian blockade on the Black Sea to the South of the river Kuban?" "You must look at the London 'Gazette'," retorts the noble lord, "in which all the notifications, such as those alluded to by you, are made."

5 The London "Gazette" was, indeed, the quarter to which a British merchant had to refer for such information, instead of the ukases of the Emperor of Russia. Mr. Bell, finding no indication whatever in the "Gazette" of the acknowledgement of the blockade or of other restrictions, despatched his vessel. The result was, that some time after he was himself placed in the
10 "Gazette."

"I referred Mr. Bell," says Lord Palmerston, "to the 'Gazette,' where he would find that no blockade had been communicated or declared to this country by the Russian government—consequently, none was acknowledged." By referring Mr. Bell to the "Gazette," Lord Palmerston did not only
15 deny the acknowledgement on the part of Great Britain of the Russian blockade, but simultaneously affirmed that, in his opinion, the Coast of Circassia formed *no part of* the Russian territory, because blockades of their own territories by foreign states—as for instance against revolted subjects—are *not* to be notified in the "Gazette." Circassia forming no part of the
20 Russian territory could not, of course, be included in Russian Custom House regulations. Thus, according to his own statement, Lord Palmerston denied, in his letters to Mr. Bell, Russia's right to blockade the Circassian Coast, or to subject it to commercial restrictions. It is true that, through his speech, transpired the desire to induce the house to infer that Russia had possession
25 of Circassia. But, on the other hand, he stated plainly, "As far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned, on the South of the Caucasus and the shores of the Black Sea, it is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe, previous to the commencement of the Turkish war." When he sat down, pledging himself ever
30 "to protect the interests and to uphold the honour of the country," he seemed to labour beneath the accumulated miseries of his past policy, rather than hatching treacherous designs for the future. On that day he met with the following cruel apostrophe:—

"The want of vigorous alacrity to defend the honour of the country which
35 the noble lord had displayed was most culpable; the conduct of no former minister had ever been so vacillating, so hesitating, so uncertain, so cowardly, when insult had been offered to British subjects. How much longer did the noble lord propose to allow Russia thus to insult Great Britain, and thus to injure British commerce? The noble lord was degrading England by hold-
40 ing her out in the character of a bully—haughty and tyrannical to the weak, humble and abject to the strong."

Who was it that thus mercilessly branded the truly English Minister? Nobody else than Lord Dudley Stuart.

On November 25th, 1836, the "Vixen" was confiscated. The stormy debates of the House of Commons, just quoted, took place on March 17th, 1837. It was not till April 19th, 1837, that the noble lord requested the Russian government "to state the reasons on account of which it had thought itself warranted to seize, in time of peace, a merchant vessel belonging to British subjects." On May 17th, 1837, the noble lord received the following despatch from the Earl of Durham, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg:—

"My Lord,—With respect to the military *de facto* occupation of Soudjouk-Kale, I have to state to your lordship that there is a fortress in the bay which bears the name of the Empress (Alexandrinski), and that it has always been occupied by a Russian garrison.

I have, etc., Durham."

It need hardly be remarked that the fort Alexandrinski had not even the reality of the pasteboard towns exhibited by Potemkin, before the Empress Katharine II., on her visit to the Crimea. Five days after the receipt of this despatch, Lord Palmerston returns the following answer to StPetersburg:-

"His Majesty's government, considering in the first place that Soudjouk-Kale, which was acknowledged by Russia in the treaty of 1783 as a Turkish possession, now belongs to Russia, as stated by-Lord Nessehode, by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, see no sufficient reason to question the right of Russia to seize and confiscate the 'Vixen'."

There are some very curious circumstances connected with the negotiation. Lord Palmerston requires six months of premeditation for opening, and hardly one to close it. His last despatch, of May 23d, 1837, suddenly and abruptly cuts off any further transactions. It quotes the date before the Treaty of Kudschuk-Kainardji, not after the Gregorian, but after the Greek chronology. Besides, "between April 19th, and May 23rd," as Sir Robert Peel said, "a remarkable change, from official declaration to satisfaction, occurred—apparently induced by the *assurance* received from Count Nesselrode, that Turkey had ceded the coast in question to Russia by the Treaty of Adrianople. Why did he not protest against this ukase?" (H. of C, June 21st, 1838.)

Why all this? The reason is very simple. King William IV. had secretly instigated Mr. Bell to despatch the "Vixen" to the Coast of Circassia. When the noble lord delayed negotiation, the King was still in full health. When he suddenly closed the negotiations, William IV. was in the agonies of death, and Lord Palmerston disposed as absolutely of the Foreign Office, as if he was himself the Autocrat of Great Britain. Was it not a master-stroke on the

part of his jocose lordship to formally acknowledge by one dash of the pen the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia's possession of Circassia, and the confiscation of the "Vixen," in the name of the dying king, who had despatched that saucy "Vixen," with the express view to mortify the Czar, to disregard
5 the Treaty of Adrianople, and to affirm the independence of Circassia?

Mr. Bell, as we stated, went into the "Gazette," and Mr. Urquhart then the first secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople, was recalled, because of "having persuaded Mr. Bell to carry his 'Vixen' expedition into execution."

10 As long as King William IV. was alive, Lord Palmerston dared not openly countermand the "Vixen" expedition, as is proved by the Circassian declaration of independence, published in the Portfolio, by the Circassian map—revised by his lordship—by his uncertain correspondence with Mr. Bell, by his vague declarations in the house, by the supercargo of the "Vixen,"
15 Mr. Bell's brother, receiving, when setting out, despatches from the Foreign Office for the Embassy at Constantinople, and direct encouragement from Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

In the earlier times of Queen Victoria, the Whig ascendancy seemed to be safer than ever, and accordingly the language of the chivalrous viscount
20 suddenly changed. From deference and cajolery, it became at once haughty and contemptuous. Interrogated by Mr. T. H. Attwood, on Dec. 14, 1837, with regard to the "Vixen" and Circassia—"As to the 'Vixen,' Russia had given such explanations of her conduct as ought to satisfy the government of this country. That ship was not taken during a blockade. It was captured because
25 those who had the management of it contravened the municipal and customs' regulations of Russia." As to Mr. Attwood's apprehension of Russian encroachment—"I say that Russia gives to the world quite as much security for the preservation of peace as England." (Speech of Lord Palmerston, H. of C, Dec. 14, 1837.)

30 At the close of the session the noble lord laid before the house the correspondence with the Russian government, the two most important parts of which we have already quoted.

In 1838 party-aspects had again changed, and the Tories recovered an influence. On June 21st they gave Lord Palmerston a round charge, Su-
ss Stratford Canning, the present Ambassador at Constantinople, moving for a Select Committee to inquire into the allegations made by Mr. George Bell against the noble lord, and in his claims of indemnification. At first his lordship was highly astonished that Sir Stratford's motion should be of "so trifling a character." "You," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "are the first English
40 minister who dares to call trifles the protection of the British property and commerce." "No individual merchant," said Lord Palmerston, "was entitled

to ask Her Majesty's government to give an opinion on questions of that sort, as the right of Russia to the sovereignty of Circassia, or to establish those customs and sanitary regulations, she was enforcing by the power of her arms." "If that be not your duty, what is the use of the Foreign Office at all?" asked Mr. Hume. "It is said," resumed the noble lord, "that Mr. Bell, 5
this innocent Mr. Bell, was led into a trap by me by the answers I gave him. The trap, if there was one, was laid not for Mr. Bell, but by Mr. Bell," namely, by the questions he put to innocent Lord Palmerston.

In the course of these debates (June 21st, 1838), out came at length the great secret. Had he been willing to resist in 1836 the claims of Russia, the 10
noble lord had been unable to do so from the very simple reason that, already in 1831 his first act on coming into office was to acknowledge the Russian usurpation of the Caucasus, and thus, in a surreptitious way, the treaty of Adrianople. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) stated that, on August 8th, 1831, the Russian Cabinet informed its representative at Constantinople of its 15
intention "to subject to sanitary regulations the communications which freely exist between the inhabitants of the Caucasus and the neighbouring Turkish provinces," and that he was "to communicate the above-mentioned regulations to the foreign missions at Constantinople as well as to the Ottoman Government." By allowing Russia the establishment of so-called sanitary 20
and custom-house regulations on the coast of Circassia, although existing nowhere except in the above letter, Russian claims to the Caucasus were acknowledged, and consequently the treaty of Adrianople, on which they were grounded. "Those instructions," said Lord Stanley, "had been communicated in the most formal manner to Mr. Mandeville (Secretary to the 25
Embassy), at Constantinople, expressly for the information of the British merchants, and transmitted to the noble Lord Palmerston." Neither did he, nor dared he, "according to the practice of former governments, communicate to the committee at Lloyd's the fact of such a notification having been received." The noble lord made himself guilty of "a six years' concealment," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel. 30

On that day his jocose lordship escaped from condemnation by a majority of sixteen; 184 votes being against, and 200 for him. Those sixteen votes will neither out-voice History nor silence the mountaineers, the clashing of whose arms proves to the world that the Caucasus does not "now belong to Russia, 35
as stated by Count Nesselrode," and as echoed by Lord Palmerston!

(To be continued).

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3904, 21. Oktober 1853

The War Question- Financial Matters—Strikes.

Correspondence of The N.Y.Tribune.

London, Friday, Oct. 7, 1853.

- 5 On Friday last, *The Morning Chronicle*, in its fourth edition, communicated a telegraphic despatch, according to which the Sultan had declared war against Russia. The Paris *Patrie* of yesterday evening announces, in a semi-official note, that the intelligence received from the East, does not confirm the statement of *The Morning Chronicle*. According to another Ministerial
- 10 paper, *The Constitutionnel*, it was on the reiterated representations of Mr. de Bruck, the Austrian internuncio, that the Divan assembled on the 25th, with the view to deliberate on the Vienna note, when it declared it would abide by the last note of Rechid Pasha. A Grand Council was convoked on the following day. This Council consisting of 120 of the principal Ministers,
- is Councillors, Pashas and religious dignitaries, resolved that "it would be contrary to the dignity, and subversive of the sovereign authority of the Sultan to sign the Vienna note without the modifications suggested by the Divan, and that, inasmuch as the Czar had declared those modifications to be totally inadmissible, and refused to abandon his demand for an en-
- 20 gagement destructive of the independence of the Ottoman Empire, it only remained for the Council to advise the Sultan to proceed at once to adopt thérneasures necessary for the preservation of his Empire, and to free his dominions from the presence of the invader." As to the *formal* declaration of war, it has not yet been confirmed by any authentic dispatch. This time,
- 25 at least, the Porte has caught the Western diplomats. The English and French Governments, not daring to call their fleets home, unable to hold any longer

their ridiculous position at Besika Bay, unwilling to pass the straits in open defiance to the Czar, wanted the Porte to send for ships from Besika Bay on the pretext that danger to the Christians at Constantinople was to be apprehended during the *fêtes* of the Bairam. The Porte refused, observing that there was no danger; that if there was, it would protect the Christians without foreign aid, and that it did not wish to summon the ships until after the *fêtes*. But the vanguard of the united fleets had hardly crossed the straits, when the Porte, having now put its vacillating and treacherous allies into a fix, declared for war. As to the war itself, it commenced three months ago, when the Russian forces crossed the Pruth. The first campaign was even brought to a close when the Russian legions reached the banks of the Danube. The only change that can now take place will be that the war will cease to be a one-sided one.

Not only the Bey of Tunis, but the Shah of Persia, notwithstanding the intrigues of Russia, has placed at the disposal of the Sultan a corps of 6,000 of his best troops. The Turkish army, then, may truly be said to be a mustering of all the available forces of Mohamedanism in Europe, Africa, and Western Asia. The hosts of the two religions which have long struggled for supremacy in the East, the Russo-Greek and the Mohammedan are now fronting each other, the one summoned by the arbitrary will of a single man—the other by the fatal force of circumstances, according to their mutual creeds, as the Russo-Greek Church rejects the dogma of predestination, while Mohamedanism centers upon fatalism.

To-day two meetings are to be held, the one in Downing-st.—the other at the London Tavern; the one by the ministers—the other against them; the one in favor of the Czar—the other in favor of the Sultan. From the leaders of *The Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, we might infer, if there could exist any doubt about the intention of the Coalition, that it will try to the utmost to prevent war, to resume negotiations, to kill time, to paralyze the Sultan's army, and to support the Czar in the Principalities.

"The Czar has declared for peace," *The Times* is happy to state, upon undoubted authority. The Czar has expressed "pacific sentiments at Olmütz by his own lips." He will not accept the modifications the Porte has proposed; he will abide by the original Vienna note, but he will allow the Vienna conference to interpret the note in a *preternatural sense*, contradictory to his own Nesselröden interpretation. He will allow them to occupy themselves with conferences, provided they allow him, meanwhile, to occupy the Principalities.

The Times, in its peace paroxysm, compares the two Emperors of Russia and Austria to a couple of savage chiefs in the interior of Africa, in order to arrive at the conclusion: "After all, what does the world care for the

Emperor of Russia, *that it should go to war out of deference to his political mistakes?*"

The banks of Turin, Paris, Berlin and Warsaw have raised their rate of discount. In the bank returns of last week, the bullion reserve of the Bank
5 of England was stated to have again decreased by £181,615, its total amount
now being only £15,680,783. The active circulation of notes has decreased
to the extent of nearly £500,000, while the discount of bills has increased by
£400,000, a coincidence which confirms the statement I made in my letter
10 on the Peel Act, that the amount of bank notes in circulation does not
rise and fall in proportion to the amount of banking business which is
done.

Mr. Dornbush concludes his monthly Commercial Circular as follows:

"Political events during the last week have greatly added to the agitation
in the Corn trade, caused by the increasing reports of a deficient wheat crop,
15 the spreading of the potato disease and the scarcity of ship-room. Town flour
has advanced to 70 shillings per 280 pounds, new wheat to 80 shillings, with
a rising discount approaching 5 per et. A great excitement now pervades the
corn trade—the probability of a war in the East, the prohibition of exporting
grain from Egypt, the confirmed deficiency in the wheat crop in England,
20 the spreading of the potato disease, the falling off in the foreign arrivals,
(especially from the South of Europe), the continued demand for France,
Belgium and Holland—these were the principal exciting causes that again
drove up prices of wheat variously from one shilling to six shillings per
quarter in the leading provincial markets held last week ... Generally, im-
25 mediately after harvest, the tendency of prices is and remains downward till
Christmas. This year the movement has been the reverse... Prices have been
rising for some months past. At this moment there is no actual want of corn
in any part of this quarter of the globe; many granaries, barns and rick-yards
are full to repletion, and in some sea-ports store-room is wanting. The late
30 rise in price, therefore, has not been caused by a present, but by a prospective
scarcity of corn, founded on the presumption of a deficiency in the crops,
the effects of which are expected to be felt as the season advances. The
coming winter is likely to prove one of great hardship and privation... The
prevailing opinion is still in favor of a further advance in prices; and while
35 the bulk of speculators continue 'buying and storing,' the tendency is likely
to remain upward, probably till next spring ... The presumable high range
of prices during the next winter is likely to become, in the following spring,
a great attraction to the importation of corn from distant regions, which, in
ordinary seasons, cannot be reached on account of the distance and high cost
40 of carriage; next spring an accumulation of arrivals from all accessible parts
of the world is not improbable; and the very cause which now contributes

to raise the price by the withdrawal of stocks from sale, will, with the setting in of the downward tide of prices, tend to depress the value of corn with a force commensurate to the then eagerness of holders to dispose of their stocks. Now the rule is to buy; then the watchword will be to sell. *Next year may prove as dangerous and disastrous as 1847.*" 5

The general depression in the Manchester market continues. In proportion as the news from Australia and China, as well as that regarding the Eastern complication, are taking a more gloomy character, the minds of cotton-spinners, manufacturers and merchants, become more unsettled. The fall in prices may now be considered in ordinary qualities and Nos. of yarn to be 10 from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to Id. per lb., from the highest point two months ago, which is very near twice as much as the fall in the corresponding quality of cotton, amounting to no more than $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ d. And even at the extreme reduction of Id., people find it difficult to sell, and stocks, the bugbears of our sympathetic school of political economists, go on accumulating. Of course it must not be expected that this accumulation of stocks will increase very rapidly; at the 15 present moment both merchants and manufacturers, on finding several markets overstocked, have yet the outlet of sending their goods, on consignment, to other markets, and this faculty they *very largely use just now*. But to throw the entire exportable produce of British industry, large enough 20 to swamp, at regular intervals, the whole world, upon a few more or less confined markets, will necessarily excite the same state of plethora, and the revulsions consequent upon it, in those very markets which are as yet, stated to be healthy. Thus it is that the slightly-improved news from India, according to which there still is no chance of profitable exportation to that country, 25 but merely a chance of diminishing loss upon fresh exports, has induced a rather considerable business to that country, partly on account of the regular India houses, partly on account of the Manchester spinners and manufacturers themselves, who, rather than submit to the loss incumbent upon sales in a declining market, prefer taking whatever slight chance of a better sale 30 there may result from a speculative export to India. And here I may add, that it has been ever since 1847 a regular practice with the Manchester spinners and manufacturers to send out for their own account, large shipments to India, etc., and to have the returns in Colonial produce, sold equally 35 for their own account either in British North America or Continental harbors. These speculations do not, certainly, belong to the legitimate trading sphere of the manufacturer, who is necessarily not half as well informed of the state of the markets as the sea-port merchant, but they please the British cotton-spinner who, while directing such distant operations, believes that favorite 40 illusion realized, in which he imagines himself the supreme director, the ruling mind, as it were, of the world's trade and commercial destinies. And

if it were not for these speculations which hold fast for a year or eighteen months a considerable portion of the industrial surplus capital, there is no doubt that the extension of manufactures in England would for the last five years have gone on at a still more rapid rate.

5 In the dry goods market, domestics are the articles suffering under the greatest depression; stocks continue to accumulate although a great number of looms have been stopped. Yet it cannot be said that there is anything doing in other sorts of goods.

A similar stagnation prevails at Leeds and Bradford, at Leicester and
10 Nottingham. At the latter place the hours of work have been reduced to ten and even eight in the lace trade; hosiery has been depressed ever since June last, when the production was at once reduced in Nottingham, by one-third of its amount. The only trade that appears to go on in uninterrupted prosperity for the present, is the hardware trade of Birmingham and its vicinity.

15 At London, bankruptcy begins to spread among the small shop-keepers.

In my letter of August 12, I stated that the master spinners and manufacturers were getting up "An Association for the purpose of aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among operatives in the Manchester District," that that Association was to consist of local Associations, with a
20 Central Committee, and that it intended "resisting all demands made by *associated bodies* of mill-hands, fortifying the monopoly of capital by the monopoly of combination, and dictating terms as an Associated body."

Now, is it not a very curious fact, that this scheme, of which I informed you about two months ago, has, to this very moment, never been alluded to
25 by the London papers, although silently carried out in the meantime, and already doing its work at Preston, Bolton and Manchester? The London press, it appears, was anxious to withhold the fact from the eyes of the world, that the Factory Lords were systematically arraying their class against the class of Labor, and that the successive steps taken by them, instead of being
30 the spontaneous result of circumstances, are the premeditated effects of a deep-laid conspiracy of an organized Anti-Labor League! This English Capitalist League of the Nineteenth century is yet to find its historian, as the French Catholic League did in the authors of the *Satyre Ménippée* at the end of the Sixteenth century.

35 The workpeople, in order to succeed in their demands, must naturally try to keep the one party *in* till the strike of the others has proved victorious. Where this plan is acted upon, the millowners combine to close *all* their mills, and, thus, to drive their hands to extremities. The Preston manufacturers, as you know, were to begin the game. Thirteen mills are already closed, and,
40 at the expiration of another week, every mill is to be shut up, throwing out of work more than 24,000 men. The weavers have addressed a memorial to

the masters, soliciting an interview, or offering to refer the matters in dispute to arbitration, but their request was rejected. As the Preston weavers are assisted by penny collections from the operatives of the surrounding districts, from Stalybridge, Oldham, Stockport, Bury, Withnell, Blackburn, Church-Parish, Ashton, Irvell-Vale, Enfield, Burnley, Colne, Bacup, etc.; the men having discovered that the only means of resisting the undue influence of capital, was by union among themselves; the Preston factory-lords, on their part, have sent out secret emissaries to undermine the means of succor for the men on strike, and to induce the mill owners of Burnley, Colne, Bacup, etc., to close their establishments, and to cause a general cessation of labor. In certain places, as at Enfield, the overlookers have been induced to inform their masters, who had taken a part in forwarding the movement, and accordingly a number of penny collectors have been discharged. While the Preston men are exhorted by the workpeople of the surrounding districts to remain firm and united, the Preston masters meet with an immense applause from the other manufacturers, being extolled as the true heroes of the age.

At Bury, matters are taking a similar turn as at Preston. At Bolton, the bedquilt makers having lots cast to decide which of them were to begin striking, the masters of the whole trade at once closed their mills.

Besides the simultaneous closing of mills, other means of combination are resorted to. At Keighly, for instance, the weavers of Mr. Lund struck for an advance of wages, the principal cause of their turn-out being his giving less than was received by the weavers of Mr. Anderton, at Bingley. A deputation of the weavers having asked for an interview with Mr. Lund, and proceeded to his lodgings, they had the door politely shut in their faces. But, a week afterward, Mr. Anderton's work-people were informed by notice that a reduction would be made in the wages of his weavers of **3d.** per piece, and of his woolcombers of one farthing per pound, Mr. Lund and Mr. Anderton having, in the meantime, concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, with a view to fight the weavers of the one by pulling down the wages of the other. Thus, it is supposed, Mr. Lund's weavers will be driven to submission or Mr. Anderton's weavers to a turn-out, and the additional weight of another turn-out doing away with all chance of support, both sets will bend to a general reduction.

In other instances the masters try to enlist the shopkeepers against the working men. Thus Mr. Horsfall, the coal king of Darlymain pit, when, in consequence of a reduction of wages, his hands struck, went to all the butchers, bakers and provision dealers of the neighborhood the colliers trade with, to prevail on them not to let his men have anything on credit.

In all localities where the association for "regulating the excitement among

the operatives" exists, the associated masters have pledged themselves to heavy fines, in case of any individual member violating the status of their League, or yielding to the demands of the "hands." At Manchester these fines amount to £5,000, at Preston to £3,000, at Bolton to £2,000, etc.

5 There is one feature which, above all, distinguishes the present conflict from past ones. At former periods—as in 1832, 1839, 1840, 1842—a *general holiday*, as it was called, viz.: a general and simultaneous stopping of labor throughout the whole kingdom, was a favorite idea with the operatives, and the great object they aimed at. This time, it is capital which threatens a
10 general withdrawal. It is the masters who endeavor to bring about a general closing of mills. Do you not think that, if successful, it may prove a very dangerous experiment? Is it their intention to drive the English people to an insurrection of June, in order to break their rising spirit, and to lay them prostrate for a series of years to come?

15 At all events, we cannot too closely watch the symptoms of the civil war preparing in England, especially as the London press intentionally shuts its eyes to great facts, while it diverts its readers with descriptions of such trifles as the banquet given by Mr. Titus Salt, one of the factory princes of Yorkshire, at the opening of his palace-mill, where not only the local aristocracy
20 were regaled, but his hands, too. "Prosperity, health, and happiness to the working class," was the toast proposed by him, as the public is told by the Metropolitan press, but it is not told, that, some days afterwards, his moreen weavers received notice of *another reduction* in their wages from 2s. 3d. to 2s. Id. "If this means either health or prosperity to the moreen weavers," writes one of his victims to *The People's Paper*, "I, for one, do not want it."

You will perhaps have seen from *The Times* that a Mrs. MacDonnell, of Knoydart, Glengarry, has, in imitation of the Duchess of Sutherland, undertaken to clear her estates, in order to replace men by sheep. *The People's*
30 *Paper*, informed by a correspondent on the spot, gives the following graphic description of this Malthusian operation:

"This lady had a number of cottagers on her domains, many of whom were unable to pay their rents—some being considerably in arrears, as we are *told*. She, therefore, ordered them all off, and drove them to take refuge in the
35 woods and caves, where they have since been lurking, or rather dying, while Mrs. MacDonnell's horses have been warmly bedded in secure and comfortable dwellings. She at the same time offered them a free passage to Canada, passage money being cheaper than poor rolls, and permission to sell 'their little stocks,' they having no stock whatever to sell, except the clothes they
40 stand in, a broken table, or a rheumatic cat. Finally, she forgave them the arrears—she could not get. This is called *noble generosity*'."

Karl Marx

Such ejections appear to be again the order of the day, throughout the Highlands. Thus, at least, we are informed by Sir Charles Forbes, a Highland laird, writing to *The Times*, "that sheep-farms are now becoming so valuable, that it will pay our English sheep-farmers to hire ships at any time, and to pay for the removal of all who stand in their way."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Turkish Manifesto—France's Economic Position

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3912, 31. Oktober 1853

From our own Correspondent.

London, Tuesday, October 18, 1853.

The Turkish manifesto addressed on the first of October to the four Great Powers as a justification of the Sultan's declaration of war against the Czar, is, in every respect, superior to the huge mass of state papers, which Europe has been inundated with since May, 1853.

The Sultan, it states, has given no motive for quarrel. There remained not even a pretext for it, after the question of the Holy Shrines had been settled. On the part of Russia all treaties were infringed; on the part of Turkey all means of conciliation exhausted. According to the Powers themselves, the Sultan was not to subscribe to Prince Menchikoff's note. How, then, could he be expected to adopt the Vienna note, which, as a whole, was not different from that of Prince Menchikoff? The explanatory epistle of the Vienna conference could not change the condition of affairs. The *clear* and *precise* paragraph of the Treaty of Kainardji being misconstrued by Russia, what would not be the risk of "placing in her hands *vague* and *obscure* paragraphs affording her a solid pretext for her pretensions to a religious Protectorate?" Moreover, the modifications proposed by the Sultan have been fully justified by the subsequent explanations published by Nesselrode. The occupation of the Principalties had, at first sight, constituted a *casus belli*, and the Porte is now decided to proclaim it a *casus belli*. Prince Gorchakoff has, accordingly, been summoned to evacuate the Danubian provinces. If fifteen days after the arrival of that notification he should answer in the negative, Omer Pasha is to commence hostilities, the Russian agents are to quit the Ottoman states, and the commercial relations of the two countries to be broken off. No embargo, however, will be laid upon Russian merchant vessels, but they will receive orders to leave the Turkish ports. The straits will remain open to the mercantile navy of friendly Powers.

Such is the substance of the Sultan's manifesto.

The Turkish ultimatum was intimated to Prince Gorchakoff on the 9th inst. Accordingly, the term for evacuating the Principalities expires on the 25th inst. The threat, however, of commencing hostilities cannot be understood in a literal sense, as Omer Pasha is certain not to abandon his strong positions, with a view to attacking the Russians. 5

In *The Morning Herald* of yesterday you will find confirmed my observations on the westward movement of the Russian Army, and the secret understanding with Austria which this movement indicates.

Russia, true to the old Asiatic system of cheating and petty tricks, now plays upon the credulity of the Western World by spreading the rumor that the Czar had "just sent a courier in *all* haste to Vienna to declare that he accepted freely and completely the whole of the conditions proposed by the mediating powers," when, unfortunately, "he became informed of the declaration of war on the side of the Porte." Then, of course, the God of the Russians retracted at once *all the concessions* he had ever made, and exclaimed that "nothing remained but war, and war to the knife," (*guerre à l'outrance*.) Thus the Czar, it appears, has been forced into war by the Sultan. 10 15

Mr. de Brack, the Austrian Internuncio, is said to have interrogated the Porte whether it intended to appeal to the political refugees in order to form a foreign legion. Redchid Pasha replied that, notwithstanding the propositions incessantly made to the Porte, he had not yet come to any decision; but that in the case of Turkey being abandoned by her allies, she would believe herself perfectly justified in making use of all means for her proper defense, and in employing the services of the political refugees disseminated throughout the several countries of Europe. 20 25

We read in the *Constitutionnel*: "We have reason to believe that there has arrived at this moment at Paris and London an official demand for the succor of France and England on the part of the Sublime Porte."

You will read in the newspapers that the Emperor of Austria has reduced his army by about 100,000 men. The truth is that this number have been dismissed on furlough, but are revocable at any moment. The financial pressure on the one side, and the hope of thus catching the money-lenders on the other, have induced the Vienna Cabinet to take this step. 30

The following extract from a London commercial circular, concerning the Corn-trade of France, will, I suppose, be read with interest: 35

"From a very extensive correspondence taking every possible trouble to ascertain the real state of the case, we believe the crop of wheat in France to be on an average fully one-third short, varying according to locality, the greatest deficiency being in the south. It is true that journals under the influence of the Government have endeavored to persuade the public that 40

such is not the case, but the very acts of the Government are a sufficient contradiction to such assertions. It first relaxed the Navigation Laws in favor of this country; it then repealed them altogether; next it anticipated the reduction of the duty, which the sliding-scale would of itself have secured, 5 by fixing it at the minimum (without reference to the sections into which France is divided at various rates of duty) and opened the ports to foreign vessels free of tonnage dues. Since then it has opened all the rivers and canals free to corn vessels, and invited the railways to carry the food at reduced rates; it has opened Algeria free, and allowed it to ship to France by any 10 tonnage; it has prohibited the export of potatoes and vegetables, and has not hesitated to interfere arbitrarily in many markets between buyers and sellers. Surely all this confirms a short crop, or are very unnecessary precautions. The trade in France has, however, been in a state of suspense for some time; not that the merchants throughout the kingdom have any doubt as to the 15 result of the harvest, but the false step which the Government adopted with regard to fixing the price of bread has so perplexed them that they have been afraid to act, and it is notorious that as soon as the decree was issued, telegraphs were sent off in all directions, cancelling the orders given for corn; and it is impossible to estimate the ultimate consequence this measure may 20 have upon prices. The average production of wheat in France is estimated at 80 millions of hectolitres, (about 28 millions qrs.,) the highest production during the last 25 years having been 97 millions in 1847, and the lowest 52 millions in 1830. The growth of wheat has increased very much of late years, much faster in proportion than the population; and the fact that stocks 25 are completely exhausted at the present time, shows that the population have been much better fed and in a more prosperous condition than they used to be.

The following table will show the progress of the population and production during the last 25 years:

| | Population. | Average production of Wheat in five years. | |
|----|-----------------|---|--------------|
| | | | Hectolitres. |
| 30 | 1831 32,569,223 | from 1827 to 1831 | 57,821,336 |
| | 1836 33,540,910 | from 1832 to 1836 | 68,684,919 |
| 35 | 1841 34,240,078 | from 1837 to 1841 | 71,512,258 |
| | 1846 35,400,486 | from 1842 to 1846 | 72,015,564 |
| | 1851 35,781,821 | from 1847 to 1851 | 86,121,123 |

The increase of consumption, in proportion to the increase of population, will cause the effect of a bad harvest to be more severely felt, as there are 40 no old stocks left to fall back upon, and of course no stocks of foreign grain in warehouse."

The sinister intentions of the governing classes of England, with regard to Turkey, may be inferred from the sermons of Messrs. Bright and Cobden at Edinburgh, from the Gladstone speeches at Manchester, and from the hint, thrown out by several papers, that, in the case of a Russo-Turkish war, Lord Aberdeen will be replaced by Lord Palmerston, the chivalrous antagonist of Russia. 5

Jail Inquiries are now a constant feature in the reports of the press. From what has been disclosed it appears that prison discipline in Birmingham consists of collars and mural torture; in Leicestershire of cranks, and in Hampshire of the less artificial method of starvation. And "you call this a free country!" 10

I stated, in a former letter, that the so-called peace concluded with Burmah, was but an armistice, and that the new acquisitions would prove an endless source of new troubles to the British conquerors. The last overland mail informs us, indeed, that the war party in Burmah is increasing in strength; that the new territories are literally overrun by large bands of robbers, instigated by the Government of Ava and requiring a considerable increase of military force at Prome, and that "the British troops are sick and disgusted, healthy sites for barracks having not yet been discovered." 15

The shameful neglect of all means of irrigation on the part of the Indo-British rulers, is again producing, in the district of Patna, its regular quota of Cholera and famine, consequent on the long continued drouth. 20

From a return just issued I abstract the following statistics of wrecks of British and Foreign vessels on the coasts of the United Kingdom:

| Year. | Total wrecks. | Sunk by leaks or collisions. | Stranded. | Lives lost. | Total sum of wrecks. | 25 |
|--|---------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------------|----|
| 1850 | 277 | 84 | 304 | 784 | 681 | |
| 1851 | 358 | — | 348 | 750 | 701 | |
| 1852 | | | —about | 900 | 1100 | |
| Sum total of wrecks during the 3 years | | | | | 2482 | 30 |
| And of lives lost | | | | 2434 | | |

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
Movements of the Armies in Turkey

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3919, 8. November 1853

Movements of the Armies in Turkey.

Several important military movements have recently taken place in the seat of war in Turkey, which more clearly define the positions and plans of the respective parties. The Russians—to whom we first advert because they are
5 the attacking party, and as such must be regarded as taking the initiative—have continued to extend their line of operations toward the West. Brigade after brigade has been sent in the direction of Widdin, on the upper Danube; and now the front of the Russian army may be said to extend from Kalafat, opposite Widdin, to Orash, opposite Hirsova, in a direction which equally
10 menaces the road to Constantinople, and that to Servia and Macedonia. The first movement toward Kalaf at was sufficient to establish the certainty of a Russian diversion toward the centers of the Slavonic and Greek population of Turkey. It made it probable, at the same time, that the plan of the campaign would be defensive action and mere demonstrations on the direct road to
15 Constantinople, with energetic offensive action on the road to Sofia, in Servia and Macedonia. However, when these movements were made, the Turks had not declared war. This event has since taken place, and appears to have irritated the Czar to such a degree that he is likely to impart a far more energetic impulse to his troops than was previously to be expected.
20 Not only is Prince Paskiewich called to the command of the Russian forces, but he is also said to bring with him 40,000 soldiers from the army in Poland, who next to the guards and grenadiers, are considered the best troops in the Russian pay. Such reinforcements would establish a superiority for the Russian arms which might justify offensive action, both on the Upper and
25 Lower Danube, while at the same time they might be considered as a counterpoise against any French and British forces, that, according to rumor, are likely to be sent to the support of Turkey. At all events, these Russian reinforcements cannot arrive on the Danube in time for operations this season. From Warsaw to Bucharest, by way of Dubno, Chotin and Jassy,

the distance is eight hundred miles across a country in which an army cannot move more than eight or ten miles a day. It will then be three months or till the beginning of January before these fresh troops can take up their positions; and considering the season of the year, it is even probable that it will take them longer. These troops, then, must remain entirely in the background 5 until the beginning of the spring campaign.

The Russian forces, now in the Principalities, have been estimated at from 130,000 to 150,000 men. Supposing they have lost by sickness and desertion from 20,000 to 30,000, they still maintain a numerical superiority over the Turks opposed to them. For if we know but little more of the actual strength 10 of the Russians than what may be concluded from the number of divisions and brigades marched into Turkey, and from the effective numbers they ought to show on their rolls, the numbers of the Turkish forces on the Danube are very well known through the reports of British, French and Piedmontese officers sent there by their respective Governments. Now, all these reports 15 agree in this fact, that even after the arrival of the Egyptian contingent, the Turkish active army, under Omer Pasha, did not number more than 110,000 combatants, of whom only 80,000 were regulars. Behind them, at Adrianople, an army of reserve was being formed which was to consist of 80,000 Redifs, (old soldiers called in again,) but of the state of this reserve, 20 we have no positive information. The fact, then, is this, that on the day when the first shot will be fired, Omer Pasha will command an army numerically inferior to that of his opponent, and that nothing but blunders on the part of his enemy, or capital generalship on his own part, will save him from defeat. 25

We have equally good information as to the position and the defensive preparations of the Turks. Three lines have been fortified: first, the Danube, to prevent its being passed by the enemy; second, that from Varna to Shumla; third, that a few leagues in the rear of the second, on the river Kamesik, where 30 is the fort which guards the passes of the Balkan. These fortifications are described by the foreign officers as formidable, and likely to frustrate any attempt of an enemy to carry them. Now, with all respect for the important art of field-fortification, and for the judgment of the officers who give this report, we may be allowed to say that such opinions must be received with 35 great caution. How many field-works considered to be impregnable have been carried, after a few rounds of grape-shot, on the first assault; and who does not know that the most celebrated field-works ever constructed, the lines of Torres Vedras, were strong, not by their passive capacity of resistance but because Wellington had 100,000 men to defend them, while Masséna could only bring 30,000 men to the attack? Single, detached field- 40 works, as in mountain passes for instance, have often done great service;

but never in modern times has a superior army, commanded by an able General, been defeated in a general action on account of the passive resistance offered by field-works. And then the manner in which field-works are defended is almost everything; but half disciplined troops, or soldiers
5 without any discipline, are of little avail behind breastworks when a vigorous shower of grape is directed upon them.

But let us look at the three lines of defense the Turks have fortified. The first is that of the Danube. Now, to fortify the line of the Danube can only mean to erect such works as will prevent the Russians from crossing that
10 river. The course of the Danube, from Orsova to the sea, is nearly 600 miles long; to fortify such a line effectually and to garrison the fortifications, would require six times as many men as the Turkish General can command, and if he had them he would commit the greatest blunder should he put them to such a use. We conclude then that this first line of fortifications must be
15 confined to works between Rustchuk and Hirsova, by which the passage of the river is molested, but not effectually prevented.

The second position from Shumla to Varna is exactly the same in which the Turks were routed in 1829, and in which they are again sure to be annihilated if they there accept a decisive battle. The position appears to
20 possess striking advantages for defense, and to be susceptible of great additional strength by art; and the position on the Kamesik, to the rear of Varna and Shumla, appears to be still stronger, and has the advantage of forcing the enemy to leave troops behind to blockade those fortresses. But both have this disadvantage, that they have a narrow pass in their rear as
25 the only means of retreat, which outweighs, for an inferior army, all other advantages, and which would make it an egregious mistake to accept a battle unless the inferior army were as sure as the British were at Waterloo that at the decisive moment an inferior army would fall upon the flanks of the attacking enemy.

As to Omer Pasha we have no means of judging to what use he really intends turning these fortifications. We can not doubt but he knows very well that his part in the war will be chiefly defensive; and he is, therefore, perfectly justified in strengthening his defensive position by all the means which the art of fortification places at his disposal. We do not know, whether he
35 intends these fortifications to frighten the Russians from passing the Danube at those points by which Constantinople is most directly menaced or whether he proposes to accept a decisive battle in them. It is said that he has disposed his army in such a manner that at whatever point toward Shumla the Russians shall cross the river, he will be prepared to fall upon the head of their main
40 column and beat it before support can arrive. In that case, the second line of fortifications would form a secure retreat if the operation should be

frustrated. But the truth is that a great defensive battle on any of the three lines would be a mistake; for either the Russians will concentrate all their forces for the attack, and then Omer Pasha will stand but a poor chance; or they will divide themselves, and then he ought to leave his fortified Unes in order to fall upon one of their columns. The best use to which he could turn these fortifications, and the only one consistent with the modern system of warfare would be to use them as a provisional base for offensive operations against detached Russian columns, on their passing the Danube; to check the Russian advance by a more or less obstinate defense of each line; and to hold, by means of the third line, the most important passes of the Balkan as long as this can be done without a general engagement. At the same time it cannot be denied that any army, and particularly the Turkish army, would be exceedingly demoralized by the abandonment without a battle, of these fortifications; for if they cannot hold out behind ditches and bulwarks, how are they to beat the Russians in the open field? This is the way the private soldier always reasons, especially if only half disciplined; and therefore, if the fortifications in question actually have the importance ascribed to them, we cannot but consider them more dangerous to the Turks themselves than to the Russians.

But the Russians have fortified themselves, too, in Wallachia? Certainly, and their case is different. They are the attacking party; their fortifications merely serve to cover retreat and check pursuit in case of disaster; and they have four Unes of rivers, one behind the other, crossing their line of retreat, and forming as many lines of defense. These lines are, the Danube, the Ardgish, the Buseo and the Sereth. Here is a fair case for precautionary fortifications; here are natural lines of defense which form, to a European army, no obstacle for retreat, while with a little artificial improvement they may become serious obstacles to pursuit; and above all, here is no intention of accepting a general battle with only one line of retreat in the rear. The Russian fortifications, as far as we can judge, belong decidedly to the European system of warfare, while the Asiatic spirit predominates in those of the Turks. This same unreflecting character is the ruling feature of the general position of the latter. They defend Constantinople by placing themselves across the nearest road which leads to it, while the Russians appear to direct their first attack, not upon that city, but upon the central parts of the peninsula, where Turkish dominion is most vulnerable, and where, after all, for a Russian army, lies the shortest way to the capital.

There is, however, one thing which we must not forget. The Russian army is, and ever has been, slow and cautious in its movements. It will most probably not act during the winter season. A few skirmishes may take place in order to secure this or that island of the Danube to either party. But unless

the Czar commands extraordinary activity—which command would most likely be frustrated by the passive pedantry of his generals—there is very little chance of decisive maneuvers before spring. The Danube might be passed but the Balkan cannot be traversed, and between the two, the position of
5 the Russian army would be most dangerous.

In the meantime, the Turks have sent their fleet to Varna. Admiral Slade, an Englishman, who commands it, appears to be in high spirits. But that movement, too, is full of risk. The Russian fleet, indeed, appears inferior to the Turkish in everything but numbers; but as long as the Russians have two
10 guns and two ships of the line to one of the Turks, the latter cannot venture an action out of the reach of their strand batteries. And in that case, the fleet would be safer and better placed in the Bosphorus, where it is not likely the Russians will blockade it. Once at Varna, the Turkish fleet is exposed to be deprived of all possibility of movement; while in the Bosphorus, it retains
15 its freedom of action, and might be used for expeditions to Trebizond, to the Caucasian coast, or against detached positions of the Russian fleet.

In every respect, then, we are unwillingly compelled to believe the Russians to be superior to the Turks. Whether Omer Pasha, who is really an able soldier, will succeed by his personal qualities in changing the balance, re-
20 mains to be seen. Old Paskiewich, however, although a slow, is an experienced general, and will not easily be caught.

Karl Marx
Arrest of Delescluze—Denmark—Austria—"The Times"
on the Prospects of War against Russia

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3917, 5. November 1853

From our own Correspondent.

London, Friday, Oct. 21, 1853.

Among the arrests recently made at Paris, the most important is that of M. Delescluze, private Secretary to M. Ledra Rollin. He had been sent to Paris on a secret mission, and compromising papers, as is stated, have been 5 seized upon him. One cannot understand M. Ledra Rollin's trusting to a man who has never cleared himself from the suspicion of having betrayed in 1848 the Belgian Legion in the famous affair of Risquonstout.

At Copenhagen the consummation of the coup d'état seems imminent, as the Ministry will not yield, and as the *Folkething* has pronounced against the 10 abolition of the existing Constitution, unless the Government submit to them its own project of a Constitution for the whole Danish monarchy. The two separate projects for the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein have appeared. They are poor imitations of the constitutions of the old Prussian Provincial Diets, distributing the representation among the several "orders," making 15 the right of election dependent on the holding of landed property, and limiting its exercise by the condition of "domicile" in the respective electoral districts. The most remarkable paragraphs in these constitutions are two, one of which deprives the courts of law of their ancient right of canceling ad- 20 ministrative decrees, and the other excluding all individuals from the right of voting who compromised themselves in the revolutionary struggle from 1848-50, whether they have since been amnestied or not.

I told you in my last letter that the Austrian decree reducing the army was intended merely to entrap the money-lenders; and now that all chance of obtaining a loan has vanished—now that the Government declare they never 25 intended to contract any loan—now that they have entered upon a fresh emission of paper, we are informed that "no arrangements are being made for carrying into execution the Imperial decree relative to the reduction of the army, and that, on the contrary, the generals who command in Lombardy,

Hungary, and Croatia, have, all of them, demanded re-enforcements on account of the state of the public mind in those countries."

A Paris correspondent writes as follows to *The Morning Post* with reference to the proceedings of the Emperor of Russia during his late visits
5 to Olmütz and Berlin:

"The Czar's chief object was to make a new alliance between the Northern Powers... To overcome the resistance of Prussia he used every argument—I may say every bribe; for he offered, on the event of his advancing into and holding Turkish territory, to yield the occupation of Warsaw and the military
10 dominion of Poland to Prussia."

As to the reported successes of the Russians over Schamyl, letters have arrived at Paris which show them to be nothing but inventions, no engagement of any description having taken place in the Caucasus since the month of May, when the victory at Mendoh was gained by Schamyl, and the
15 Russians were driven back from their attempts upon Malka.

"We quite understand the popularity of a war with Russia on behalf of the Poles or the Hungarians, even if there was no ground of our interference, except political sympathy ... We do not understand a war on behalf of the Turk."

20 Thus wrote *The Times* on Oct. 12. A week later we are told by the same paper:

"The first collision between British and Russian armies would be a signal of revolution all over the Continent, and we think it by no means unlikely, nor, indeed, altogether objectionable, that such a consideration may have
25 occasionally passed through the minds of our aristocratic, plutocratic, despotic, and anything but democratic rulers ... We are deliberately to go to war with Russia, in defense of the Turkish *nominal* sovereignty over certain really independent provinces, because by so doing we shall provoke a rebellion in the Austrian Empire." One day England is not to go to war with Russia,
30 because by so doing it would defend the Turks, instead of the Poles and Hungarians; and the next day because any war in behalf of Turkey would be simultaneously a war in behalf of the Poles and the Hungarians.

The Vienna *Presse* states that Abd-el-Kader has been asked by the Sultan to accept a military command in the case of a war with Russia. The negotia-
35 tions were managed by the Sheik-ul-Islam, and the Emir declared his willingness to enter the service of Turkey on the condition that the advice of Bonaparte was previously asked. The command destined for him was that of the Asiatic army.

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels

The Holy War

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3925, 15. November 1853

The Holy War.

The war has at last opened on the Danube,—a war of religious fanaticism on both sides, of traditional ambition with the Russians, of life and death with the Turks. As was to have been expected, Omer Pasha has been the first to begin positive hostilities; it was in the line of his duty to make some demonstration toward the forcible expulsion of the invaders from the Ottoman territory; but it is by no means certain that he has thrown from thirty to fifty thousand men across the Danube, as is rumored from Vienna, and there is reason to fear that if he has done so he has committed a fatal blunder. On the shore he leaves, he has ample resources of defense and a good position; on the shore he seeks he has inferior power of attack and no retreat in case of disaster. The report of his crossing with such numbers must therefore be doubted till more positive advices.

While the struggle in Europe is commenced under disadvantageous circumstances for the Turks, the case is otherwise in Asia. There, the frontier territories of Russia and Turkey divide themselves, in a military point of view, into two quite distinct theaters of operation. It is the high ridge, or rather concatenation of ridges, connecting the Caucasus with the tableland of Central Armenia, and dividing the waters that run toward the Black Sea from those which the Araxes leads to the Caspian Sea, or the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf; it is this ridge which formerly parted Armenia from Pontus, that now forms the partition of the two distinct districts where the war is to be waged. This range of abrupt and generally barren rocks, is traversed by very few roads—the two principal of which are those from Trebisond and Batum to Erzerum. Thus for all military purposes, the hills in question may be considered as nearly impassable, forcing both parties to have distinct corps on either side, operating more or less independently of each other.

The country on the shore of the Black Sea is intersected by a number of

rivers and mountain torrents, which form as many military positions for defense. Both the Russians and the Turks have fortified posts on important points. In this generally broken country, (the valley of the river Rioni is the only one which forms anything like a plain,) a defensive war might be carried
5 on with great success against a superior army, (as very few positions are liable to be turned on the land side, on account of the mountains,) were it not for the cooperation of the respective fleets. By advancing, and, in case of need, landing troops, upon the flank of the enemy, while the army engages him in front, a fleet might turn all these strong positions, one by one, and
10 neutralize, if not destroy, fortifications which, on neither side of the frontier, are very respectable. Thus the possession of the Black Sea Coast belongs to him who is master of the Sea; or, in other words, unless the allied fleets cooperate actively with the Turks, it will in all likelihood belong to the Russians.

15 The country in the interior, on the inland side of the mountains, comprises the territory in which the Euphrates, the Araxes and the Kur (Cyrus) take their rise; the Turkish province of Armenia is on the one, the Russian province of Georgia on the other side of the frontier. This country, too, is extremely mountainous and generally impassable to armies. Erzerum on the
20 part of the Turks, Tiflis on the part of the Russians, may be said to be the two immediate bases of operations, with the loss of which the possession of the whole neighboring country would be inevitably lost. Thus the storming of Erzerum by the Russians decided the Asiatic campaign of 1829.

But what is the immediate oasis of operation for one party, will be the
25 direct *object* of operations to the other. Thus the roads connecting Tiflis and Erzeroum will be the lines of operations for both. There are three roads; one by the upper Kur and Akhalzikhe, the other by the upper Araxes and Erivan, the third in the midst between these two, across the mountains by way of Kars. All these roads are guarded on either side, by fortified towns and posts,
30 and it would be difficult to say which would be for Turks or Russians, the most eligible. Suffice it to say that the road by Akhalzikhe is the one which would lead a Turkish army most directly upon the insurgent districts of the Caucasus, but that very advance of the Turks would be turned by a Russian corps advancing from Batum up the valley of the Tchorokh by Olti upon
35 Erzerum; the road from Batum joins that from Tiflis only about 15 miles from Erzerum which would enable a Russian corps advancing in the direction alluded to, to cut off the communication of the Turks, and, if strong enough, to take possession even of Erzerum, the fortifications of which are of a merely Asiatic character and not capable of serious resistance.

40 The key to the theater of war, in Asia, and on either side of the hills, then, is Batum, and considering this, as well as its commercial importance, we need

not wonder at the efforts the Czar has always been making to get hold of it. And Batum is the key of the theater of war, nay, of all Turkey in Asia, because it commands the only passable road from the coast to the interior—a road which turns all the Turkish positions in advance of Erzerum. And whichever of the two fleets in the Black Sea drives the other back into its 5 harbors, that fleet commands Batum.

The Russians are perfectly aware of the importance of this post. They have sent, by land and by water, reinforcements to the Transcaucasian coast. A short time ago it might have been believed that the Turks, if weaker in Europe, enjoyed a decided superiority in Asia. Abdi Pasha, who commands 10 the Asiatic army, was said to have collected 60,000 or 80,000, nay 120,000 men, and swarms of Bedouins, Kurds and other warlike irregulars were reported to flock daily to his standard. Arms and ammunitions were said to be in store for the Caucasian insurgents, and as soon as war was declared, an advance was to be made into the very heart of these centres 15 of resistances to Russia. It may, however, be as well to observe that Abdi Pasha cannot possibly have more than about 30,000 regular troops, and that before the Caucasus is reached, with these, and with these alone, he will have to encounter the stubborn resistance of Russian battalions. His Bedouins and Kurdish horsemen may be capital for mountain warfare, for forcing the 20 Russians to detach largely and to weaken their main body; they may do a great deal of damage to the Georgian and Colonist villages in the Russian Territory, and even open some sort of an underhand communication with the Caucasian mountaineers. But unless Abdi Pasha's regulars are capable of blocking up the road from Batum to Erzerum, and can defeat whatever 25 nucleus of an active army the Russians may be enabled to bring together, the success of the irregulars will be of a very ephemeral nature. The support of a regular army is now-a-days necessary to the progress of all insurrectionary or irregular warfare against a powerful regular army. The position of the Turks on this frontier would be similar to that of Wellington 30 in Spain, and it remains to be seen whether Abdi Pasha will know to husband his resources as well as the British general did, against an enemy decidedly his superior in regular warfare and the means of carrying it on. In 1829 the Russian forces in Asia, amounted, before Erzerum, to 18,000 men only, and considering the improvements that have since then taken place in the Turkish 35 army, (although that of Asia has least participated in them,) we should say the Russians would have a fair chance of success if they could unite 30,000 men in a body before the same place now.

Whether they will be able to do so or not, who can decide at the present time, when there is even less of real facts known, and more idle rumors 40 spread as to the Russian army in Asia, than as to that in Europe? The

- Caucasian army is officially computed at 200,000 men, at its full complement; 21,000 Cossacks of the Black Sea have been marched toward the Turkish frontier; several divisions are said to have been embarked from Odessa for Redut Kaleh, on the South Caucasian coast. But every body knows that the
- 5 Caucasian army does not count half its official complement, that the re-enforcement sent beyond the Caucasus cannot, from obvious causes, have the strength reported by Russian papers, and from the conflicting evidence we receive, we are absolutely at a loss to make anything like an estimate of the Russian forces on the Asiatic frontier. But that we may say, that in all
- 10 probability the forces of both parties (an immediate general insurrection of the Caucasians left out of the question) will be pretty nearly balanced, that the Turks may, perhaps, be a little stronger than the Russians, and therefore will be, on this theater of war, justly entitled to undertake *offensive* operations.
- 15 The chances for the Turks are, indeed, far more encouraging in Asia than in Europe. In Asia they have but one important post to guard, Batum; and an advance, be it from Batum, or from Erzerum toward the Caucasus, opens to them in case of success a direct communication with their allies, the mountaineers, and may at once cut off the communication, at least by land,
- 20 of the Russian army south of the Caucasus with Russia; a result which may lead to the entire destruction of that army. On the other hand, if defeated, the Turks risk losing Batum, Trebisond and Erzerum; but even if that be the case, the Russians will then not be strong enough to advance any further. The advantages are far superior to the loss to be undergone in case of defeat;
- 25 and it is therefore, for sound and satisfactory reasons, that the Turks appear to have decided upon offensive warfare in those regions.

Karl Marx
War-Strikes-Dearth

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3925,15. November 1853

War—Strikes—Dearth.

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Tuesday, Nov. 1, 1853.

The news of the cannonade of Isakchi had hardly reached London, when the intelligence was telegraphed from Vienna to London and Paris, that the Porte, at the request of the representatives of the four powers, had issued orders for the adjournment of the hostilities, if they should not have already commenced, till the 1st November. Is the exchange of cannon-shots at Isakchi to be or not to be considered as a commencement of hostilities? That is the question now stirring the Stock Exchange and the press. In my opinion it is a very indifferent one, as in any event the *armistice* would have elapsed to-day.

It is rumored that the Turkish army had crossed the Danube at Widdin and Malchin, viz.: at the south-eastern and north-western frontiers of Bulgaria. The accuracy of this dipatch appears very doubtful. According to the *Paris Presse* of to-day, it was resolved by a military council held in the Seraskirat on the 15th or 16th Oct., that as soon as the refusal of Prince Gorchakoff to evacuate the Principalities would be officially known, the hostilities were to commence in Asia, on two different points: against the fortress of Poti, at the Black Sea, and on the frontier of Georgia. The same paper informs us, that Gen. Baraguay d'Hilliers, the newly appointed French Ambassador at Constantinople, has set out accompanied by a staff composed of officers of the *gème* and of the artillerie. Mr. Baraguay is known as a bad General and a good intriguer. I remind you of his exploits at the famous Club of the Rue de Poitiers.

While the first cannon bullets have been exchanged in the war of the Russian against Europe, the first blood has been spilt in the war now raging

in the manufacturing districts, of capital against labor. On Friday night a riot took place at Wigan, arising out of the contest between the colliers and the coal kings; on Saturday the town was stated to be perfectly quiet, but to-day we are informed by electric telegraph that at the colliery of Lord Crawford, 5 or of the Earl Balcarres, an attack was made by the colliers; that the armed force was called out; that the soldiers fired, and that one of the workmen was killed. As I am to receive private information from the spot, I adjourn my report on this event, only warning your readers against the reports of *The Daily News* and *The Times*, the former of these papers being in the direct 10 pay of the Manchester School, and the latter being, as *The Morning Herald* justly remarks, "the bitter, unforgiving, relentless enemy of the working classes."

In 1842, when the Manchester School, under the banner of free trade, enticed the industrial proletariat into insurrectionary movements, and, in the 15 time of peril, treacherously abandoned them, as Sir Robert Peel plainly told the Cobdens in the House of Commons—at that epoch their watchword was: *Cheap food and dear wages*. The Corn laws having been abrogated and free trade, as they do understand it, realized, their battle-cry has been changed into: *Cheap wages and dear food*. With the adoption of the Manchester 20 Commercial system by Government, the millocracy had imposed upon themselves a problem impossible to be resolved under their régime: the securing of an uninterrupted continuance of brisk trade and commercial prosperity. For the hour of adversity, they had cut off any position to fall back upon. There was no more deluding the masses with Parliamentary reform, as in 25 1831; the legislative influence, conquered by that movement for the middle classes, having been exclusively employed against the working classes; and the latter having, in the mean time, got up a political movement of their own—Chartism. There is no more charging the aristocratic protectionists with all the anomalies of the industrial system and the deadly conflicts springing 30 up from its very bowels, as free-trade has worked for about eight years under wonderfully fortunate circumstances with a California and an Australia—two worlds of gold, extemporized, as it were, by the imaginative powers of the modern *demiurge*. Thus, one by one, step by step, the industrial bourgeoisie have removed, with their own hands, all the carefully propagated delusions 35 that could be conjured up at the hour of danger, in order to return the indignation of the working classes from their real antagonist, and to direct it against the antagonists of the millocracy, against the landed aristocracy. In 1853, there have waned away the false pretenses on the part of the masters and the silly illusions on the part of the men. The war between those two 40 classes has become unmitigated, undisguised, openly avowed and plainly understood. "The question," exclaim the masters themselves in one of their

recent manifestoes—"is no longer one of **wages** but one of *mastership*." The Manchester liberals, then, have at last thrown off the lion's skin. What they pretend at—is mastership for capital and slavery for labor.

Lock-out versus *Turn-out*, is the great lawsuit now pending in the industrial districts, and bayonets are likely to give judgment in the case. A whole industrial army, more than 70,000 working-men are disbanded and cast upon the streets. To the muís closed at Preston and Wigan there have been added those of the district of Bacup, which includes the townships of Bacup, Newchurch, Rawtenstall, Sharnford, and Stanford. At Burnley the mills stopped last Friday; at Padiham on Saturday; at Accrington the masters are contemplating a lock-out; at Bury, where about 1,000 men are already out of work, the masters have given notice to their hands of a "lock-out unless they discontinued their contributions to those out of work in their own town and at Preston;" and at Hindley, three large mills were closed on Saturday afternoon, and more than a thousand additional persons thrown out of employment.

While the hypocritical phrase-mongering, squint-eyed set of Manchester humbugs spoke peace to the Czar at Edinburgh, they acted war with their own countrymen at Manchester. While they preached *arbitration* between Russia and Europe, they were rejecting scornfully all appeals to arbitration from their own fellow-citizens. The workmen of Preston had carried in an open air meeting the resolution "that the delegates of the factory operatives recommed the Mayor to call a public meeting of the manufacturers and the operatives to agree to an amicable settlement of the dispute now pending." But the masters do not want *arbitration*. What they pretend at is *dictation*. While, at the very moment of a European struggle, those Russian propagandists cry for reduction of the army, they are at the same time augmenting the army of civil war, the police force, in Lancashire and Yorkshire. To the workmen we can only say with *The People's Paper*:

"If they close all the mills of Lancashire, do you send delegates to Yorkshire and enlist the support of the gallant men of the Westriding. If the mills of the Westriding are closed, appeal to Nottingham and Derby, to Birmingham and Leicester, to Bristol and Norwich, to Glasgow and Kidderminster, to Edinburgh and Ipswich. Further and further, wider and wider, extend your appeals and rally your class through every town and trade. If the employers choose to array all their order against you, do you array your entire class against them. If they will have the vast class struggle, *let them have it*, and we will abide the issue of that tremendous trial."

While, on the one hand, we have the struggle of masters and men, we have, on the other, the struggle of commerce with overstocked markets, and of human industry with the short-comings of nature.

At a very early period of the Chinese revolution, I drew the attention of your readers to the disastrous influences it was likely to exercise on the social condition of Great Britain. "The Chinese insurrection," we are now told by *The Examiner*, "is rampant in the tea districts, the result of which is that teas
5 are *looking up* in the market of London, and calicos are *looking down* in the market of Shanghai." "At Shanghai," we read in the circular of Messrs. Bushby & Co., a Liverpool house, "the tea market has opened at prices about 40 to 50 per cent, above last season. Stocks were light, and supplies coming slowly." The last advices from Canton state that the "insurgents are generally
10 spreading themselves throughout the country *to the entire ruin of trade*, that manufactures, almost without exception, have given way in price; in some instances, the fall is very serious. Stocks are large and fast accumulating, and we fear the prospect of amendment is rather remote. At Amoy the trade in imports, beyond a few chests of opium, appears at an end for the present."
15 The following is described as the state of the markets at Shanghai: "Both black teas and raw silks have been offering freely, but the conditions imposed by holders have been such as greatly to restrict operations; *no deste appeared to take manufactures*, and transactions have been chiefly effected by means of opium at very low prices, and bullion from Canton. Large
20 amounts of treasure have been removed from that place, but the supply is rapidly being exhausted, and we must look to other quarters for silver bullion and coin, without which we shall soon be unable to purchase produce, unless a great improvement should take place in the import market. Business in the latter has been very limited, and chiefly confined to sales of damaged goods
25 at auction."

In the commercial circular from Messrs. Gibson & Co., dated Manchester, Oct. 21, we find noticed, as a most prominent cause of the actual depression, "not only present bad advices from our great Chinese market, but the prospect of such continuing to arrive in that absence of confidence in monetary
30 transactions there, which must so inevitably be the result, and for a protracted period, of the complete and radical changes which appear likely to be effected in the Government and institutions of that vast Empire."

As to the Australian markets, *The Melbourne Commercial Ctcular* states, that "Where goods purchased only about a month ago have been sold, if then
35 delivered, at a profit of no less than 100 or 150 per cent., now they would not realize enough to cover the expenses." Private letters from Port Philip, received last week, are also extremely unfavorable with regard to the state of the markets. Goods continue to pour in from all parts of the world, and the prices they could command were so low, that rather than submit to
40 immediate sacrifices, ships were being purchased in numbers, to be used for storage.

We can then not be surprised at the commercial circulars continuing to record dullness and declining prices in the markets of the industrial districts. Thus we read in the circulars of Messrs. Fraser, Son & Co., dated Manchester, Oct. 21: "The extent of operations, whether for the home trade, or for foreign parts, has been on an exceedingly limited scale, and prices have suffered throughout to a greater or lesser extent. The further decline in $\frac{7}{8}$ prints and madapolams may be stated at *11d.* to 3d. per piece; in 56 to 66 reed 34 in. to 36 in. shirtings *4d.* to 6d. per piece; in 36-72 reed slürtings, 3d. per piece; in 39 in. shirtings, of low quality, weighing 574 to 61bs., about 47d. per piece; in 39 in. 60 to 64 reed shirtings 3d. per piece; in 45 to 54 in. slürtings *47ad.* to *11d.* per piece; in low 5 to 8 jaconets *172d.*, and in 14 to 16 square jaconets *3d.* per piece; in T cloth *172d.*, in long cloths 3d. per piece and in domestic of certain classes about 1-16d. per yard. In yarns, watered twist has delined the most for common and middling qualities, which may be considered as 74d. to *7id.* per lb. below lastmonth's quotations. Mule yarns have been most affected in No. 40's, which have been selling at a reduction of fully *1d.* per lb. from the highest point of the year. Other yarns at 20s. below 60 have been similarly affected." As to the food market, *The London Weekly Dispatch* states: "In so far as wheat is concerned, the opinions of farmers, as they proceed to thrash their grain and count their stocks, is that the crop will be shorter still than they anticipated. Indeed they call it a *half-crop.*" The wetness of the weather since about a fortnight, highly unfavorable for wheat-sowing and seeding in the ground, evokes, too, serious apprehensions for the harvest of 1854.

From Oxfordshire it is reported as follows:

"As to the wheat crop, as a whole it is a miserable failure; farms that usually produce from 40 to 44 bushels per acre are this year yielding from 15 to 20 bushels; and some well cultivated wheat and bean lands are yielding but from 8 to 10 bushels per acre. Potatoes sadly diseased, are an insignificant yield."

A Yorkshire report informs us that:

"The wet has caused a complete cessation of all active out-door operations; and the remains of the latter harvest, we are sorry to say—all the beans, the bulk of spring wheat, and some oats, are, by being exposed to the action of the weather, rendered so soft as to prevent the hope that it can ever be fit to thrash after the drying winds of spring. It is, moreover, sadly sprouted, and a sad waste of this last resource will doubtless inevitably take place. We give a faint idea of the extent of the loss to which we now refer. Commencing at the Tees, and from thence to Catterick, at Stokesley, and embracing the lowlands of Cleveland, and eastward of Thirsk to the sea, westward of Harrowgate and from the Humber to the sea, vast quantities of corn are

abroad and spoiled by the wet, with a rainy sky overhead; a full fifty per cent, of the potatoes irrevocably diseased, and a new demand for seed has sprung up, with small stocks of old corn. *It is certain that the whole of the wheat-growing districts of the country are deficient and spoiled beyond any former period within our recollection.*"

A Hertfordshire report states:

"It is very extraordinary at this period of the year *not to have concluded the harvest in this country.* Such, however, is the fact, as there are many fields of oats not yet carted, and a considerable portion of the spring-sown beans, with an occasional field of barley; indeed, there are some fields of lent-corn not yet cut."

The Economist of last Saturday publishes the following table, showing the quantities of wheat and grains of all kinds, and of meal and flour of all kinds imported into the United Kingdom during the period from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10, 1853:

| | Countries from which exported. | Wheat, qrs. | Wheat meal, or flour. cwts. | Corn of all kinds qrs. | Aggregate of meal and flour of all kinds, cwts. |
|----|---|----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 20 | Russia, viz: Northern Ports | 69,101 | 64 | 307,976 | 65 |
| | Ports within Black Sea | 704,406 | — | 1,029,168 | — |
| | Sweden | 3,386 | 13 | 3,809 | 13 |
| 25 | Norway | — | 1 | 561 | 1 |
| | Denmark | 220,728 | 5,291 | 733,801 | 5,291 |
| | Prussia | 872,170 | 3,521 | 899,900 | 3,521 |
| | Mecklenburg-Schwerin | 114,200 | — | 123,022 | — |
| | Hanover | 19,187 | — | 146,601 | — |
| 30 | Oldenburg | 2,056 | — | 19,461 | — |
| | Hanseatic Towns | 176,614 | 53,037 | 231,287 | 53,066 |
| | Holland | 58,034 | 306 | 132,255 | 308 |
| | Belgium | 15,155 | 353 | 20,829 | 353 |
| | Channel Islands (foreign produce) | 526 | 4,034 | 629 | 4,034 |
| 35 | France | 96,652 | 857,916 | 470,281 | 858,053 |
| | Portugal | 4,217 | 4 | 21,657 | 4 |
| | Azores | 630 | — | 14,053 | 1 |
| | Spain | 13,939 | 177,963 | 48,763 | 177,985 |
| 40 | Gibraltar | — | 9 | 4,368 | 9 |
| | Italy, viz: Sardinian Territories | 7,155 | 2,263 | 8,355 | 2 3 3 |
| | Tuscany | 43,174 | 67,598 | 45,597 | 67,598 |
| 45 | Papal Territories | 39,988 | — | 41,488 | — |

Karl Marx

| Countries from | Wheat, | Wheatmeal, or flour | Corn of all kinds | Aggregate of meal of all kinds, | |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----|
| | qrs. | cwts. | qrs. | cwts. | |
| Naples and Sicily | 8,618 | 2 | 11,977 | 2 | |
| Austrian Territories | 44,164 | 370 | 106,796 | 370 | |
| Malta | 28,569 | — | 56,281 | — | |
| Ionian Islands | 82 | — | 16,220 | — | |
| Greece | 1,417 | — | 10,221 | — | 5 |
| Wallachia and Moldavia | 209,048 | — | 601,481 | — | |
| Syria | 21,043 | — | 24,686 | — | |
| Egypt | 297,980 | — | 543,934 | — | |
| Other Turkish Dominions | 218,407 | 7,370 | 689,703 | 7,370 | 10 |
| Algeria | — | — | 21,661 | — | |
| Morocco | 3 | 3 | 13,451 | — | |
| British East India | — | 205 | — | 205 | |
| British North America | 45,587 | 232,216 | 62,626 | 232,493 | 15 |
| U.S. of America | 434,684 | 2,388,056 | 630,324 | 2,389,263 | |
| Brazil | — | 3 | 237 | 320 | |
| Other Ports | 1 | 148 | 8 | 148 | |
| Total | 3,770,921 | 3,800,746 | 7,093,458 | 3,802,743 | |

The total of wheat is qrs. 3,770,921 20
 The equivalent of 3,800,746 cwts. of meal and flour is qrs. 1,086,522
 Total of grain, flour and meal qrs. 8,179,980

The Economist, in order to allay the apprehensions of the city merchants, draws the following conclusions from the foregoing table:

"In 1847, notwithstanding the extraordinary stimulus of high prices, we imported of wheat and flour, in the whole year, only 4,464,000 quarters. In the first nine months of the present year we have imported, without any such stimulus, except during the last two months, 4,856,848 quarters. Now, *one of two things must be true* with regard to these large imports as they affect our own home supply—either they have to a great extent been consumed, and have thereby saved in the same proportion our own home production, or they are *warehoused*, and they will be available hereafter." 30

Now, this dilemma is utterly inadmissible. Consequent on the prohibitions or the threatened prohibitions of the export of corn from the continent, the corn merchants thought it fit to warehouse their stores meanwhile in England, where they will be only available hereafter in case of the corn prices ranging higher in England than on the continent. Besides, in contradistinction to 1847, the supply of the countries likely to be affected by a Russo-Turkish war amounts to 2,438,139 quarters of grain and 43,727 cwt. of flour. From 35

Egypt, too, exportation will be prohibited after 30th November next. Finally, England has this year to look only to the usual *annual* surplus of other nations, while, before the abrogation of the corn laws, it had at its disposition, in seasons of want, the foreign stocks accumulated during the favorable seasons.

The Weekly Times, from its point of view, sums up the situation in the following terms:

"The quartern loaf is a shilling—the weather is worse than it has been for half a century, at this season of the year—the operative classes are in the delirium of strikes—Asiatic cholera is raging among us once more, and we have got a war mania. We only want war taxes and famine to make up the orthodox number of the plagues of England."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Persian Expedition in Afghanistan and Russian Expedition
in Central Asia—Denmark—
The Fighting on the Danube and in Asia—Wigan Colliers

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3928, 18. November 1853

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Friday, Nov. 4, 1853.

Shaft Khan, the Persian Ambassador at the Court of St. James, has been suddenly recalled from England by the Shah. This recall coincides strangely with the operations of Persia in Afghanistan, where it was said to have taken Herat, and with the Russian expedition upon Khiva, the capital of the Khanat of Khiva. The Persian expedition and the Russian one may be considered as two movements, the one from the west, the other from the north, centered on the Punjab, the northern outpost of the British dominions in the East. The Russian expedition is commanded by Gen. Perowski, the same whose Khiva expedition in 1839-40 proved abortive. The Russians having organized, of late years, a flotilla in the Aral Sea, are now able to ascend the river Djihun. 5 10

A large Russian fleet is cruising in the Baltic, where it recently took an opportunity to inspect the fortifications of Slite, and the harbor of the Swedish Island of Gothland, of which Russia is covetous, in the manner she got possession of the Island of Aland, close to the coast of Sweden, and strongly fortified by Russia in 1836. From Gothland the Russian fleet proceeded to the Cattegat and the Sound, with a view to support the King of Denmark's intended coup *d'état* in the very probable case of the Copenhagen Diet not quietly accepting the so-called Whole-State Constitution (Gesamt-Staats-Verfassung) octroyed by the magnanimous Czar. The state of affairs at Copenhagen is this: The Danish Government has succeeded in carrying the abolition of the *Lex Regia*, and introducing the new law of royal succession, by the support they received from the peasant-leaguers. This party, under the leadership of Col. Tscherning, aims principally at the transformation of the *Feste Gut*, a sort of feudal peasant-tenure, into free property; and the introduction of municipal laws favorable to the interests 15 20 25

and the development of the peasantry. The properly-called national and liberal party—the party of the Eyderdanes, who formed the Casino Ministry in 1848, forced the Constitution of 1849 upon the King, and carried the war against Schleswig-Holstein—consisting chiefly of professional gentlemen, had neglected, like the rest of the liberal party all over the Continent, to consult the interests of the mass of the people, formed in Denmark by the peasantry. Thus their influence on the people was lost, and the Government has succeeded in excluding them almost altogether from the present Folkething, where they can hardly be said to muster more than ten men. The Government, however, having got rid of the obnoxious opposition of the Eyderdanes by the aid of the peasant-leaguers, threw off the mask, called Mr. Oersted, who was odious to both parties, to the Ministry; and so far from any longer cajoling the peasant party, a royal veto prevented the publication of the new Municipal law, originally introduced by the Government itself in order to catch the peasants. The peasant-leaguers, duped and abused by the Government, have entered into a coalition with the Eyderdanes, and appointed Monrad, a clergyman, and one of the leaders of the Eyderdanes, as Vice-President of the Committee sitting on the Constitutional question. This coalition has baffled all hope of overthrowing the Constitution in a constitutional way, and accordingly the whole plan having been formed by and for the Muscovites, a Russian fleet appears in the Danish waters at the very moment of the crisis.

All the journals of Vienna and Berlin confirm the intelligence of the passage of the Danube by strong divisions of the Turkish army. According to the *Oesterreichische Correspondent*., the Turks have been repulsed by the Russians in Little Wallachia. A telegraphic dispatch states that a serious engagement took place on the 21st ult. between the two armies in Asia. We must wait for more ample and authentic information to account for the circumstances which may have induced the Turkish Commander-in-Chief to cross the Danube at Widdin, a maneuver which, at first view, must be regarded as a gross blunder. The *Kölnische Zeitung* announces that Prince Gorchakoff has seized upon all the treasure-chests (it is not said whether governmental or other) of Wallachia; and, according to another German paper, the same General has removed to the interior all deposits of corn on the Danube designed to be exported to foreign countries.

The news of advantages gained by Shamyl over Prince Woronzoff, are confirmed by the French papers of to-day. We read in the *Agram Gazette*, that an important letter has been received by Prince Danilo from Russia, and the Prince after having received it, gave orders to have all the corn which had been gathered in from the Montenegrin territory removed to Zabliak. Cartridges are being made and bullets cast. It is said that Russia has informed

the Vladika that a collision between the Turks and Russians was imminent, and that the war had a patriotic and sacred character; and that the Montenegrins ought to watch their frontiers narrowly, in order that neighboring provinces should not furnish aid to the Porte.

The *Wanderer* of Vienna, of the 28th ult., says that a letter from St. Petersburg states, that the Emperor Nicholas has ordered the formation of an army of reserve, the headquarters of which are to be in Volhynia. 5

On last Tuesday a riot occurred at Blackburn on occasion of the election of councilors at St. Peter's Ward, and the soldiery was forced to interfere.

With regard to the Wigan riots, Mr. Cowell, the leader of the laborers at Preston has declared in a public meeting that—"he very much regretted what had occurred in Wigan. He was sorry the people of Wigan had no more sense than to have recourse to a system of leveling. There was no sense in working people collecting together and destroying the property they had produced. The property itself never did them any injury—it was the men that held the property that were the tyrants. Let them respect property and life, and by proceeding in a peaceable, orderly and quiet manner, they might rely on the struggle terminating in their favor." Now I am far from defending the aimless acts of violence committed by the Wigan colliers, who have paid for them with the blood of seven men. But, on the other hand, I understand that there is a great difficulty, especially for the inferior elements of the working classes, to which the colliers undoubtedly belong, in proceeding "peaceably, orderly and quietly," when they are driven to acts of frenzy by utter destitution and by the cool insolence of their masters. The riots are provoked by the latter in order to enable themselves to appeal to the armed force and to put down, as they have done in Wigan, all meetings of the workmen by order of the magistrates. The riot which occurred in the town of Wigan, on Friday afternoon, was occasioned by the coal-kings of the district meeting in large numbers at Whiteside's Royal Hotel, in order to deliberate on the demands of the colliers; and by their coming to the resolution to repudiate all compromise with the men. The attack on the saw-mills at Haigh, near Wigan, which occurred on Monday, was directed **against** the foreign colliers, brought over from Wales by Mr. Peace, the Agent for the Earl of Balcarres, in order to replace the turnouts of the coal pits. 10 15 20 25 30

The colliers were certainly not right in preventing their fellow-laborers, by violence, from doing the work they had abandoned themselves. But when we see the masters pledging each other by heavy fines, with a view to enforce their *lock-out*, can we be astonished at the more rude and less hypocritical manner in which the men attempt to enforce their *turn-out*? Mr. Joseph Hume himself says, in a letter addressed to the operatives at Preston: 35 40

"I see on the list of advocates for arbitration to settle the disputes of

nations, instead of having recourse to war, many master-manufacturers who are at this moment in strife against their men."

The Manufacturers' Association at Preston have published a manifesto in order to justify the general lock-out. Their sincerity may be inferred from
 5 the fact, that the masters' secret league, the programme of which I communicated to your readers about two months ago, is not mentioned in a single word, thus giving the hue of a necessity, which the masters were unable to escape, to the deliberate result of conspiracy. They reproach the workingmen with asking for 10 per cent, neither more or less. They do not tell the public
 10 that, when the masters took off 10 per cent, in 1847, they promised to restore it as soon as trade had revived, and that the men have been informed again and again of the revival of trade by the glowing descriptions of Messrs. Bright, Cobden & Co., by the declamations of the whole middle-class press, and by the royal speech on the opening of Parliament. They do not tell us
 15 that bread is more than 40 per cent, dearer, coals 15 to 20 per cent., meat, candles, potatoes, and all other articles, largely entering in the consumption of the working-classes, about 20 per cent, dearer than before, and that the manufacturers vanquished their antagonists under the banner of: *Cheap bread and dear labor!* They reproach the men with continuing to enforce an
 20 equalization of wages in the same town for the mills of the same description. Why does not the whole doctrine of their masters, of Ricardo and Malthus, proceed from supposing such an equalization to exist throughout the whole country? The men, they say, are acting under the orders of a Committee. They are instigated by "strangers," "intruders," "traders in agitation." Just
 25 the same thing was contended on the part of the protectionists reproaching, at the time of the Anti Corn Law League, the same manufacturers with being directed by Messrs. Bright and Cobden, "two professional traders in agitation," and with blindly acting under the orders of the Revolutionary Committee at Manchester, levying taxes, commanding an army of lecturers and
 30 missionaries, inundating the country with small and large prints and forming a state in the state. The most curious fact is that while the masters accuse the men of "acting under the orders of a Committee," they call themselves the "United Manufacturers' Association," publishing their very manifesto through a *Committee* and plotting with the "strangers" of Manchester,
 35 Bolton, Bury, etc. The "strangers" of whom the masters' manifesto speaks, are merely the men of the neighboring industrial localities.

I am far, however, from supposing that the work-men will obtain the immediate end their strikes aim at. On the contrary, I have stated in a former letter, that at no distant period they will have to strike against a *reduction*
 40 instead of for an *advance* of wages. Already reductions of wages are growing numerous, and producing their correspondent quota of strikes. The true

Karl Marx

result of this whole movement will be as I stated on a previous occasion, that "the activity of the working classes will soon be carried over to the political field, when the new organization of trades, gained in the strikes, will prove of immense value to them." Ernest Jones, and the other Chartist leaders, are again in the field; and on the great meeting at Manchester, on last Sunday, the following resolution was passed: 5

"That after witnessing the united exertions of the master class against the trades of this country, by opposing a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, this meeting is of opinion that the present struggle of labor cannot be carried to a successful issue, except by subverting the monopolies of the master class, through the representation of the laboring classes in the Commons's House of Parliament by the enactment of the People's Charter, when alone they will be enabled to make laws in their own interest, to repeal those that are injurious, and to obtain the command of means of work, high wages, cheap food, steady trade, and independent self-employment." 10 15

Karl Marx.

Friedrich Engels
The Progress of the Turkish War

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3934, 25. November 1853

The Progress of the Turkish War.

There is no longer a doubt that military operations have begun on the Danube. Omer Pasha has crossed that river at Widdin, occupied Kalafat, a village on the opposite side, and marched his advanced guard upon Krajova, while
5 another attack of the Turks, from Rustchuk, has been made upon the opposite town of Giurgevo, and a third and fourth attack in the direction of Ibraila and Turna are spoken of. At the same time another engagement, in which the Russians were the attacking party, has taken place at Oltenitza. This last affair is reported by one of our dispatches to have lasted three hours
10 and to have ended in the repulse of the Russians; while another dispatch, received from Vienna on the evening of the 8th inst., states that the battle lasted twenty-eight hours, and that even the result was not ascertained. The former account seems more likely to be true.

The results of the other rencontres are also variously stated. That at
15 Giurgevo appears by all accounts to have been fruitless; of the effects of those near Ibraila and Turna, we are ignorant; as to the advance from Kalafat, some telegraphs report advantages gained by the Turks and a repulse of the Russians—others, the Turks to have been checked at once, and driven back upon Kalafat. The probabilities remain in favor of the first report.

20 What is certain, in the whole, is this: Omer Pasha, from reasons hereafter to be considered, has abandoned what we have before this declared to be the natural position of the Turks on this frontier, namely, the defensive. He has taken offensive steps, and profiting by the withdrawal of the Russians from Lesser Wallachia, he crossed the Danube at the extreme left of his own
25 position, at Widdin, on the 28th of October; with what force, we are utterly at a loss to make out. However, as since then we have only heard of simulated or partial attacks of the Turks on other points, and as it would be a gratuitous madness to pass a river like the Danube in the face of a powerful enemy, with a force of no consequence, we may take it for granted that Omer Pasha

has with him the main portion of his disposable active army. For, unless convinced by undoubtable intelligence, we will not believe that he has committed himself so far as some dispatches maintain, by crossing the Danube with 7,000 men and having no nearer supports or reserves than 8,000 men at Sofia, 150 miles off. Yet, as the main body of the Turkish army has but very lately been concentrated at Varna, Shumla and Rustchuk, we find it equally difficult to explain how Omer Pasha should all at once succeed in concentrating the gross of his army at Widdin, 250 miles, on an average, distant from the above places. 5

The most probable solution is, that on seeing the advance of the Russians toward Widdin, Omer Pasha has shifted the position of his army in a considerable degree to the left; leaving the defense of the direct road to Constantinople to the garrisons of Rustchuk, Silistria, Varna and Shumla, he has taken Rustchuk for the support of his right, Widdin for that of his left wing, Nicopolis for the rallying point of his center. In this position, extending from Rustchuk to Widdin, some 200 miles, he has rallied to his left wing whatever troops he could collect with him, and passed the Danube, thus apparently turning the right wing of the Russians. He expected to fall upon their advance corps and to force them to retreat behind the river Shill, the passage of which he might either force in front, or by sending near Rahova another corps across the Danube, which would thus turn the Shill. The river Aluta, the second tributary of the Danube which runs across the road from Widdin to Bucharest, might be forced in the same way, by throwing another portion of the Turkish center across the Danube at Nicopolis and Turna, below the junction of this river with the Aiuta. Finally, simulated attacks lower down, at Giurgevo and Ibraila, might contribute to lead the Russians into error as to the real points at which the Turks were arriving. 10 15 20 25

There can be hardly a doubt that, leaving political motives for a moment out of the question, such must have been the plans of Omer Pasha. *The London Times* speaks of an *actual passage* of the Turks at Giurgevo; but this is an evident falsehood. There is not an ensign in any disciplined army who would commit such a blunder as to cross the greatest river in Europe—where it is broadest and most difficult, too—with two corps, at two different points, 250 miles asunder, in the presence of a respectable and concentrated enemy. 30 35

What, then, does Omer Pasha's maneuver amount to? It is an attempt to turn the flank of the enemy, and to roll up by simultaneous flank and front attacks, his whole line of battle. Such a maneuver is perfectly justified when you can bring, unawares, your own main strength upon the enemy's flank; when your front is safe from attack; when your retreat, in case of a check, is secured; and when, by rolling up, from one flank to the other, the enemy's 40

position, you cut off his communications with his base of operations. Now, in the present instance, the latter conviction is not fulfilled. On the contrary, while Omer Pasha's retreat may be menaced by the right wing of his corps in Wallachia being outflanked, and the road to Kalaf at thus cut off, (in which
5 case his only retreat would be into Austria,) the attack from Kalaf at toward Bucharest does not at all interfere with the Russian line of retreat. It will be recollected that, upon that ground, we stated some time ago, the only useful line of attack for the Turks, to be that from the Danube toward the Sereth, or the narrow strip of land which divides Bessarabia from the
10 Austrian frontier. Instead of the movement which would at once have menaced, if not interrupted the Russian line of communications, the Turks attack at the opposite end where, even in case of victory, no decisive success is to be expected. As to the Turkish front being safe from attack, that may be the case, in so far as the main operations taking place between Widdin
15 and Krajova or Slatina, the Russians are not likely to cross the Danube lower down—unless they were bolder in their strategy than we know them to be. But at the same time, the Turkish front from Widdin to Rustchuk is equally impeded by the large river which separates it from the enemy, and there must be comparative inaction in that quarter.

20 The main condition, however, is not fulfilled in this instance.

We have a splendid historical example of this sort of maneuver in the battle of Jena. Napoleon succeeded in bringing the mass of his forces unawares upon the left flank of the Prussians, and in eight hours rolled them up so completely, that the Prussian army was cut off from its retreat, and annihilat-
25 ed, and has never been heard of since as an army. But that took place on a ground twenty miles square and within twenty hours. Here we have a territory two hundred miles by fifty, with no roads, and the duration of every movement corresponding thereto. The surprise, the vigor and impetuosity of attack, to which Napoleon at Jena owed his complete success, must here,
30 after a few efforts, literally stick fast in the mud. This will be more apparent if we look at the map. The Turks, from Kalaf at, have to march upon Krajova. Here they meet with the first of those rivers, which descending from the Transylvanian Alps to the Danube, traverse Wallachia from north to south, and form as many lines of defense to be forced by an attacking army. The
35 country is exactly similar in this respect to Lombardy, and the two rivers here in question, the Shill and Aluta, may be compared to the Mincio and Adige, whose military importance has so often been conspicuous.

Supposing the Turks force the passage of the Shill, which they may perhaps do, they will meet the first serious resistance on the Aluta, near Slatina.
40 The Aluta is a much more formidable barrier by its width and depth; besides, with a little alacrity, the Russians may there concentrate an army capable

not only of repelling all Turkish attacks, but of following up the victory at once. Indeed, a Russian victory at Krajova, unless very strongly defined, would not be of much importance, as in three forced marches the Turks could reach Kalaf at and the Danube, and thus escape pursuit. But a Turkish defeat at Slatina, besides being more decisive from the greater mass of Russian troops collected there, would give the Russians five or six days of pursuit; and everybody knows that the fruits of a victory are not collected on the field of battle, but during the pursuit, which may bring about a total disorganization of the discomfited army. It is, then, not likely that Omer Pasha, if Gorchakoff wishes to oppose him there, will ever be able to cross the Aluta; for taking every chance in favor of the Turks, Omer Pasha cannot bring more than 25,000 men to the banks of that river, while Gorchakoff may easily collect 35,000 in good time. As to the flank attacks of the Turks from the southern shore of the Danube, they are tolerably harmless, if the attacking force does not dispose of a prodigious quantity of pontoons and other materials very rarely met with among the Turks. But supposing that even the Aluta were forced, and even the Ardsish, another important river further east, who will imagine that Omer Pasha can succeed in forcing the Russian retrenchments at Bucharest, and in putting to flight, in a pitched battle, an army which must certainly out-number by about one third the troops he could bring against it?

If the war, then, is conducted upon anything like military principles on the Russian side, Omer Pasha's defeat appears certain; but if it is carried on not according to military but to *diplomatic* principles, the result may be different.

The voluntary retreat of the Russians from the important military position of Kalaf at, after so many troops had been sent there to menace Servia; the unresisted passage of the Danube by Omer Pasha; his comparatively unmolested and very slow movements in Lesser Wallachia, (the country west of the Aluta;) the insignificance, as far as we can judge, of the Turkish attacks on all other points; lastly, the strategical errors implied in the advance from Widdin, and which nobody can for a moment suppose Omer Pasha to have overlooked—all these facts seem to give some ground for a conclusion which has been adopted by some competent judges, but which appears rather fanciful. It is, that there is a sort of tacit understanding between the two opposing generals, by which Lesser Wallachia is to be ceded by the Russians to the Turks. The Aluta, say those who entertain this opinion, forms a very comfortable natural barrier, across which the two armies may look at each other the whole dreary winter long, while the diplomatists again busy themselves to find out a solution. The Russians, by receding as far, would not only show the generosity and peaceable feelings, but they would at the same

time get a sort of right upon the usurped territory, as a *joint occupation* of the Principalities by Russians and Turks is a thing exceedingly in harmony with existing treaties. They would, by this apparent generosity in Europe, escape real dangers in Asia, where they appear to be worse off than ever,
 5 and above all, they would at any moment be strong enough to drive the Turks out of the strip of territory allowed to them on the left bank of the Danube. Curious but by no means satisfactory evidence in favor of this theory may be found in the fact that it is openly propounded by Vienna journals enjoying the confidence of the Court. A few days will show whether this view of the
 10 question is correct, or whether actual war, in good earnest is to be carried on. We shall be disappointed if the latter does not prove to be the case.

In Asia we begin to find out that both parties are a good deal weaker than was supposed. According to the *Journal de Constantinople*, the Turks had, on the 9th October, in Erzerum 10,000 men, as a reserve; in Batum, 4,000
 15 regulars and 20,000 irregulars, intended, evidently, for an active army; in Bayazid, on the Persian frontier, 3,000 men; in Kars and Ardahan, the two most important points on the Russian frontier, (next to Batum) advanced guards of, together, 16,000 men. These were to be reënforced in a few days by 10 or 12,000 fresh troops from Syria. This certainly is a very considerable
 20 reduction from what other reports led us to suppose; they are 65,000 instead of 100,000! But on the other hand, if the news by way of Constantinople is to be trusted, the main pass of the Caucasus, connecting Tiflis and Georgia with Russia is in the hands of the mountaineers; Shamil has driven the Russians back to within nine miles of Tiflis; and Gen. Woronzoff, com-
 25 mander in Georgia, has declared that in case of a Turkish war he could not hold that province unless reënforced by 50,000 men. How far these accounts may be correct we cannot judge; but the reënforcements sent in great haste by sea to Jerkkum Kalé, Redut Kalé and other points on the Transcaucasian coast prove that the star of Russia does not shine very brilliantly in that
 30 quarter. As to the strength of these reënforcements, reports differ; it was first said 24,000 men had been sent, but where were the Russians to get ships for such an army? It now turns out that the 13th Division, the first of the 5th corps (General Lüders) has been sent thither; that would be some 14,000 men, which is more than likely. As to the story of the Cossacks of
 35 the Black Sea having rounded by land, the western point of the Caucasus, and succeeded in passing undisturbed along the rocky and narrow shore toward Redut Kalé, to the strength of 24,000 men, (this seems to be a favorite number with the Russians) the longer we look at it, the more incredible it seems. The Tchornomorski Cossacks have plenty to do to guard the line of
 40 the Kuban and the Terek, and as to cavalry passing, single-handed and unattacked, in such force, a defile of one hundred and fifty miles, through

a hostile population, where a few men might stop them or cut their column in two—these things are only heard of in Russia, where up to the present day it is affirmed that Suwaroff beat Masséna at Zurich.

Here, then, is the best ground for the Turks to act. Rapid, concentrated attacks of the regulars on one main road to Tiflis—along shore, if the Turks can hold out at sea; by Kars or Ardahan, in the interior, if they cannot—accompanied by an indefatigable, energetic, sudden warfare, according to their own fashion, by the irregulars, would soon put Woronzoff in an inextricable position, open a communication with Shaml, and ensure a general insurrection of the whole Caucasus. But here more than on the Danube boldness, rapidity, and *ensemble* of action is required. It remains to be seen whether these qualities belong to the Turkish commanders in that region.

Friedrich Engels
The Russian Defeats

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3936, 28. November 1853

The Russian Defeats.

We have carefully examined the European journals brought by the Canada in order to gather all possible light as to the fighting which has taken place between the Turks and the Russians in Wallachia, and are able to add some
5 important facts to those reported by the Washington, which we commented upon on Friday last. We knew then that several engagements had taken place, and with regard to their details we know little more now. Our reports are still incoherent, contradictory and scanty, and so will probably remain till we receive the official dispatches of the Turkish Generals. So much is,
10 however, clear, namely, that the Turks have been maneuvered with a degree of skill and have fought with a steady enthusiasm sufficient to justify the laudations of their warmest admirers,—laudations that by the mass of cool and impartial men have been regarded as exaggerated. The result is a general surprise. Of Omer Pasha's talents as a commander, all persons were prepared
15 to receive very brilliant proofs, but the merit of his army has not been recognized by western journalists or statesmen at its true value. It is true its ranks are filled by Turks, but they are a very different sort of soldiers from those Diebitch drove before him in 1829. They have beaten the Russians with heavy odds and under unfavorable circumstances. We trust this may
20 prove but the augury and beginning of far more conclusive defeats.

We now learn for the first time that the Council of War at Constantinople had concentrated at Sofia an army of some 25,000 men in order to operate in Servia in case of need. Of this force and its destination, strange to say, no previous information seems to have reached Western Europe, but it is
25 clear that Omer Pasha has made the best use of it. Its disposition at Sofia was a blunder since if the Servians should not revolt and make common cause with the Russians—which under the reigning prince they are not likely to do,—there is no occasion for an army in that quarter; while in case of arevolt the Turks must either march into the country and suppress it, for which, with

the Russians in Wallachia, 25,000 men would not suffice, or else they must occupy the passes of the frontier and confine the Servians at home, for which a quarter of that force would be ample. Omer Pasha evidently viewed the matter in this light, for he has marched the corps straight to Widdin, and added it to the force he had there previously. This reenforcement has, no doubt, essentially contributed to the victory he has now gained over the right wing of the Russians under General Dannenberg, a victory of which we have no particulars beyond the number of Russian officers killed and captured; but which must have been quite complete, and will prove morally even more beneficial to the Turks than it was materially.

We now learn, also, that the Turkish force which crossed from Turtukai (a point between Rustshuk and Silistria), to Oltenitza, was led by Ismael Pasha or General Guyon (he has not renounced Christianity though he holds a high rank in the Sultan's army,) whose gallantry in the Hungarian war gave him a high reputation as a bold, energetic and rapid executive officer. Without remarkable strategic talent, there are few men who will carry out orders with such effect, as he has proved on the present occasion, where he repelled his assailant with the bayonet. The defeat of Gen. Pawloff at Oltenitza, must substantially open the country behind the Aluta, and clear the way to Bucharest, since it is proved that Prince Gorchakoff has not advanced to Slatina, as was reported, but remains at the Capital of the Principahties, wisely preferring not to divide his forces, which is again an indication that he does not think himself entirely secure. No doubt a decisive battle has been fought long ere this in the vicinity of that place. If Gorchakoff is not a humbug, and if he can concentrate there from seventy to eighty thousand men—a number which all reasonable deductions from the official force of the Russians still leave to him—the advantage is decidedly on his side. But seeing how false and exaggerated are the figures reported from the Russian camp; seeing how much more powerful and effective is Omer Pasha's army than has been supposed, the conditions of the campaign become more equal than has been imagined, and the defeat of Gorchakoff comes within the probabilities of the case. Certainly, if the Turkish Generalissimo can concentrate for the decisive struggle fifty or sixty thousand troops already flushed with victory—and we now see nothing to prevent it—his chance of success is decidedly favorable. In saying this we desire to speak with moderation, for there is no use in making the Turks seem better off than they are because our sympathies are with them.

It is impossible to study the geographical structure of Wallachia, especially in a military point of view without being reminded of Lombardy. In the one the Danube and in the other the Po and its confluents form the southern and western boundaries. The Turks have also adopted a similar plan of action

The Russian Defeats

with that pursued by the Piedmontese in the campaign of 1849, ending in the disastrous battle of Novara. If the Turks prove victorious, the greater will be their claim on our admiration, and the more palpable the bullying incapacity of the Muscovite. At all events Gorchakoff is no Radetzky and Omer Pasha no Ramorino.



Karl Marx
The Labor Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3936, 28. November 1853

The Labor Question.

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Friday, Nov. 11, 1853.

Golden opportunities, and the use made of them, is the title of one of the most tragi-comical effusions of the grave and profound *Economist*. The "golden opportunities" were, of course, afforded by Free Trade, and the "use" or rather "abuse" made of them refers to the working classes. 5

"The working classes, for the first time, had their future in their own hands ! The population of the United Kingdom began actually to *diminish*, the emigration carrying off more than its natural increase. How have the workingmen used their opportunity? What have they done? Just what they used to do formerly, on every recurrence of temporary sunshine, married and multiplied as fast as possible. At this rate of increase it will not be long before emigration is effectually counterbalanced, and the golden opportunity thrown away." The golden opportunity of *not* marrying and *not* multiplying, except at the orthodox rate allowed by Malthus and his disciples! Golden morality this! But, till now, according to *The Economist* itself, population has diminished, and has not yet counterbalanced emigration. Over-population, then, will not account for the disasters of the times. 10 15

"The next use the laboring classes should have made of their rare occasion ought to have been to accumulate savings and become capitalists. In scarcely one instance do they seem to have risen, or begun to rise, into the rank of capitalists. They have thrown away their opportunity." The opportunity of becoming capitalists ! At the same time *The Economist* tells the workingmen that, after they had at last obtained ten per cent, on their former earnings, they were able to pocket 16s. 6d. a week instead of 15s. Now, the mean wages are too highly calculated at 15s. per week. But never mind. How to become 20 25

a capitalist out of 15 shillings a week! That is a problem worthy of study. The workingmen had the false idea that in order to ameliorate their situation they must try to ameliorate their incomes. "They have struck," says *The Economist*, "for more than would have done them any service." With
5 15 shillings a week they had the very opportunity of becoming *capitalists*, but with 16s. 6d. this opportunity would be gone. On the one hand workingmen must keep hands scarce and capital abundant, in order to be able to force on the capitalists a rise of wages. But if capital turns out to be abundant, and labor to be scarce, they must by no means avail themselves of that power
10 for the acquisition of which they were to stop marrying and multiplying. "They have lived more luxuriously." Under the corn laws, we are told by the same *Economist*, they were but half fed, half clothed, and more or less starved. If they were then to live at all, how could they contrive to live less luxuriously than before? The tables of importation were again and again
15 unfolded by *The Economist*, to prove the growing prosperity of the people and the soundness of the business done. What was thus proclaimed as a test of the unspeakable blessings of free-trade, is now denounced as a proof of the foolish extravagance of the working classes. We remain, however, at a loss to understand how importation can go on increasing with a decreasing
20 population and a declining consumption; how exportation can continue to rise with diminishing importation, and how industry and commerce can expand themselves with imports and exports contracted.

"The third use made of the golden opportunity should have been to procure the best possible education for themselves and their children, so as to fit
25 themselves for the improvement in their circumstances, and to learn how to turn it to the best account. Unhappily, we are obliged to state that schools have seldom been so ill attended, or school fees so ill paid." Is there anything marvelous in this fact? Brisk trade was synonymous with enlarged factories, with increased application of machinery, with more adult laborers being
30 replaced by women and children, with prolonged hours of work. The more the mill was attended by the mother and the child, the less could the school be frequented. And, after all, of what sort of education would you have given the opportunity to the parents and their children? The opportunity of learning how to keep population at the pace described by Malthus, says *The*
35 *Economist*. Education, says Mr. Cobden, would show the men that filthy, badly ventilated, overstocked lodgings, are not the best means of conserving health and vigor. As well might you save a man from starving by telling him that the laws of Nature demand a perpetual supply of food for the human body. Education, says *The Daily News*, would have informed our working-
40 classes how to extract nutritive substance out of dry bones—how to make tea cakes of starch, and how to boil soup with devil's dust.

If we sum up then, the golden opportunities which have thus been thrown away by the working classes, they consist of the golden opportunity of *not* marrying, of the opportunity of living *less* luxuriously, of not asking for higher wages, of becoming capitalists at 15 shillings a week, and of learning how to keep the body together with coarser food, and how to degrade the soul with the pestiferous doctrines of Malthus. 5

On Friday last Ernest Jones visited the town of Preston to address the factory-hands locked out of the mills, on the labor question. By the appointed time at least 15,000 persons (*The Preston Pilot* estimates the number at 12,000) had assembled on the ground, and Mr. Jones, on proceeding to the spot, was received with an enthusiastic welcome. I give some extracts from his speech: 10

"Why have these struggles been? Why are they now? Why will they return? Because the fountains of your life are sealed by the hand of capital, that quaffs its golden goblet to the lees and gives the dregs to you. Why are you locked out of life when you are locked out of the factory? Because you have no other factory to go to—no other means of working for your bread. What gives the capitalist this tremendous power? That he holds all the means of employment... The means of work is, therefore, the hinge on which the future of the people turns ... It is a mass-movement of all trades, a national movement of the working-classes, that can alone achieve a triumphant result... Sectionalize and localize your struggle and you may fail—nationalize it and you are sure to win." 15 20

Mr. George Cowell in very complimentary terms moved, and Mr. John Matthews seconded, a vote of thanks to Ernest Jones for his visit to Preston and the services he was rendering to the cause of labor. 25

Great exertions had been made on the part of the manufacturers to prevent Ernest Jones visiting the town; no hall could be had for the purpose, and bills were accordingly printed in Manchester convening an open-air meeting. The report had been industriously circulated by some self-interested parties, that Mr. Jones was going to oppose the strike, and sow division among the men, and letters had been sent that it would not be personally safe for him to visit Preston. 30

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Prosperity—The Labor Question

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3938, 30. November 1853

Prosperity—The Labor Question.

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1853.

"The Trade Returns and the Money Market" is the title under which *The*
5 *Economist* publishes an article intended to prove the general prosperity and
the fair prospects of trade, although we are told in the same number that
"provisions are high and are still rising in price," that "a quarter of wheat
will sell at 80 shillings," and that "the state of the Cotton trade is not such
as to make the mill-owners at all anxious to recommence work." "There is
10 much of instruction," says *The Economist*, speaking of the tables of im-
portations, "conveyed in these long columns of figures—so much that goes
to confirm great principles which have been the subject of strong political
contest—so much that explains the recent events, with regard to the money
market, and casts light upon the future—so much that is highly instructive
15 to the statesman, the financier, the banker, and the trader, in enabling them
to take an accurate view of the state of things at present, and to make a just
estimate of their position hereafter—that we feel we cannot perform a better
service than to call attention to some of the main facts developed by these
returns, and trace their connection with other most important features of the
20 time."

Let us then sit down at the feet of this prophet and hearken to his very
circumlocutory oracles. This time the tables of importation are referred to
in order to prove, not the lavish expenditure of the working classes, but the
unspeakable blessings these very classes are reaping from free trade. These
25 tables are as follows:

Table I.
Consumed from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10,

| | | 1852. | 1853. | |
|---------|-------|------------|------------|---|
| Cocoa | lb | 2,668,822 | 3,162,233 | |
| Coffee | lb | 25,123,946 | 28,607,613 | 5 |
| Tea | lb | 42,746,193 | 45,496,957 | |
| Sugar | cwt. | 5,358,967 | 5,683,228 | |
| Tobacco | lb | 21,312,459 | 22,296,398 | |
| Wine | gals. | 4,986,242 | 5,569,560 | |

One glance over this table shows us the fallacy of *The Economist*. All we know of the enumerated commodities is, not that they have been *consumed*, as is stated, but that they have been *entered for* consumption, which is quite a different thing. There is no shop-keeper so ignorant as not to be able to distinguish between the stock of commodities that may have entered his premises, and the stock that has been really sold and consumed by the public.

"This list may be regarded as including the chief articles of luxury of the operative classes," and down *The Economist* puts it to the account of these classes. Now, one of these articles, viz., coffee, enters but sparingly into the consumption of the English operative, and wine does not enter it at all. Or does *The Economist* think the operative classes must be better off because their masters are consuming more wine and coffee in 1853 than in 1852? As to tea, it is generally known that, consequent upon the Chinese revolution and the commercial disturbances connected with it, a speculative demand has sprung up based on the apprehensions for the future, but not on the wants of the present. As to sugar, the whole difference between October, 1852 and 1853, amounts but to 324,261 cwt; and I don't pretend to the omniscience of *The Economist*, which knows, of course, that not one cwt. out of these 324,261 has entered the stocks of the shop-keeper or the sweetmeats of the upper classes, but that all of them must have inevitably found their way to the tea of the operative. Bread being dear, he will have fed his children upon sugar, as Marie Antoinette, during the famine of 1788, told the French people to live upon macaroons. As to the rise in the import of tobacco, the demand for this article on the part of the operatives regularly increases in the same proportion as they are thrown out of work, and their regular course of living is interrupted.

Above all, we must not forget that the amount of commodities imported in October, 1853, was determined not by the actual demand of that month, but by a conjectural demand calculated on an altogether different state of the home market. So much for the first table and its "connection with other most important features of the times."

Table II.
Imported from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10.

| | | 1852. | 1853. |
|----|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| 5 | Bacon | cwt. 62,506 | 173,729 |
| | Beef salted | cwt. 101,531 | 160,371 |
| | Pork salted | cwt. 77,788 | 130,142 |
| | Hams salted | cwt. 6,766 | 14,123 |
| | Lard | cwt. 14,511 | 102,612 |
| | Total | 263,102 | 580,977 |
| 10 | Rice | cwt. 633,814 | 1,027,910 |
| | Potatoes | cwt. 238,739 | 820,524 |
| | Grain and Flour | qrs. 5,583,082 | 8,179,956 |
| | Cheese | cwt. 218,846 | 294,053 |
| | Butter | cwt. 205,229 | 296,342 |
| 15 | Eggs | No. 89,433,728 | 103,074,129 |

To *The Economist* the glorious discovery was certainly reserved that, in years of dearth and imminent famine, the relative excess of imports above those of common years, of provisions, rather proves the sudden development of consumption than the unusual falling off of production. The sudden rise
 20 in the price of an article is no doubt a premium on its importation. But has any one ever contended that the dearer an article the more eagerly it will be consumed? We come now to a third class of importations, constituting the *raw materials* of manufactures:

Table III.
Imported from Jan. 5 to Oct. 10.

| | | 1852. | 1853. |
|----|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| | Flax | cwt. 971,738 | 1,245,384 |
| | Hemp | cwt. 798,057 | 788,911 |
| | Silk, Raw | lbs. 3,797,757 | 4,355,865 |
| 30 | Silk, Thrown | lbs. 267,884 | 577,884 |
| | Cotton | cwt. 6,486,873 | 7,091,999 |
| | Wool | lbs. 63,390,956 | 83,863,475 |

As the production of 1853 has largely surpassed that of 1852, more raw materials were wanted, imported, and worked up. *The Economist*, however,
 35 does not pretend that the surplus of manufactures produced in 1853 has entered the home consumption. He puts it to the account of *exports*. "The most important fact is the enormous increase in our exports. The increase upon the single months ending the 10th October is no less than £1,446,708, completing an aggregate increase of £12,596,291; the amount being
 40 £66,987,729 in the present year, against £54,391,438 in the corresponding year

of 1852 ... Taking only our exports of British produce, the increase is no less than 23 per cent, in the year."

But how does it stand with these additional £12,596,291. "A large portion of these exports are only on the way to their ultimate markets," where they will arrive just at the proper moment to completely undo them. "A considerable part of the increase is to Australia," which is glutted; "to the United States," which are overdone; "to India," which is depressed; "to South America," which is altogether unable to absorb the over-imports repelled from the other markets. 5

"The enormous increase of articles imported and consumed, is already paid by this country, or the bills drawn for them are ninning and will be paid in a very short period ... *When* shall we be paid for the exports? In six months, nine months, twelve months, and for some in eighteen months or two years' time." It "is but a *question* of time," says *The Economist*. What an error! 10 15

If you throw this enormous surplus of manufactures upon markets already inundated by your exports, the time you wait for, may *never* arrive. What appears in your tables as an enormous list of imaginary wealth, may turn out an enormous list of real losses, a list of bankruptcies on a world-wide scale. What then do table No. III. and the boasted figures of exports prove? What all of us were long since aware of, that the industrial production of Great Britain has enormously increased in 1853, that it has overshoot the mark, and that its movement of expansion is becoming accelerated at the very moment when markets are contracting. 20

The Economist arrives, of course, at an opposite result. "The pressure on the Money Market, and the rise in the rate of interest," he tells us, "are but the transitory consequence of the large imports being immediately paid, while the enormous surplus of exports is advanced on credit." In his eyes, then, the tightness of the Money Market is but the result of the additional amount of exports. But we may as justly say that in these latter months the increase of exports has been but the necessary result of the pressure on the Money Market. That pressure was attended by an influx of bullion and an adverse exchange—but is an adverse exchange not a premium on bills drawn on foreign countries, or in other words, a premium on exportation? It is precisely by virtue of this law that England, in times of pressure on her own Money Market, deranges all the other markets of the world, and periodically destroys the industry of foreign countries, by bombarding them with British manufactures at reduced prices. 25 30 35

The Economist has now found out the "two points" in which the working-men are decidedly wrong, decidedly blameable and foolish. "In the first place they are at issue, in most cases, on the merest fraction of a coin." Why is 40

this? Let *The Economist* answer himself: "The dispute has been changed from being a question of contract to being a struggle for power." "Secpndly, the operatives have not managed their own business, but have submitted to the dictation of irresponsible, if not self-styled leaders ... They have acted
 5 in combination, and through a body of insolent clubs ... We do not fear the political opinions of the working classes themselves; but we do fear and deprecate those of the men whom they allow to prey upon them and speak for them."

To the class-organization of their masters the operatives have responded
 10 by a class-organization of their own; and *The Economist* tells them that he will discontinue "to fear" them, if they dismiss their generals and then-officers and resolve to fight single-handed. Thus the mouth-pieces of the allied despots of the north assured the world again and again, during the period of the first struggles of the French revolution, that they did "not fear"
 15 the French people itself, but only the political opinions and the political actions of the savage *Comité du Salut Public*, the insolent clubs, and the troublesome generals.

In my last letter I told *The Economist* that it was not to be wondered at if the working classes had not used the period of prosperity to educate their
 20 children and themselves. I am now enabled to forward you the following statement, the names and particulars of which have been given me, and are about to be sent to Parliament: In the last week of September, 1852, in the township of———four miles from———, at a bleaching and finishing establishment called———, belonging to———, Esq., the under-
 25 mentioned parties attended their work *sixty hours* consecutively, with the exception of *three hours for rest!*

| | | | |
|--------|------|--------|------|
| Girls. | Age. | Girls. | Age. |
| M. S. | 22 | H. O. | 15 |
| A. B. | 20 | M. L. | 13 |
| M. B. | 20 | B. B. | 13 |
| A. H. | 18 | M. O. | 13 |
| C. N. | 18 | A. T. | 12 |
| B. S. | 16 | C O. | 12 |
| T. T. | 16 | S. B. | 10! |
| A. T. | 15 | Ann B. | 9! |
| M. G. | 15 | | |
| Boys. | | Boys. | |
| W. G. | 19 | J. K. | 11 |

Boys of nine and ten working 60 hours consecutively, with the exception of
 40 three hours' rest! Let the masters say nothing about neglecting education now. One of the above, Ann B., a little girl only nine years of age, fell on

the floor asleep with exhaustion, during the 60 hours; she was *roused and cried, but was forced to resume work!*

The factory operatives seem resolved to take the education movement out of the hands of the Manchester humbugs. At a meeting held in the Orchard by the unemployed operatives at Preston, as we hear: 5

"Mrs. Margaret Fletcher addressed the assembly on the impropriety of married females working in factories and neglecting their children and household duties. Every man was entitled to a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, by which she meant, that he ought to have such remuneration for his labor as would afford him the means of maintaining himself and family in 10 comfort; of keeping his wife at home to attend to domestic duties, and of educating his children. (Cheers.) The speaker concluded by moving the annexed resolution:

Resolved, That the married portion of the females in this town do not intend to go to work again until their husbands are fairly and fully re- 15 numerated for their labor.

Mrs. Ann Fletcher (sister of the last speaker) seconded the resolution and it was carried unanimously.

The Chairman announced that when the 10 per cent, question was settled, there would be such an agitation raised respecting the employment of married 20 women in factories as the mill owners of the country little expected."

Ernest Jones, in his tour through the manufacturing districts, is agitating for a "Parliament of Labor." He proposes that "a delegation from all trades shall assemble in the center of action, in Lancashire, in Manchester, and remain sitting until the victory is obtained. This would be an expression of 25 opinion so authoritative and comprehensive as would fill the world with its voice, and divide with St. Stephen's the columns of the press ... At a crisis like this the ear of the world would hang more on the words of the humblest of those delegates than on those of the coroneted senators of the loftiest House." The organ of Lord Palmerston is of a quite different opinion: 30' "Among ourselves," exclaims *The Morning Post*, "the boasted *progress* has been effectually checked, and since the wretched failure of the 10th of April no further attempt has been made to convert laborers into legislators, or tailors into tribunes of the people."

Karl Marx. 35

Friedrich Engels
Progress of the Turkish War
About November 17, 1853

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3944, 7. Dezember 1853

Progress of the Turkish War.

The news from the seat of war, brought by the steamer Humboldt, confirms the report previously received by the Europa that the Turks, after having again and again made good their position at Oltenitza, against heavy odds, 5 and with hard fighting, finally retired across the river about the 14th ult. and took up their position in their former entrenchments at Turtukai. We presume that when we receive our letters and journals this will be explained, but at present we do not altogether understand the reason for the movement. It is stated in the dispatch that it was accomplished without molestation, which 10 precludes the supposition that it was the result of any decided advantage gained by Prince Gorchakoff, unless indeed, we are to believe that the Russian commander had succeeded in mustering for his second attack on that place twice the force that he had brought against it on the first. But the truth is, that he had no such corps of 45,000 men for such a purpose, as will 15 appear on a careful review of all the facts in our possession. It is also stated that the Turks return to Turtukai, in order not to expose themselves to the danger of a surprize at Oltenitza in winter, when retreat across the river would be difficult; but this statement contradicts the fact that they are acting on the offensive without a check hitherto and with undeniable preponderance 20 of forces. Besides, their left wing is not only maintained at Widdin, on the Wallachian side of the Danube, but is even strengthened, which indicates anything but a general retrograde movement on their part. And, taking the hypothesis of a projected movement, with a large force, across the river at Ibraila or Galatz, which is probably true, we are at a loss to understand why 25 Omer Pasha should withdraw his troops from the strong position at Oltenitza simply because he was about, with another body of men, to move decisively against the Russian left flank. But the perplexities of the case will be better understood by referring to the events of the campaign since its beginning.

It is certain first of all that the Turks were allowed to cross the river without

serious opposition, both at Widdin and Turtukai. There was nothing surprising in this, as military experience has established the impossibility of preventing an active enemy from crossing a river, however large; and also, that it is always most advantageous to attack him after he has got part of his troops across—thus falling upon them with a superior force, and while they have only one line of retreat and that encumbered. But that the Turks should establish themselves upon the left bank of the Danube; that in every action fought they should come off victorious; that they should keep possession of Oltenitza, not more than forty miles from Bucharest, for ten days without the Russians being able to dislodge them from that important position; and that they should finally retire from it unmolested and of their own accord—all this shows that the proportionate strength of the Turkish and Russian forces opposed to each other in that quarter has been greatly mistaken.

We know pretty accurately what forces the Turks had to dispose of; but as to the forces of the Russians, we have always been obliged to grope in the dark. Two Army-Corps, it was stated, had crossed the Prath, and part of a third followed them shortly afterward. Supposing this to be correct, the Russians could not have less than 150,000 men in the Principalities. Now, however, when events have already shown that there is no such Russian force in Wallachia—now at last we receive an authentic account, by way of Vienna, of what they really have there. Their forces consist of:

1. The Fourth Army-Corps, under Gen. Dannenberg, consisting of the following 3 Divisions of infantry:

| | | |
|--|------------|----|
| <i>A</i> The 10th Division, (Gen. Soimonoff) | 16,000 men | |
| <i>B</i> The 11th Division, (Gen. Pawlof f) | 16,000 men | 25 |
| <i>C</i> The 12th Division, (Gen. Liprandi) | 16,000 men | |
| <i>Z</i> >One battalion of riflemen | 1,000 men | |

2. One brigade of the '14th Division, belonging to the Fifth Army-Corps, and commanded by Gen. Engelhardt

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------|----|
| Engelhardt | <u>8,000 men</u> | 30 |
| Total, Infantry | 57,000 men | |

3. Two Divisions of light horse, commanded by Gen. Nirod and Gen. Fischbach, together 8,000 men, and 10 regiments of Cossacks, 6,000 men, making in all

| | | |
|--|------------|----|
| | 14,000 men | 35 |
|--|------------|----|

4. One Division of Artillery, of about one battery (12 guns) for every Infantry regiment, or altogether 170 to 180 guns.

It also appears, that the Fifth Army-Corps, that of Gen. Lüders, is not even concentrated at Odessa, but has part of its troops at Sevastopol, and part

in the Caucasus; that the third Army-Corps under Gen. Osten-Sacken, is still in Volhynia, or at least has but just crossed the Pruth, and cannot be brought down to the theater of war in less than three or four weeks; and that the Russian cavalry of reserve—mostly heavy horse—are behind the Dnieper, and
5 will require five or six weeks to march to the place where they are wanted. This information is no doubt correct; and if it had been before us six weeks ago we should have said that Omer Pasha ought to pass the Danube, no matter where or how, but the sooner the better.

There is, in fact, nothing which can rationally explain the foolhardiness
10 of the Russians. To march with something like 80,000 men into a *cul-de-sac* like Wallachia, to stop there a couple of months, to have, as the Russians themselves have confessed, about 15,000 men sick in hospital, and to trust to good luck, without getting further reënforcements, is a thing that has never been done, and that nobody had any right to suspect in people like the
15 Russians, who are generally so very cautious, and always take care to be on the safe side. Why, this whole available army in Wallachia, after deducting for detachments, would only come to some 46,000 men, who might, besides, be wanted at different points!

But such is the fact, and we can only explain it by an absolute confidence
20 on the part of the Russians in the diplomatic intrigues of their friends in the British Government; by an unwarranted contempt for their opponents, and by the difficulties which the Russians must find in concentrating large bodies of troops and large masses of stores at a point so remote from the center of their Empire.

The Turks, on the other hand, are 25,000 strong at Kalafat, in Lesser Wallachia, and are strengthening that force. As to the ulterior movements of this corps we know little. They seem not to have advanced even as far as Krajova, and indeed, to have done nothing more than occupy the neighboring villages. The reason for this is also doubtful, and we can only suppose
30 that Omer Pasha is in some way controlled in his movements by the Council at Constantinople, which originally stationed those 25,000 men at Sophia. At any rate, as far as it is possible to judge at this distance, this corps is quite useless where it is, and its presence there is a mistake, since even for hypothetical and improbable use against the Servians, it is as we have shown on
35 a former occasion, either too large or too small. It would apparently have been far better to move it lower down the Danube; for it crossed on Oct. 28, and up to Nov. 15 it had not advanced much, or in any way operated actively. These fifteen days might have been better employed in moving it 150 miles lower down the Danube, as far as Sistova, where it would have been in
40 immediate connection with the left wing of the Turkish grand army, and a couple of marches more would have brought it down upon Rustchuk, the

headquarters of the Turkish left. That these 25,000 men united with the main body would have been worth twice their number at Kalaf at nobody can doubt; and events support this opinion, for, as before stated, we have not yet heard that during the nineteen days since they crossed the Danube, they have given any active support to Omer Pasha. 5

The attacks of the Turks at Nicopolis and Rustchuk were mere feints. They appear to have been well executed, with no more troops than was necessary, and yet with that vigor which is apt to lead an enemy into error as to the ulterior objects of the attacking party. The main attack was at Oltenitza. What force they brought there is even now uncertain. Some reports say that as early as the 11th the Turks had 24,000 men at Oltenitza, and the Russians 35,000 to oppose them. But this is evidently false. If the Russians were stronger than the Turks in the proportion of three to two, they would have very soon sent them back to the other side of the Danube, when the fact is that the 11th saw a Russian defeat. 10 15

It would seem now as much as ever that nothing but exceedingly bad generalship can prevent the Turks from driving Gorchakoff out of Wallachia. It is certain, however, that there have been some singular specimens of generalship on both sides. On the 2d of November the Turks crossed at Oltenitza—evidently their main point of passage. In the 3d, 4th and 5th they successfully repulsed the attacks of the Russians, thereby establishing their superiority upon the left bank of the Danube. During these three days their reinforcements ought to have arrived, and they ought to have been at once in a position to march upon Bucharest. This was the way Napoleon acted, and every general since his time has known that rapidity of movement can in itself make up for deficiency of strength, inasmuch as you fall upon your opponent before he has time to concentrate his forces. Thus, as men say in trade, Time is money; so we may say in war, Time is troops. But here in Wallachia, this maxim is neglected. The Turks quietly keep possession of Oltenitza during nine days, from the 6th to the 15th, and excepting petty skirmishes, nothing at all is done, so that the Russians have time to concentrate their forces, to dispose them as maturely as possible, and if their line of retreat is menaced, to restore and secure it. Or are we to suppose that Omer Pasha intended merely to keep the Russians near Oltenitza till his main army had crossed lower down and entirely intercepted their retreat? Possibly, though this is an operation which, with 25,000 men at Kalaf and 24,000 at Oltenitza, presupposes some 50,000 more lower down toward Hirsova. Now, if he had such a force there, as very possibly he may, they might have passed the time much better than in all these artificial and subtle maneuvers. In that case, why not throw 70,000 or 80,000 men in one mass across the Danube at Ibraila, and cut the Russians in Wallachia off at once from their 20 25 30 35 40

communications? As we have said, it is probable that this movement is now to be made, but why this long delay, and why these complicated preliminaries, does not appear. With so great a preponderance of force all ready on the line of operations, there was no particular advantage to be gained by
5 deceiving Prince Gorchakoff. He should rather have been cut off and crushed at once.

As to the Turkish soldiers themselves, in the few engagements where they have acted, they have so far come out in capital style. The artillery has everywhere proved that the Emperor Nicholas did not exaggerate when he
10 pronounced it among the best in Europe. A battalion of riflemen, organized only ten weeks before the beginning of hostilities, and armed with Minié rifles, then just arrived from France, has, during this short time, gained high proficiency in the skirmishing service, and furnished first-rate marksmen, who well know how to use that formidable weapon; at Oltenitza they had
15 an opportunity of showing this by picking off almost all the superior officers of the Russians. The infantry in general must be quite capable of the ordinary line and column movements, and besides, must have attacked at Oltenitza with great courage and steadiness, as at least on two days out of three, the charge of the Turkish infantry decided the battle, and that at close quarters;
20 and with the bayonet, the Russian infantry, it is well-known, are no contemptible opponents.

The news from Asia is even more decisively in favor of the Turks than that from Europe. It appears certain that there has been a general and combined rising of the Circassian tribes against the Russians; that they hold
25 the Gates of the Caucasus, and that Prince Woronzoff has his communications cut off in the rear, while he is pressed by the Turkish forces in front. Thus the war everywhere opens with disasters for the Czar. Let us hope that such may be its history to the end, and that the Russian Government and people may be taught by it to restrain their ambition and arrogance, and
30 mind their own business hereafter.

Karl Marx
Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein

Der Miller

schmätztach Bewußtsein

1882

[2] Der Mann des kleinen Kriegs (siehe Deckers *Theorie des kleinen Kriegs*) braucht kein edler Mann zu sein, aber er muß doch ein *edelmüthiges* Bewußtsein haben. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein schlägt nach Hegel nothwendig in das *niederträchtige* um. Diesen Umschlag werde ich erläutern an den
5 Ergüssen des Herrn Willich — Peter der Einsiedler und Walther von Habenichts in einer Person. Ich beschränke mich auf den Cavaliere della Ventura; seine hinter ihm stehenden Cavalieri del dente überlasse ich ihrer Mission.

Um von vorne herein einzuprägen, daß das edelmüthige Bewußtsein die Wahrheit im „höheren“ Sinn durch die Lüge im „gewöhnlichen“ Sinn aus-
10 zudrücken pflegt, beginnt Herr Willich seine Antwort auf meine „Enthüllungen“ mit den Worten: „Dr. Carl Marx gab in der Neu-England- und Criminal-Zeitung einen Bericht über den Kölner Communistenprozeß.“ Nie habe ich der Criminal-Zeitung einen Bericht über den Kölner Communistenprozeß gegeben. Es ist bekannt, daß ich der Neu-England-Zeitung
15 die „Enthüllungen“ und Herr Willich der Criminal-Zeitung Hirsch's Selbstbekenntnisse gab.

Pag. 11 der „Enthüllungen“ heißt es: „Aus der Aufzählung der der Partei Willich-Schapper entwandten Documente und aus den Daten dieser Documente folgt, daß diese Partei, obgleich durch den Einbruch des Reuter gewarnt, noch fortwährend Mittel fand, sich Documente stehlen und sie an
20 die preußische Polizei gelangen zu lassen.“ Pag. 64 wird diese Stelle rekapitulirt.

„Herr Marx“, antwortete Herr Willich, „weiß sehr wohl, daß diese Documente selbst meistens gefälscht, theilweise erfunden waren.“

25 *Meistens* gefälscht; also nicht *ganz* gefälscht. *Theilweise* erfunden; also nicht ganz erfunden. Herr Willich gesteht also: Nach wie vor dem Reuter'schen Diebstahl fanden seiner Fraktion angehörige Documente ihren Weg zur Polizei. Wie ich behauptete.

Der Edelmuth des Herrn Willich besteht nun darin, hinter der *richtigen*
30 *Thatsache* ein *falsches Bewußtsein* auszuwittern. „Herr Marx weiß.“

Woher weiß Herr Willich, was Herr Marx weiß? Von einigen der fraglichen Dokumente weiß ich, daß sie echt sind. Von keinem derselben weiß ich, daß es sich während der Prozeßverhandlungen als verfälscht oder erfunden auswies. Aber ich hätte „mehr“ wissen *sollen*, da „ein gewisser Blum der in Willich's nächster Umgebung befindliche Berichterstatter von Marx“ 5
war. Blum blühte also in der nächsten Umgebung von Willich. Desto weiter ab hielt er sich mir vom Leibe. Was ich von Blum weiß, den ich nie gesprochen, selbst nicht durch die Blume, beschränkt sich darauf, daß Blum ein Russe von Geburt und ein Schuster von Handwerk sein soll, daß er auch als 10
Morisson figurirt, auf Wilch'sche Morrison-Pillen schwört, und sich jetzt wahrscheinlich in Australien befindet. Ueber die Wirksamkeit des Willich-Kinkel'schen Missionärs wurde ich von Magdeburg aus benachrichtigt, nicht in London. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein konnte sich daher die jedenfalls schmerzliche Operation ersparen, einen seiner Söhne im Glauben auf 15
bloßen Verdacht hin öffentlich zu verunglimpfen. |

[3] Erst lügt mir das edelmüthige Bewußtsein einen eingebildeten Berichterstatter an; dann lügt es nur einen wirklichen Brief ab. Es citirt: „Seite 69, der Enthüllungen, Bemerkung A, aus dem *vorgeschützten* Briefe Beckers.“

Herr Willich ist zu edelmüthig vorauszusetzen, daß „ein Mann von Geist und Charakter“, wie Becker den Geist und Charakter in einem Manne wie 20
Willich verkennen darf. Er verwandelt daher Becker's Brief in einen vorgeschützten und mich in einen Falschlimünzer. Aus Edelmuth, versteht sich. Der vorgeschützte Brief existirt noch immer im Besitze des Advokaten Schneider II. Ich schickte ihn der Vertheidigung zur Zeit des Processes nach Köln, weil er jede Theilnahme Beckers an den Willich'sehen Narrheiten widerlegt. Nicht nur ist der Brief von Becker geschrieben, Kölner 25
und Londoner Poststempel constatiren sein Datum der Absendung und des Empfangs.

„Vorher aber schrieb Frau Kinkel einen längeren berichtigenden Brief an mich (Willich); Becker in Köln übernahm die Besorgung. Er theilte ihr 30
mit, der Brief sei besorgt, — ich habe ihn nie gesehen. Hat ihn *Herr Marx*, Becker, oder die Post *bewahrt?*!“

Nicht die Post, demonstirte Willich. Vielleicht Becker? So lange er in Freiheit, fragte kein Willich bei ihm an. Also „Herr Marx“. Herr Willich läßt mich, in seiner stillen Weise, die Briefe, die Becker mir *nicht* schreibt, 35
veröffentlichen und die Briefe, die er mir zur Besorgung anvertraut, unterschlagen. Leider war Becker so freundlich, mich *niemals* mit Commission von Episteln, sei es der Frau Johann, sei es des Herrn Johann Gottfried, zu behelligen. Anfragen an Becker von so gleichgültigem Inhalt steht weder das Gef ängniß im Wege, noch das schwarze Cabinet. Herr Willich verlügt sich in 40
die schmutzige Insinuation, aus der reinen Absicht zur Tugend anzufeuern

und die Wahlverwandtschaft zwischen den Guten, zwischen den Kinkels und den Willichs als siegreich über jede Scheidungskunst der Bösen darzustellen.

„Die Parteistellung innerhalb des Proletariats zwischen der Partei Marx
5 und Willich-Schapper, nach der Bezeichnung des *Herrn Marx*, *nicht der meinigen*.“

Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein muß die eigene Bescheidenheit durch die fremde Ueberhebung beweisen. Es verwandelt daher die „*Bezeichnung des Kölner Anklageakts*“ (siehe pag. 6 der Enthüllungen) in „*Bezeichnungen des*
10 *Herrn Marx*“. Aus Bescheidenheit verwandelt es gleichfalls die Parteistellung innerhalb einer bestimmten geheimen deutschen Gesellschaft, von der ich spreche (siehe 1. c), in die „Parteistellung innerhalb des Proletariats“.

„Als Techow im Herbst 1850 nach London kam, — *ließ* Marx sich von
15 Dronke schreiben, Techow habe über mich die *wegwerfendsten Aeüßerungen* gemacht; der Brief wurde verlesen. Techow kam an, wir sprachen uns als Männer gegen einander aus, die im Briefe gemachten Mittheilungen waren erfunden!!“

Als Techow nach London kam, *ließ* mir von Dronke schreiben, empfing
20 den Brief, verlas ihn, und *dann* kam Techow. Die falsche consecutio temporum spiegelt die Verlegenheit des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins ab, das einen falschen Causalnexuß zwischen mir, Dronke's Brief und Techow's Kommen hervorzubringen sucht. In Dronke's Brief, der übrigens an Engels und nicht an mich adressirt ist, lautet die verbrecherische Stelle wörtlich: „Heute
25 habe ich Techow etwas umgestimmt, obwohl ich dabei mit ihm und Schily“ — *Schily befindet sich in diesem Augenblicke in London* — „in einen heftigen Disput gerieth und er wiederholt die Angriffe auf Sigel als persönlichen Ulk von Wülich, dem er beiläufig auch das *allergeringste* militärische Talent abspricht, erklärte.“ Dronke spricht also nicht von den wegwerfendsten
30 Aeüßerungen Techow's im Allgemeinen, sondern seinen wegwerfenden Aeüßerungen über Herrn Wilhch's militärisches Talent. Hat Techow daher etwas für *erfunden* erklärt, so waren es nicht die in Dronke's Briefe gemachten Mittheilungen, sondern die Mittheilungen des edlen Bewußtseins über Dronke's Mittheilungen. Techow hat in London seine Schweizer
35 Auffassung von ||4| Herrn Wilhch's militärischem Talent nicht modificirt, wenn auch vielleicht andere Anschauungen, die er vom falschen Asceten besaß. Mein Zusammenhang mit Dronke's Brief und Techow's Kommen beschränkt sich also darauf, daß ich Dronke's Brief verlas, wie ich als Präsident der Centraibehörde alle Briefe zu verlesen hatte. So unter andern
40 einen Brief von Karl Brunn, worin auch der sich über Wilhch's militärisches Talent erlustigte. Herr Willich war damals überzeugt, daß ich Bruhn den

Brief schreiben *ließ*. Da Bruhn aber noch nicht wie Techow nach Australien abgereist ist, unterdrückt Herr Willich vorsichtig „diese Probe meiner Taktik“. So hatte ich einen Brief zu verlesen, worin Rothacker schreibt: „Jeder andern Gemeinde, — aber *dieser* (nämlich Willich's) *niemals* — will ich angehören.“ Er erzählt, wie er durch einfache Opposition gegen Willich's Ansichten über „die auffallenden Rüstungen Preußens“ das Schicksal sich zuzog, daß einer der Trabanten Willich's seine „sofortige Ausstoßung aus dem Bunde verlangte, — und ein anderer eine Commission ernannt wissen wollte, zu prüfen, wie denn dieser Rothacker in den Bund gekommen wäre, das sei *verdächtig*“. Herr Willich war überzeugt, daß ich Rothacker den Brief schreiben *tieß*. Da aber Rothacker statt Gold bei Melbourne zu graben, eine Zeitung in Cincinnati herausgibt, fand Herr Willich es wieder passend, die Welt um diese andere „Probe meiner Taktik“ zu prellen. 5 10

Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein muß seiner Natur nach überall Freude an sich erleben und sich überall anerkannt finden. Findet es daher seine glückliche Ansicht von sich verneint, spricht Techow ihm das militärische Talent ab oder Rothacker die politische Befähigung oder erklärt Becker es geradezu für „*dumm*“, so sind diese unnatürlichen Erfahrungen aus dem taktischen Gegensatz von Ahriman — Marx und Engels gegen Ormuzd — Willich pragmatisch zu erklären, und der Edelmuth bethätigt sich demgemäß in der niederträchtigsten Beschäftigung, die Geheimnisse dieser eingebildeten Taktik auszuhecken, auszubrüten, auszulügen. Wir sehen, sagt Hegel, wie dieses Bewußtsein, statt mit dem Höchsten, mit dem Niedrigsten, nämlich mit sich selbst, beschäftigt ist. 15 20

„Dies“, ruft Herr Willich triumphirend aus, „sind einige Proben der Taktik des Herrn Marx.“ 25

„Der erste Widerspruch zwischen Marx, Engels und mir stellte sich heraus, als von den in London anwesenden Männern der Revolution, die einen größern oder geringeren Wirkungskreis gehabt haben, die Einladung zu einer Versammlung an uns gerichtet wurde. Ich wollte darauf eingehen; ich verlangte, daß unsere Parteistellung und Organisation gesichert, aber der *éclat innerer Zerwürfnisse in der Emigration nach außen hin* nicht verbreitet werden sollte. Ich wurde niedergestimmt, die Einladung abgelehnt, *und von dem Tage an datiren die ekelhaften Zerwürfnisse in der Londoner Emigration*, deren Folgen noch heute *da sind*, indeß jetzt wohl für die öffentliche Meinung alle Bedeutung verloren haben.“ 30 35

Herr Willich als „Parteigänger“ im Kriege, findet es auch im Frieden seiner Mission gemäß, von einer Partei zur anderen zu gehen, und es ist völlig der Wahrheit gemäß, daß seine edelmüthigen Coaktionsgelüste niedergestimmt wurden. Das Bekenntniß ist um so naiver, als Herr Willich später zu verbreiten suchte, die Emigration habe uns von ihrer Zunftorganisation aus- 40

geschlossen. Hier gesteht er, daß wir die Emigrationszunft von uns ausschlossen. So weit die Thatsache. Nun ihre Verklärung. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein muß nachzuweisen suchen, daß es nur durch Ahriman an dem edlen Werk verhindert wurde, allem Bösen, das über die Emigration gekommen ist, vorzubeugen. Zu diesem Behufe muß es sich wieder dem Lügen ergeben mit evangelistengemäßer Verdrehung der profanen Chronologie (siehe Bruno Bauer „Synoptiker“). Ahriman—Marx, Engels erklärten ihren Austritt aus dem Arbeitervereine der Great Windmill Street, und ihre Scheidung von Willich in der Sitzung der Centralbehörde vom 15. September 10 1850. Seit diesem Tage zogen sie sich zurück von allen öffentlichen Organisationen, Demonstrationen und Manifestationen. Also seit dem 15. Sept. 1850. Am 14. Juli 1851 wurden „die namhaften Männer aller Fraktionen“ zu Bürger Fickler geladen, am 20. Juli 1851 wurde der „Agitationsverein“ gestiftet und am 27. Juli 1851 der deutsche „Emigrations-Club“. Von *diesem* 15 Tage an, wo die geheimen Wünsche des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins sich erfüllten, datiren die ekelhaften Zerwürfnisse der „Londoner Emigration“, der auf beiden Seiten des Ozeans geführte Kampf zwischen „Emigration“ und „Agitation“, der große Froschmäuslerkrieg begann.

20 „Wer giebt die Worte mir, und wer die Stimme
Das Größte groß und würdig zu berichten?
Denn stolzerer Kampf, geführt mit wilderem Grimme,
Ward seit der Welt Beginn gesehen mit Nichten;
Die andern Schlachten, wenn auch noch so schlimme,
Sind Veilchen nur und Rosen, und mein Dichten
25 Versagt mir, wo Bravour und Ehrenglorie
Gleich herrlich strahlt in dieses Kampfs Historie.“
(Nach Bojardo. Orlando Innam. canto 27.)

Die „Bedeutung dieser ekelhaften Zerwürfnisse“ hat in der „öffentlichen Meinung“ nie existirt, sondern stets nur in der eigenen Meinung der Froschmäusler. Aber „die Folgen *sind* noch da“. Selbst Herrn WiHich's Dasein in Amerika ist eine Folge. Das in der Form der Anleihe von Amerika nach Europa gewanderte Geld reiste in der Form Willich von Europa nach Amerika zurück. Eins seiner ersten Geschäfte dort war die Bildung eines geheimen Committee's in..., um den heiligen Gral, das demokratische Gold, 35 dem Gottfried von Bouillon zu sichern und Peter dem Einsiedler gegen Arnold Winkelried Ruge und Melanchthon Ronge.

Obgleich die „Edlen“ sich selbst überlassen, und nach dem Ausdrücke von Eduard Meyen *Alle* vereinigt waren „bis hinauf zu Bucher“, ging der Scheidungsprozeß nicht nur der Hauptheere unter einander, sondern im 40 Innern jedes Lagers selbst so flott voran, daß der Agitationsverein bald auf

ein halbvollzähliges Siebengestirn reduziert war, der Emigrationsklub aber, trotz der Bindekraft des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins, auf die Dreieinigkeit, Willich, Kinkel und den Gastwirth Schärttner zusammenschmolz. Selbst die dreieinige Anleihe-Regentschaft — so attraktiv war das edelmüthige Bewußtsein — verfiel in etwas, was nicht einmal ein Dualismus genannt werden kann, nämlich in Kinkel-Wilch. Herr Reichenbach war zu respektabel, um lange der Dritte in solchem Bunde bleiben zu können. Er hat den „persönlichen Charakter“ des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins praktisch kennen gelernt. 5

Unter den Proben, die das edelmüthige Bewußtsein von der „Taktik von Marx“ giebt, befinden sich auch seine Erlebnisse mit Engels. Ich lege an dieser Stehe einen Brief von Engels selbst ein. 10

„*Manchester*, den 23. Nov. 1853. In dem Roman, den Herr August Willich in der New-Yorker Criminalzeitung (d. d. 28. Oct. und 4. Nov.) zu seiner Rechtfertigung veröffentlicht hat, habe auch ich die Ehre zu figuriren. Ich bin genöthigt, ein Paar Worte über diese Angelegenheit, so weit sie mich betrifft, zu Protokoll zu geben. 15

Daß Freund Wilch, der den reinen Müßiggang mit der *reinen* Thätigkeit verwechselt, und sich daher ausschließlich mit Freund Wilch beschäftigt, für Alles, was seine Person betrifft, ein vortreffliches Gedächtniß hatte, daß er eine Art Register führte über jede Bemerkung, die selbst im Schoppenstehen der Gesellschaft in Beziehung auf ihn fiel, das war denen längst kein Geheimniß mehr, die sich seines Umgangs erfreuten. Freund Wilch wußte aber von jeher sein Gedächtniß und sein Register sehr gut zu benutzen. Eine kleine Verdrehung, einige scheinbar unbeabsichtigte Auslassungen machten ihn, wenn dergleichen Bagatellen wieder zur Sprache kamen, jedesmal zum Helden des dramatischen Ereignisses, zum Mittelpunkt einer Gruppe, eines lebenden Bildes. Im Detail, wie im Ganzen des Wülich'schen Romans dreht sich der Kampf überall und immer um den unbeleckten und deshalb angefeindeten Wilch. In jeder einzelnen Episode finden wir am Schluß den braven Wilch eine Rede haltend, und die verruchten Gegner geknickt, gebrochen, zertreten, zurücksinkend in das Bewußtsein ihrer Nichtigkeit. Et cependant on vous connaît, ô chevaliers sans peur et sans reproche! 20 25 30

In dem Wilch'sehen Roman ist also die Leidensepoche, während deren der Edele||6|so viel Unbill zu erdulden hatte von Marx, Engels und den übrigen Gottlosen, zu gleicher Zeit eine Epoche des Triumphs, worin er jedesmal seine Gegner siegreich niedertritt, und jeder neue Triumph alle früheren übergipfelt. Freund Willich schildert sich einerseits als leidenden Christus, der die Sünden von Marx, Engels & Comp, auf sich nahm, andererseits aber als den Christus, der da kam, zu richten die Lebendigen und 35 40

die Todten. Es war Freund Wülich vorbehalten, zwei so widersprechende Rollen *gleichzeitig* in Einer Person zu vereinigen. Wer diese beiden Phasen gleichzeitig repräsentirt, dem muß man doch wahrlich glauben.

Für uns, die wir diese selbstgefälligen Phantasieen, womit ein ältlicher
5 Hagestolz seine schlaflosen Nächte ausfüllt, längst auswendig konnten, für uns ist nur das erstaunlich, daß alle die Idiosynkrasien heute noch in derselben unveränderten Form auftauchen, wie Anno 1850. Nun zu den Details.

Freund Willich, der die Herren Stieber und Consorten in Agenten einer
10 deutschen ‚Bundescentralpolizei‘ verwandelt, die seit den uralten Demagogengeschichten nicht mehr existirt hat, der eine Menge anderer ebenso wundersamer ‚Fakta‘ erzählt, behauptet auch mit üblicher Genauigkeit, ich habe eine ‚Broschüre‘ über die badische Campagne von 1849 geschrieben. Freund Wülich, der den Theil meiner Arbeit, worin er vorkommt, mit seltener
15 Gründlichkeit studirt hat, weiß sehr wohl, daß ich nie eine derartige ‚Broschüre‘ vom Stapel ließ. Was ich schrieb, war eine Reihe von Artikeln über die Reichsverfassungs-Campagne in der Revue ‚Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Hamburg und New-York 1850‘, in deren einem ich meine Erfahrungen während der pfälzisch-badischen Campagne veröffentlichte. In diesem
20 Artikel figurirt natürlich auch Freund Willich, und wie er sagt, war dieser Artikel für ihn ‚sehr anerkennend‘, brachte ihn aber sogleich in Konflikte mit seiner habituellen Bescheidenheit, indem er ihn gleichsam zum Konkurrenten der andern so vielen großen Staatsmänner, Diktatoren und Feldherrn‘ machte.

25 Und worin bestand die große ‚Anerkennung‘ meinerseits, die jetzt dem edlen Herzen Willich's so wohlthut? Darin, daß ich den Herrn Willich als einen unter Umständen recht brauchbaren Bataillonschef ‚anerkannte‘, der in den 20 Jahren, wo er preußischer Lieutenant war, sich die dazu nöthigen Kenntnisse erworben; der für den kleinen und speziell für den Parteigän-
30 gerkrieg nicht ohne Anlagen war, und der endlich den Vortheil hatte, daß er als Führer eines Freicorps von 6—700 Mann sich ganz an seinem Platze befand, während die Mehrzahl der höheren Offiziere in jener Campagne aus Subjekten bestand, die entweder gar keine, oder doch eine ihrer Stellung durchaus unangemessene militairische Bädung besaßen. Zu sagen, daß Herr
35 Willich 700 Mann besser führen konnte, als der erste beste Student, Unteroffizier, Schulmeister und Schuster, ist allerdings ‚sehr anerkennend‘ für einen preußischen Lieutenant, der 20 Jahre Zeit zur Vorbereitung hatte ! Dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi. Und daß er in seiner untergeordneten Position weniger Verantwortlichkeit trug, also weniger Fehler machen
40 konnte, als ‚seine Konkurrenten‘, die Divisionäre oder Obergenerale waren, versteht sich doch von selbst. Wer weiß, ob Sigel, der als ‚ObergeneraP nicht

am Platze war, als einfacher Bataillonschef nicht auch etwas geleistet hätte?

Und nun die wehmüthige Klage des bescheidenen Wilhch, der inzwischen kraft einiger amerikanischer Zeitungen auf dem Anciennitätswege zum ‚General‘ avancirt ist, wahrscheinlich durch meine Schuld — als hätte meine »Anerkennung‘ ihn in Gefahr gebracht auch General in partibus zu werden, und nicht nur General, sondern Feldherr, *Staatsmann*, ja — *Diktator*] Freund Wilhch muß sich sonderbare Vorstellungen von den brillanten Belohnungen gemacht haben, die die communistische Partei in petto habe für einen passablen Bataillons- und Freischaaren-Chef, der sich ihr anschließt.

In dem angeführten Artikel sprach ich von Wilhch nur als Militair, weil er nur als solcher das Publikum interessiren konnte, denn *Staatsmann*‘ ist er ja erst seitdem geworden. Hätte ich die Malice gegen ihn besessen, von der er glaubt, sie besitze mich und meine Freunde, hätte ich ein Interesse daran gehabt, ein persönliches Charakterbild von ihm zu geben, was für Geschichten wären zu erzählen! Hätte ich mich selbst auf die nur heitere Seite beschränkt, wie würde ich die Geschichte mit dem Apfelbaum weggelassen haben, unter dem heber zu sterben während Absingung eines Liedes, als den deutschen Boden nochmals zu verlassen, er und seine Besançons einen leiblichen Eid geschworen hatten. Wie hätte ich nicht die Comödie an der Grenze erzählt, wo Freund Willich that, als sollte dies nun in Erfüllung gehen; wo einige Biedermänner zu mir kamen, um mich ganz ernsthaft zu bewegen, den braven Willich von seinem Entschluß abzubringen; wo endlich Willich dem vereinigten Corps die Frage stellt, ob sie nicht lieber auf deutschem Boden sterben, als ins Exil zurückgehen wollten, wo nach langem allgemeinen Schweigen ein einziger todesverachtender Besançon ausrief: ‚Hierbleiben!‘ und wo zum Schluß die ganze Gesellschaft mit großem Vergnügen und mit Waffen und Bagage nach der Schweiz übertrat. Welche Episode hätte nicht die spätere Geschichte der Bagage selbst gebildet, heute nicht ohne Werth, wo Willich selbst die halbe Welt auffordert, über seinen ‚Charakter‘ sich zu erklären. Wer übrigens weitere Details über diese und andere Abenteuer wünscht, braucht sich nur an einen seiner 300 Spartaner zu wenden, die damals kein Thermopylä finden konnten. Sie waren stets bereit, hinter dem Rücken des persönlichen Charakters die größten Skandale zu erzählen. Ich habe Zeugen in Menge.

Ueber die Geschichte wegen meiner ‚Courage‘ werde ich kein Wort verlieren. Ich habe zu meiner damaligen Verwunderung in Baden gefunden, daß die Courage eine der allerordinärsten Eigenschaften ist, nicht der Mühe werth davon zu reden; daß aber die bloße rohe Courage nicht mehr werth ist, als der bloße *gute Wille*, und es deßhalb sehr häufig vorkommt, daß jeder Einzelne ein Held an Courage ist, und das ganze Bataillon doch ausreißt, wie

Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein

Ein Mann. Ein Exempel bietet die Expedition, des Willich'schen Corps nach Karlsdorf, die in meiner Erzählung der Reichsverfassungs-Campagne des Breiteren mitgetheilt ist.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit, nämlich in der Neujahrsnacht 1850, behauptet
5 Willich mir eine siegreiche moralische Predigt gehalten zu haben. Da ich nicht gewohnt bin, Buch darüber zu führen, wie ich aus einem Jahr in das andere komme, kann ich für das Datum nicht einstehen. Die Predigt, die Willich abdrucken läßt, hat er so nie gehalten.

Im Hüchtlings-Committee, heißt es, habe ich mit mehreren Anderen mich
10 ‚unwürdig‘ gegen den großen Mann benommen. Shocking! Aber wo waren die siegreichen sittlichen Argumente denn damals, wenn Willich, der Vertreter der Gottlosen, sich plötzlich machtlos gegen bloßes ‚unwürdiges Benehmen‘ fand. Man wird nicht verlangen, daß ich ernsthaft auf dergleichen Albernheiten eingehen soll.

15 In der Sitzung der Centraibehörde, wo es zwischen Schramm und Willich zur Forderung kam, soll ich das Verbrechen begangen haben, mit Schramm kurz vor der Scene das ‚Zimmer verlassen‘, also die ganze Scene vorbereitet zu haben.

Früher war es Marx, der Schramm ‚gehetzt‘ haben sollte, jetzt, zur Ab-
20 wechselung bin ich es. Ein Duell zwischen einem alten auf Pistolen eingeschossenen preußischen Lieutenant und einem commerçant, der vielleicht nie eine Pistole in der Hand gehabt, war wahrlich eine famose Maßregel, um den Lieutenant ‚aus dem Wege zu räumen‘. Trotzdem erzählte Freund Willich überall, mündlich und schriftlich, wir hätten ihn erschießen lassen
25 wollen.

Es ist wohl möglich — ich führe kein Buch darüber, wenn gewisse Bedürfnisse mich nöthigen, das Zimmer zu verlassen, — daß ich mit Schramm zugleich das Zimmer verließ; aber es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, da ich aus den bei mir deponirten Sitzungsprotokollen der damaligen Centralbehörde er-
30 sehe, daß Schramm und ich an jenem Abend abwechselnd das Protokoll führten. Schramm war einfach wüthend über Willich's schamloses Auftreten, und uns Allen zur größten Ueberraschung, zwang er ihn zum Duell. Schramm selbst hatte einige Minuten vorher keine Ahnung, daß es dazu kommen werde. Nie war eine Handlung spontaner. Willich erzählt hier
35 wieder, er habe eine Rede gehalten, ‚Du, Schramm, verläßt das Zimmer!‘ In der Wirklichkeit appellirte Willich an die Centraibehörde, Schramm auszuweisen. Die Centraibehörde ignorirte sein Begehren, und Schramm entfernte sich nur auf persönliches Zureden von Marx, der weiteren Skandal vermeiden wollte. Auf meiner Seite steht das Protokollbuch, auf der des
40 Herrn Willich sein persönlicher Charakter.

Friedrich Engels."

Herr Willich erzählt weiter, wie er das, „unwürdige Benehmen“ des Flüchtlings-Komitee's im Arbeiterverein erzählt und einen Antrag darauf begründet hat. Als, berichtet das edle Bewußtsein, „als die Entrüstung gegen Marx und Clique auf das höchste stieg, *summte ich* für die Behandlung der Sache in der *Centraibehörde*. *Dies* fand statt". 5

Was fand statt? Willich's Stimmen oder die Behandlung in der Centraibehörde? Welche Großmuth! Seine Gebieter stimme entreißt seine Feinde der auf's Höchste gestiegenen Entrüstung des Volks. Herr Willich vergißt den Umstand, daß die Centraibehörde die *geheime* Behörde einer *geheimen* Gesellschaft, der Arbeiterverein aber eine *öffentliche* exoterische Gesellschaft war. Er vergißt, daß die Behandlung der Sache in der Centraibehörde im Arbeiterverein daher nicht zum Stimmen gebracht werden und so die Samariterscene, als deren Held er figurirt, nicht vorfallen konnte. Freund Schapper wird ihm sein Gedächtniß erfrischen helfen. 10

Von dem öffentlichen Arbeiterverein führt uns Herr Willich in die geheime Centraibehörde und aus der Centraibehörde nach Antwerpen zum Duell, seinem Duell mit Schramm: 15

„Schramm kam nach Ostende in Begleitung eines *ehemaligen russischen Offiziers*, der in der ungarischen Revolution nach *seiner Aussage* zu den Ungarn übergegangen war und nach dem Duell *spurlos verschwand*." 20

Dieser „ehemalige russische Offizier“ ist niemand anders als *Heinrich Ludwig Miskowsky*.

„This is“, heißt es in einem der Zeugnisse des *ehemaligen russischen Offiziers*, „This is to testify, that the bearer Henri Lewis Miskowsky, a *Polish gentleman*, has served *during the late Hungarian war 1848—1849* as officer in the 46th. bataillon of the Hungarian *Honveds*, and that he behaved as such *praiseworthy and gallantly*. 25
London, Nov. 12, 1853. *L. Kossuth*, late governor of Hungary.“

Verlogenes edelmüthiges Bewußtsein! Aber der Zweck ist edel. Der Gegensatz des Guten und Bösen muß im stechenden Contrast als lebendes Bild vorgeführt werden. Welch' künstlerische Gruppe! Auf der einen Seite der Edle, umgeben „von Techow, jetzt in Australien, Vidil, französischem Husarenrittmeister, der damals im Exil, jetzt Gefangener in Algier, und Barthélémy, durch die französischen Blätter als einer der entschiedensten Revolutionäre bekannt“. Kurz, Willich in eigener Person, umgeben von den Blüten zweier Revolutionen, auf der einen Seite. Auf der andern Schramm, das Laster, verwais't auf einen „ehemaligen russischen Offizier“, dessen Theilnahme an der ungarischen Revolution nicht wirklich, sondern nur „nach seiner Aussage“ stattfindet, und der gar nach dem Duell „spurlos verschwindet“, also am Ende der Teufel selber war. In malerischer Ausführung steigt die Tugend in dem „ersten Hotel“ Ostende's ab, wo ein „preußischer 30 35 40

Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein

Prinz" logirt, während das Laster mit dem russischen Offizier „in einem Privathause wohnte". Ganz scheint der russische Offizier nicht „nach dem Duelle verschwunden" zu sein, da nach Herrn Willich's fernerer Erzählung „Schramm mit dem russischen Offizier an dem Bach zurückblieb". Der
 5 russische Offizier ist auch nicht, wie der Edelmuth hofft, aus der Welt verschwunden, wie nachstehende Erklärung beweis't:

London, den 24. Nov. 1853.

„Unter dem 28. Oct. befindet sich ein Artikel in der Criminalzeitung von Herrn Willich, in welchem er unter andern das mit Schramm in Antwerpen
 10 gehabte Duell 1850 beschreibt. Ich bedaure, daß die Beschreibung desselben nicht in allen Punkten wahrhaft der Oeffentlichkeit übergeben worden ist. Es heißt: ‚es wurde das Duell arrangirt etc. ; Schramm kam in Begleitung eines ehemaligen russischen Offiziers etc., der etc. verschwand'. Dieses ist eine Unwahrheit. Ich diente niemals Rußland, und so wie ich, könnten alle an-
 15 deren *pölnischen* Offiziere in Ungarn's Freiheitskampf *russische* genannt werden. Ich diente in Ungarn von Anfang des Krieges von 1848, bis 1849 das Ende bei Villagos erfolgte. Ich bin auch nicht spurlos verschwunden. Nachdem Schramm's Schuß fehlte, den er aus dem Lager mit $\frac{1}{2}$ Schritt Position auf Willich abschob, Willich auf Schramm von seinem Standpunkte
 20 aus feuerte und seine Kugel Schramm's Kopf unbedeutend verletzte, blieb ich bei Schramm zurück, *weil wir keinen Doktor hatten* (Herr Willich hatte das Duell arrangirt), wusch ihm seine Wunde und verband dieselbe ohne Rücksicht auf sieben Menschen, die in unserer Nähe Heu machten, das Duell mit ansahen und für mich gefährlich werden konnten. Willich und seine
 25 genannten Begleiter entfernten sich eiligst vom Platze, und Schramm sowie ich blieben ruhig stehen, denselben nachsehend. Bald waren sie aus den Augen. Noch muß ich bemerken, daß Willich mit seinen Begleitern bereits auf dem Kampfplatz war, als wir daselbst ankamen, daß sie die Mensur abgesteckt hatten, in welcher Willich seine Stellung so eingenommen hatte,
 30 daß er im Dunkeln stand. Ich machte Schramm darauf aufmerksam, er sagte : Laß es gehen. Schramm war muthig, unerschrocken und ganz gleichgültig. Daß ich *gezwungen* in Belgien zurückblieb, ist den betreffenden Personen nicht unbekannt geblieben. Auf die weitem Umstände dieses in seiner Form so eigenthümlichen Duells will ich nicht weiter eingehen.

35

Heinrich Ludwig Miskowski."

Das Räderwerk des edelmütigen Bewußtseins ist aufgezozen. Eben hat es den russischen Offizier gehirnsplastet, um ihn dann spurlos verschwinden zu lassen. An seiner Stelle muß ich nun nothwendig als Samiel auf dem Kampf platze erscheinen, wenn auch in unleiblicher Gestalt. |

[9] „Andern Morgens früh (nach Hrn. Willich's Eintreffen in Ostende) zeigte er (ein befreundeter französischer Bürger) uns den Précurseur de Bruxelles, in welchem Blatte sich eine Privat-Correspondenz mit folgender Stelle fand: *„Mehrere deutsche Flüchtlinge sind in Brighton angekommen.* Man schreibt uns aus dieser Stadt: Ledru Rollin und die französischen Flüchtlinge aus London werden in diesen Tagen einen Congreß in Ostende mit den belgischen Demokraten abhalten.' Wer kann auf die Ehre Anspruch machen, diese Idee seine eigene zu nennen? Von einem *Franzosen* war sie nicht, dafür war sie zu apropos. Diese Ehre bleibt ungeschmälert Hrn. Marx; denn wenn es auch einer seiner Freunde besorgt haben mag— der Kopf ist der Ideenfinder, nicht die Hand." 5 10

„Ein befreundeter französischer Bürger" zeigt Herrn Wilhch und Comp, den Précurseur de Bruxelles. Er zeigt ihnen, was nicht existirt. Ein Précurseur d'Anvers existirt allerdings. Das systematische Verfälschen und Umlügen der Topographie und Chronologie bildet eine wesentliche Funktion des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins. Ideale Zeit und idealer Raum sind der entsprechende Rahmen seiner idealen Erzeugnisse. 15

Um zu beweisen, daß diese Idee, nämlich der Artikel in dem Précurseur de Bruxelles, „von" Marx „war", versichert Hr. Wilhch: „von einem Franzosen war sie nicht". *Diese* Idee warnicht von! „Dafür war sie zu apropos." Mon dieu, eine Idee, die Hr. Wilhch selbst nur französisch ausdrücken kann, sollte nicht von einem Franzosen sein? Aber wie kommt der Franzose überhaupt hereingeschneit, edelmüthiges Bewußtsein? Was hat der Franzose zu thun mit Willich und Schramm und dem ehemaligen russischen Offizier und dem Précurseur de Bruxelles? 20 25

Der Gedankensprecher des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins wird unzeitig laut und verräth, daß es à propos findet, ein nothwendiges Zwischenglied weg-zueskamotiren. Flicken wir das Glied wieder an.

Bevor Schramm Hrn. Willich zum Duell provoziert hatte, hatte der Franzose Barthélémy ein Duell mit dem Franzosen Songeon verabredet, das in Belgien stattfinden sollte. Barthélémy erkor sich Willich und Vidil zu Sekundanten. Songeon war nach Belgien abgereis't. Der Incident mit Schramm kam dazwischen. Beide Duelle sollten nun an einem Tage stattfinden. Songeon stellte sich *nicht*. Barthélémy, bei seiner Rückkehr nach London, behauptete *öffentlich*: Songeon habe den Artikel im Précurseur d'Anvers veranlaßt. 30 35

Lange schwankte das edelmüthige Bewußtsein, bis es die Idee von Barthélémy auf sich und von Songeon auf mich übertrug. Ursprünglich, wie Techow selbst nach seiner Rückkunft nach London mir und Engels erzählte, war es fest überzeugt, daß ich durch Schramm's Vermittlung das Edle aus der Welt zu schaffen beabsichtigte, und es schrieb diese Idee in alle Welt. 40

Bei näherem Nachdenken fand es indeß, daß ein diabolischer Taktiker unmöglich auf den Einfall kommen konnte, Herrn Willich durch ein Duell mit Schramm zu beseitigen. Also griff es nach der Idee, „die von einem Franzosen war“.

- 5 *These:* „Diese Ehre bleibt ungeschmälert Herrn Marx.“ *Beweis:* „*Denn wenn* es (*die* Idee ist natürlich dem Sittenreinen nicht weiblich, sondern geschlechtslos) auch einer seiner Freunde besorgt haben *mag* (eine Idee *besorgen*) — der Kopf ist der Ideenfinder, nicht die Hand.“ *Denn wenn!* Großes *denn wenn*. Um zu beweisen, daß Marx „es“ *erfunden* hat, unterstellt
- 10 Hr. Wülich, daß ein Freund von Marx „es“ *besorgt* hat, oder vielmehr besorgt haben *mag*. Quod erat demonstrandum.

„*Wenn*“, sagt das edelmüthige Bewußtsein, „wenn es feststeht, daß Szemere, der Freund von Marx, die Krone Ungarns an die österreichische Regierung verrathen, so *würde* das ein treffender Beleg etc. sein.“

- 15 Es steht nun zwar das Gegentheü fest. Doch das gehört nicht zur Sache. *Wenn* Szemere einen Verrath begangen hätte, so *würde* das für Herrn Wülich ein „treffender“ Beleg sein, daß Marx den Artikel im Précurseur de BruxeUes besorgt hat. *Wenn* aber auch der Vordersatz *nicht* feststeht, so steht doch der Nachsatz fest, und ||10| es steht fest, daß wenn Szemere die Krone des
- 20 heiligen Stephan, Marx den heiligen Stephan selbst verrathen hat.

- Nachdem der russische Offizier spurlos verschwunden ist, taucht Hr. Willich wieder auf; und zwar im „Arbeiterverein in London“, wo „die Arbeiter Herrn Marx einstimmig verurtheüten“ und „am Tage nach dem Austritt aus dem Verein in einer Generalversammlung des Londoner Kreises
- 25 einstimmig aus dem Bund ausschlossen“. *Vorher* aber „faßte Marx mit der Majorität der Centraibehörde den Entschluß, dieselbe von London zu verlegen“, und trotz Schappers wohlgemeinten Remonstrationen einen Kreis für sich zu büden. Nach den Statuten der geheimen GeseUschaft hatte die Majorität das Recht, die Centraibehörde nach Köln zu verlegen und pro-
- 30 visorisch den ganzen Wülich'sehen Kreis auszuschließen, der ihr gegenüber *beschlußunfähig* ar. Auffallend bleibt, daß das edelmüthige Bewußtsein mit seiner Vorhebe für kleine dramatische Scenen, worin Herr Wülich eine große rhetorische Rone spielt, diesmal die Katastrophe selbst, die Scheidungsscene, unbenutzt vorübergehen läßt. Die Versuchung war groß, aber leider
- 35 existirt das trockene Protokoll und weis't nach, daß der triumphirende Christus stundenlang den Anklagen der Bösen stumm und verlegen gegenüber saß, dann plötzlich ausriß, Freund Schapper im Stiche ließ und die Sprache erst wieder fand im „Kreise“ der Gläubigen. En passant. Während Herr W. in Amerika die Herrlichkeiten des „durch Achtung und Vertrauen
- 40 mit ihm verbundenen Arbeitervereins“ verkündet, hat selbst Herr Schapper es für nöthig erachtet, vorläufig aus dem Verein des Herrn Wülich zurückzutreten.

Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein erhebt sich für einen Moment aus der Sphäre des ihm eigentümlichen „taktischen“ Prozesses zur Theorie. Indeß nur zum Schein. In der That fährt es fort, „Proben von der Taktik des Herrn Marx“ zu geben. Pag. 8 der *Enthüllungen* heißt es: „Die Partei Schapper-Wulich (Hr. Wulich citirt Willich-Schapper) hat nie auf die Ehre Anspruch gemacht, eigne Ideen zu besitzen. Was ihr gehört, ist das eigenthümliche Mißverständnis fremder Ideen.“ Um dem Publikum seinen Vorrath an *eigenen* Ideen zu beweisen, theüt Hr. W. als seine neueste Entdeckung mit und zwar als eine Widerlegung der Ansichten von Engels und mir, „welche *Institutionen*“ das Kleinbürgerthum, käme es zur Herrschaft, „treffen“ würde. In einem von Engels und mir verfaßten Rundschreiben, das die sächsische Polizei bei Bürgers abfaßte, das in den gelesensten deutschen Zeitungen erschien und die Grundlage des Kölner Anklageakts büdet, befindet sich eine längere Ausführung über die frommen Wünsche des deutschen Kleinbürgerthums. Dies der Text der Wulich'sehen Predigt. Der Leser vergleiche Original und Copie. Wie human von der Tugend, das Laster abzuschreiben, wenn auch mit dem „eigenthümlichen Mißverständnis“. Für den verschlechterten Styl entschädigt die verbesserte Gesinnung.

Pag. 64 der *Enthüllungen* heißt es, daß der Bund der Communisten in meiner Ansicht „die Büdung nicht der *Regierungs-* sondern der *Oppositionspartei der Zukunft* bezweckt“. Hr. Wulich ist edel, den vordem Theü „nicht der *Regierungs-*“ wegzuschwindeln, um sich an das Hintertheü der Oppositionspartei der Zukunft festzuklammern. Aus dieser sinnigen Halbiring des Satzes beweis't er, daß die Partei der *Stellenjäger* die wahre Partei der Revolution ist.

Die sonstige „eigene“ Idee, die Herr Wulich produziert, besteht darin, daß der praktische Gegensatz zwischen dem edelmüthigen Bewußtsein und seinen Gegnern auch *theoretisch* ausgedrückt werden kann als „eine Scheidung der Menschheit in zwei Gattungen“, die Willichs und die Anti-Wulichs, die Gattung der Edlen und die Gattung der Unedlen. Von der Gattung der Edlen erfahren wir, daß ihr Hauptkennzeichen darin besteht, „daß sie sich *anerkennen*“. Langweüig sein ist das Privüegjum des edelmüthigen Bewußtseins, wo es aufhört, durch Proben von der Taktik zu kurzweüen.

Wir haben gesehen, wie das edelmüthige Bewußtsein Thatsachen umlügt, oder zurechtlügt oder lächerlichen Hypothesen den Rang von ernsten Thesen anweis't, — Alles um den Gegensatz gegen es selbst *thatsächlich* als das Unedle, das Niederträchtige zu konstatiren. Wir haben gesehen, wie daher seine ganze Thätigkeit ausschließlich in der Erfindung des Niederträchtigen besteht. Die umgekehrte Seite dieser Thätigkeit ist, daß es die thatsächlichen Verwickelungen, worin es selbst mit der Welt geräth, mögen sie noch

so compromittirend erscheinen, in thatsächliche Beweise des eignen Edelmuths verwandelt. Dem Reinen ist Alles rein, und der Gegner, der den Edelmuth an seinen Thaten mißt, beweis't eben dadurch, daß er der Unreine ist. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein hat sich daher nicht zu *rechtfertigen*,
5 sondern nur seine sittliche Entrüstung und sein Erstaunen über den Gegner kundzugeben, der es zur Rechtfertigung zwingt. Die Episode daher, worin Herr Wilhch sich zu *rechtfertigen* vorgiebt, hätte ebensogut ganz wegfallen können, wie Jeder sich überzeugen wird, der meine Enthüllungen, Hirsch's Selbst-Bekenntnisse und Herrn Willich's Antwort vergleicht. Ich hebe daher
10 nur an einigen Beispielen die *Männer* des edelmütigen Bewußtseins hervor.

Herr Willich war weniger compromittirt durch meine „Enthüllungen“, als durch Hirsch's Selbstbekenntnisse, obgleich sie ursprünglich bestimmt waren, ihn als den Erlöser der eignen Feinde zu verherrlichen. Er vermeidet
15 es daher sorgfältig, auf Hirsch's Selbstbekenntnisse einzugehen. Er vermeidet sie auch nur zu erwähnen. Hirsch ist das notorische Werkzeug der preußischen Polizei gegen die Partei, der ich angehöre. Der Thatsache steht Herr Willich die Vermuthung gegenüber, daß Hirsch *eigentlich* von mir bestimmt war, die Partei Wilhch zu „sprengen“.

20 „Sehr bald intriguirte er (Hirsch) mit einigen Anhängern von Marx, namentlich einem gewissen Lochner, um den Verein zu sprengen. *In Folge dessen* wurde er beobachtet. Er wurde ertappt etc. Er wurde auf meinen Antrag ausgestoßen; Lochner trat für ihn auf und wurde ebenfalls ausgestoßen___Hirsch intriguirte *nun* namentlich gegen O. Dietz... die Intrigue
25 wurde augenblicklich wieder aufgedeckt.“

Daß Hirsch auf Antrag des Herrn Willich als Spion aus dem Arbeiterverein der Great Windmill Street ausgestoßen wurde, berichte ich selbst in den „Enthüllungen“ pag. 67. Diese Ausstoßung war ohne alles Gewicht für mich, da ich erfuhr, was Herr Wilhch jetzt selbst bestätigt, daß sie nicht auf den
30 Grund erwiesener Thatsachen erfolgte, sondern auf den Verdacht eingebildeter Intriguen Hirsch's mit mir. Von diesem Verbrechen wußte ich Hirsch frei. Was Lochner betrifft, so verlangte er Beweise für Hirsch's Schuld. Herr Wilhch antwortete, daß Hirsch's Subsistenzquellen unbekannt seien. Und die Subsistenzquellen des Herrn Wilhch? fragte Lochner. Wegen
35 dieser „unwürdigen“ Aeußerung ward Lochner vor ein *Ehrengericht* citirt, und da er die Sünde trotz allen geistlichen Zuspruch's nicht bereuen wollte, „ausgestoßen“. Nachdem Hirsch ausgestoßen, nachdem Lochner ihm nachgesandt war, intriguirte Hirsch „nun namentlich gegen O. Dietz mit einem
40 sehr verdächtigen ehemaligen Polizeidiener, der Dietz bei uns denunzirte“.

Stechan, einem hannover'schen Gefängnisse entsprungen, kam nach

London, trat in den Willich'schen Arbeiterverein und denunzierte den O.Dietz. Stechan war weder „verdächtig“, noch „ehemaliger sächsischer Polizeidiener“. Was ihn zur Denunziation des O.Dietz bestimmte, war der Umstand, daß der Instruktionsrichter ihm mehrere seiner an Dietz, den Sekretär des Willich'schen Committees, nach London gerichteten Briefe in Hannover vorzeigte. Ungefähr gleichzeitig mit Stechan hatte Lochner sich eingefunden, Eccarius II, eben aus der Gefängnißhaft in Hannover entlassen und ausgewiesen, Gümpel, wegen seiner Beteiligung an den Schleswig-Holstein'schen Angelegenheiten steckbrieflich verfolgt, und Hirsch, der 1848 wegen eines revolutionären Gedichts in Hamburg gesessen hatte und sich für abermals verfolgt ausgab. Sie bildeten mit Stechan zusammen eine Art Opposition und begingen die Sünde gegen den heiligen Geist, die Glaubenslehre des Herrn Wülich in den öffentichen Diskussionen des Vereins zu bekämpfen. Ihnen allen fiel auf, daß Stechan's Denunziation gegen Dietz mit der Ausstoßung Hirsch's durch Wülich beantwortet wurde. Bald waren sie sämmtlich aus dem Arbeiterverein ausgetreten und büdeten eine Zeitlang mit Stechan einen Verein für sich. Mit mir traten sie erst in Berührung *nach* ihrem Austritt aus dem Vereine des Herrn Wülich. Das edel||12|müthige Bewußtsein verräth seine Lüge durch die Verkehrung der Zeitverhältnisse und das Weglassen Stechan's, des nothwendigen, aber lästigen Mittelgliedes.

Ich sage pag.66 der *Enthüllungen*: „Nicht lange vor den Kölner Assisenverhandlungen schickten Kinkel und Wülich einen SchneidergeseUen als Emissair nach Deutschland etc.“ „Warum“ ruft das edelmüthige Bewußtsein entrüstet aus, „warum hebt Herr Marx den *Schneidergesellen* hervor?“ Ich hebe den SchneidergeseUen nicht „hervor“, wie z.B. der Edle bei Pieper „den Privatlehrer bei Rothschild“ hervorhebt, obgleich Pieper seine Stelle bei Rothschild in Folge des Kölner Communistenprozesses verlor und statt dessen die Mitredaktion am Organ der englischen Chartisten gewann. Ich nenne den SchneidergeseUen einen SchneidergeseUen. Warum? Weü ich seinen Namen verschweigen und doch Herrn Kinkel-Wülich beweisen mußte, daß ich genau mit den Personalien ihres Emissairs bekannt war. Der Edelmuth bezüchtigt mich daher eines Hochverraths an sämmtlichen SchneidergeseUen und sucht ihre Stimmen durch eine pindarische Ode auf die SchneidergeseUen zu sichern. Aus Schonung für den guten Ruf der SchneidergeseUen verschweigt er großmüthig, daß Eccarius, den er als einen der ausgestoßenen Böcke bezeichnet, ein SchneidergeseUe ist, was den Eccarius bisher nicht daran verhindert hat, einer der größten Denker des deutschen Proletariats zu sein und durch seine englischen Artikel im *Red Republican*, in den *Notes to the People* und in den *People's Paper* sich eine Autorität unter den Chartisten selbst zu erobern. In dieser Weise *widerlegt*

Herr Willich meine Enthüllungen über die Thätigkeit des von ihm und Kinkel nach Deutschland gesandten Schneidergesellen.

Nun zum Casus *Herne*. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein sucht durch einen Ausfall auf mich seine eigene Position zu decken. „*Unter andern hat er*
5 (Henze) *Marx 300Rth. geborgt.* ”

Im Mai 1849 setzte ich Herrn Rempel die finanziellen Schwierigkeiten der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung auseinander, die mit der Zunahme der Abonnentenzahl zunahmen, da die Auslagen baar, die Einnahmen aber nur nachträglich zu erheben waren, und zudem bedeutende Ausfälle veranlaßt
10 wurden durch die Desertion fast sämtlicher Aktionäre in Folge der Artikel für die Pariser Junünsurgenten und gegen die Frankfurter Parlamentler, die Berliner Vereinbarer und die Märzvereinler. Herr Rempel wieß mich an Henze, und Herr Henze schoß der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung, gegen meine schriftliche Obligation, 300 Thaler vor. Henze, damals selbst von der Polizei
15 verfolgt, fand es nöthig, Hamm zu verlassen und reis'te mit nur nach Köln, wo mich die Nachricht von meiner Expulsion aus Preußen empfing. Die 300 nur von Henze geborgten Thaler, 1500 Thaler Abonentengelder, die ich von der preußischen Post erhielt, die mir gehörige Schnellpresse etc. wurden sämtlich zur Liquidation der Schulden der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung an
20 Setzer, Drucker, Papierhändler, Comptoiristen, Correspondenten, Redaktionspersonal etc. verwandt. Niemand weiß dieß besser, als Herr Henze, da er selbst meiner Frau eine Reisetasche borgte, um ihr Silber zu verpacken, nach Frankfurt in's Pfandhaus zu bringen, und so die Mittel für unsere Privatbedürfnisse zu beschaffen. Die Rechnungsbücher der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung hegen zu Köln bei dem Kaufmann Stephan Naut, und ich ermächtigte das edelmüthige Bewußtsein, sich dort einen amtlich beglaubigten Auszug ausfertigen zu lassen.

Nach dieser Abschweifung zur Sache.

Die Enthüllungen finden es keineswegs unklar, daß Herr Willich Henze's
30 Freund war und Unterstützungen von ihm empfing. Sie finden es unklar (pag. 65.), daß Henze, bei dem selbst eine Haussuchung stattfand und Papiere saisirt wurden, der überwiesen war, den Schimmelpfennig in Berlin auf einer geheimen Mission beherbergt zu haben, und der Mitwissenschaft am Bunde „geständig“ war, daß dieser Henze während der Epoche, wo der Kölner
35 Prozeß zur Entscheidung drängte, wo die Aufmerksamkeit der preußischen Polizei auf's höchste gespannt, und jeder halbverdächtige Deutsche in Deutschland und in England auf's strengste überwacht war, die obrigkeitliche Erlaubniß erhielt, nach London zu reisen und dort ungenirt mit I|13| Willich zu verkehren, dann aber in Köln eintraf, um gegen Becker
40 „falsche Aussagen“ zu machen. Die bestimmte Zeitepoche giebt dem Verhältniß des Herrn Henze und Willich den bestimmten Charakter, und die

erwähnten Umstände mußten Herrn Willich selbst befremden, obwohl er nicht wußte, daß Henze von London aus mit der preußischen Polizei telegraphirte. Es handelt sich um die Zeitepoche. Hr. Willich fühlt dies richtig heraus und erklärt daher in seiner edlen Art: „er{ Henze) kam vor dem Prozeß nach London" (dies behauptete ich auch); „nicht zu mir, sondern zur *Industrieausstellung*." Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein hat seine eigene Industrieausstellung, wie seinen eigenen *Précurseur de Bruxelles*. Die wirkliche Londoner Industrieausstellung wurde Oktober 1851 geschlossen; Herr Willich läßt den Henze im August 1852 „zu *ihr*" reisen. Diesen Umstand können Schily, Heise und die übrigen Garanten der Kinkel-Wülich'schen Anleihe bezeugen, denen Herr Henze einzeln seine Aufwartung machte, um ihre Stimmen für die Uebersiedlung der amerikanischen Gelder von London nach Berlin zu gewinnen. 5 10

Als Herr Henze bei Herrn Willich verweilte, war er längst als Zeuge, nicht von der Vertheidigung, sondern von der Anklage, zu den Kölner Gerichts-**Verhandlungen** vorgeladen. Sobald wir erfuhren, Herr Willich habe Henze instruirt, vor den Kölner Assisen *gegen* Becker, „den Mann von Geist und Charakter" auszusagen (pag.68 der Enthüllungen), wurde sofort an Advokaten Schneider II, Becker's Vertheidiger die nöthige Mittheüung gemacht; der Brief traf ein am Tage des Zeugenverhörs von Henze, die Art seiner Aussage stimmte mit unsrer *Vorhersage*, Becker und Schneider interpellirten ihn *daher* öffentlich über sein Verhältniß zu Herrn Willich. Der Brief befindet sich in den Vertheidigungsakten zu Köln, der Bericht über Henze's Verhör in der *Kölnischen Zeitung*. 15 20

Ich raisonire nicht: „*Wenn* es feststeht, daß Herr Henze das und das gethan hat, so *würde* das ein schlagender Beweis für die Thätigkeit des Herrn Willich sein; *denn wenn* es auch Freund Henze besorgt haben mag — der Kopf ist der Ideenfinder, nicht die Hand." Diese Dialektik überlasse ich dem edelmüthigen Bewußtsein. 25

Kehren wir zum eigentlichen Gebiet des Herrn Willich zurück: „zur vollen Würdigung der (von Marx befolgten) *Taktik noch einige Proben*". 30

Zur Zeit des passiven Widerstandes in Hessen, des Landwehraufgebots in Preußen, und des simulirten Konflikts zwischen Preußen und Oesterreich, stand das edelmüthige Bewußtsein grade auf dem Sprung, eine Militärinsurrektion in Deutschland zu vollbringen, und zwar durch Sendung eines „kurzen Entwurfs zur Bildung von Landwehrausschüssen an einige Personen in Preußen" und durch den *Willen* des Herrn Wülich „*selbst* nach Preußen zu gehen" ... „Herr Marx, benachrichtigt von einem der Seinen war es, der meine *beabsichtigte Abreise* weiter wissen ließ und später sich rühmte, mich mit *falschen Briefen* aus *Deutschland* mystifizirt zu haben." 35 40

Indeed! Becker schickte mir mit drolligen Randglossen die tollen Briefe

Willich's, die er in Köln öffentlich zum Besten gab. Ich war nicht so grausam, meinen Freunden den Genuß dieser Lektüre vorzuenthalten. Schramm und Pieper ergötzten sich daran, Herrn Wilhch mit Antworten, nicht „aus Deutschland“, sondern vermittelt der *Londoner Stadtpost* zu mystifizieren.

- 5 Der Edle wird sich hüten, die Poststempel der Briefe zu produzieren. Er behauptet, „einen Brief mit nachgemachter Handschrift erhalten und als falsch erkannt zu haben“. Unmöglich. Diese Briefe waren alle von derselben Hand geschrieben. Während Herr Wilhch sich daher „rühmt“, eine nicht existierende nachgemachte Handschrift entdeckt und unter einer Anzahl von
- 10 Briefen, von denen der eine in seiner Weise so echt war wie der andere, *einen* als falsch erkannt zu haben, war er viel zu edelmütig, die Mystifikation zu erkennen, aus der in asiatischen Hyperbolen gehaltenen Verherrlichung seiner eignen Person, aus dem grobkomischen Eingehen in seine fixen Ideen, und aus der romantischen Uebertreibung seiner eignen Anmaßungen. Wäre
- 15 Herrn Willich's Abreise auch ernst gemeint gewesen, so wurde sie vereitelt, nicht durch mein „Weiter wissen ||14| lassen an dritte Personen“, sondern durch das Wissen lassen an Herrn Willich selbst. Der letzte Brief, den er erhielt, warf nämlich den ohnehin durchsichtigen Schleier weg. Seine Eitelkeit zwingt ihn bis auf diesen Augenblick, den Brief der ihn enttäuschte,
- 20 für *falsch* und die Briefe, die ihn *narrten*, für echt zu erklären. Glaubt das edelmüthige Bewußtsein, weil es tugendhaft sei, solle es wohl sect and cakes, aber keinen Humor mehr in der Welt geben? Es war unedel von dem Edlen, das Publikum von dem Genuß dieser Briefe auszuschließen.

- „Was die von Marx angegebene Correspondenz mit Becker anbetrifft, so
- 25 ist das darüber gesagte *falsch*.“

Was diese falsche Correspondenz anbetrifft und Herrn Willich's *Absicht*, in eigener Person nach Preußen zu reisen, und mein Weiter wissen lassen an dritte Personen, so fand ich es angemessen, eine Copie der Criminalzeitung an den ehemaligen Lieutenant Steffen zu schicken. Steffen war Schutzzeuge

- 30 Beckers, der ihm seine sämmtlichen Papiere zur Aufbewahrung anvertraut hat. Durch die Polizei gezwungen, Köln zu verlassen, hält er sich jetzt in Chester als Lehrer auf, da er zur unedlen Gattung von Menschen gehört, die ihr Leben *verdienen* müssen, selbst im Exil. Das edelmüthige Bewußtsein, seinem aetherischen Wesen gemäß, lebt nicht von dem Kapital, das es nicht
- 35 besitzt; auch nicht von der Arbeit, die es nicht thut; es lebt—von dem Manna der öffentlichen Meinung, von der, *Achtung* der Anderen. Es streitet daher um sie, als sein einziges Kapital.

Steffen schreibt mir:

Chester, den 22. Nov. 1853.

- 40 „Wilhch ist sehr böse, daß Sie Bruchstücke aus einem Briefe Becker's mittheilen. Er bezeichnet den Brief und also auch die daraus citirten Stellen

als *vorgeschützt*. Dieser plumpen Behauptung stelle ich Thatsachen entgegen, um Beckers Ansicht über Willich zu dokumentiren. Eines Abends gab mir Becker mit herzlichem Lachen zwei Briefe und bat mich, dieselben durchzulesen, wenn ich übler Laune sei; der Inhalt würde mich um so mehr erheitern, als ich durch meine früheren Verhältnisse im Stande sei, denselben vom militärischen Standpunkt zu beurtheilen. In der That, beim Durchlesen dieser Briefe, von August Willich an Becker gerichtet, fand ich höchst komische und merkwürdige *Parolebefehle* (um mich eines passenden königlich preußischen Ausdrucks zu bedienen), in welchen der große Feldmarschall und sociale Messias von England aus den Befehl giebt, Köln zu nehmen, das Privatvermögen zu konfisciren, eine künstlich konstruirte militärische Dictatur zu etabliren, einen militärisch-socialen Codex einzuführen, alle Zeitungen bis auf *eine* zu verbieten, welche die Befehle über die vorschriftsmäßige Denk- und Handlungsweise täglich zu bringen habe, und eine Menge Details mehr. Willich war gütig genug zu versprechen, daß *wenn* in Köln und der preußischen Rheinprovinz das Stück Arbeit *gethan* sei, er *selbst* kommen werde, zu sondern die Böcke von den Schafen und zu richten die Lebendigen und die Todten. Willich giebt an, daß sein ‚kurzer Entwurf leicht ausführbar gewesen wäre, *wenn* einige Personen die Initiative ergriffen hätten‘ und ‚daß er die bedeutendsten Folgen (für wen?) gehabt haben würde‘. Ich möchte zu meiner Belehrung wohl wissen, welche tief-sinnigen ‚Landwehroffiziere‘ Herrn Willich das ‚später erklärten‘, und ob diese Herren, die an ‚die bedeutendsten Folgen des kurzen Entwurfs‘ zu glauben *vorschützten*, sich während der Zusammenziehung der preußischen Landwehr in England aufhielten oder in Preußen, wo das Kind der Welt produziert werden sollte? Es ist sehr hübsch von Willich gewesen, daß er die Geburtsanzeige und die Beschreibung des Kindes ‚einigen‘ Personen zugeschickt hat. Keine dieser Personen scheint jedoch mehr Neigung gehabt zu haben, Gevatter bei der Taufe zu stehen, als Becker ‚der Mann von Verstand und Charakter‘. Willich hat einmal einen Adjudanten hinüberschickt, Namens ____ Dieser erzeugte nur die Ehre, mich rufen zu lassen, und war sehr fest überzeugt, daß er alle Verhältnisse von vornherein besser beurtheilen könne, als irgend jemand, der Tag für Tag den Thatsachen in's Auge sah. Er bekam daher eine sehr geringe Meinung von mir, als ich ihm mittheilte, die Offiziere der preußischen Armee würden sich nicht glücklich schätzen, unter seinem und Willich's Banner zu fechten, wären gar nicht geneigt, die Willich'sche Republik *citissime* zu erklären. Noch mehr erzürnte er, als kein Mensch unsinnig genug war, seine fertig mitgebrachte Aufforderung an die Offiziere, sofort offen zu ‚das‘ sich zu erklären, was er die Demokratie nannte, vervielfältigen zu wollen. Wüthend verließ er ‚das von Marx geknechtete Köln‘ (wie er nur schrieb), und bewirkte die Vervielfältigung

fältigung dieses Blödsinns in einem andern Orte, sandte ihn an eine Menge Offiziere und so kam es, daß das keusche Geheimniß dieser schlaunen Methode, die preußischen Offiziere zu Republikanern zu machen, von dem ‚Zuschauer‘ der Kreuzzeitung prostituirt wurde.

- 5 Wülich erklärt seinen absoluten Unglauben, daß Personen von dem ‚Charakter und Geist Becker's‘ über sein Projekt lachen konnten. Er erklärt das Aussprechen dieser Thatsache für eine plumpe Unwahrheit. Wenn er den Kölner Prozeß gelesen hätte, und er hatte doch wahrlich Ursache dazu, so hätte er gefunden, daß Becker sowohl als ich das in dem von Ihnen
10 veröffentlichten Brief enthaltne Urtheü über seine Projecte öffentlich ausgesprochen haben. Wüschte Wülich eine richtige *militärische* Schüderung der damaligen Verhältnisse, die er nach seiner Phantasie modelte, so kann ich damit dienen.

- 15 Ich bedaure, daß Wülich nicht allein in Weydemeyer und Techow ehemalige Cameraden findet, die seiner militärischen Genialität und praktischen Auffassung der Verhältnisse die gewünschte Bewunderung versagen.

W. Steffen." \

[15] Nun zur Schluß-„Probe von der Taktik von Marx“.

- Herr Wülich giebt eine phantastische Beschreibung eines im Jahre 1851
20 abgehaltenen Februarbanquets, das von Louis Blanc als eine Gegendemonstration gegen das Banquet von Ledru Rollin und gegen den Einfluß von Blanqui veranstaltet war. „Herr Marx war natürlich nicht zugezogen.“ Natürlich nicht. Es konnte sich Jeder für sh. 2 zuziehen, und Louis Blanc fragte Marx einige Tage später mit großem Nachdruck, warum er nicht
25 erschienen sei? „Es wurde darauf (worauf? auf dem Banquet?) ein *nicht gehaltner Toast* Blanqui's mit einer das Fest schmähenden Einleitung, in welcher Schapper und Wülich als Volksverführer bezeichnet wurden, als Flugschrift in Deutschland unter den Arbeitern verbreitet.“

- Der „nicht gehaltene Toast Blanqui's“ gehört wesentlich zur Geschichte
30 des edelmütigen Bewußtseins, das im Glauben an den *höhern* Sinn seiner Worte mit Entschiedenheit zu äußern pflegt: „*Ich lüge nie!*“

- Einige Tage nach dem Banquet brachte die Pariser *Patrie* einen Toast, den Blanqui auf Verlangen den Festordnern von Belle Isle eingesandt hatte, worin er in seiner gewohnten prägnanten Form die gesammte provisorische
35 Regierung von 1848 und spezieU den Vater des Banquets, Herrn Louis Blanc, geißelte. Die *Patrie* stente sich verwundert, daß dieser Toast während des Banquets unterschlagen worden sei. Sofort erklärt Louis Blanc in der Londoner *Times*, Blanqui sei ein abominabler Intriguant und habe dem Festcommittee einen solchen Toast nie zugeschickt. Die Hrn. Louis Blanc,
40 Landolphe, Barthélémy, Vidü, Schapper und *Willich selbst* erklärten im

Namen des Festkomitees in der Patrie den fraglichen Toast *nie* erhalten zu haben. Die Patrie jedoch, bevor sie die Erklärung abdrucken ließ, erkundigte sich bei Herrn Antoine, Blanqui's Schwager, der ihr den Toast zur Veröffentlichung mitgetheilt hatte. *Unter* die Erklärung der obengenannten Herren druckte sie Antoine's Antwort ab: er habe den Toast allerdings 5
Barthélémy zugeschickt und von ihm auch Empfangsanzeige erhalten. Herr Barthélémy erklärte „*darauf*“, er habe den Toast zwar erhalten, ihn aber als unpassend zurückgelegt, ohne dem Committee davon Anzeige zu machen. Aber leider hatte schon vorher der ebenfalls mitunterzeichnete Exkapitain Vidil der Patrie geschrieben, sein militärisches Ehrgefühl und sein Wahrheitsinstinkt drängen ihm das Geständniß ab, daß er selbst, Louis Blanc, Willich und alle die anderen in der ersten Erklärung gelogen hätten. Das Committee habe nicht aus den genannten sechs, es habe aus 13 Mitgliedern bestanden. Ihnen allen sei der Toast Blanqui's vorgelegt, von ihnen allen sei er diskutiert und nach längerer Debatte durch eine Majorität von 7 gegen 6 15
unterdrückt worden. Er habe sich unter den 6 befunden, die *für* seine Verlesung gestimmt.

Man begreift den Jubel der Patrie, als sie, nach dem Vidil'schen Brief, die Erklärung des Herrn Barthélémy erhielt. Sie ließ ihn mit folgendem „Vorwort“ abdrucken: „Wir haben uns oft gefragt, und die Frage ist schwer zu 20
beantworten, was bei den Demagogen größer sei, ihre Ruhmredigkeit oder ihre Dummheit: Ein vierter Brief von London vermehrt noch unsre Verlegenheit. Da sind ihrer, wir wissen nicht wie viele arme Teufel, in einem solchen Grade gemartert von der Wuth zu schreiben und ihren Namen in den *reaktionären* Blättern genannt zu sehen, daß sie selbst vor einer grenzenlosen 25
Beschämung und Selbstherabsetzung nicht zurückschrecken. Was liegt ihnen am Gelächter und der Indignation des Publikums — das Journal des Débats, die Assemblée Nationale, die Patrie werden ihre Stylübungen abdrucken; um dies Glück zu erreichen, ist kein Preis der kosmopolitischen Demokratie zu hoch... Im Namen der literarischen Commisération nehmen 30
wir daher den folgenden Brief des Bürgers Barthélémy auf; er ist ein neuer, und wir hoffen der letzte Beweis für die Aechtheit des nur zu berühmten Toastes Blanqui's, den sie erst Alle geläugnet, und für dessen Betheuerung sie sich jetzt untereinander in die Haare gerathen.“ Soweit die Geschichte des Blanqui-Toastes. Die *société des proscrits démocrates socialistes* 35
in Folge des „nicht gehaltenen Toastes Blanqui's“ ihr Kartell mit dem Vereine des Herrn Willich ab. j

[16] In der *société des proscrits démocrates socialistes* ging gleichzeitig mit der Spaltung im deutschen Arbeiterverein und der deutschen Communisten-Gesellschaft eine Scheidung vor sich. Eine Anzahl Mitglieder, der Hinneigung zur *bürgerlichen* Demokratie, zum *Ledru Roll'nismus* verdächtig, 40

Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewußtsein

reichte ihre Entlassung ein und wurde dann nachträglich ausgeschlossen. Sollte das edelmütige Bewußtsein nun *dieser* Gesellschaft erklären, was es jetzt den bürgerlichen Demokraten erklärt, Engels und Marx hätten es verhindert, der bürgerlichen Demokratie in die Arme zu sinken, „mit *allen*
5 Revolutionsgefährten durch die Bande der Sympathie vereinigt“ zu bleiben, oder sollte es ihnen sagen, daß „bei der Trennung die verschiedenen Ansichten über die revolutionäre Entwicklung *keine* Rolle spielten“? Das edle Bewußtsein erklärte vielmehr *umgekehrt*, die Scheidung sei in beiden Gesellschaften aus *demselben* prinzipiellen Gegensatze hervorgegangen, Engels, Marx etc. hätten das *Bourgeoiselement* repräsentirt in dem deutschen Verein, wie Madier und Konsorten in dem französischen. Der Edle befürchtet sogar, die bloße Berührung mit diesem Bourgeoiselement möchte den „wahren Glauben“ gefährden und stellte daher in stiller Größe den Antrag, daß das Bourgeoiselement „selbst **nicht** als *Besucher*“ in die Ge-
10 **is** **Seilschaft** des proscrits zugelassen werden solle.

Erfunden! falsch! ruft das edelmütige Bewußtsein in seinen gesinnungstüchtigen Monosyllaben. Meine „Proben der Taktik“!

Voyons!

«*Présidence du citoyen Adam.*

Séance du 30. Sept. 1850.

20 <Trois délégués de la société démocratique allemande de Windmül-Street sont introduits, **us** donnent connaissance de leur mission qui consiste dans la communication d'une lettre dont il est fait lecture, (In diesem Briefe werden die Gründe der Scheidung angeblich auseinandergesetzt). *Le citoyen Adam* fait remarquer *l'analogie* qui existe entre les événements qui viennent
25 de s'accomplir dans les deux sociétés, de chaque côté *l'élément bourgeois* et *le parti prolétaire* ont fait scission dans les circonstances *identiques* etc. etc. *Le citoyen Wülich* demande que les membres démissionnaires (er verbessert sich dann, wie das Protokoll sagt, und sagt expulsés) de la société allemande, ne puissent être reçus même comme *visiteurs*, dans la société
30 française. > (Extraits conformes au texte original des procès verbaux.) *L'archiviste de la société des proscrits démocrates socialistes.*

J.Clédat.»

Hiermit schließt die süßklingende, wunderliche, hochtrabende, unerhörte, wahrhafte und abentheuerliche Geschichte des weltbekannten *Ritters vom*
35 *edelmütigen Bewußtsein.*

An honest mind and plain; he must speak truth,
And they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
These kind of knaves I know.

London, den 28. November 1853.

Karl Marx.

40

Karl Marx
Manteuffel's Speech—Religious Movement in Prussia-
Mazzini's Address—London Corporation-
Russell's Reform—Labor Parliament

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3948, 12. Dezember 1853

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1853.

Yesterday morning the Prussian Chambers were opened by a speech of the Prime Minister, Mr. Manteuffel. The passage relative to the eastern complication, as communicated to us by electric telegraph, is couched in terms clearly intended to allay the suspicions afloat with respect to a conspiracy between the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna. It is the more remarkable as it is generally known that Frederick William IV, by the organ of the same Manteuffel, has condescended at various previous occasions, to solemnly communicate to his loyal people, that the Chambers have no call to intermeddle with matters of foreign policy, since the external relations of the state fall as much under the exclusive control of the crown, as the king's own demesne lands. The above mentioned passage, involving as it does, something like an appeal to the people, betrays the extreme difficulties the Prussian government finds itself placed in, menaced on the one hand by Russia and France, and on the other by its own subjects, at the same time that it is stimulated by the high price of provisions, a deeply depressed commerce, and the remembrance of an atrocious breach of faith still to be expiated. The Prussian government itself has cast off the refuge of working on public opinion through the means of the Chambers, which are deherberately constituted by the king as a mere sham, intentionally treated by the ministers as a mere sham, and accepted by the people as a mere sham, in a manner not to be misunderstood. It will not do to tell them now that these mock institutions are, all of a sudden, to be looked upon as the bulwarks of "Father Land." "The Prussians," says *The Times* of to-day, "have hardly shown the sense and sagacity for which they once had credit, by the undeserved contempt into which they have allowed the Chambers, elected under the present constitution, to fall." On the contrary, the Prussians have fully shown their good sense, by allowing the men who betrayed the revolution in the hope

of reaping its fruits, to enjoy not even the *appearance* of influence, and to prove to the government that they are not the dupes of its juggle, and that the Chambers, in their opinion, if they are anything at all, are but a new bureaucratic institution, added to the old bureaucratic institutions of the
 5 country.

Every one not thoroughly acquainted with the past history of Germany will be at a loss to understand the religious quarrels again and again troubling the otherwise dull surface of German society. There are the remnants of the so-called German Church, persecuted now, as eagerly as in 1847, by the
 10 established governments. There is the question of marriages between Catholics and Protestants, setting the Catholic clergy and the Prussian Government by the ears, as in 1847. There is, above all, the fierce combat between the Archbishop of Friburg, excommunicating the Baden Government, and having his letter publicly read from the pulpits, and the Grand Duke ordering
 15 the recreant churches to be closed, and the parish priests to be arrested; and there are the peasants assembling and arming themselves, protecting their priests and driving back the Gendarmes, which they have done at Bishof s-heim, Königshofen, Grünsfeld, Gerlachsheim, where the Mayor of the village was forced to fly, and at many other villages. It would be a mistake
 20 to consider the religious conflict in Baden as possessed of a purely local character. Baden is only the battle-ground the Catholic party has deliberately chosen for attacking the Protestant princes. The Archbishop of Friburg represents in this conflict the whole Catholic clergy of Germany, as the Grand Duke of Baden represents all the great and small potentates confessing
 25 the reformed creed. What then are we to think of a country renowned on the one hand for the profound, bold and unparalleled criticism to which it has subjected all religious traditions, and surprising, on the other, all Europe, at periodically recurring epochs, with the resurrection of the religious quarrels of the 17th century? The secret is simply this, that all popular com-
 30 motions, lurking in the back-ground, are forced by the governments to assume at first the mystical and almost uncontrollable form of religious movements. The clergy, on their part, allow themselves to be deceived by appearances, and, while they fancy they direct the popular passions for the exclusive benefit of their corporation, against the government, they are, in
 35 truth, the unconscious and unwilling tools of the revolution itself.

The daily London press exhibits a great show of horror and moral indignation at an address issued by Mazzini, and found in the possession of Felice Orsini, leader of the National Band No. 2, destined to rise in the province of Lunigiana, which contains portions of Modena, Parma, and the
 40 Kingdom of Piedmont. In this address the people are exhorted to "act by *surprise*, as the people of Milan tried to do, and will again." The address then

says: "The *dagger*, if it strikes unexpectedly, does good service and supplies the place of muskets." This the London press represents as an open appeal to "*secret, cowardly assassination*." Now I want only to know how, in a country like Italy, where public means of resistance are nowhere, and police spies are everywhere, an insurrectionary movement could expect any chance 5 of success if *surprise* be not resorted to? I want to know, if the people of Italy are to fight with the troops of Austria at all, with what kind of weapons they are to fight except with those left to them—with the *daggers* Austria has not succeeded in taking away? Mazzini is far from telling them to use the dagger for cowardly assassination of the *unarmed* foe—exhorts them to use 10 it "by surprise," it is true, but in the broad light of day, as *at Milan*, where a few patriots, armed only with knives, rushed on the guard-houses of the armed Austrian garrisons. But, says *The Times*, "constitutional Piedmont is to undergo the same fate as Rome, Naples, and Lombardy!" Why not? Was it not the King of Sardinia who betrayed the Italian revolution in 1848 15 and in 1849, and can Italy be transformed into a Republic with a King of Piedmont any more than Germany with a King of Prussia? So much as to the morality of Mazzini's address. As to its political value, it is quite another question. I, for my part, think Mazzini to be mistaken, both in his opinions about the Piedmontese people and in his dreams of an Italian revolution, 20 which he supposes is not to be effected by the favorable chances of European complications, but by the private action of Italian conspirators acting by surprise.

You will have seen by the London papers that Government has appointed a commission for inquiring into the corrupt practices and the whole organiza- 25 tion of that most venerable body known as the Corporation of the City. The following are some of the facts contained in the reports of the commission, whose labors are still far from having arrived at a close:

The revenue of the Corporation of London is estimated at £400,000, without taking all items into account, and the gross amount paid away in 30 salaries reaches the very considerable sum of £107,000, or more than 25 per cent, of the whole income. The legal salaries are set down at £14,700, of which the Recorder receives £3,000, the Common Sergeant, £1,500, and the Judge of the Sheriff's Court, £1,200. The Town Clerk receives £1,892; the Secretary, £1,249, and the Remembrancer, £1,765. The Chief Clerks at the Mansion- 35 House and Guildhall receive between them £1,250 a year. The Mace-bearer receives £550, and the Sword-bearer £550; the Upper Marshal £450 or £500, the Under Marshal £200 or £300. These Bumbles draw besides, £70 for uniforms, £14 for boots, and £20 for cocked hats. Mr. Bennoch stated in his evidence that "the whole expense of the establishments in the Corporation 40 of London is much greater than the whole expense of the Federal Govern-

ment of the United States, or, what is perhaps a more startling statement, its expenditure upon itself, in administering the funds of the Corporation, is larger than the whole amount of revenue from rents, tolls and fees from brokers which it receives."

- 5 The great secret of the Reform pills Lord John Russell intends to administer to the British public has at last come out. He proposes: 1, a repeal of the property qualification for members of Parliament, a qualification which has long since become a nominal one; 2, a readjustment of the constituencies by doing away with some small boroughs and adding more large
- 10 ones; 3, a reduction of the county constituencies from the £20 to the £10 borough qualification. A fourth proposition to lower the franchise to £5 has been abandoned, as by this means, says *The Times*, "the present electors would be virtually disenfranchised, because the class to be admitted will greatly outnumber all others put together, and has only to be unanimous to
- 15 be supreme." In other words, enfranchising the majority even of the small trading class would disenfranchise the minority. A very ingenious argument this. The most important feature of the Reform bill looming in the future is, however, not this point, or all its points taken together. This important feature is the general and absolute indifference its announcement meets with. Every
- 20 Police report attracts a great deal more of public attention than the "*great measure*," the new Reform bill, the common work of the "Ministry of all the talents."

- Ernest Jones was quite right in anticipating that the first note sounded of the mass movement of the people and a national organization headed by a
- 25 Labor Parliament would strike alarm into the moneyed classes, and force the London class papers to take notice of it. *The Times* has immediately seen the importance of this new movement, and has given for the first time a report of the Chartist meeting held in the People's Institute at Manchester. All its cotemporaries are filled with leading articles on the labor movement and the
- 30 Labor Parliament proposed by the Chartists, who were long since supposed to have died of exhaustion. *The Economist* has no less than four articles on the question. The reports, however, of the highly important meeting at Manchester cannot be said to afford any idea of its character or the business there transacted. I think fit, therefore, to give a report of my own. The
- 35 following resolutions were proposed and adopted:

- "1. That this meeting, after witnessing the futility of sectional struggles on the part of isolated bodies of workingmen to maintain a just standard of wages and to achieve the emancipation of labor, is of the opinion that the time has now arrived when a united and mass movement of the working
- 40 classes, based on a national organization, and guided by one directing body, can alone insure adequate support to the men now locked out of employment

and on strike, and enable workingmen in the future to emancipate labor from the thralldom of capital. The mass movement of the people and national organization be not intended to, and shall not, interfere with the present Trade Unions and combinations of workingmen, but that its action be to centralize, concentrate and confederate the strength of all, and of the entire body of workingmen. 5

2. That to carry the foregoing resolution it will be imperatively necessary that a Labor Parliament should meet as soon as possible; that Parliament to consist of delegates elected by the workingmen of each town in public meeting assembled. That the duties of that Parliament shall be to organize machinery whereby support may be rendered to the people now out on strike, or locked out by the manufacturers, by raising a national subscription of the most extensive character to lay down a specific plan of action for the guidance of the working classes in their contest with the employers, and to propound the means by which labor may be emancipated from the undue influence of capital and become independent, self-employing and remunerative, without the necessity of strikes. 10 15

3. That this meeting elect a Committee to correspond for the above purpose with the various towns and districts to make all necessary arrangements for the calling of the Labor Parliament, and to arrange and publish the necessary details for the sitting of the delegates, as well as a programme of the business to be brought before the delegation." 20

By far the most remarkable speech was that of Mr. Jones, of which I give some extracts:

"The employer says, in *The London Times*, you have nothing to do with his profits. You must only count your own heads, not his profits. If there are many heads, although you want more, you will get less. And that he calls the law of supply and demand. That alone, he says, should regulate your wages. But does it? No! If you've no business to claim a rise of wages when his profits are high, he should not pull you down when his profits become low. But then he'll tell you, though not one hand less may be employed—'trade's bad, times are hard, my profits have grown smaller—I can't afford to pay you the same wages.' It is not the law of supply and demand, then, but the law of dear cotton and small profits that regulates your labor. The law of supply may be true, but the law of life is truer. The law of demand may be strong, but the law of starvation will be stronger still! We say, if the one capital, money, has a right to profits, so has the other capital, labor, too; and labor has the greater right, because labor made money, and not money labor. What is profit? The capital that remains after deduction of all working charges. The wages you have hitherto received are merely a portion of the working charges. That which only keeps soul and body together is no reward 25 30 35 40

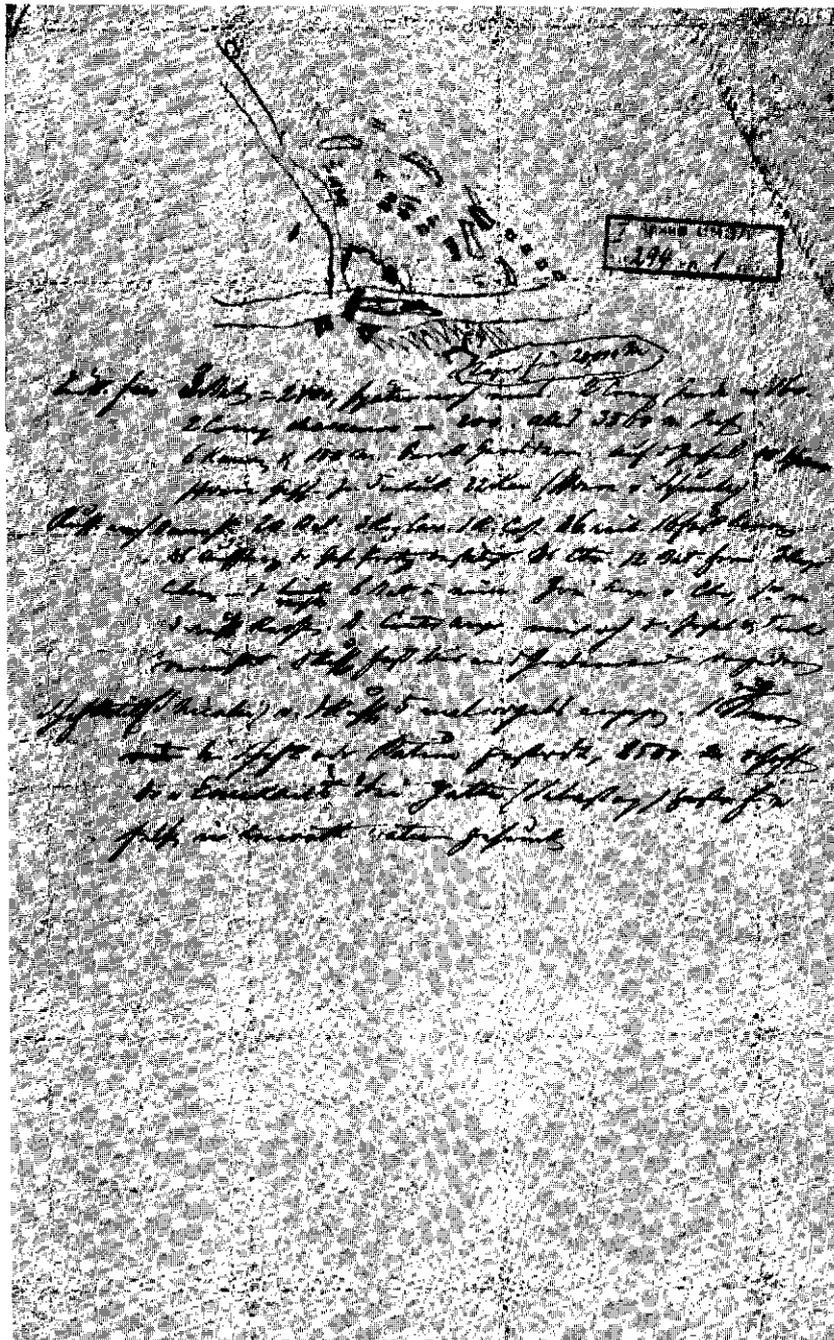
for toil. It is merely the necessary cost of keeping the human machine in working order. You must have a surplus over and above the working cost of feeding and housing the machine of flesh and blood. You must have food for heart and brain, as well as for the mouth and belly. The employer dreads
5 your getting more wages; not because he can't afford to pay them, for his capital has increased more than 100 per cent, in the last seven years, and you asked for only 10 as your wage out of his 100 on your work. He dreads it, because higher wages would lead to independence; he dreads it, because higher wages would lead to education; he dreads it, because an enlightened
10 people will not be slaves; he dreads it, because he knows you would then no more submit to work so many hours; he dreads it, because you would then not allow your wives to slave in the factory hell; he dreads it, because you would then send your children to school instead of the mill; he dreads it, because he knows if the wife was at the fireside, the child at the school
15 and short time at the factory, the surplus hands that now beat wages down would flee from his control and labor would become a priceless pearl, gemming the diadem of human freedom. But the question has once more changed its aspect: it is not merely one of obtaining a share in the employer's profits, or a rise of 10 per cent.; it is one of preventing a fall of 20. Good trade or
20 bad trade makes little change to them: in the one they plunder the world abroad—in the other they plunder the world at home. The question is rapidly changing for you, not into one of lower or higher wages, but into one of starvation or existence; of life in the factory hell or dead at the factory door. The capitalists, those Cossacks of the West, first crossed the Danube of
25 labor's rights; they have proclaimed their martial law of gold, and hurl starvation into our ranks from the batteries of monopoly. Town after town is placed in a state of siege. Non-employment digs the trenches, hunger scales the citadel of labor, the artillery of famine plays on the lines of toil. Every day their great confederation spreads; every day their movement becomes more
30 national. How are you prepared to confront them? Your movement is running into chaos and confusion. As the lock-outs spread and your isolated action continues, you will be poaching in each other's preserves; the collectors of the one place will meet those of the others on the same ground—you will stand as foes where you should shake hands as allies—you will weaken each other's
35 help where you should help each other's weakness. The Wigan colliers were close to Preston, to Stockport, to Manchester, to Oldham, and they were left to fall unaided. The factory operatives are on strike at Wigan too. And what do they say to the defeat of their brother workingmen the miners? They consider it a happy riddance. They cannot help it—because they stand in each
40 other's way. But why do they so stand? Because you hedge your movement within the narrow limits of one trade, one district and one interest. The

Karl Marx

movement of your employers is becoming national, and national must be your resistance also. As it is you are running into anarchy and ruin. Do not suppose that I impugn the wisdom, conduct or integrity of the Trades' Unions.

But the leading strings that support the child become impediments that clog the man. That isolation which worked well in the infancy of the labor movement becomes ruin in its manhood. Let all the trades be represented whose support you seek. Place the cause of labor not in the hands of one mill, or one town, or even one district, but place it in the hands of a laborers' Parliament."

Karl Marx.



Friedrich Engels'
„Bemerkungen über den russisch-türkischen Krieg“,
Handschrift mit Zeichnung

Friedrich Engels
Bemerkungen über den russisch-türkischen Krieg

- Lager für 20,000M.
- 5 Türk, forces 3 Bat. = 2400, später noch eins. 2 Comp. Garde = 160.
2 Comp, chasseurs = 200. Ahes 3560 M. Inf.
6 Kanonen & 150M. berittene Gensdarm. Auf der Insel 10
schwere Gesch. In Turtukai 22 Kan. (schwere vor Schumla)
- 10 Russen nach Omer Pascha 20 Bat. 3 Reg. Cav. 1R. Cos.
16 reitende 16 fuß Kanonen. Das Auffliegen der Protzen
bestätigt. Das Centrum 12 Bat. formen 3 Angriffs Colons—die
rechten 6 Bat. auch eine. Zwei Angriffe vom Centrum, einer
von der russischen Rechten. Der Centrumangriff meist durch
die Insel & Turtukai vernichtet: Die Russen fast bis an den
Grabenrand vorgedrungen.
- 15 Schefkatil (S.Nicolai) von den Russen 5mal vergebens angegriffen.
1 russischer Steamer bei Schefkatil oder Batum gestrandet,
1500M. erstickt. Der „EHHKajrfe“ bei Yalta (Sebastopol) auf
einen Felsen in smooth water gesunken.

Friedrich Engels
The War on the Danube

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3952, 16. Dezember 1853

The War on the Danube.

As we have already observed, the retreat of the Turks from Oltenitza appears to indicate the conclusion of the first epoch of the Turko-Russian war; with it at least a first and distinct series of operations, beginning with the passage at Kalafat, seems to be concluded, to make room either for the tranquility of winter-quarters, or for the execution of new plans not yet developed. The moment seems opportune for a review of the campaign up to that epoch, the more so as the official and non-official reports of the only action of consequence fought on the Danube, the Russian attack upon the Turkish tête-de-pont at Oltenitza, are just come to hand.

On the 28th of October the Turks crossed from Widdin to Kalafat. They were hardly disturbed in their occupation of this point, except by reconnoitering skirmishes; for when the Russians were on the point of concentrating an effective force at Krajova for the attack on Kalafat, they were disturbed by the news of a second and more dangerous advance of the Turks, who, on the 2d of November, had crossed the Danube at Oltenitza, whence they seriously menaced the Russian communications. Simulated and secondary attacks were at the same time made by the Turks on the whole line of the Danube from Widdin to Oltenitza, but these either found the Russians well prepared, or were not undertaken with a sufficient force to deceive the enemy and lead him into any serious error.

The corps at Kalafat, therefore, remained unmolested and gradually received reinforcements, which are said to have swelled it to something like 24,000 men. But as this corps has neither advanced or suffered a repulse, we may for the present leave it out of consideration.

The passage at Oltenitza took place according to Omer Pasha's report in the following way: Oltenitza is a village situated near the confluence of the Ardgish River and the Danube. Opposite the mouth of the Ardgish there is an island in the Danube; on the southern bank of this river the village and

fort of Turtukai are situated, on a steep bank rising to some 600 or 700 feet, on the top of which elevation the fort of Turtukai is constructed. The guns of Turtukai, therefore, form a most effective support to any corps crossing the river at this point. On the 1st Nov. the Turks crossed over to the island
5 and there threw up solid entrenchments during the night. On the 2d they crossed from this island to the Wallachian shore, east of the Ardgish. Two battalions, with 100 horsemen and two guns passed in boats to the Wallachian side; a few gun-shots from Turtukai drove the Russian outposts from a lazaretto building situated near the river side, and this building, which was
10 immediately taken possession of by the Turks, proved a great advantage to them. It was massively constructed, with vaulted chambers, thereby offering, with hardly any additional labor, all the advantages of that great desideratum in field-fortification, a *réduit*. Consequently the Turks at once began throwing up entrenchments from the Ardgish to the Danube; four hundred men
15 were kept constantly employed, gabions and fascines having been prepared beforehand. From all the reports we receive, we can only conclude that these entrenchments were continuous lines, cutting off entirely every communication from the Russian positions to the Turkish points of landing. Fortification by continuous entrenched lines has been long since generally
20 condemned and found ineffective; but the special destination of this entrenchment as a bridge-head, the fact that a capital *réduit* was found ready made, the want of engineers among the Turks, and other circumstances peculiar to the Turkish army, may have rendered it, after all, more advisable to employ this antiquated system. In the Ardgish the Turks found a number
25 of boats which were at once employed together with what they had before, in the construction of a bridge across the Danube. All these works were nearly completed by the morning of Nov. 4.

At Oltenitza, then, the Turks had a mere bridge-head on the left bank of the Danube; the Turkish army had not crossed the river, nor has it done so
30 since; but it had a safe débouché on the left bank, which might be turned to account the very moment when a sufficient force was concentrated at Turtukai. They had the means, beside, of taking either the right or the left of the Ardgish; and, finally, all their operations in the vicinity of the river were protected by ten heavy guns in the fort on the heights of Turtukai, whose
35 range, consequent upon this elevated position and the narrowness of the river at that point, extended at least half a mile beyond the bridge-head.

The bridge-head was occupied by three battalions of the line, (2,400 men) two companies of guards, (160 men) two of sharp shooters, (200 men) 100 cavalry and some artillery, who attended to the 12 heavy guns placed
40 in the Lazaretto. The right wing of the entrenchment was enfiladed and flanked by the guns of Turtukai, which besides could sweep the whole of

the plain in front of the center of the bridge-head. The left wing, resting on the River Ardgish, was flanked by the battery on the island, but part of this ground was thickly studded with brush-wood, so as to offer considerable shelter to the Russians in approaching.

When on Nov. 4, the Russians attacked the Turkish lines they had, according to Omer Pasha, 20 battalions, 4 regiments of cavalry and 32 guns, altogether about 24,000 men. It appears they formed in the following order: twelve battalions and 14 guns opposite the center of the bridge-head; two battalions and two guns in the wood to the left (Russian right) on the river Ardgish, six battalions, *en échelons*, with four guns against the Turkish right, toward the Danube, their line being prolonged and outflanked by the cavalry. The center first formed a column of attack, after the fire of the Russian guns had been kept up for a time; the two wings followed; then the artillery, which had first fired at a distance of some 1,200 yards from the parapets came up to effective grape range, (600 to 700 yards,) and the columns of attack were hurried forward. As may be anticipated, the column of the Russian left (nearest the Danube) was shattered by the fire of the Turtukai guns; that of the center very soon shared the same fate; that of the right (on the Ardgish) was crushed by the fire from the Island, and appears to have been far too weak to do any good. The attack was once or twice repeated, but without the *ensemble* of the first assault, and then the Russians had enough of it. They had marched resolutely up to the brink of the ditch, (which must not be too literally understood,) but the Turkish fire proved overwhelming before they came to a hand-to-hand fight.

During the fight Omer Pasha sent a battalion of regulars across the river to act as reserve. Thus the Turks engaged may be estimated at 3,600 infantry, with 44 heavy guns.

The forces of the Russians are less easily ascertained. While Omer Pasha speaks of twenty battalions, two British officers in his camp agree in reducing the force actually engaged to some 8,000 men. These two statements are not exactly contradictory. The Russians might have some twenty battalions in order of battle, and yet from the nature of the ground, of from contempt of their opponents, the actual mass of the attacking columns might not exceed eight battalions at a time; and a circumstance which the British officers do not mention, but which Omer Pasha reports, shows that the Russians had ample reserves. It is this, that every fresh attack was headed by a fresh battalion drawn from the reserves for the purpose. Besides, the reports of the two "officers of her Majesty's guards" bear in every line the stamp of that ignorant and inexperienced self-sufficiency which belongs to subalterns of the privileged corps of all armies.

Upon the whole, therefore, we think Omer Pasha's statement entitled to

credit. There may have been eighteen or twenty Russian battalions present during the action, of which ten or twelve may successively have been brought to act, although from six to eight thousand may be the number of those who at a given time advanced simultaneously and ineffectually upon the Turkish 5 entrenchments. The loss of the Russians, which must have amounted at least to 1,500 or 2,000, also proves what numbers they must have brought into the field. They were finally repulsed, leaving 500 muskets, plenty of baggage and ammunition, and 800 killed and wounded in the hands of the Turks, and retreated partially in disorder.

10 If we look at the tactics of this conflict on either side, we are surprised to find a gross blunder committed by the Russians, which was deservedly expiated by their signal defeat. They showed a contempt of their adversaries which has been seldom equaled. They had to attack pretty strong lines, with a capital réduit flanked by ten heavy guns on the island, commanded by 15 twenty-two guns at Turtukai, which also commanded the ground in front of the lines; altogether, forty-four, or at least thirty-eight guns, ah or mostly of heavy metal. Now every officer knows that in attacking a field fortification, you have first by your artillery to silence its guns and the batteries that may support it; then to destroy, as much as possible, the parapets, 20 palisades and other defenses ; then, by approaching your batteries still closer to the attacked works, to sweep the parapets with a continued hail-storm of grape-shot, until at last you can risk launching your columns of attack upon the half-demolished work and its demoralized defenders. In order to do all this, you must have a decided superiority in the number and caliber of your 25 artillery. But what do we see the Russians attempt? To storm a bridge-head, defended by artillery superior to their own in number, superior in caliber, and still more superior in practice, after a short cannonade from twelve 12-pounders and twenty 6-pounders! This Russian cannonade can only be considered as a mere formality, a sort of civility offered to the Turks, for 30 it could have no serious purpose; and if, as aU reports agree, the Russian batteries advanced up to within 650 yards of the bridge-head, it is a wonder that we do not hear of a number of dismounted guns. At the same time we must acknowledge the bravery of the Russian troops, who were very hkely for the f irst time exposed to fire, and that under such adverse circumstances, 35 yet advanced to within fifty yards of the Turkish lines before they were crushed by the superior fire poured in upon them.

Asto the Turks, we cannot say much in favor of their tactics either. It was very well that Omer Pasha during the assaults did not crowd together more troops in the bridge-head than were necessary for its defense. But how is 40 it that he did not concentrate a reserve, especially of cavalry, on the Turtukai end of the bridge and on the island? that, as soon as the repulse of the

Russians was becoming manifest, he did not launch his cavalry on the beaten foe? and that, after all, he was satisfied with the moral effect of the victory and neglected to gather all its fruits, by which he might have decided the campaign? We can only find two excuses: Firstly, that the system of continuous lines in field-fortification does not easily admit of any vigorous offensive action after the repulse of the enemy, as the uninterrupted lines do not offer any wide space for sudden and energetic sallies of masses of troops; and secondly, that Omer Pasha either distrusted the capacity of his troops for fighting in the open field, or that he had not troops enough at hand to follow up the victory.

This leads us to the strategic questions connected with this action. If Omer Pasha had had at Qltenitza the troops who were lounging without anything to do at Kalafat, would he not have acted with more decision? How was it that a corps of 12,000 men, with a reserve of equal force, was directed upon Kalafat, to menace that point of the Russian position, where of all points it must have been most desirable to the Russians to be attacked? How came it that on the point where the Turks could gain decisive advantages these 24,000 men were not present?

But this is only one point. The Russians, it is now ascertained beyond doubt, could not muster more than 50,000 or 55,000 combatants in Wallachia at the end of October. Taking into consideration the want of roads, the intersected nature of the country, detachments not to be avoided, the regular wear and tear of an active army, the Russians, it is certain, could on no point muster more than 30,000 men in a single mass. Forty thousand Turks collected upon any given spot of Wallachia were sure to beat them, and there is no doubt that the Turks, if they had been so minded and taken proper steps in proper time, could have collected that body, or even twice as many, with comparative ease. But the interference of European diplomacy, irresolution in the Divan, vacillation in the Turkish policy towards Servia, and other similar considerations, appear to have produced a series of half-measures, which placed Omer Pasha in a very singular position when hostilities broke out. He knew the weakness of the Russians; he himself had a far superior army, eager to go to war; but his army was spread upon an extent of country three hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty to one hundred miles wide. The lameness of his operations in the first half of November was the necessary consequence of this. The passage at Kalafat, otherwise a mistake, thus became a sort of necessity, Widdin being the natural point of concentration of some twenty thousand men, who without that passage would have been entirely inactive, being too far distant from the main army. This passage enabled them at least to paralyze a portion of the Russian forces, and to create a moral impression in favor of the Turks.

The War on the Danube

The passage at Oltenitza—which was intended evidently as the main attack by which Bucharest was to be taken, and the Russians allured westward by the Kalaf at operation, to be cut off from their retreat—had no effect whatever, because the necessary forces for a march on Bucharest appear not to
5 have been forthcoming. The moral effect of the combat at Oltenitza was certainly a great gain, but the inactivity after the victory—an inactivity which lasted *nine days*, and ended in the voluntary retreat of the Turks behind the Danube, in consequence of the rains setting in—this inactivity and retreat may not destroy the flush of victory on the cheek of the Turkish soldier, but it
10 undermines the reputation of the Turkish General, most probably more than he deserves. But here, if the original fault lies with the Divan, there must be some fault with Omer Pasha. To pass twelve days on the left bank of the Danube, to possess a bridge and a bridge-head strong enough to repel the united force of the Russians, to have behind him an army numerous and eager
15 to fight and not to find means to carry 30,000 or 40,000 men across—why, all this cannot have been done without some negligence on the part of the General. The Russians may be thankful for their escape. Never did a Russian army get out of a scrape half as bad as this with so little material damage. They deserved to be cut to pieces, and they are all safe. Whether they will
20 ever be taken at such advantage again may well be doubted.

Karl Marx
The Turkish War—Industrial Distress

New-York Daily Tribune.
N r. 3952, 16. Dezember 1853

The Turkish War—Industrial Distress.

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Friday, Dec. 2, 1853.

No more fighting of any account has taken place in Turkey since my last letter, but Russian diplomacy, more dangerous than Russian generalship, is again at work, and the revival of the famous London Conferences of 1840 and 1841, which terminated with sanctioning the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, under a slightly altered form, is more or less clearly announced through the medium of the ministerial papers on both sides of the Channel. *The Times* even hints at "*vigorous measures of pacification*," viz: a sort of *armed pacification* directed *against* Turkey by her self-styled protectors. There is one great diplomatic fact not to be misunderstood, namely, the last Note sent by the English Cabinet to Constantinople, presented by the British Ambassador to the Porte, rejected by the Divan on the 14th Nov., and turning out to be but a second edition of Redschid Pasha's answer to Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum in the month of May last. This is the manner in which the Palmerstons and Aberdeens give the Sultan to understand that, however the face of things may have otherwise changed, the relative situations of Turkey and Russia have undergone no change whatever since the month of May last, Turkey having won nothing nor Russia lost anything in the eyes of Western diplomacy.

As Prince Alexander of Servia forbids the Turkish troops to cross his territory, asks for the return of the Russian Consul-General, and treats, in his declaration to the Sultan, Turkey and Russia as the two protecting powers placed on the same footing with regard to the Principality, serious conflicts with Servia may be apprehended, which, fatal as they might have proved to Turkey at any other moment, are at present perhaps, the only means of saving

her from the claws of Western diplomacy. Every new incident adding to the present complication, driving bankrupt Austria out of her dangerous neutrality, augmenting the chances of an European war, and enforcing upon Turkey the alliance with the revolutionary party, must turn out favorable to
5 her, at least in her conflict with Russia. The constitutional causes of her decay will, of course, continue to do their work, if not counteracted by thorough transformation of the Turkish rule in Europe.

From the war carried on in the Principahties between Russians and Turks, let us return for one moment to the war raging in the manufacturing districts
10 of England between masters and men. You will remember the epoch when the masters fiercely opposed and denounced the short-time movement on the part of the men. Now the tables are turned, and, as I predicted at the time, the system of short time is *enforced* by the masters on the men. The lockout exhibits its true meaning as a *financial measure* on the part of the
15 masters, as a sort of antidote to an industrial overproduction unparalleled in the "history of prices." Since Monday last the mills have resumed work, but only for four days per week, in the Rossendale district—Burnley, Bacup, Newchurch—at Bury in the Ashton district—Ashton, Stalybridge, Glossop, Hyde, Newton. Bolton will soon be obliged to follow. Manchester is de-
20 liberating the question not *whether*, but *when*, to give way. In two or three weeks short time will be general, save in some few favored branches of industry. This, of course, must be followed by a stoppage of the supplies to the Preston résistants. But even four days work still overruns the demand. Just think that not three weeks ago the Preston masters had on hand a stock
25 equal to twenty weeks' production, which proved almost unsalable. The industrial crisis has no longer to begin; it has fairly set in.

"The reduction of time," says *The Times*, "is accompanied by a reduction of wages to the standard before the recent advances were obtained by the hands." "A pauper cannot dictate conditions—he must take what is offered
30 him," says *The Economist*, in a fit of sincerity.

I have repeatedly stated that the turn-outs of the men, by beginning at too late an epoch, when the opportunities afforded by unprecedented prosperity were already vanishing away, could not prove successful in an economical point of view, or as far as their immediate end was concerned. But they have
35 done their work. They have revolutionized the industrial proletariat, and, stirred up by dear food and cheap labor, the political consequences will show themselves in due time. Already the idea of a Parliament of Labor, which, in fact, means nothing but a general reassembling of the workingmen under the banners of Chartism, evokes the fears of the middle-class press.
40 "Mr. Ernest Jones," says *The Economist*, "the editor of *The People's Paper*, is described as the successor of Mr. Feargus O'Connor, as Mr. O'Connor was

the successor of Mr. Hunt ... From following Hunt and O'Connor, the workingmen got nothing but hard knocks and great losses ; nevertheless, they place equal confidence in the successor of these great kings, and now look to be saved by Jones."

From the following quotations you will see that the English class papers, 5
if stimulated by party motives, as is the case with *The Morning Herald*, or
if inspired, as *The Morning Post*, by a cynical but keen observer like Palmer-
ston, know how to judge the present state of affairs, and how to deal with
the vulgarity of Prosperity-Robinson:

"To hear them now, you would suppose that the authority of mill owners 10
was nothing less than divine, and that the safety of the empire depended on
their being allowed to exercise powers little short of those of the French
Emperor ... Some 60,000 of the workingmen of Lancashire are at this
moment living on fare which barely suffices to keep soul and body together,
without so much as a thought of a plunder or violence, although in towns 15
which manufacturing economy has left wholly unguarded by police. Right
or wrong these men have stood by their opinions and their leaders manfully,
and it would not be easy to find another instance of a movement at once so
peacefully and so effectually carried out."

(Morning Herald.) 20

"Our economists boasted of the overwhelming blessings which would flow,
past all our dreams, as the result of free trade ; yet there we are with the winter
before us, and the pestilence only waiting the return of spring, and just when
our poor are most in need of more than usual food and clothing to raise their
physical system up to the point most capable of resisting disease—just at this 25
time, they are actually crushed by the unprecedented high prices of all the
necessaries of life. Not a sign is visible of the milk and honey that were to
enrich the land; while all that was predicated of the perpetuity of cheapness
and plenty seems in a fair way of being classed among the other thousand
popular delusions by which society has been gulled... English society is a 30
filthy, pestilent, immoral, ignorant, cruel, blundering, discontented, and
uncommonly hard-up community."

Such is the language of *The Morning Post*, the drawing-room print, and
the official organ of my Lord Palmerston.

Karl Marx. 35

Karl Marx
The Quadruple Convention—England and the War

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3960, 26. Dezember 1853

**The Quadruple Convention—England
and the War.**

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Friday, Dec. 9, 1853.

5 Your readers have followed, step by step, the diplomatic movements of the
Coalition Cabinet, and they will not be surprised at any new attempt, on the
part of the Palmerstons and the Aberdeens, to back the Czar under the
pretext of protecting Turkey and securing the peace of Europe. Even the
resurrection of a Vienna conference or of a London Congress they are fully
10 prepared for. The Metropolitan Stock Exchange was first informed by *The
Morning Chronicle*, on Friday last, of England having succeeded in inducing
Austria and Prussia to support the Western Powers in their attempt at a new
mediation between the belligerent parties. Then came *The Morning Post* with
the news of "this attempt" and with the consolatory announcement that "in
15 this attempt the cooperation of Prussia and Austria has been sought and
obtained, and the four Powers have signed a protocol, engaging them, im-
plicitly, to maintain the *present territorial distribution of Europe*, and inviting
the belligerent Powers to come to an amicable adjustment of their differences
by means of an European conference. The first step that will be taken, in
20 consequence of this proceeding of the four Powers, will be to ascertain the
views of Turkey on the bases upon which she will allow negotiations for an
arrangement of the Eastern dispute to be conducted. This clearly ascertained,
the four Powers will then invite Russia to state her views in regard to the
bases of the proposed arrangement, and then both Powers will be requested
25 to send plenipotentiaries to a conference of the great Powers, at some time

and place to be hereafter determined upon ... *The Czar's dignity* might be preserved while the interests of Turkey would be fully upheld in the first place *by a treaty between Turkey and Russia of amity and peace and of commerce*, stipulating for a due protection of the subjects of either state within the territories of the other, and, in the second place, by a treaty between the Sultan and the five Powers, *such a treaty as that of the Dardanelles of 1841*, in which the Sultan should undertake to respect the *existing constitutions and privileges of the Danubian Principalities and of Servia*, and in which he should bind himself *as in the treaty of Kainardji*, but this time to Europe, and not to Russia—specially to protect the Christian religion within his dominions." At last came the thunderer of Printing House-square, announcing in a first edition that the alliance between the four Powers had been definitively concluded, and that they had laid down conditions which Russia and the Porte would, if necessary, "be *forced to accept*." Instantly the funds rose; but the satisfaction of the stock-jobbers proved short-lived, as the same *Times* announced in its second edition that the four Powers had indeed drawn up a protocol and presented the draft of a collective note, without having, however, bound themselves to *enforce* its acceptance. Down went the funds again. At last the "startling news" was reduced to the old story of the resurrection of the dead body of the late Vienna Conference—it would be preposterous to speak of its ghost—and a telegraphic dispatch confirmed the report that "the Conference of the four Powers at Vienna had on the 6th forwarded to Constantinople another proposal for the arrangement of the pending differences founded on a new project, and that negotiations for peace will continue, even though hostilities should not be suspended." On the very eve of war the Vienna Conference, that retrospective Pythia, had just proposed to Turkey to accept Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum. After the first defeat Russia had undergone, England and France took up Rechid Pasha's answer to Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum. What phase of the past transactions they will now have arrived at in their retrograde movement, it is impossible to predict. The *Augsburger Zeitung* states that the new propositions of the Conference express the desire of the four Powers to "prevent war." A startling novelty this!

Insipid, as all this diplomatic gossip may appear at a moment, when the *status quo* has been supplanted by a *status belli*, we must not forget that the hidden intentions of the British Cabinet transpire through these fantastical projects of conferences and Congresses; that the ministerial papers throw out their feelers to ascertain how far the Ministry may venture to go; and that the unfounded rumors of to-day more than once have foreshadowed the events of to-morrow. So much is sure, that if not accepted by Austria, the quadruple alliance *has* been proposed by England with a view to enforce

upon Turkey the resolutions to be agreed upon by the four powers. If no alliance has been concluded, a "protocol" has at least been signed by the four powers, establishing the principles upon which to conduct the transactions. It is no less sure that the Vienna Conference, which prevented
5 Turkey from moving till the Russian army had occupied the Principalities and reached the frontiers of Bulgaria, has again resumed its work and already dispatched a new note to the Sultan. That the step from a Vienna conference to a European Congress, at London, is by no means a great one, was proved in 1839 at the epoch of Mehemet Ali's insurrection. The Congress pursuing
10 its work of "pacification," while Russia pursued her war against Turkey, would be but a repetition of the London Congress of 1827-29, resulting in the destruction of the Turkish fleet, at Navarino, and the loss of Turkish independence, by the treaty of Adrianople. The bases upon which the British Cabinet have proposed, and the other powers agreed to conduct negotiations,
15 are clearly indicated by the Ministerial papers. Maintenance of the "present territorial distribution of Europe." It would be a great mistake to consider this proposition as a simple return to the provisions of the peace of Vienna. The extinction of the Kingdom of Poland, the possession of the mouths of the Danube by Russia, the incorporation of Cracow, the transformation of
20 Hungary into an Austrian province—all these "territorial arrangements" have never been sanctioned by any European Congress. A sanction, then, of the present "territorial distribution of Europe" would be, instead of a simple admission of Turkey to the treaty of Vienna, as is pretended, rather a sanction of all the violations of that treaty by Russia and Austria, since 1830. "A treaty
25 of amity, and peace, and commerce between Russia and Turkey"—such are the identical terms in the preamble of the treaties of Kainardji, Adrianople and Unkiar Skelessi. "A treaty like that of the Dardanelles of 1841," says the Palmerstonian paper. Exactly so. A treaty like that which excluded Europe from the Dardanelles and transformed the Euxine into a Russian
30 lake. But, says *The Times*, why should we not stipulate for the free entrance of the Dardanelles for men-of-war, and the free navigation of the Danube. But read the letter addressed by Lord Palmerston in September, 1839, to Mr. Bulwer, the then Envoy at Paris, and we shall find that similar hopes were held out at that epoch.
35 "The Sultan bound to respect the existing constitutions of the Principalities and Servia." But these existing constitutions distribute the sovereignty over the provinces between the Czar and the Sultan, and they have, till now, never been acknowledged by any European Congress. The new Congress then, would add to the de facto protectorate of Russia over Turkish provinces,
40 the sanction of Europe. The Sultan would then be bound not to the Czar, but to Europe, to protect "the Christian religion within his dominions." That

is to say, the right of interference between the Sultan and his Christian subjects by foreign powers, would become a paragraph of European international law, and, in case of any new conflicts occurring, Europe would be bound by treaty to back the pretensions of Russia, who, as a party to the treaty, would have a right to interpret in her sense, the protection to be asked 5 for by the Christians in the Sultan's dominions. The new treaty, then, as projected by the coalition cabinet, and as explained by its own organs, is the most comprehensive plan of European surrender to Russia, ever conceived, and a wholesale sanction of all the changes brought about by the counter 10 revolutions since 1830. There is, therefore, no occasion for throwing up caps and being astonished at the change of the policy of Austria, a change as *Ifte Morning Post* feigns to believe, "effected suddenly within the last ten days." As to Bonaparte, whatever his ulterior designs may be, for the moment the Parvenu Emperor is content enough to climb up into the heaven 15 of the old legitimate powers, with Turkey as his ladder. 15

The views of the Coalition Cabinet are clearly expressed by *The Guardian*, the ministerial weekly paper:

"To treat Russia as a beaten enemy and fancy we have her by the throat because Russian troops have been foiled at the trenches of Oltenitza and some forts captured on the Black Sea, is simply ridiculous ; these petty losses 20 would in themselves but exasperate her pride and indispose her to treat till she could do so on better terms. But sovereigns, like other men, are governed by mixed motives. The Czar is a proud and passionate, but he is also a prudent man. He is engaged in a quarrel in which he may lose and cannot gain. His policy is that of his predecessors, who have throughout gained more by 25 threatening than by waging war, and whose steady and undeviating system of encroachment had in it a vein of elastic phabihty, which enabled them to avoid great disasters and even to *turn minor reverses to profitable account*. The preUminary resolution of the four powers, that no change shall be made or permitted in the territorial arrangement of Europe, appears to be based 30 on *this rational view* of his position and pohcy. It will disappoint those who see in imagination the feet of England on his neck, or who suffer themselves to be misled by the chimerical nonsense of the *Protectionist* papers. But the business in hand *is not the humiliation of Russia*, but the pacification of Europe (in a Russian sense of course,) the establishment, as far as possible, 35 of that durable peace for which the French Soldier-Envoy pledges his master's honor to the Sultan. And the *coming treaty*, we may be sure, will not be a mere restoration of the *status quo*, but will attempt at least to settle on some permanent footing the relations of Turkey with Europe and of the Turkish Government with its Christian subjects, attempt—for, settle it so 40 durably as we may, *any arrangement which leaves a Turkish Empte in*

Europe will always be provisional at bottom. Such a *provisional* arrangement, however, is the thing now practicable and needful."

The ultimate object, then, the powers aim at, is to help the Czar "to turn minor reverses to profitable account," and "to leave no Turkish Empire in
5 Europe." The provisional arrangement will of course, prepare that ultimate consummation as far as "the thing is now practicable."

Some circumstances, however, have singularly confounded the calculations of the Coalition politicians. There is intelligence of new victories gained by Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea and on the frontiers of Georgia.
10 There is, on the other hand, a peremptory assertion representing the whole army in Poland as under orders for the Pruth, while we are informed from the frontiers of Poland that "in the night from the 23d and 24th ult., the branka, or levy of men for the army, took place, and in places, where formerly one or two men were taken, eight or ten have now been drawn." This, at least,
15 proves little confidence on the part of the Czar in the pacifying genius of the four Powers. The official declaration on the part of Austria "that no alliance had been concluded between the four Courts," proves on her part that, willing as she is to enforce conditions upon Turkey, she dares not assume even the appearance of coercing the Czar to submit to conditions
20 projected in his own interest. Lastly, the Sultan's reply to the French Ambassador that "at present an amicable arrangement is quite unacceptable without the complete abandonment by Russia of the pretensions which she has raised and without the immediate evacuation of the principahties," has struck the Congress-mongers like a thunderbolt, and the organ of the crafty
25 and experienced Palmerston now frankly tells the other fellows of the brotherhood the following piece of truth:

"To the immediate evacuation of the Principalities and the total abandonment of all her claims, Russia cannot submit without a loss of dignity and influence which it is foolish to suppose a power of her magnitude will endure
30 without a desperate struggle. For this present attempt at negotiation we are sorry, therefore, that we can only prognosticate failure."

Defeated Russia can accept no negotiations at all. The business in hand is, therefore, to turn the balance of war. But how to effect this, but by enabling Russia to gain time? The only thing she wants is procrastination,
35 time to levy new troops, to distribute them throughout the empire—to concentrate them, and to stop the war with Turkey till she has done with the mountaineers of Caucasus. In this way the chances of Russia may improve, and the attempt at negotiation "may be successful when Russia proves victorious instead of defeated." Accordingly, as stated by the Vienna *Ost-*
40 *deutsche Post*, and the ministerial *Morning Chronicle*, England has urged on Turkey the propriety of consenting to a three month's armistice. Lord

Redcliffe had a five hour's interview with the Sultan, for the purpose of obtaining from His Highness that consent to the suggested armistice which his ministers had refused, and the result was, that an extraordinary council of ministers was convened to take the matter into consideration. The Porte definitively refused to accede to the proposed armistice, and could not accede to it without openly betraying the Ottoman people. "In the present state of feeling," remarks the to-day's *Times*, "it will not be easy to bring the pretensions of the Porte within the bounds of moderation." The Porte is immoderate enough to understand that it is perfectly irreconcilable with the dignity of the Czar to be defeated, and that it must therefore grant him a three month's armistice in order to frustrate its own success, and to help him to become again victorious and "magnanimous." All hope of bringing about the three month's armistice has not yet been parted with. "Possibly," says *The Times*, "an armistice recommended by the four powers may fare better." The good-natured *Morning Advertiser* is "unwilling to assume that these representations are correct," because "a mere direct attempt to betray the Ottoman cause into the hands of the Czar, or one better adapted to answer that purpose, could not have been devised by the most ingenious mind." The confidence of the radical *Morning Advertiser* in "the honor and the good faith" of Palmerston, and its ignorance of the history of England's diplomatic past, seem equally incommensurable. This paper being the property of the Licensed Victualler's Association, I suspect that those very victualler's themselves write from time to time the editorial articles.

While England is thus occupied at Constantinople and Vienna, the outpost of Russia, let us see how on the other hand, the Russians manage affairs in England.

I have already, in a previous letter, informed your readers that at this very epoch, when the Coalition feigns to threaten Russia in the Black Sea, Russian men-of-war, the two frigates *Aurora* and *Navarino*, are fitting out in the Queen's dock yards at Portsmouth. On Saturday last we were informed by *The Morning Herald* and *The Daily News*, that six sailors had escaped from the Russian frigate *Aurora*, and nearly reached Guildford, when they were overtaken by an officer of the Russian frigate *Aurora* and an English inspector of police, brought back to Portsmouth, placed on board the *Victorious*—an English ship occupied by the crew of the *Aurora*, while out-fitting—subjected to cruel, corporeal punishment and placed in irons. When this became known in London, some gentlemen obtained, through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles Ronalds, solicitor, a writ of habeas corpus, directed to Rear-Admiral Martin, some other English officers of the navy, and to the Russian Captain, Commander of the frigate *Aurora*, ordering them to bring the six sailors before the Lord Chief Justice of England. The English

dock-yard authorities declined to obey the writ, the English Captain appealing to the Vice-Admiral and the Vice-Admiral to the Admiral, and the Admiral feeling himself obliged to communicate with the Lord of the Admiralty, the famous Sir James Graham, who, ten years before, in the case
5 of the *Bandieras*, placed the British Post-Office at the service of Metternich. As to the Russian Captain, although the Queen's writ was served on him on board the English ship the *Victorious*, and though he was fully informed of its nature by an interpreter, he threw it contemptuously from the vessel, and when thrust through a port-hole, it was thrown out again. "If," said the
10 Russian captain, "it came from Her Majesty in reality, it would be sent to his Ambassador or Consul." The Consul being absent, the Vice-Consul refused to interfere. On Dec. 6, fresh writs were served on the naval authorities at Portsmouth, commanding them in the Queen's name to produce not only the six men in question before the Lord Chief Justice, but the
15 Russian captain also. Instead of the writ being complied with, the Admiralty used every effort to tow the ship out of the harbor and to get her to sea, and the other day, the *Aurora*, Capt. Isylmetieff, was seen, by daylight, sailing for the Pacific, defying the writ of the habeas corpus. In the meantime, as we are informed, by yesterday's *Daily News*, "the Russian corvette, *Navarino*, is still in dock, undergoing a thorough re-caulking and repair. A number
20 of dockyard men are engaged on her."

Now mark in what manner this "startling" case has been dealt with by the Ministerial Press.

The Morning Chronicle, the Peelite organ, chose to remain silent, its own
25 Graham being the most compromised man in the whole affair. The Palmerstonian *Morning Post* was the first to break silence, as its Lord could not let escape such an occasion of proving his mastership in making pleasant apparently difficult cases. The whole case, it stated, was greatly exaggerated and overrated. The six deserters, it stated on the authority of the Russian
30 Captain, Who ordered them to be cruelly flogged and hulked, "these seamen say that they did not desert from their own inclination, but were inveigled away by persons who introduced themselves to them in the streets," these seamen having also contrived against their inclination and against the orders of the Russian Captain to get ashore at Portsmouth, "made them intoxicated
35 and then took them away in a carriage, up the country," and then deserted the deserters, "giving them directions how to get to London, with the address of some persons, to whom to go when there." The absurd story is invented by the Palmerstonian organ with a view to induce the public to believe, that the "deserters gave themselves up to the Police," a lie too gross to be
40 reechoed by *The Times* itself. The whole affair insinuates *The Post*, with a great show of moral indignation, was got up by some Polish refugees, who

Karl Marx

probably, intended wounding the feelings of Lord Palmerston's magnanimous master.

Another ministerial organ, *The Globe*, states that "the plea that a foreigner is only bound to recognize processes coming to him from the minister of his own country is manifestly untenable; otherwise, any foreigners in a British seaport could break our law and could be brought under no responsibility, except by the intervention of an Ambassador." *The Globe* arrives therefore at the moderate conclusion that the reply of the Russian captain to the clerk who served on him the writ of habeas corpus "is not perfectly satisfactory." But in human matters it would be idle to aspire to anything like perfection.

"If the Russian captain had hanged them (viz., the six recaptured sailors) all at the yard-arm of his frigate the next morning, he would have been altogether *beyond* the control of the English law," exclaims *The Times*. And why this? Because in the treaty of navigation concluded between Russia and Great Britain in 1840 (under the direction of Lord Palmerston) there is a provision to this effect:

"The Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and commercial agents of the high contracting parties, residing in the dominions of the other, shall receive from the local authorities such assistance as can by law be given them, for the recovery of deserters from the ships of war or merchant vessels of their respective countries."

But, good *Times*, the question is exactly what assistance the English authorities were warranted by law to give the Russian Captain. As to the Russian authorities themselves, "sending their vessels to England to be repaired at this crisis in political affairs," it appears to *The Times*, "to be an act of great indelicacy and bad taste," and it thinks, "the position, in which the officers of these vessels have been placed here, is that of spies." But, it says, "the British Government could no more forcibly express its contempt for such politics," than by admitting the Russian spies into the Queen's own dockyards "even at some public inconvenience," by placing at their disposal British men-of-war, employing the dock yard men, paid out of the pockets of the British people, in their service, and firing parting salutes to them, when they run away after having insulted the laws of England.

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
The Russian Victory—Position of England and France

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3961, 27. Dezember 1853

**The Russian Victory-
Position of England and France.**

From Our Own Correspondent.

London, Tuesday, Dec. 13, 1853.

- 5 "With the fleets of France and England in the Black Sea, the astonished Sultan of Turkey is already surprised that one of his ships is captured with impunity by a Russian vessel. The spring will bring him further wonders." Thus we were informed by last Saturday's Press. The following Monday brought the "further wonders," not expected until spring. Defeat of a Turkish
- 10 squadron by a Russian fleet in the Black Sea, off Sinope—such were the contents of a Russian dispatch from Odessa, dated 5th inst., confirmed afterward by the French *Moniteur*. Although we are not yet in possession of the exact details of this occurrence, so much is clear that the Russian report greatly exaggerates the case; that the whole matter in question is to
- 15 be reduced to the surprise of some Turkish frigates and a certain number of transports, which had on board troops, provisions, amunition and arms, destined for Batum; that the Russian force was largely superior in number to the Turkish one, and that, nevertheless, the latter only surrendered after a desperate engagement, lasting an hour.
- 20 "Our fleet," says the *Englishman*, "at all events, is *not* there to prevent the Russians from attacking Turkey. The fleet is *not* there to interfere with Russian convoys of men and arms to the Caucasus. The fleet is *not* there to see that the Black Sea is *not* a Russian lake. The fleet is *not* there to help our ally, nor to save him from destruction. The fleet is noi there to avert a
- 25 Navarino, after the memorable pattern... Russian Admirals may maneuver, we suppose, within gun-shot of Constantinople, and the screws of England will continue as impassive as the prime screw of Lord Aberdeen himself. Will these costly farces be tolerated by the people?"

The coalition is exasperated at the Czar having beaten the Turks at sea instead of on the *ierra fuma*. A victory of the latter sort they wanted. Russian successes at sea may endanger their places, just at the moment when Count Buoï has assured the Sultan of the Czar's strictly *defensive* intentions, and when Lord Redcliffe was urging on him a three months' armistice. It is very amusing to observe how the business of soothing down the public has been distributed between the several organs of the Coalition Ministry. 5

The Times, as the representative of the whole of the Cabinet expresses its *general* indignation at the ingratitude of the Czar, and ventures even upon some menaces. 10

The Morning Post, of course, is still more warlike, and gives its readers to understand that the "untoward" event at Sinope could never have occurred if Lord Palmerston were the Premier, or at least the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"It is at least evident," says *The Post*, "that a Russian naval force, dispatched to act on the Turkish coast, has been able to strike a sudden and heavy blow at the resources of the Porte, precisely in the quarter where the Divan had the best reason to expect that if there were anything substantial, anything beyond mere ostentation, in the professed services of her allies, the value and operation of such services might now be expected to become available. It will hardly be urged, we suppose, that the Black Sea is an appropriate stage for another scene of the diplomatic comedy which has been played in the Principalities under the name of the 'Material Guarantee.' The Russians, therefore, may be taken to have abandoned the hypocrisy of their *defensive attitude*. It must be a subject of deep regret, that the extent to which *our* (read Aberdeen's) soothing policy has gone, has brought heavy damage on our ally and a shadow of reproach on ourselves. It would be a matter of lasting blame and scandal, should a second such disaster be suffered to occur for want of, that protection which our fleets were expressly dispatched to afford." 15
20
25
30

The philosophical *Morning Chronicle*, the special organ of the Peelites, thinks "it not improbable that the power which has disturbed the peace of the world may *nowbe* disposed to acquiesce in the termination of the war."

The Emperor Nicholas, on the plea that "he does not wish to oppose the *expression of the free will*" of the Hospodars Stirbey and Ghika to withdraw from the government of Moldavia and Wallachia, has, by rescript of Nov. 8, intrusted their functions to General von Budberg, placed, however, under the superior control of Prince Gorchakoff. 35

The fact of England urging upon Turkey an armistice at a moment when it cannot but assist the Czar in gaining time to concentrate his troops and to work at the decomposition of the ostensible alliance between France and 40

England; the simultaneous intrigues of Nicholas to upset Bonaparte and to replace him by Henry V. ; the loudly boasted-of "fusion" of the two Bourbon branches negotiated in common by King Leopold, Prince Albert and the Princes of Orléans—such are the circumstances which induce the public to
5 direct anew their attention to Windsor Castle, and to suspect it of a secret conspiracy with the courts of Brussels, Vienna and St. Petersburg.

"The present race of Englishmen," says the aristocratic *Morning Herald*, "should see that the policy of this country be not made subordinate to Orleanistic dreams of restoration, Belgian terrors of annexation, and in-
10 finitesimal German interests." "There are," insinuates *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, "conspirators not watched by the Home Office—conspirators whose names, like stars upon a frosty night—glitter in *The Court Circular*. They do not live in St. John's Wood, neither dwell they in Chelsea. No. They enjoy a somewhat larger accommodation in the Halls of Claremont. One of
15 those conspirators—the frequent guest of our gracious Queen—called by compliment the Duke of Nemours, went fresh from his English home to Frohsdorf to make that bridge—that is, to bridge the abyss for the Bourbons back to France. And doubtless he will return and again eat his venison at Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle." "Your ministers," writes the Paris
20 correspondent of *The Leader*, "are doing what Victoria tells them to do. Queen Victoria wishes all that King Leopold wishes. King Leopold desires all that Emperor Nicholas desires, so that *Nicholas is de facto the present King of England.*"

The position of Bonaparte is at this moment more critical than ever before,
25 although, at first view, his chances of fortune never seemed more promising. He has succeeded in slipping into the circle of European royalty. The character Nicholas has lost, he has won. For the first time in his life he has become "respectable." The power which, combined with Russia, tumbled down his uncle from his gigantic throne, England, has been forced into an apparent
30 alliance with himself against Russia. Circumstances have almost constituted him the arbiter of Europe. The prospect of a European war, dragging along with it insurrectionary movements in Italy, Hungary, and Poland—countries where the people looking almost exclusively to the recovery of their national independence, are by no means too scrupulous as to the quarter from which
35 to receive assistance—these eventualities seem to allow the man of the 2d of December to lead the dance of the peoples, if he should fail to play the pacificator with the kings. The enormous blunders committed by his predecessors have given his policy even the appearance of national vigor, as he, at least, evokes apprehensions on the part of the powers, while they, from
40 the Provisional Government down to the *Burgraves* of the Assemblée Législative, had assumed only the power to tremble at everything and every body.

But now let us look at the opposite side of the medal. The fusion between the two branches of the Bourbon dynasty, whatever may be its intrinsic value, has taken place under the auspices of the Courts of London and Vienna, and at the dictation of the Emperor Nicholas. It is, therefore, to be considered as the first act of a Holy Alliance directed against Bonaparte. On the other hand it has, for the moment, conciliated the different parties of the French *Bourgeoisie*, whose very divisions prevented them in 1848-51 from opposing the usurpation of the hero of Strasburg and Boulogne. The blue Republicans themselves, meeting at the house of Mr. Carnot, have decided, almost unanimously, that they would lend their aid to the Legitimists in any attempt to overthrow Bonaparte. These gentlemen seem fully resolved to run again through the traditional cycles of restoration, Bourgeois-monarchy and Republic. For them the Republic meant never anything but, "*ôte-toi de là, que je m'y mette*," and if they cannot take themselves, the place of their rival, they will at least inflict upon him the greatest punishment they are aware of—the loss of place. The parts to be acted have already been distributed. The generals, the ministers, all the principal functionaries are already nominated. The danger threatening Bonaparte from this side is a military insurrection which, if it do not lead to the restoration of the Bourbons, may afford the occasion for a general outbreak. But after all this Mallet conspiracy, dependant on the support of the Cossacks, is no more dangerous than the Ledru-Rollin conspiracy, dependant on the support of the Turks. Let me remark, *en passant*, that if the whole French emigration at London and Jersey were to meet. Ledru would hardly venture to present himself. The great majority of the French refugees belonging to different fractions of the socialist party, have joined together in the Société des Proscrits Démocrates et Socialistes, avowedly hostile to the pretensions of Ledru. He is said to possess still some influence with the French peasantry, but power must be conquered, not in the departments, but at Paris, and at Paris he will meet with a resistance he is not the man to overcome.

The serious dangers to be apprehended on the part of Bonaparte rise from quite a different quarter, viz.: from the high prices of provisions, the stagnation of trade, and the utter dilapidation and exhaustion of the Imperial exchequer. It was the peasantry who, in their superstitious faith in the magic powers of the name of "Napoleon," and in the golden promises held out by the hero of Strasburg, first imposed him on France. For them the restoration of the Bonaparte dynasty was the restoration of their own supremacy, after they had been abused by the restoration, speculated upon by the monarchy of July, and made by the Republic to pay the expenses of the revolution of February. They are now disabused, not only by dragonnades but by famine too. Incendiarism spreads, at this moment, through France at an unparalleled

pace. As to the middle classes, they were foolish enough to suspect the Assemblée Nationale of having caused, by the disputes and intrigues going on among its different fractions, and by their common opposition to the executive power, the transitory commercial stagnation of 1851. They deserted not only their own representatives, but they provoked intentionally the *coup d'état* with a view to restore what they called "a regular Government," and above all, "sound business." They have now discovered that industrial crises are neither to be prevented by military despotism nor alleviated by its stretching public credit to its utmost limits, exhausting it by the most lavish expenditure, and making the financial crisis the inevitable partner of a commercial one. The middle class pine, therefore, for a new change of power, to afford them at last "a regular Government" and "sound business." As to the proletarians, they accepted Bonaparte from the first moment only as a transitory necessity, as the destroyer of the *république* *cosaque*, and their avenger on the *party of order*. Weakened as they were by successive defeats before the 2d of December, and occupied as they were during the years 1852 and 1853, they have had time to watch the occasion when general causes and the universal discontent of all other classes would enable them to resume their revolutionary work anew.

The following Paris commercial report will throw some light on the social state of France:

"The state of commercial affairs in Paris during the last week is not satisfactory. Except the manufacturers who are preparing New-Years presents for the shop-keepers, and those employed in dress-making, trade appears to be at a complete stand-still. One great cause of this is the dearness of provisions in the provinces, which prevents the mass of the population from making their usual purchases. The wheat crop, the chestnuts, and the vintage failed simultaneously in the central departments of France, and the peasants, being compelled to make sacrifices in order to buy bread, deprive themselves of every thing but articles of first necessity. The provincial letters state that the principal portion of the cotton goods offered for sale at the late fairs found no buyers, which easily accounts for the stagnation in trade apparent at Rouen. AU exportation is confined at present to the South American States. The markets of New-York and New-Orleans are represented as glutted with French produce, and consequently no orders are expected from those quarters. The houses which fabricate generally for Belgium and Germany have almost all suspended their works, all orders from their correspondents abroad having ceased. Business must be dull in Paris when the Bank of France finds, as it does at present, the commercial bills offered for discount decrease considerably in amount. The corn market, which was dull ten days since, with declining prices, has become animated,

Karl Marx

and the holders of wheat are more firm in their banks. The bakers have shown a greater inclination to purchase flour, and several buyers from the eastern departments have definitively arrested the downward tendency of prices. The corn factors in Paris not being able to execute all the orders received on Wednesday last, the buyers proceeded to Havre, where a decline of 2f. 5 a barrel had previously been announced. Flour immediately on the arrival of the buyers rose from 44 f. to 47 f. the barrel, and wheat from 83 f. to 86 f. the measure of 200 kilogrammes. A similar rise took place in the markets through the department of the North. The corn market at Strasbourg has been well supplied, and wheat has declined 1 f. the hectolitre ; at Lyons the market 1 o was quiet, but without a fall. Rye has again risen in Paris ; sales 12,000 quintals of oats at 22 f. 9 c. the 100 kilogrammes. A letter from Marseilles of the 2d inst., states that 341 ships, bearing 804,270 hectolitres of wheat, entered that port between the 1st and 30th of November. These arrivals make 15 2,102,467 hectolitres of wheat imported into Marseilles by 714 ships, within the last 4 months."

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
Palmerston's Resignation

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3965, 31. Dezember 1853

Palmerston's Resignation.

The most interesting and important piece of intelligence brought by the steamer Africa is the resignation of Lord Palmerston as a member of the Coalition Ministry under Lord Aberdeen. This is a master-stroke of that
5 unscrupulous and consummate tactician. Those journals at London, which speak for the Ministry, carefully inform the public that the event does not grow out of the Eastern difficulty, but that his conscientious Lordship, like a true guardian of the British Constitution, quits office because he cannot give his consent to a measure of Parliamentary Reform, even of the pigmy
10 dimensions natural to such a Whig as Lord John Russell. Such is, indeed, the official motive of resignation he has condescended to communicate to his colleagues of the Coalition. But he has taken good care that the public shall have a different impression and in spite of all the declarations of the official organs, it is generally believed that while the Reform **Bui** is the
15 pretext, the Russian policy of the Cabinet is the real cause. Such has been for some time, and especially since the close of the last session of Parliament, the tenor of all the journals in his interest. On various keys, and in multiform styles, they have played a single tune, representing Lord Palmerston as vainly struggling against the influence of the Premier, and revolting at the ignomin-
20 ious part forced upon him in the Eastern drama. Rumors have been incessantly circulated concerning the division of the Ministry into two great parties, and nothing has been omitted to prepare the British public for an exhibition of characteristic energy from the chivalrous Viscount. The comedy having been thus introduced, the *mise en scène* arranged, the noble
25 Lord, placed behind the curtain, has chosen, with astonishing sagacity, the exact moment when his appearance on the stage would be most startling and effective.

Lord Palmerston secedes from his friends of the Coalition just as Austria has eagerly seized the proposition for new conferences; just as the Czar is

spreading wider his nets of intrigue and war, effecting an armed collision between the Servians and Bosnians, and threatening the reigning prince of Serbia with deposition should he persist in remaining neutral in the conflict; just as the Turks, relying on the presence of the British and French fleets, have suffered the destruction of a flotilla and the slaughter of 5,000 men by a Russian fleet three times as powerful; when Russian captains are allowed to defy the British law in British ports, and on board of British vessels; when the dynastic intrigues of the "spotless Queen" and her "German Consort" have become matters of public notoriety; and, lastly, when the dull British people, injured in their national pride abroad, and tortured by strikes, famine, and commercial stagnation at home, begin to assume a threatening attitude, and have nobody upon whom to avenge themselves but their own pitiful Government. By retiring at such a moment, Lord Palmerston throws off all responsibility from his own shoulders upon those of his late partners. His act becomes a great national event. He is transformed at once into the representative of the people against the Government from which he secedes. He not only saves his own popularity, but he gives the last finish to the unpopularity of his colleagues. The inevitable downfall of the present Ministry appearing to be his work, he becomes a necessary element of any that may succeed it. He not only deserts a doomed Cabinet, but he imposes himself on its successor.

Besides saving his popularity and securing a prominent place in the new administration, Lord Palmerston directly benefits the cause of Russia, by withdrawing at the present momentous crisis. The Coalition Cabinet, at whose procrastinating ingenuity Russian diplomacy has mocked, whose Orleanist and Coburg predilections have ever been suspected by Bonaparte, whose treacherous and pusillanimous weakness begins even to be understood at Constantinople—this Ministry will now lose what little influence it may have retained in the councils of the world. An administration disunited, unpopular, not relied upon by its friends, nor respected by its foes; considered as merely provisional, and on the eve of dissolution; whose very existence has become a matter of doubt—such an administration is the least adapted to make the weight of Great Britain felt in the balance of the European powers. Lord Palmerston's withdrawal reduces the Coalition, and with it England herself, to a nullity as far as foreign policy is concerned; and never has there existed an epoch when the disappearance of England from the public stage, even for a week or a fortnight, could do so much for the Autocrat. The pacific element has triumphed over the warlike one in the councils of Great Britain. Such is the interpretation that must be given at the courts of Berlin, Paris and Vienna to Lord Palmerston's resignation; and this interpretation they will press upon the Divan, already shaken in its

Palmerston's Resignation

self-confidence by the last success of Russia, and consulting under the guns of the united fleet.

It should not be forgotten that since Lord Palmerston became a member of the Coalition Ministry, his public acts, as far as foreign policy is concerned, 5 have been limited to the famous gun-powder plot, and the avowed employment of the British police as spies against the political refugees; to a speech wherein he jocosely treated the obstruction by Russia of the navigation of the Danube as of no account; and, lastly, to the oration with which he dismissed Parliament, assuring the Commons that all the Government had 10 done in the Eastern complication had been right—that they might quietly disband since the ministers remained at their posts, and pledging himself "for the honor and good faith of the Emperor of Russia."

Besides the general causes we have enumerated, Lord Palmerston has had a special reason for surprising the world with this last act of self-sacrificing 15 patriotism. He has been found out. His prestige has begun to wane, his past career to be known to the public. The people of England who had not been undeceived by his avowed participation in the conspiracy of the 2d of December, which overthrew the French Republic, and by his gunpowder comedy, have been aroused by the revelations of Mr. David Urquhart, 20 who has vigorously taken his Lordship in hand. This gentleman, by a recently published work called the *Progress of Russia*, by articles in the English journals, and especially by speeches at the anti-Russian meetings held throughout the Kingdom, has struck a blow at the political reputation of Lord Palmerston which future history will but confirm. Our own labors in the 25 cause of historical justice have also had a share, which we were far from counting upon, in the formation of a new opinion in England with regard to this busy and wily statesman. We learn from London, quite unexpectedly, that Mr. Tucker has reprinted there and gratuitously circulated fifty thousand copies of an elaborate article in which, some two months since, we exposed 30 his Lordship's true character and dragged the mask from his public career. The change in public feeling is not a pleasing one for its subject, and he thinks perhaps, to escape from the rising tide of reprehension, or to suppress it by his present *coup*. We predict that it will not succeed, and that his lengthened career of official life will ere long come to a barren and unhappy end.

Friedrich Engels
Progress of the Turkish War
December 22, 1853

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr. 3971, 9. Januar 1854

Progress of the Turkish War.

After a long delay we are at last in possession of official documents in relation to the two victories which Russia so loudly boasts of and so liberally rewards. We allude, of course, to the destruction of the Turkish squadron at Sinope and the engagement near Akaltzik, in Asia. These documents are the Russian 5 bulletins; but the fact that the Turkish official organ has maintained a profound silence on the subject, when its communications, if it had any to make should have reached us before those from St. Petersburg, makes it certain that the Porte has nothing agreeable to publish. Accordingly we proceed, on the information we have, to analyze the events in question, in 10 order to make our readers acquainted with the real state of the case:

The battle of Sinope was the result of such an unparalleled series of blunders on the part of the Turks that the whole affair can only be explained by the mischievous interference of Western diplomacy or by collusion with 15 the Russians of some parties in Constantinople connected with the French and English Embassies. In November, the whole Turkish and Egyptian fleet proceeded to the Black Sea, in order to draw the attention of the Russian Admirals from an expedition sent to the coast of the Caucasus in order to land supplies of arms and ammunition for the insurgent mountaineers. The fleet remained eighteen days at sea without meeting with a single Russian 20 man-of-war; some say the Russian squadron never left Sevastopol during all that time, whereby the expedition to the Caucasus was enabled to effect its object; others report that, being well-informed of the plans of the Turks, it withdrew eastward, and merely watched the vessels conveying stores, which, in consequence, never reached the Caucasian shore, and had 25 to return to Sinope, while the main fleet reentered the Bosphorus. The great amount of powder on board the Sinope squadron, which caused the explosion of several of them at a comparatively early period of the engagement, appears to be a proof that the latter version is correct.

Thus seven Turkish frigates, two steamers, three sloops, and one or two smaller ships, together with some transports, were abandoned in the harbor of Sinope, which is little better than an open roadstead, formed by a bay open towards the sea, and protected by a few neglected and ill-constructed batteries, the best of which was a castle constructed at the time of the Greek Emperors, and most likely before artillery was known in Europe. How it happened that a squadron of some three hundred guns, mostly of inferior caliber, was thus abandoned to the tender mercies of a fleet of three times its force and weight of metal, at that point of the Turkish shore, which from its proximity to Sevastopol, is most exposed to a Russian attack, while the main fleet was enjoying the tranquil ripple of the Bosphorus, we have yet to learn. We know that the dangerous position of this squadron was well appreciated and warmly debated at head quarters; that the discordant voices of Turkish, French and British admirals, were loudly heard in the councils of war, and that the ever-meddling ambassadors were there also, in order to speak their minds upon the matter, but nothing was done.

In the mean time it appears, according to one statement, that an Austrian steamer reported at Sevastopol the position of the squadron. The Russian official report maintains on the contrary, that Nachimoff while cruising off the coast of Asia, descried the squadron, and took measures to attack it. But, if the Russians descried the Turks at Sinope, the Turks from the tower and minarets of the town must necessarily have descried the Russians long before. How then came it to pass that the Turkish batteries were in such bad trim, when a couple of days' labor might have done a great deal toward their repair? How happened it that the Turkish vessels were at anchor in places where they obstructed the fire of the batteries, and were not shifted to moorings more fit to meet the threatened danger? There was time enough for all this; for Admiral Nachimoff states that he first sent to Sevastopol for three three-deckers before he ventured the attack. Six days, from November 24 to November 30, would not have been allowed to elapse without some effort on the part of the Turks: but indeed, the report of the Turkish steamer Ta'if, which escaped to Constantinople, amply proves that the Turks were taken by surprise. So far, then, the Russian report cannot be correct.

Admiral Nachimoff had under his command three ships-of-the-line, one of them a three-decker, six frigates, several steamers, and six or eight smaller vessels, a force of at least twice the weight of metal of the Turkish squadron. Yet he did not attack until he got three more three-deckers, which, by themselves, should have been quite sufficient to perform the exploit. With this disproportionate superiority he proceeded to the assault. A fog, or as some say, the use of the British flag, enabled him to approach unmolested to a

distance of 500 yards. Then the fight began. The Russians, not liking to stand under canvas on a lee shore, dropped their anchors. Then the firing from the two moored fleets, without any naval maneuvers, and having rather the character of a cannonade on shore, went on for four hours. The possibility of doing away with all naval tactics, with all movements, was very favorable 5 to the Russians, whose Black Sea fleet, manned almost exclusively with "land-lubbers," and especially with Polish Jews, might have had very poor success if opposed to the well-manned Turkish ships in deep water. Four hours were required by the Russians before they could silence the feeble ships of their opponents. They had, besides, this advantage, that any stray 10 shot on their part would do harm either in the batteries or in the town, and what a number of misses, in comparison to the hits they must have made, appears from the almost total destruction of the place, accomplished long before the hostile fleet was silenced. The Russian report says only the Turkish quarter was burnt down, and that the Greek quarter escaped as if 15 by miracle. This is, however, contradicted by better authority, which states that the whole town is in ruins.

Three Turkish frigates were burnt during the action, four were run ashore and burnt afterwards, along with one steamer and the smaller vessels. The steamer Tai'f, however, cut her cables, boldly steamed through the Russian 20 lines, and escaped to Constantinople, although chased by Admiral Kornilof with three Russian steamers. Considering the clumsiness of Russian naval maneuvers, the bad position of the Turkish fleet in front, and in the line of fire, of their own batteries, and above all the *absolute certainty of destruction*, it would have perhaps been better if the whole Turkish squadron 25 had got under weigh and borne down as far as the wind permitted upon the enemy. The ruin of some, which could by no means be avoided, might have saved at least a portion of the squadron. Of course the direction of the wind must have decided as to such a maneuver, but it seems doubtful whether Osman Pasha ever thought of such a step at all. 30

The victory of Sinope has no glory for the Russians, while the Turks fought with almost unheard of bravery; not a single ship having struck its flag during the whole action. And this loss of a valuable portion of their naval force, the momentary conquest of the Black Sea, and the dejecting moral consequences of such an event upon the Turkish population, army and navy, 35 is entirely due to the "good offices" of Western diplomacy, which prevented the Turkish fleet from standing out and protecting or fetching home the Sinope squadron. And it is equally due to the secret information given to the Russians enabling them to strike the blow with certainty and safety.

The second victory of which the Russians boast, came off at Akhaltzik, 40 in Armenia. The Turks have for some time past been checked in the offensive

movements which they had effected on the Georgian frontier. Since the taking of Shef katil, or St. Nicolas, not a place of any importance has been taken, nor any victory gained of more than ephemeral effect. And this in a country where the Russians must fight under all imaginable disadvantages, 5 where their land communications with Russia are reduced to two roads infested by insurgent Circassians, where their sea communications might very easily be cut off or endangered, and where the Transcaucasian country occupied by them, with Tiflis for its centre, might be considered more as an independent State, than as part and parcel of a mighty empire. How is this 10 check of the Turkish advance to be explained? The Turks accuse Abdi Pasha of treason and have recalled him; and certainly it is very curious that Abdi Pasha is the only Turkish General in Asia, who has been allowed by the , Russians to gain local and partial victories. But there are two mistakes on the part of the Turks which explain the want of success in the beginning and 15 the actual defeat in due course afterward. They have spread and divided their army upon all the long **une** from Batum to Bayazid; their masses are nowhere strong enough for a concentric attack upon Tiflis, though part of them are at the present moment, enjoying the undisputed and useless possession of the city of Erivan. The country is barren and rocky, and it may be difficult 20 to feed a large army there ; but quick concentration of all resources and rapid movements are the best means against famine in an army. Two corps, one for covering Batum and attacking on the coast-line, another for a direct march upon Tiflis through the valley of the Kur would have been sufficient. But the Turkish forces have been divided and subdivided without any neces- 25 sity whatever, and to the almost entire disabling of every one of the different corps.

In the second place, the inactivity in which diplomacy held the Turkish fleet allowed the Russians to land two divisions of infantry (of the 5th corps) in Mingrelia, and thus to re-enforce Prince Woronzoff's Caucasian army by 30 nearly 20,000 men. Thus strengthened, he not only arrested the Turks of the coast, but has now had the satisfaction of seeing a corps under Gen. Andronikoff deliver the beleaguered fortress of Akhaltzik, and beat the enemy on the open field near that town. The Russians pretend that with about 10,000 men they have routed 18,000 Turks; of course we cannot rely upon 35 such statements; but must confess that the great number of irregulars in the Turkish Anatolian army and the almost total absence of European officers, particularly in the higher commands and on the staff, must make them but a poor match for an equal number of Russians. The Russians pretend they have taken ten or twelve pieces of cannon, which may be true, as in that 40 impassable country the vanquished party must necessarily abandon most of its guns; at the same time they confess they have made only 120 prisoners.

This amounts to a confession that they have massacred almost all the wounded on the field of battle, they being necessarily left in their hands. Besides, they prove that their measures for pursuit and intercepting the retreat of at least part of the enemy, must have been wretchedly planned. They had plenty of cavalry; a bold charge into the midst of the fugitives would have cut off whole battalions. But this action offers, so far as our reports go, but little military or political interest.

On the Danube, the Russians have done nothing more than repeat the affair by which they opened the campaign, at Matchin, a fort, on a projecting rock opposite Braila. They appear to have made little impression. We have also, on good authority, a detailed statement of the Turkish troops concentrated at Widdin. They consist of 34,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 2,000 artillery, with 66 field-guns, besides heavy artillery on the walls of Widdin, and on the redoubts of Kalafat. Thus, 40,000 Turks are wasted in order to occupy the direct route from Bucharest into Servia. Forty thousand men, chained down to extensive fortifications which they have to defend, are too few to withstand the attack of a large army, and a great deal too many to defeat roving expeditions of small bodies. With the force already collected at Shumla, these 40,000 men would there be worth twice their number elsewhere. Their absence, next to diplomatic interference, ruined the operation of Oltenitza. It is impossible that Omer Pasha should not know, that if he stands with 100,000 men between Silistria and Rustchuk, the Russians, in numbers sufficient to do mischief, will never attempt to pass by him in order to throw themselves into the mountains of Servia. Such a disposition of his troops cannot accord with his judgment, and he must chafe desperately at the maleficent influences which force it upon him.

ψ.

ANHANG

**Artikel, die mit Marx' oder Engels' Hilfe
verfaßt wurden**

Ernest Jones
The Storm's First Thunder

The People's Paper.
Nr. 42, 19. Februar 1853

T H E S T O R M ' S F I R S T T H U N D E R .

The first thunder of the coming storm has rolled in Italy, smothered in a rain of blood, or echoing only within dungeon walls—it has passed away—and the marked victims of popular and national vengeance, saved this once, exclaim: "Quiet is restored!"

- 5 It is. The ominous and dreadful quiet that intervenes between the first burst of the tempest and its returning roar. This transient outbreak of the prostrate giant, this heaving of Enceladus beneath his burning mountain, is a terrible warning to the oppressors of the world. At one electric touch, at one voice, at one cry of "Rise!" though issued from a distance of near a thousand miles, all Italy thrills and moves
- 10 from end to end. Napoleon trembles on his bridal throne, and multiplies arrests in Paris; a dangerous movement runs through the very ranks of Austria's armies—and the thrones of Europe vibrate to their foundations beneath an unseen blow. Verily! there is hope for Italy and the world.

- Fellow countrymen! The facts of this noble rising will be distorted—are being
- 15 distorted by that vilest of all party panders, the British Press. Every calumny will be heaped upon it, and the chartered purveyors of lies, the class papers, will vie with each other to turn it into ridicule, or cover it with obloquy. Let us, therefore, give you a succinct account, from the fountainhead, of this, the noblest act of unhesitating heroism in the modern world.

- 20 Milan, the vast and splendid capital of Lombardy, a fortified town—coerced by a powerful citadel, is garrisoned and surrounded by forty thousand Austrian soldiers, whose stern disciplined masses can be brought simultaneously to bear on any given point. A terrible artillery is housed in its citadel—that domineers over an utterly disarmed city. Not a musket or a pike was to be found in the possession of the
- 25 Milanese. Based in this force, Austria hung, whipped, imprisoned, and murdered its countless victims, and that terrible tyranny marched on through a deluge of blood and tears, in a course of slaughter, bigotry, and persecution that has astounded the modern world, and even called forth the sympathy and protests of Prussian Kings and British aristocrats—the last people on the earth likely to help the oppressed. In
- 30 the midst of all this, two vile and degenerate classes—the Italian aristocracy and bourgeoisie—bowed their bare necks unmurmuring to the yoke—the former content if they could kick their heels as the lacqueys of lacqueys in the palaces of old Lombard

princes now held by Austrian slaves, the latter, if they could traffic, and plunder the native, or cheat the English and French fools who passed squandering through their towns. Not so the working men—the proletarians from whom, and through whom alone, the hope and liberation of the world can come. The word having been given by Mazzini in England, who thought that the Montenegrin war by drawing off the Austrian forces, afforded a favourable opportunity; that the Protestant persecution in Sardinia would predispose the Piedmontese, and that the terrible excitement occasioned by a successful revolt in Italy would prevent Napoleon from stirring with his army from Paris—while the consecutive explosion of Hungary would intercept Russian invasion, and distract Austrian power—the word having been given—up rose the glorious working men of Milan and Monza, unhesitating, self-devoted, and heroic. Alas! the leaders miscalculated sadly: Montenegro had just drawn 200,000 Russians on the Turco-Hungarian frontier—all ready to coerce Hungary, and sufficient to prevent a rising. This anticipated rupture with France, had just caused Austrian armaments to concentrate in the south-west; and liberal religious concessions already made, and more promised, in Sardinia, had disarmed the indignation of the Piedmontese. No occasion could have been more inopportune. But what cared the noble working men of Lombardy. Their leaders told them to rise—and they rose like flame from a volcano! And against what odds!

There spread the glorious city, in the pride of the carnival. The rich were revelling in the smile of their Austrian masters—the rich nobles and merchants, who welcome their German tyrants, since it saves them from beholding the triumph of democracy which shall sweep away their monopolies and splendours. The luxuries and parties of these bastard sons of Italy have long outraged the people—these knaves who joined the foreign murderer, in dancing and laughing over the graves of their own countrymen. Such was the indignation, that several of the common newspaper statements actually ascribe the insurrection to the anger of the starving poor at these festivities of the wealthy. One such report says:—"The principal object was to frighten the rich, because they gave so many balls, and La Scala (the theatre) is so much frequented. ... has received some frightful anonymous letters, because he has given and is to give some grand balls." Fancy, these sons of Mammon dancing and singing and feasting amid the blood and tears of their debased and crucified nation!!

That very night there was to be a splendid ball at the Duchess of Visconti's, and another at a noble club—that of the Marino.

It was the 6th of February, a Sunday in the Carnival. The Austrian Government were aware that an explosion was about to take place, and were armed at all points. In the morning a rumour began to spread, that at two there would be a rising—but, there was a perfect calm in the city, and, owing to a heavy rain, fewer people in the streets than usual. The patriots themselves suspected that their enemy was on his guard—but the word had been given from the exiles in England, and they never wavered for a moment. At five o'clock—a band of 50 men, were seen marching in serried order, on the citadel. They were armed with nothing but long knives, all other arms having been long since taken away by the Austrians, so complete was the disarmament of the people. Readers, I ask you to admire the heroism of these 50 men, who, armed only with knives, march to attack the citadel of a garrison and surrounding

The Storm's First Thunder

army of 40,000 of the finest troops in Europe. They were working men. They rose at the call of their exiled chief for the salvation of their country, in the holiest cause that ever consecrated arms. These are designated by the "Times" and other papers—"a band of bad subjects, of the lowest grade of the city,"—and "a low rabble of ragged persons." Shame on the Press that dares to print such words, so applied, in its columns. "The bourgeois did not join," says the "Basle Gazette;" "the *poordevus* all belong to the labouring classes," says the "Parlamento." Yes! it was the people who rose for Italy, while the noble prepared his feasts, the priest blessed the murderer's bayonet, and the tradesman stood looking on, turning his money in his pocket, while his countrymen were being slaughtered before his eyes.

The little band marched on undismayed against the citadel, amid a general silence, broken only by the tolling of alarm bells, rung by the insurgents in three churches. The guard ran to arms, but, ere they could close the gate, the insurgents were already within, and a dreadful encounter ensued, between the well-armed-guard, and these few men armed only with short daggers. Several Austrian officers and soldiers fell in the struggle, but ere the assailants could push on further to the place where the arms of the garrison were kept, the gates were closed before them, and behind, and they died fighting in a long heroic struggle, listening with their last breath for the answering sounds of insurrection in the streets. There, another band of about thirty or forty, threw themselves against the viceregal palace, and here also, they overpowered the guard, killing officers and men—and maintaining with their wretched arms a terrible encounter, isolated in the stronghold of their foes, *for upwards of an hour!* Till the troops mustering, marched in their rear, and exterminated them by a cowardly fusillade. We have heard much and read much of feats of daring heroism, but here were two little bands, not mustering 100 conjointly, attacking, in broad daylight, the two strongholds of an army of 40,000 men, throwing their lives on the hazard of the die, in the hope that the noble self-sacrifice would have roused the servile thousands of the capital to action, and lighten the beacon of revolution through Italy. But without, all remained silent. Except an isolated attack here and there on desultory guards, by detached portions of the little band of glorious conspirators, and the gathering of slight crowds from morbid curiosity, the population of the city remained dead and tame! Either they misdoubted the truth of the proclamation of Mazzini calling on them to rise, or that the latter had lost his influence and hold on the Italian people. Alas! that such heroes should be sacrificed in vain! Let them not call this heroism rashness; they obeyed the command of their leaders—and, indeed, it appears that, had the masses risen, success would have been certain, temporarily, at least—for the Austrian press itself says :—"For one hour the military were paralysed, and had a general rising taken place, it would, in all probability, have proved successful." What caused the failure? The Hungarian soldiers were summoned to revolt—the Italian people were ordered by Mazzini to rise—who assured the Milanese that the soldiers would go over and the rising be universal. Only two or three Grenadiers allowed themselves to be quietly disarmed. The reason of this signal failure of the people, is, however, our Italian friends assure us, not to be found in a decay of the Italian spirit, which is still as warm and true as ever. Perhaps had Kossuth appeared in person, the old enthusiasm would have kindled up, and with exultant *Eljens* the

veterans of Komorn and Pesth would have rallied around the ensign of universal freedom. Perhaps, if Mazzini or Saffi had come down from their refuge in Bellinzona, confidence would have been given to the proletarians and sympathy awakened in the liberal portion of the middle class. But as it was, after the terrible experience of '48 and '49, it needed something more than paper summonses from distant leaders to cause the men of Milan once again to evoke the fires of those terrible volcanoes, that in the form of citadel and forts surrounded their once bombarded City of the Plains. 5

The difficulty of reaching the scene of action without being arrested midway, can form the only excuse for those who urged others to throw their lives upon the cast, not risking their own. Mazzini, however, went as near as perhaps he dared—he hovered in the Italian confine, ready, doubtlessly, when the sword had shaken the strictness of Austrian cordons, to plunge into the centre of the conflict. 10

But revolutions are never made to order—they are the spontaneous combustion of long suffering, smouldering below, but breaking outward at the touch of accident, and triumphant only in the combination of courage with favouring opportunities. 15

We have thus succinctly dwelt upon this great event, because we believe it to be the precursor of others far greater; because it has fully revealed the weakness of the European tyrants: one hundred men almost unarmed, drove Giulay, the Governor General, in fright out of Milan, balanced the military despotism for two hours, and terrified every crowned and mitred head in continental Europe—aye ! even sent a thrill of fear to the aristocratic reactionists in England; and, lastly, because of the insolent mis-representations that will be heaped on this band of heroes. They are called "assassins" because they wield daggers—the last weapons left them by Austrian disarmament—but the daggers were wielded in brave open fight, in broad day, against an armed foe, expecting (as the Austrian papers themselves tell us), their attack; they are called "rabble," "low" and "dissolute," because they are poor; they will be called plunderers and robbers, though not one outrage of the kind was perpetrated by them, because they sought to wrest their beautiful country from the robber and the plunderer. But they are an advanced guard of the coming army of democracy, sent out too early and too unprepared, to fall a useless sacrifice for their great cause, but indicating by the very fact of their advance and death, that the vast host to which they belong, is silently but surely gathering up and marching on behind them. Honour to their memories, and glory to their effort! The shootings and hangings have begun already—the imprisonings and unknown murders—but history will dip her pen in their holy blood, when she shall write the brightest passages of European liberation. 20 25 30 35

Ernest Jones
**A Pamphlet on the "Revelations Concerning the Trial
of the Communists at Cologne"**

The People's Paper.
Nr.47, 26. März 1853

Our readers will probably remember the police infamies we revealed on the occasion of the Cologne trials. Dr. Marx has issued a pamphlet entitled, "Revelations concerning the trial of the Communists at Cologne," in which he exposes the whole conspiracy and corruption of the Prussian Government officials, from the Crown
5 Ministers to the lowest police agent, and the London embassy. This pamphlet was published by Mr. Schabelitz in Basle. Two thousand copies of it have been seized on the Baden frontier, and burnt at the request of the Prussian Government. At the same time a state prosecution has been instituted against Schabelitz. How much the Prussian Government fears lest the public should know the contents of the pamphlet,
10 is evinced by the fact that the Minister for Foreign Affairs in his circular-letter to the Prussian authorities has given it a false name, calling it the "Theory of Communism." The pamphlet must be the more disagreeable to the Prussian Government, since the perjured Stieber, who was disclaimed by the Procurator himself, was hissed and hooted wherever he showed himself, has been rewarded for his services by being
15 entrusted with the direction of the Berlin police. He is now the third power in the Prussian State.

Joseph Weydemeyer
Prosperität in Europa — Lohnkämpfe der Arbeiter —
Bonapartismus —
Der preußisch-österreichische Handelsvertrag

Die Reform.

Nr. 10, 4. Mai 1853

Manchester, 12. April.

Die Arbeiteragitationen, welche regelmäßig die Perioden der Prosperität begleiten, sind hier, wie in den Vereinigten Staaten, an der Tagesordnung, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß man sich hier weit weniger, wie dort, auf die Forderungen des Augenblicks beschränkt, sondern sich mit dem Bewußtsein ihrer Unzulänglichkeit für den 5
ernsteren Kampf organisirt, dessen Ausbruch unfehlbar mit dem Aufhören der Prosperität und dem Anbrechen der Krisis zusammenfällt. Die Forderungen höheren Arbeitslohnes haben hier aber eine Erscheinung hervorgerufen, welche eigenthümlich in ihrer Art ist. Trotz der dringenden Anforderungen des Weltmarktes, der Belebtheit des Handels, lassen verschiedene Fabrikanten nur „kurze Zerr“ arbeiten, 10
was sonst nur in den Perioden der Stockung geschieht.

„Die Lebhaftigkeit des Handels“ — sagt darüber Ernest Jones in seinem „People's Paper“ — „und die Auswanderung haben eine temporäre Verminderung des Arbeiter- 15
Ueberschusses herbeigeführt, und diese, in Verbindung mit der Preissteigerung der Lebensbedürfnisse hat die arbeitenden Klassen hier und dort zur Forderung höherer Löhne getrieben. Dieses Kurze-Zeit-Arbeiten ist ein Kniff, um einen künstlichen Ueberschuß zu schaffen und einen Entschuldigungsgrund für die Nichterhöhung der Löhne. Wahrlich, diese Baumwollen-Lords sind unergründlich, wie die See.“

Wollte man von dieser theilweisen Arbeitsbeschränkung auf eine Abnahme der Spekulation schließen, würde man einen sehr falschen Schluß machen. Besonders 20
in der Baumwollen-Manufaktur erreicht dieselbe im Gegentheil eine Höhe, daß Einem fast schwindlich wird, während einzelne Zweige der Baumwollen-Industrie (grobe Zeuge, domestics) ganz darnieder liegen. Vor der Ueberspekulation glaubt sich die Spekulation dadurch zu retten, daß sie nur in Amerika und Frankreich (Eisenbahnen mit englischem Golde) en gros erscheint, hier sich aber ganz zerstückelt und 25
gleichsam en detail zeigt, wodurch indessen weiter nichts erreicht wird, als daß der Schwindel *alle* Artikel infizirt. — Der ganz abnorme Winter und die nicht weniger ungewöhnliche Frühjahrswitterung müssen dem Korn geschadet haben, und wenn, wie es meistens der Fall ist, noch ein abnormer Sommer folgt, so fallen die Ernte-Aussichten vollständig in's Wasser. Es ist nichts weniger, als wahrscheinlich, 30
daß sich die gegenwärtige Prosperität über den Herbst hinaus halten sollte.

Inzwischen blamirt sich seit zwölf Monaten jetzt das dritte englische Ministerium, und zwar das letzte welches möglich ist ohne direkte Intervention der radikalen Bourgeoisie. Nach einander scheitern Whigs, Tories und Coalitionisten nicht am

Steuer-Defizit sondern am Ueberschuß. Damit ist die ganze Politik der alten Parteien charakterisirt und zugleich ihre äußerste Ohnmacht. Wenn die jetzigen Minister purzeln, so kann England nicht mehr regiert werden ohne bedeutende Ausdehnung des legalen (d. i. stimmfähigen) Landes, und dieses Ereigniß wird wahrscheinlich in den Beginn der Krisis fallen.

Die dauernde Langeweile der Prosperität macht es dem unglücklichen Bonaparte fast unmöglich, seine Würde zu behaupten; die Welt ennuyirt sich und er ennuyirt sie. Leider kann er nicht alle vier Wochen von Neuem heirathen. Dieser Schwindler, Säufer und falsche Spieler geht daran zu Grunde, daß er genöthigt ist, zum Schein Engel's „Fürstenspiegel“ in Praxis zu setzen. Der Lumpacius als „Vater des Vaterlandes“! Den Gipfelpunkt seiner Größe hat er bereits hinter sich, ohne es zu etwas Großem gebracht zu haben; doch die Hauptsache ist, daß er nicht allein sich selbst prostituiert, daß sich in ihm alle die Klassen prostituiren, die sich unter seinen Schutz geflüchtet haben, die „alten Parteien“, die ihre gesellschaftliche Suprematie nur noch durch den Dolch dieses Theaterprinzen und Meuchelmörders zu behaupten wußten. — Dabei kann er nicht einmal Krieg anfangen: bei der geringsten Bewegung seinerseits überall geschlossene Glieder, strotzend von Bayonetten. Dabei läßt die Ruhe den Bauern eine sehr erwünschte Zeit zum Nachdenken, wie der Mann, der Paris zu Gunsten der Bauern niederzudrücken versprach, jetzt mit dem Gelde der Bauern Paris verschönert, und wie die Hypotheken und Steuern, trotz aller Finanzexperimente, von denen nicht allein *Bonapartisten*, sondern selbst Sozialisten, wie Weitling u. A., die Rettung der Welt erwarten, eher zu- als abnehmen. — Immerhin mag die Polizei den offenen Manifestationen der Volksmeinung entgegentreten, wie es Hr. Maupas nach dem Erscheinen der 20 000 Proletarier bei dem Begräbnisse der Mad. Raspail gethan; immerhin mag sie die Colportage von Büchern und Broschüren unter ihre besondere Ueberwachung stellen, um die „Volksmoral“ gegen verderbliche Einflüsse zu schützen, — die Verbreitung solcher Lehren, die aus den nackten Thatsachen entspringen, kann sie nicht hindern, ohne in die Action der Regierung selbst einzugreifen. Und wenn in dieser sonst keine Methode ist, so ist wenigstens Methode darin, wie sie den Boden für die nächste Revolution vorbereitet.

In Preußen hat die Regierung sich die *Bourgeoisie* mit der *Einkommenssteuer* nicht übel auf den Hals gehetzt. Einkommenssteuer und eine feudal-bureaukratische Regierung! Die Steuerquoten werden von den Bureaukraten mit der größten Unverschämtheit beliebig erhöht, und mit welcher Wollust diese edlen Federfuchser jetzt in den Handlungsgeheimnissen und Geschäftsbüchern sämmtlicher Kaufleute herumwühlen, davon mag sich Jeder leicht eine Vorstellung machen, der glücklich genug war, diese Sorte preußischer Staatsdiener aus eigener Anschauung kennen zu lernen. Selbst die stockpreußischsten Geschäftsleute schäumen vor Wuth, daß sie die Segnungen des konstitutionell-patriarchalisch-preußischen *gouvernement à bon marché* so bis auf die Hefe durchkosten müssen. — Die *preußische Staatsschuld*, vor 1848 circa 67 Millionen Thaler, muß seitdem auf das Vierfache angeschwollen sein, und schon wieder sind neue Anleiheprojekte im Schwünge. Der dicke König würde seine Schweißtropfen aus den Märztagen gewiß gern noch einmal schwitzen, wenn ihm dieser Credit garantirt würde bis an sein seliges Ende. Dabei hat ihm Louis Napoleon den Zollverein wieder auf die Beine bringen helfen, Oesterreich hat aus

Furcht vor Krieg klein beigegeben, und nun, Herr, lasse Deinen Diener mit Frieden in die Grube fahren!

Die *Oesterreicher* thun ihr Möglichstes, um das, so weit es der Steuerdruck erlaubte, vor dem Mailänder Putsch ganz in Handel und Prosperität aufgegangene Italien wieder in Bewegung zu setzen, und wenn das Ganze nur noch ein Paar Monate so fortgeht, ist Europa ausgezeichnet vorbereitet und es bedarf nur noch des Anstoßes der Krise. Dazu kommt, daß die unerhörte und lange Prosperität—seit Anfang '49 — die Kräfte der erschöpften Parteien — so weit sie nicht wie die monarchischen in Frankreich bereits ganz verschlissen sind — viel rascher wieder restaurirt hat, als dies früher nach 1830 bei lange schwankenden und im Ganzen farblosen Handelsverhältnissen der Fall war. Auch war 1848 blos das Pariser Proletariat, später Ungarn und Italien, durch ernste Kämpfe erschöpft, denn die Insurrektionen Frankreichs nach dem Juni waren ja kaum der Rede werth und *ruimrten* schließlich nur die alten monarchischen Parteien. Dazu das komische Resultat der Bewegung in *allen* Ländern, an dem Nichts ernsthaft und wichtig ist, als eben die kolossale historische Ironie und die Konzentration der russischen Kriegsressourcen, so daß es selbst bei der allernüchternsten Betrachtung der Dinge unmöglich erscheint, daß die gegenwärtige Sachlage das Frühjahr 1854 noch überdauern kann.

Wilhelm Pieper
L.S.D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them

The People's Paper.
Nr. 51, 23. April 1853

L . S . D . , o r C l a s s B u d g e t s ,
a n d W h o ' s R e l i e v e d b y T h e m .

Gladstone has brought forth his Budget. We have heard two cocks on a barn floor crowing against each other, in style somewhat similar to that of the two Chancellors of the Exchequer—Ex and Actual—on the floor of the House of Commons—with this
5 difference, that the Whig Bantam has borrowed some of the notes of the Conservative Turkey. Last week we analysed that portion of Mr. Gladstone's financial plan which deals with the National Debt, and showed how it was a miserable paltering with the question, and a mere matter of convenience to usurers, stockjobbers, and merchants,
10 to facilitate and cheapen their transactions. We shall see, on the present occasion, that the Budget is a class Budget—a middle class Budget—written by an aristocratic pen. We will, first, give a brief outline of this notable affair:—

I.—As to Expenditure and Revenue:

The Chancellor states that the National Expenditure for the present year will
15 exceed that of the last, by £1,400,000!! A promising way of opening a Budget of Financial Reform. The cause of the increase is not less encouraging.

It comprises an increase in our naval force of £617,000; in the army and commissariat of £90,000; for the ordnance £616,000; for the militia £230,000. While education, the arm of enlightenment and the defence of knowledge, receives an
20 increase of only £100,000. The total estimated expenditure of the country for the current year, is placed at £52,183,000. The total income is estimated at £52,990,000—showing a surplus of £807,000, from which, however, £100,000 is deducted for the packet service, and altogether an available surplus predicted of £500,000.

We now approach

25 *II—The Financial Scheme.*

Here the Chancellor deals:—*Firstly*, With the Income Tax; and makes no distinction between fixed and precarious incomes. He proposes to reduce, after two years, the tax from 7d. to 6d. in the pound. Then, after two years more, from 6d. to 5d. for three
30 years—to extend the tax to Ireland, and to lower it so as to embrace incomes of £100 per annum. This, he says, "will not touch upon the ranks of labour." The incomes between £100 and £150 are to pay only 5d. in the pound. The effect of this will be, to lighten the burdens of the rich, and cast that alleviation as a weight upon the less



rich. The wealthy tradesman is to pay less, but, to make up for it, the poor tradesman is to pay where he did not pay directly before. This is strange justice—for four years, it is true, the man of £100 is to pay 2d. in the pound less than he of £150, or £150,000—but after that period they pay the same—while after two years the rich man comes into the benefit of a reduction effected by taxing the poorer one. Our notion of taxation would far sooner incline to a graduated scale in which the percentage increased with the amount of the income, for 10,000 fivepences are less to the man of £10,000 per annum, than 100 fivepences to him of £100. So much for Whig Finance—with a specious, paltry, and roundabout tinkering, it gradually but surely lightens the burdens of the rich and increases the burdens of the poor. As to saying that the Income Tax does not affect the working man, it is a patent absurdity, for under our present social system of employer and employed, the middle class man generally indemnifies himself for additional taxation in diminished wages or increased prices.

Secondly, The Chancellor proceeds to the legacy duties. Here he relieves the sons-in-law and daughters-in-law from the "relations' " duty of 10 per cent, reducing theirs to 7 per cent—infinitesimal boon!—and includes all property within the operations of the tax, the succession to rateable property being taxed on the life interest. By this means he adds £2,000,000 to the taxation of the country, and takes credit to himself for supporting skill and industry as against property. This clause recognises a principle, and is a significant concession, extorted by industrial and commercial development from propertied monopoly. It is, we repeat, a concession; but one the evasion of which is not only easy, but may possibly have been borne in mind by the propertied legislators of the financial world.

Thirdly, The stamp duties for receipts are to be repealed, and the affixing of a penny postage stamp to a receipt of any amount is in future to be sufficient. A great measure of convenience—to the rich—in which the increased use of stamps is supposed to counterbalance the loss of revenue, but in which, again, no benefit is conferred on the working classes, in but very few of whose transactions matter of sufficient value (£5) to demand a stamp ever comes under consideration.

Fourthly, The Advertisement Duty is reduced to 6d., instead of 1s. 6d., as now. This is another instance of miserable tinkering. No sound reason can be advanced for keeping the sixpence if you give up the shilling—inasmuch as the cumbrous and expensive machinery for collecting the sixpence will eat up the proceeds of the tax! But the reason may possibly be, not to have to give up the posts and appointments connected with the levying of that impost. Supplements to newspapers containing advertisements only—are to go free by post. Both these clauses are a concession to the middle class—while the retention of the newspaper stamp still fronts with its massive barrier the spread of Democratic education. "The present papers shall have advantages," says the Chancellor, "but new ones, and cheaper ones, shall not be started."

Fifthly, The Tax on Life Assurance is reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d.—another instance of the same paltering spirit; indentures of apprenticeship, without consideration, from £1 to 2s. 6d.; attorneys' certificates from £12 and £8 to £9 and £6; and the articles of clerks from £120 to £80. The first and two last items of the above are again a manifest relief to the middle class, but not the shadow of a benefit to the poor—while

L.S.D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them

the tax of 6d. is kept on advertisements, the Newspaper Stamp Duties and the Taxes on Paper are retained, in order that those on servants, dogs, and horses, may be reduced to benefit the rich.

5 *Sixthly*, In Scotland and Ireland an addition is to be made to the Spirit Duties—and the distillers are to have an allowance for "waste."

Seventhly, Tradesmen's Licences (another boon to the middle class) are to be more equalised.

10 *Eighthly*, The Soap Duties, and a host of others, are to be dealt with, and the Duty on Tea is to be reduced from 2s. 2*l*.d. to 1s. 10d. up to '54; to 1s. 3d. to '56; and to 1s. after that date.

Such is a fair outline of the Whig Budget; and we ask our readers whether a more contemptible piece of "Penny-legislation," to use the Chancellor's own expression, ever emanated from the Treasury Bench? It is plausible, specious, and sets forth some showy points; but what real benefit, what real relief, is conferred on the working
15 classes of this country? The reduction of the duties on soap and tea are the only features at which one can catch; but small indeed is the relief thus conferred. The margin has everywhere been nicely measured, beyond which the working man would gain—the aristocrat and middle classes lose; and the transgression of that margin has been studiously avoided. The Budget is likely to catch the thoughtless among the
20 people: "Reduction of Advertisement Duty to 6d. and Suppression of the Supplement Stamp!" But what does it practically amount to for the people? Nothing! "Penny Receipt Stamps!" But what is that to the wages-slaves who "receive" starvation? Absolutely nothing. "Life Assurances reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d." What is it to the toiler at 6s., 8s., 10s., per week—who cannot insure his life from the crushing slavery
25 of Manchester? Ay, or even to him at £1 and 30s.? Nothing! What is it to the working-man that attorneys can get certificates for £3 less? Or clerks be articulated for £80 instead of £40 more? What to them is the lightning of the legacy duty in one item, and its general extension so easily avoided? Does it ease their burthen by the weight of a single feather? What is it to them that the shopkeepers' licences shall be more equal-
30 ised, while their profits on labour's wants find no equality with labour's wage? "Financial Reform" was the one cry out of two which seated this Parliament and raised this ministry. There you have it—the Reform of Whigs, aristocrats, and money-mongers. Something was necessary—some slight concession—the task was to make it so slight, that it should scarcely be perceptible, and admirably has the financial
35 artist succeeded in his attempt. In his own words—to use his own expressions—Gladstone's Budget is framed "for the convenience of the trading classes," and yet it is but a piece of "Penny Legislation."

Wilhelm Pieper
Soap for the People, a Sop for "The Times"—
The Coalition Budget

The People's Paper.
Nr. 52, 30. April 1853

S o a p f o r t h e P e o p l e , a S o p f o r t h e " T i m e s . " —
T h e C o a l i t i o n B u d g e t .

Everybody knows that a Budget is simply an estimate of the probable Revenue and Expenditure of Government for the year current, which estimate is based on the financial experience, i.e., on the balance sheet for the past year. 5

The first thing, therefore, for Mr. Gladstone was to produce the balance sheet for the year 1852-3. Mr. Disraeli, in his statement as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has estimated the probable income for 1852-3 at £52,325,000, and the Expenditure for the same period at £51,163,000, thus anticipating a surplus of £1,162,000. Mr. Gladstone, in making up the actual balance from the books, discovers that the real amount of Revenue for the past year was £53,089,000, and the real Expenditure only £50,782,000, showing an actual surplus of £2,307,000, or, as Mr. Gladstone calculates (we know not in what way) £2,460,000. 10

As it is the fashion, or rather as Parliament affects, to consider the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the mysterious conjuror who, by nobody knows what secret tricks, contrives to produce the whole yearly Revenue of the nation, it is no wonder that that personage, whoever he happens to be, takes care not to discountenance so flattering a delusion. Consequently, if the nation, by increasing the rate of production, is found to have swelled the amount of Tax Revenues above the estimate, it is taken for granted that the Minister of Finance who, by this process, can present more than double the surplus his predecessor had promised, is undoubtedly the man of the greater financial capacities. This was the cheerful idea of Mr. Gladstone, cheerfully received and appreciated by the supporters of the Coalition Oligarchy in the House. 15 20

Two Millions Four Hundred and Sixty

Thousand Pounds Surplus! 25

But not a farthing out of the two millions will the House permit to go to the people. Where, then, are they to go to? Mr. Gladstone explains it: "Favourable as this statement may seem, the House must not forget that it has already largely drawn on this surplus by various extraordinary votes on the estimates of the current year."

The House knew from Mr. Disraeli that there would be at all events a surplus of 30

Soap for the People, a Sop for "The Times"—The Coalition Budget

more than one million of pounds. Accordingly, on going into Committee of Ways and Means, it voted merrily the following additional sums above and beyond the ordinary surplus:—

| | | |
|---|--|------------------------|
| 5 | For the Navy, including Packet Service Army and Commissariat | £ 617,000 90,000 |
|---|--|------------------------|

To these sums, as Mr. Gladstone announced, will have to be added:—

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 10 | For the Kaffir war (no peace?) Increase on Ordnance Increase on Militia Public (read private) Education Making a total of | 270,000 616,000 230,000 <u>100,000</u> £1,923,000 |
|----|---|---|

Mr. Gladstone again (probably by omitting the Kaffir war item on account of its uncertainty) calculates the total at only £1,654,000. Deducting this sum from the 15 original (barely figurative) surplus of £2,460,000, there would remain an actual surplus of £806,000, or, still calculating with Mr. Gladstone, £807,000. Yet, even from this moderate sum the House is warned to deduct £220,000, accruing from precarious, and not recurring sources of Revenue. Thus the original two millions, so cheerfully 20 even the most moderate reform of taxation. As, however, the country is assured that it has a Ministry of Reform, Reforms there must be; and Mr. Gladstone forthwith engages to bring out these Reforms.

An ordinary Free Trader, as Mr. Hume for instance, would perhaps have advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do good with his surplus, by the abolition of duties 25 on such foreign articles, the revenue of which, as shown by the Customs' Returns, would balance exactly the £587,000. What a vulgar, commonplace, profane suggestion to so learned and profound a financial alchemist as Mr. Gladstone ! Do you think that the man who contemplates nothing short of the suppression of the entire public debt, would gratify his ambition by the simple remission of £500,000 of taxes? Surely, for 30 so small a purpose, Sancho Timber needed not have been removed to his Indian Barataría, to make room for the great Don Quixote of coalition finance.

Gladstone's Taxation Reform bears the proud Oxford Street shop-frontispiece of-

"Immense Reduction!"

35 Five millions, and several odd thousand pounds, forthwith to be dispensed with!"

There is something to attract the people, and to beguile even the most protected Parliamentary old female.

Let us enter the shop. "Mr. Gladstone, your bill of fare, if you please. What is it really that you mean, Sir? Five millions of pounds reduction?" "Decidedly, my dear 40 Sir," answers Mr. Gladstone. "Would you like to look at the figures? Here they are:—

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Abolition of the entire Soap Tax | 1,126,000 |
| 2. Reduction of duty on Life Assurances, from 2s. 6d. to 6d. | 29,000 |

Wilhelm Pieper

| | | |
|--|------------|----|
| 3. Reduction of duty on Receipt Stamps to uniform rate of Id. | 155,000 | |
| 4. Reduction on duty on Apprentice Indentures, from 20s. to 2s. 6d. | J > 50,000 | |
| 5. Reduction on duty on Attorney's Certificates | J | |
| 6. Reduction on duty on Advertisements, from Is. 6d. to 6d. | 160,000 | 5 |
| 7. Reduction on duty on Hackney Carriages, from Is. 5d. to Is. per day | 26,000 | |
| 8. Reduction on duty on Man Servants to £1 Is. for those above eighteen years, and 10s. 6d. for those under | 87,000 | |
| 9. Reduction on duty on Private Carriages | 95,000 | 10 |
| 10. Reduction on duty on Horses, Ponies, and Dogs | 108,000 | |
| 11. Reduction on duty on Post Horses, by substituting licenses to charge on mileage | 54,000 | |
| 12. Reduction on duty on Colonial Postage (6d. a letter) | 40,000 | |
| 13. Reduction on duty on Tea, from 2s. 2V.d. to Is. 10d. till 5th of April, '54, to Is. 6d. in 1855, to Is. 3d. in 1856, and to Is. thereafter | 3,000,000 | 15 |
| 14. Reduction on duty on Apples, Cheese, Cocoa, Eggs, Butter, and Fruit | 262,000 | |
| 15. Reduction on duty on 133 minor articles | 70,000 | 20 |
| 16. Abolition on duty on 123 minor articles | 53,000 | |
| Total | 5,315,000 | |

Why, a remission of £5,315,000 taxes would unquestionably be a handsome thing. But is there no drawback in this most liberal Budget? To be sure, there is. Else, how could it be called a Reform? Constitutional Reforms and Oxford Street shops, handsome as they both look, are sure to have always a very handsome drawback. 25

Of all clever tricks men contrive in the end to catch the secret. Mr. Gladstone, with only *half a million* in his bag, bestows a donation on the public of *five million and a half*. Whence does he get it? Ay, from the same blindfold public whom he bewilders with his generosity. He makes them a present, but invites them to return the favour. Of course, not in a direct or petulant manner, nor even from the same people whom it is his purpose to win over now. There are various customers with whom he intends to deal, and Russell, the juggler, has taught the adept Gladstone how to redeem his liberality of to-day by a revenge on to-morrow. 35

Gladstone remits old taxes to the amount of £5,315,000. Gladstone imposes new ones to the amount of £3,139,000. Still Gladstone would give to us a benefit of £2,176,000. But Gladstone is, at the best, but the Minister of the year; and the amount of his contemplated reduction for the year is only £2,568,000, which will cause a loss to the Revenue of £1,656,000, to be balanced by the anticipated yield of the new taxes for the year, viz., £1,344,000, leaving a deficiency of £312,000, which, set off against the actual surplus, as stated in the Budget, of £807,000, would still show a favourable balance of £495,000. 40

These are the principle features of the Coalition Budget. We shall now state to our

readers what are the points of which the Ministry hope to make the most—what objections are most likely to be raised against it by the various Parliamentary parties in opposition—and, in conclusion, what is our own opinion of the question.

Gladstone, in all his anxiety to create a sensation, and to secure to himself both 5 financial notoriety and popular favour by a large remission of taxes, felt the necessity of introducing his proposal for an increase of £3,139,000, under some plausible and apparently rational pretence. He was aware that he would not be permitted to nibble with the whole system of taxation, for the sole purpose of an uncailed-for and unwarranted personal gratification, without some show of what Parliamentary and 10 middle class men call "principle and justice." Accordingly, he astutely resolved to take the legislating Pecksniffs by what he knew to be their weakest side, adroitly screening his intended augmentation of the public burdens behind the pleasant and acceptable phrase of a "just extension of certain taxes, with a view to their final and lasting equalisation." The imposts he chose for that object were:—

- 15 1. The Legacy Duty.
2. The Spirits Excise; and,
3. The Income Tax.

The Legacy Duty he demands to embrace equally all kinds of property. As landed 20 property was heretofore exempted, this proposal is expected to gratify the com- mereiai and manufacturing interests. The Spirits Excise is to be extended to Scotland and Ireland, so as to bring them more on a par with distilling England.

Lastly, the Income Tax is to extend, in its area, to incomes between £150 and £100; and also to Ireland. The Income Tax proposal is certainly not one of the points on 25 which Gladstone can expect, or will obtain, much applause. But of that anon, when we come to the objections.

Besides the Legacy and Spirits proposition, the Free Trade reductions on a vast number of import articles are undoubtedly considered by Ministers as the most attractive bait; and some favourable clamour is likely to be got up on this point by 30 the shopkeepers, housewives, and the small middle class in general, before they discover that, with regard to Tea, at least, a very trifling benefit will accrue to the consumers, the profit of the holders and the monopoly of producers tending to absorb the greater part of the advantage. But, then, there is the entire abolition of the duty on Soap—a measure by which he hopes to enable the country to wash away not only 35 its own dirty, filthy, and miserable appearance by making all faces clean, comfortable and happy; but also to entirely abolish black slavery, and make an end to the mis- fortunes of numberless. Uncle Toms, by the impulse given to "legitimate trading and production of African palm oil." Assured by this, Gladstone bids fair to out puff the fastest haberdasher and the most bombastic quack doctor. To these attractive fea- 40 tures he adds a good number of minor bribes, including one of several millions to the Irish Brigade, in the shape of a remission of the famine loan, and to the "Times," the big supporter of the "good Aberdeen," and his colleagues of the Coalition." This latter bribe consists in the abolition of the Stamp on Newspaper Supplements, con- taining advertisements only, the "Times" being notoriously the only journal issuing any of the kind to any extent.

45 We come now to the objections that are most likely to be raised against the Budget

from oppositional quarters. The discussion on Monday last, in the House, having been only an introductory skirmish, we must glean, if possible, from the daily papers the intentions of parties. And here we are very scantily supplied. The "Times," "Chronicle," and "Post," are actually in the bonds of the Coalition Government, and the "Daily News" can scarcely be regarded as the organ of the Manchester School. Besides, it is still vacillating, and apparently much tempted by the Free Trade propositions. But if we look at the "Herald," the Tory-Conservative paper, we already find its judgment given; and with a truly unusual frankness:—"The whole Budget of Mr. Gladstone," it says, "is nothing but a contemptible admixture of bribes and jobs." The Tories, therefore, are sure to oppose the scheme of Gladstone, from whom Disraeli will not fail to revindicate the stolen feathers of the Legacy and Income Tax extension, the Tea reduction, and other impudently-appropriated merits of his own. The landed aristocracy desire, at all events, if they must submit to a further loss of privileges, to reserve to themselves the merit of a voluntary surrender. But as they cannot well take their stand on the Legacy Duty, Mr. Disraeli will cause them to rally around the principle of distinction between real and precarious incomes, on which ground he will have a considerable portion of the Brigade fighting alongside with him. It is obvious that the Irish can and will never acknowledge the obligation of a debt, forced by the English upon their country only in consequence of the previous ruin of its population. Besides, for all practical purposes, the remission of the interest from £3,000,000 imaginary capital, must appear to them a very inadequate concession for the imposition of a spirit-excise and an Income-tax. As far as the Manchester School is concerned, although they are pledged to their constituents, if not on the abolition, at least on the transformation of the Income-tax, it is not to be expected that they will act otherwise than as business men, i.e. without any political honour, but with a very due regard to profit. And the profit on the side of Mr. Gladstone's budget, as a "whole," is by no means despicable, as far as those gentlemen are concerned.

Now, as to our opinion on the question at issue, we desire most eagerly to see a ministry defeated, which deserves equal contempt for its reactionary deceitful dodgery at home, as for its cowardly subservient policy abroad. And we think we are the more right in doing so, as such an event would certainly promote the interests of the people. One thing is clear: as long as an aristocratic coalition does the work required from them by the manufacturing and trading class, the latter will neither make any political effort themselves, nor allow the working class to carry their own political movement. If, however, the country party once more obtain the upper hand, the middle class cannot get rid of them without remodelling the rotten oligarchic parliament, and then it is no longer in their power to agitate for a limited reform, but they must go the whole length of the people's demands. The people, of course, can never, without abandoning both their principles and interests, join and appeal to the middle classes; but for the *bourgeoisie*, it would not be the first time that they are forced to throw themselves on the shoulders of the people. And such a contingency would lead to a very decided revolution in the present financial system. Already, it is evident that even middle class society inevitably tends towards the substitution of one direct property-tax in lieu of the traditional fiscal *olla podrida*. The Manchester School has

Soap for the People, a Sop for "The Times"—The Coalition Budget

long since registered, Disraeli has acknowledged, and even the oligarchic coalition has confirmed, the principle of direct taxation. But let the machinery of a direct property-tax be once properly established, and the people, with political power in their hands, have only to put that engine into motion, in order to create the
Budget of labour.

Joseph Weydemeyer
Die Parteien in der Emigration in England

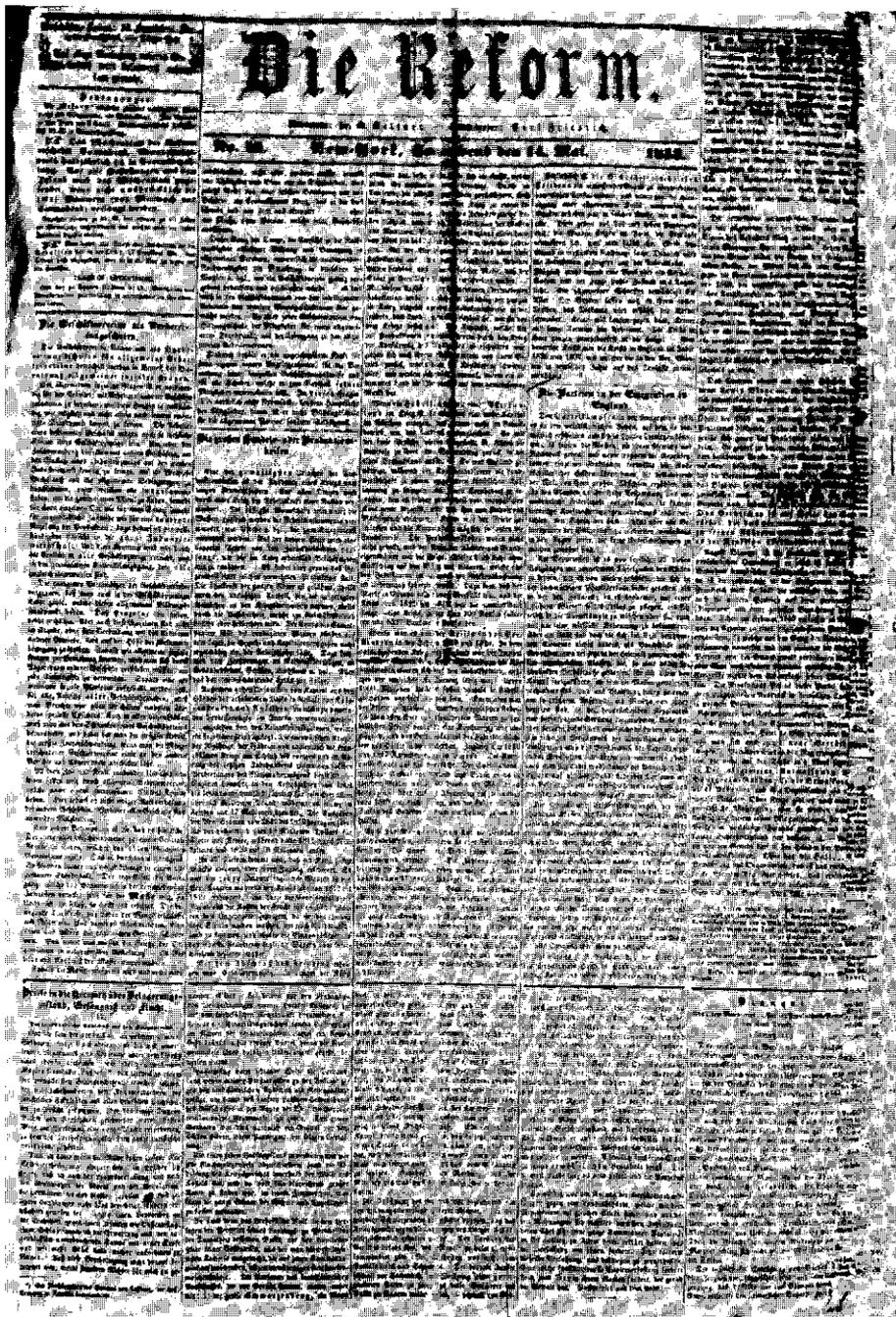
Die Reform.
Nr. 13, 14. Mai 1853

Die Parteien in der Emigration in England.

Den *Parteikämpfen* in der Emigration fehlt es an dem welthistorischen Boden, auf dem sie dramatisch erscheinen und sich in Thaten übersetzen könnten; es fehlen die Massen, die ihnen Gewicht und Nachdruck geben, und wenn trotzdem die Repräsentanten einzelner Fraktionen freiwillig die Rolle Schüler'scher Helden übernehmen, die deklamirend der Welt von ihren großen Absichten erzählen, um ihr den Glauben an ihre hohe Bestimmung und unentbehrliche Leiterschaft aufzudrängen, so können derartige Kraftanstrengungen allerdings nicht verfehlen, den Schein der Lächerlichkeit über alle Bestrebungen der Emigration zu verbreiten, wenigstens in den Augen derer, die keine Unterscheidungen zu machen gewohnt sind. 5 10

Am Bequemsten ist es nun freilich, all' diesen Vorgängen mit vornehmem Achselzucken den Rücken zu kehren, wie es von Vielen geschieht, die sich in der hochmüthigen Pharisäerrolle besser gefallen, als in der des Zöllners; es ist bequemer, aus einer „höhern Warte“ seines Leibes zu pflügen, als sich selbst in die Parteikämpfe zu mischen oder sich auch nur um ihre wirkliche Bedeutung zu kümmern. Aber am Ende sind doch die sich im Exil befehdenden Elemente nichts anders, als Bruchstücke und Repräsentanten der jetzt in der Heimath gemeinschaftlich unterdrückten Klassen, die, so weit es die beschränkten Verhältnisse gestatten, für sich allein den Kampf fortzuführen, an dem die Massen gewaltsam verhindert sind, und auf Beachtung haben sie einen um so größeren Anspruch, als Manche von ihnen berufen sind, in der bevorstehenden Revolution eine hervorragende Stellung einzunehmen, Viele sich aber berufen halten und eine solche anstreben werden. Ein richtiges Verständniß der Parteikämpfe in der Emigration muß das Verständniß der Parteikämpfe in der Revolution erleichtern und vorbereiten; doch muß man sich dabei wohl hüten, die kleinlichen Intriguen auf gleicher Basis stehender Personen mit den Befriedigungen der verschiedenen prinzipiell von einander abweichenden Gruppen zu verwechseln. 15 20 25

Die Lebens- und Existenzbedingungen der verschiedenen Klassen der kämpfenden Gesellschaft sind zugleich die Bedingungen, welche die Haltung ihrer exilirten Repräsentanten bestimmen, an der Unversöhnlichkeit ihrer Interessen scheitern hier wie dort alle Einigungsversuche wohlmeinender Philister und berechnender Spekulant, nachdem der Juni einmal so unwiderleglich und eindringlich diese Unversöhnlichkeit dokumentirt hat. Eben der zu stürzende und zu vernichtende Feind ist es, 30



Beginn von Joseph Weydemeyers Artikel
„Die Parteien In der Emigration in England“. Die Reform. New York.
Nr. 13, 14. Mai 1853. Titelseite

über den man sich nicht vereinigen kann, denn wenn die Einen zufrieden sind mit der Vernichtung der „Despoten und Tyrannen“, sehen die Anderen größere Gefahr drohen von den jetzt wieder revolutionär gewordenen Bourgeois-Fraktionen, denen im Februar und März die alte Ordnung ihre Rettung verdankte.

- 5 Wie wäre es z. B. denkbar, daß die Vertreter des Proletariats Hand in Hand gingen mit einem Ledru Rollin und dessen Verbündeten, der im Juni 1848 als Repräsentant des Exekutiv-Ausschusses die Nationalgarde nach Paris beordnete, um das zur Verzweiflung getriebene Proletariat in den Straßen niedermetzeln zu lassen? wie mit einem Kossuth, der den englischen Baumwoll Lords gegenüber sich anmaßt, der
10 Zukunft des Sozialismus ein Halt gebieten zu wollen, oder einem Mazzini, der nur mit der Bauern schindenden Landaristokratie und der spekulirenden Mittelklasse konspirirt, und sein Italien glücklich preist, daß noch keine sozialen Wühlereien die Herrschaft der Besitzenden bedrohe?

- Dort, wo sich durch die vorausgegangenen Revolutionskämpfe die Parteien am
15 schärfsten gesondert haben, bei den Franzosen, begegnen wir auch den bestimmtesten Gruppierungen in der Emigration. Wie in der Nationalversammlung finden wir eine Rechte, ein Centrum und eine Linke, nur die Personen, welche die verschiedenen Bänke besetzt halten, haben gewechselt. Die verrotteten monarchischen Parteien sind so gut wie abgetreten von der Bühne, aber um der Blouse des Arbeiters Platz zu
20 machen, ist die polternde Montagne ihnen nachgerückt. Ledru Rollin mit den Seinen büdet die Rechte der Emigration. Ledru Rollin, der Führer des für seine Boutique gegen die Revolution fanatisirten Kleinbürgerthums von 1848, der unglückliche Held der kleinbürgerlichen Tragikomedie von 1849, der Freund Ruge's und Amand Goegg's und der deutsch-amerikanischen Zwangssteuer zur Herstellung eines Putsches in
25 der Hauptstadt der Revolutionen. Aus der Revolution hat er für seine Gesellschaft nichts als den Namen (la révolution) gerettet, aber der wirklichen Revolution möchte er nur das Prävenire spielen, um die bürgerliche Gesellschaft vor der Revolution des Proletariats zu retten.

- Das Centrum nimmt mit einem Häuflein Getreuer *Louis Blanc* ein, der Mann des
30 bürgerlich vermittelnden Sozialismus, der bürgerlich bescheidenen Assoziationen und der gleichen Arbeitslöhne, der 1848 im Luxemburg Palaste für das Proletariat diskutirte, während draußen die Bourgeoisie sich gegen das Proletariat rüstete und handelte. Er gehört zu denen, welche Blanqui in seinem berühmten Toaste*) „des Mordes an der Revolution“ beschuldigt. „Euer Haupt ist es, auf das die Verant-
35 wortlichkeit für alle die Niederlagen, das Blut von so viel Tausenden von Schlachtopfern zurückfallen muß. Die Reaktion ging nur ihrem Gewerbe nach, indem sie die Demokratie erwürgte. *Das Verbrechen ist auf Seite der Verräther, die das vertrauensvolle Volk zu seinen Führern auserkoren und es der Reaktion überantwortet haben.*“

- 40 *) 1851 hatten Louis Blanc und Cons. ein Banquett veranstaltet zur Jahresfeier des 24. Februar; die Banquett Kommission forderte den in Belle Isle gefangenen Blanqui auf, dasselbe durch einen Toast zu verherrlichen; er leistete der Aufforderung durch die obige Einsendung Folge, aber die Bankettirer zogen es vor, denselben unvorgelesen ad acta zu legen. Dir Zweck, sich als die Allirten Blanqui's darzustellen und sich dadurch die Sympathieen des Proletariats wieder
45 zuzuwenden, war verfehlt.

August Blanqui ist der anerkannte Führer der proletarischen Opposition; er selbst ist freilich ein Bewohner französischer Gefängnisse, aber seine Partei ist die zahlreichste in der Emigration und in Frankreich wird sie bald die mächtigste sein, wenn auch die anderen Parteien auf diese proletarische „Populace“ mit einer gewissen Verachtung herabsehen. Schon im Februar 1848 versuchte es Blanqui, die Arbeiter zu einer festgeschlossenen Partei zu organisiren,*) welche auf den Gang der Revolution bestimmend einwirken und nach einander die übrigen Parteien von der Staatsgewalt verdrängen könnte; aber schon nach einigen Monaten entrissen ihn die Ereignisse wieder dem Schauplatze seiner Wirksamkeit. Die Revolutions-Politik dieser Partei findet ihren prägnantesten Ausdruck in demselben Toast[e], in welchem Blanqui seine Verwünschungen über die „Escamoteure des Februars“ ausspricht. — „Es ist nicht genug, daß die Escamoteure des Februars für immer von dem Hotel de Ville vertrieben sind, man muß sich auch gegen *neue Verräther* schützen. — Verräther würden die Regierungslenker sein, die nicht auf der Stelle in's Werk setzen: 1) *Die allgemeine Entwaffnung der Bourgeois-Garden*; 2) *Die Bewaffnung aller Arbeiter* und ihre Organisation als nationale Miliz. — Ohne Frage gibt es noch andere unerläßliche Maßregeln; aber sie werden naturwüchsig aus diesem ersten Akte entspringen, der dem Volke eine vorläufige Garantie gewährt und das einzige Sicherheitspfand für dasselbe ist. — Nicht ein einziges Gewehr darf in den Händen der Bourgeoisie zurückbleiben. Ohne das kein Heil!... Bewaffnung und Organisation, das ist das entscheidende Element des Fortschrittes, das ernsthafte Mittel, um mit dem Elende aufzuräumen. Wer Eisen hat, hat Brod. Man fällt nieder vor den Bajonetten, waffenlose Haufen fegt man auseinander.

Frankreich starrt von Arbeitern unter Waffen, das ist die Thronbesteigung des Sozialismus. — Gegenüber den bewaffneten Proletariern verschwindet Alles, Hindernisse, Widerstand, Unmöglichkeiten. Aber für Proletarier, die sich mit lächerlichen Straßenpromenaden, durch das Einpflanzen von Freiheitsbäumen und wohlklingende Advocaten-Phrasen amüsiren lassen, wird es Anfangs Weihwasser, dann Injurien, endlich Kartätschenhagel und Elend ohne Unterbrechung geben!"

Mit den Blanquisten steht von der deutschen Emigration derjenige Theil in unmittelbarer Verbindung, der in neuerer Zeit als der „Bund der Kommunisten“ die öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit so vielfach beschäftigt hat, die „Marxianer“, wie sie von ihren Gegnern speziell titulirt werden. „Seit der Niederlage der Revolution von 1848—1849“, sagt Karl Marx darüber in seinen „Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozeß zu Köln“, „verlor die proletarische Partei auf dem Kontinent, was sie früher während jener kurzen Epoche ausnahmsweise besaß: Presse, Redefreiheit und Assoziationsrecht, d. h. die legalen Mittel der Partei-Organisation. Die bürgerlich-liberale wie die kleinbürgerlich-demokratische Partei fanden in der sozialen Stellung der Klassen, die sie vertreten, trotz der Reaktion die Bedingungen, unter einer oder der anderen Form zusammenzuhalten und ihre Gemein-Interessen mehr oder minder geltend zu machen. Der proletarischen Partei stand nach 1849**) wie vor 1848 nur *ein* Weg offen — der Weg der *geheimen Verbindung*. Seit 1849 entstanden daher auf dem

*) Siehe im Feuilleton die Mittheilungen von Ernst Dronke.

**) In einzelnen norddeutschen Staaten, in Thüringen, Hessen erst nach Ende 1850.

Kontinent eine ganze Reihe geheimer proletarischer Verbindungen, von der Polizei entdeckt, von den Gerichten verdammt, von den Gefängnissen durchbrochen, von den Verhältnissen stets wieder neu hergestellt. — Ein Theil dieser geheimen Gesellschaften bezweckte direkt den Umsturz der bestehenden Staatsmacht. Es war 5 dies berechtigt in Frankreich, wo das Proletariat von der Bourgeoisie besiegt war und der Angriff auf die bestehende Regierung mit dem Angriff auf die Bourgeoisie unmittelbar zusammenfiel. Ein anderer Theil der geheimen Gesellschaften bezweckte die Parteibildung des Proletariats, ohne sich um die bestehenden Regierungen zu kümmern. Es war dies nothwendig in Ländern, wie Deutschland, wo Bourgeoisie und 10 Proletariat gemeinsam ihren halb feudalen Regierungen unterlagen, wo also ein siegreicher Angriff auf die bestehenden Regierungen der Bourgeoisie oder doch den sogenannten Mittelständen, statt ihre Macht zu brechen, zunächst zur Herrschaft verhelfen mußte. Kein Zweifel, daß auch hier die Mitglieder der proletarischen Partei an einer Revolution gegen den status quo sich von Neuem betheiligen würden; aber 15 es gehörte nicht zu ihrer Aufgabe, diese *Revolution vorzubereiten*, für sie zu agitiren, zu konspiriren, zu *komplottiren*. Sie konnten den allgemeinen Verhältnissen und den direkt betheiligten Klassen diese Vorbereitung überlassen. Sie mußten sie ihnen überlassen, wollten sie nicht auf ihre eigene Parteistellung und auf die historischen Aufgaben verzichten, die aus den allgemeinen Existenzbedingungen des Proletariats 20 von selbst hervorgehen. Für sie waren die jetzigen Regierungen nur ephemere Erscheinungen und der status quo nur ein kurzer Haltpunkt, woran sich abzuarbeiten einer kleinlich engherzigen Demokratie überlassen blieb. — *Der Bund der Kommunisten* war daher keine konspiratorische Gesellschaft, sondern eine Gesellschaft, die die Organisation der proletarischen Partei im Geheimen bewerkstelligte, weil das 25 deutsche Proletariat igne et aqua (von Feuer und Wasser) von Rede, Schrift und Assoziation öffentlich interdicirt ist."

Von diesem Bunde sonderte sich eine Fraktion ab, oder ward, wie man will, eine Fraktion abgesondert, die, wenn auch nicht wirkliche Konspirationen, doch den *Schein* der Konspiration und daher direkt Allianz mit den demokratischen Tages- 30 helden verlangte, Ehrgeizige, denen vor allen Dingen die Ausbeutung der nächsten Revolution in ihrem eigenen Interesse mehr am Herzen lag, als der endliche Sieg des Proletariats, als dessen Vertreter sie sich bis dahin gespreizt hatten. Wir begegnen ihnen wieder als Theünehmer von Louis Blanc'schen Banketten, als eifrigen Förderern der sogenannten Revolutionsanleihe, deren Basis die Verhöhnung der verschiedenen Gesellschaftsklassen, die Vertuschung der Parteigegensätze, also eine 35 Politik ist, die dem Interesse des Proletariats am allerverderblichsten werden muß, indem sie der Täuschung und dem Verrath wieder Thür und Thor öffnet. In theoretischer Beziehung bleiben Emigrations-, Revolutions-, Agitations-Vereine, und wie sie sich sonst auch nennen mögen, weit hinter den entsprechenden Vereinigungen 40 der Franzosen zurück, ganz entsprechend der größeren Verkommenheit des deutschen Kleinbürgerthums, das in die größeren Weltverhältnisse erst durch seine unglücklichen Revolutionsversuche hineingestoßen wurde, ohne sich bis jetzt darin zurechtfinden zu können.

Wenn wir bei Ungarn und Italienern eine größere Einigkeit finden,—obschon auch 45 dort einem Kossuth ein Szemere, hier dem Mazzini eine wenn auch kleine, doch

Joseph Weydemeyer

radikale Partei, die keinen bekannten Namen an ihrer Spitze führt, gegenübersteht, — so liegt der Grund nur darin, daß sie auf einer noch tieferen Stufe der Entwicklung stehen und die Industrie dort noch nicht jene Klassenscheidung in's Leben gerufen hat, welche den Revolutionskämpfen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ihren unterscheidenden Charakter verleihen.

J. Weydemeyer.

5

Wilhelm Pieper
The Ten Hours Bill, Parliament, "The Times"
and the "Men"

The People's Paper.
Nr.62, 9. Juli 1853

T H E T E N H O U R S B I L L , P A R L I A M E N T , t h e " T i m e s , "
a n d t h e " M e n . "

When the "Times," the other day, half-drowned in prosperity, champagne, and comfortably suffocating in its own swelling fatness, meekly stammered forth the
5 words: "We are now all happy and united," the "Times" spoke a "truth," which neither aristocracy, nor middle class, nor any "Englishman" contradicted. The fact is, that since manufacturers have put their foot on the landlords, and have brought the twenty years' war against them to a final settlement in their favour; since the landlords, on the other hand, have accepted their defeat, glad enough to be left in
10 the enjoyment of state-plunder and patronage, all making the best, by jobbing and speculating, of the present "prosperity"—there prevails the same delightful harmony between all factions of capitalists and their representatives in Parliament, trifling quibbles excepted, as may be seen between the various animals of a "happy family." The secret of the "happiness" and "union" is intoxication, in the one case by gin,
15 in the other, by "prosperity."

Parliament, the middle class, and, of course, mother "Times" are therefore, naturally enough, enraged, that the working classes suddenly intrude upon that happiness with the complaints of their misery. To express that anger they are indeed too "well-bred" and too meek, except by remarking on the "painfulness of the subject."
20 But that is only their first word for which they select a fair sounding one. Let the people insist, press upon them, get "clamorous," i.e., determined, and the foul words will come by and by.

What a degrading spectacle is that of a Legislative Assembly, so vile, so corrupt, so lazy, and so mindless of honour, that every interruption of their ordinary somno-
25 lence, every occurrence calling for their attention, every event stirring them into activity is deemed—nay, openly professed to be a "most painful" thing. But it is not the existence of evils, abuses, horrors, dangers, etc., that "pains" these nerve-stricken senators, but the bringing those things under their eyes and noses, the obliging them to "touch" on those "delicate subjects"—this is the "pain" over which they sob.

30 "Painful" was not the existence of the tremendous amount of bribery at the late

General Elections, but only the notice Parliament was compelled to take of it. "Painful" was not the more or less extensive corruption of the several branches of the Administration, but that that corruption had been discovered and exposed to publicity. "Painful" was not the infamous oppression of frame workers under the abominable stoppage system, but that persons made such a violent noise about it. "Painful" 5 was not the Palmerston plot for establishing political espionage in England, but only the detection and denunciation of the plot. "Painful" is not the aggression of the Muscovite despot on the independence of his neighbour countries, but the "duty" of reflecting on the means of protecting Turkey, or of "one day providing for the reconstruction of that crumbling Empire." And "painful" in the present instance is 10 not the factory-slaves oppression under the avowed infraction of the act of 1850, not the destruction of the health of women by compulsory over-working, not the practice of the fraudulent system of shifts and relays, not the crippling of a whole generation under exhausting drudgery, not even the incredible and unqualifiable revelation that the average age amongst factory operatives has sunk down to nearly eig/if years (the 15 average life attained by middle class individuals being twenty-eight years), all this is perfectly indifferent to honourable incumbents and the virtuous "Times." "Painful"—only that the condition of factory operatives should have been alluded to. "Painful"—that the workmen recommence to agitate, and philanthropists to declaim. Yes, that is the most "painful" thing, that the factory people *will* not be ground down 20 in silence.

Upon Mr. Cobbett's motion for leave to bring in a "bill to limit the hours of labour of women, young persons, and children in factories to ten hours a day for the first five days of the week, and to seven hours and a-half on Saturdays," what said 25 honourable members in the Lower House, not the few philanthropists, but the determined middle class majority? Listen to Sir George Grey: "He must express his *painful regret* that the question had been re-opened." Verily, England has now a *painful* House of Commons. And what said the middle class majority out of the House? Listen to the "Times": "The revival of the factory agitation will give *pain* to that great majority of the public who supposed it to be set finally at rest in 1850." 30 We dare say, the factory agitation, and the movement of the workingmen in general will yet afford a vast *deal of pam* to that "great majority of the public" of the "Times." That is not beyond their apprehension, and hence the fury of the "Times" against the "men."

The "men" have no representatives in Parliament; for all immediate wants or 35 desires, they have therefore to appeal to the patronage of some faction in the House. As the battles between the two upper classes are not only fought always at the cost of the working class, but also "for their own gain," the "men" always find one side ready to take them under their "protection." Up to the passing of the Reform Bill, and the abolition of the Corn Laws, it was the middle class—since then, the defeated 40 aristocracy, who stood up "for the interests of the labouring men." Philanthropy ever sits on the Opposition benches. Naturally enough, philanthropy only protects those who suffer themselves to be cared for as dupes and dependents. The men must not, therefore, stand up for their interests. If they do, philanthropy does not care for them. In the hands of philanthropy the men must remain slaves—witness the 45

history of the Ten Hours Act. The philanthropic Opposition inflicted the Act of 1847 as a revenge on their victorious Free Trade antagonists, the manufacturers offering no great opposition at a time when there was a crisis of industry, and no demand for any hours' labour at all. The men, reaping no good from the Act, bade adieu to
5 philanthropy, and threw themselves into independent political agitation. What did philanthropy? It inflicted the Compromise Act of 1850, as a revenge on the men. Manufacturers again let the philanthropists alone at a time when industrial prosperity made twelve and fourteen hours labour desirable. The men, in the meantime, have grown noisy again, and solicit anew the protection of philanthropy. Philanthropy
10 meets their claim. Philanthropy again proposes a Ten Hours Act. Shall we tell the men what will happen?

In order to have a valid act, and a guaranteed one, the restriction of the moving power is indispensable. That was demanded by Mr. Cobbett. Lord Palmerston seemed almost to support it. But what said Lord John Russell? "If his colleague seemed to
15 have held out hopes of legislation with respect to restricting the moving power, he could say that that had not been his intention. He had, on the contrary, meant to say that he was opposed to any restriction of adult labour." And this was his principle! Mark this, my men! Further, what said Mr. Wilson Patten, a "Manchester man?" "If it was considered to restrict the moving power, he hoped the country would be given
20 an opportunity to consider what was intended by the Government to be done. He could consider nothing more mischievous or despotic." What said Mr. Labouchere:—"He regretted that the noble lord (Palmerston) did not distinctly state his intention to resist a principle that would hold out false promises to the people." And now what says the "Times":—"We can only regard the imposition of certain hours on the motion
25 of machinery as a piece of Socialism of the most tyrannical description. If this is the object, and it should ever pass into law, then England is no longer a place for a free man (i.e. a capitalist) to live in."

We ask the men, what chances of success they can hope for, after such declarations? Can they dream, for a moment, that the restriction of the motive power, the
30 only vital condition of a true Ten Hours Act, will be granted by a middle class Legislature? They cannot. Then what have they to expect at the hands of philanthropy? Nothing but another sham Bill, and that even to be again repealed with a vengeance on them, as soon as the inevitable crisis compels them to stand up directly for their interests. No Ten Hours Act, as in other measures for the good of the working
35 man, unless Parliament be a representation of the working community. Till then, hypocritical declarations in favour of "women, young persons, and children," but no remedy. And "as to the men they must look after themselves." So concludes the "Times." So do we conclude: Men! Look after yourselves!

Wilhelm Pieper
A Palm-Leaf from the Czar

The People's Paper.
Nr. 63, 16. Juli 1853

A P a l m - L e a f f r o m t h e C z a r .

Old Nesselrode, the supposed "chief of the Peace Party in Russia," and the standing competitor of Elihu Burritt in palm-leaf epistles, has started another circular note, and one which will have been read with "deep pain" by all the Aberdeens and Brights 5 throughout this country. That note is a downright blow in their face. It has stunned them. It has humiliated them. They are paralysed under the scorn, the provocation, the deliberate insults with which the Dalai-Lama of Order has visited his slaves according to their merit. Ah! you want peace at any price, my good gentlemen of the counter and desk? You shall creep to Peterhoff, then, as you crept to St. Cloud. 10

The peace-at-any-price-mongers of the London and Paris Cabinets and Exchanges are thus sneeringly addressed by the "chief of the great peace-party in the North" :—"If you want peace, why the devil did you put your nose into other people's quarrels? Did we not, on putting our ultimatum to the Porte, particularly inform the Great Powers of our intentions?" 15

Did we not "especially engage Great Britain and France not to assume an attitude that would complicate the difficulties of the situation; not to take too soon measures which on the one hand would have the effect of encouraging the opposition of the Porte, and on the other would implicate still more than they were already the honour and dignity of the Emperor?" 20

Did we not give you "forewarning not to lend your support to the Porte?" But you would not hear us. No!

The two maritime Powers have not thought fit to defer to the considerations which we recommended to their serious attention. Taking the initiative before us, they have judged it indispensable to anticipate immediately, by an effective measure, those 25 which we had announced to them as simply eventual, as we made the execution thereof subordinate to the final resolutions of the Porte; and at this very moment the execution of them has not yet commenced; they at once sent their fleets to the Constantinople waters; they already occupy the waters and ports of the Ottoman domination, within reach of the Dardanelles. By this advanced attitude the two 30 powers have placed us under the weight of a comminatory demonstration, which, as we foretold them, must add new complications to the crisis.

A Palm-Leaf from the Czar

You have threatened us, and that was ridiculous, considering that you don't mean it, considering that you daily stammer Peace on your knees. If you wanted peace, why had you no regard to "the successive concessions which we made from a sincere desire to maintain good and friendly relations with the Turkish government?"

5 For, you know that, after having renounced one after the other the idea of a guarantee, obtained under the form of a convention, sened, or other synallagmatic act, we reduced our demand to the signing of a simple note, such as that the text of which we transmitted to you.

10 Why did you oppose that simple concession? Why did you encourage Turkey to oust away our peace-messenger Menschikoff? Why did you talk big, when we prepared our fleets and armies for executing a faithless breaker of treaties? What good could you expect from your demonstrations and menaces, when we knew that Peace-at-any-price was at the bottom of your trembling hearts?

15 All this, my sweet doves, as you might have foreseen, must become useless, vain, ridiculous. You conceive that.

In presence of the refusal of the Porte, supported by the manifestation of France and England, it becomes more impossible than ever for us to modify the resolutions which the Emperor made dependant upon it.

20 In consequence, his Imperial Majesty has just issued an order to the division of our troops stationed at the present moment in Bessarabia to cross the frontier, and occupy the principalities.

25 Therefore, my very good Aberdeens and other quiet gentlefolks, you will now please to eat the leek, and in wishing you good appetite we hope you won't make an "awful" sour face. Perhaps you opine that *we* ought to have eaten the leek, instead of you. Pray, good fellows, do so now. Make *us* eat the leek, threaten us, attack *us*, press *us*, and become charged with the "awful responsibility of causing a general war!!!" Mind, *we* don't think of war. We have entered the principalities.

30 Not to wage an offensive war against the Porte, which on the contrary we shall endeavour to avoid as long as we are not forced into it, but because the Porte in persisting to refuse the moral guarantee which we had a right to expect, obliges us to substitute in its place provisionally a material guarantee; because the position which the two powers have taken in the ports and waters of his empire, in very sight of his capital, cannot be regarded by us, under actual circumstances, in any other light than our honour or our safety may demand. It will be purely temporary; it will serve us solely as a pledge until better counsels shall have prevailed in the minds of the Sultan's ministers. Whilst occupying the principalities for a period, we disavow beforehand all idea of conquest. We do not pretend to obtain any accession of territory.

40 The instant the Sultan has given us the satisfaction to which we are entitled, and at the same time takes order to remove the pressure exercised upon us by the attitude of the two Maritime Powers, our troops shall return within the limits of Russia.

45 Withdraw your fleet, leave the Sultan to himself-or rather to us—and your peace will be safe. Resist, support him, let him "compel us to over-step the narrow and well-defined circle to which we purpose to confine ourselves"—and on your shoulders we throw the responsibility of causing a general war.

With this terrible insinuation Nesselrode leaves, and we shall there leave with him, the poor Aberdeens and the general *coterie* of tremblers to the shakings of their weak heads. To think of these treacherous cowards keeping the national honour, the interests of civilisation, the fate almost of Europe in their hands! What will they do with it? Lay it in trembling devotion at the feet of the Czar. Yes, that they will. They will pocket his insults, and their own degradation—for they dare not take up the gauntlet so provokingly thrown down by the Autocrat to them. 5

Their imbecile vacillation has allowed Austria and Prussia to be caught in Russia's intrigues: In Berlin the king and his army celebrate the Czar's birthday with frantic enthusiasm. In Constantinople an Austrian Menschikoff replaces the Russian one. 10 Already, England and France are isolated. What we ask, will our Peace tremblers do? Prostrate themselves before the Russian! Yes, that they will do.

But, don't let us grow too warm at the humiliation of our masters. Could any one desire to see our decrepit oligarchy displaying new vitality? Could anyone wish our dead middle class Parliament should suddenly be electrified into a patriotic Roman 15 Senate? Could anyone want our venal hypocrite press should acquire the genuine power of enthusiastic, passionate, popular leading organs? No, a hundred times no! We ought to delight in their combined ignominy, degradation, and decomposition. And well may we do so. For the weakness of our masters is the guaranty of our triumph. As to the Cossack, what matters it that he triumphs over our own counter- 20 revolution—so that *revolution will triumph over both*.

Johann Georg Eccarius
The State of France

The People's Paper.
Nr. 63, 16. Juli 1853

T H E S T A T E O F F R A N C E .

No.1.

Peasant Proprietorship and Encumbrance.

Everybody understands how the little master tradesman is beaten out of the field by
5 the great capitalist—how the handicraft worker is crushed by the application of
machinery, and how the wages of workmen generally diminish in consequence of
improved and accelerated machine power. All this follows in the ordinary course of
competition, and the development of modern manufacturing industry. But the French
peasant proprietor has nothing in common with any of those industrials who are
10 vanishing before the modern giant of production; he has neither to contend against
a superior mode of cultivation at home, nor is he exposed to any competition whatever
from abroad; nor is he a wages-slave who is compelled to sell his labour-power to
some profitmongering capitalist for a scanty subsistence. On the contrary, he is his
own master, a free and independent proprietor of an instrument of production; yet
15 his misery, his sufferings, his privations, are equal to any that can possibly be endured.
Anomalous as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact, that while the proletariat is
oppressed and miserable, because he has no instrument of production of his own,
the peasant proprietor suffers because he is proprietor.

Although peasant proprietorship is of modern origin, a brief sketch of the social
20 position of the peasantry in former centuries may not be without interest to our
readers, particularly as that position is the principal foundation of modern peasant
proprietorship. In the feudal system, as originally established, land was held as
national property. The whole system was a military organisation to all intents and
purposes, providing at the same time, by a kind of social hierarchy and strict rules,
25 for the performance of all functions necessary for the maintenance of the common
wealth. Land being the chief, if not the only source of revenue, all public service was
compensated in land. The King, as trustee of the nation, as chief administrator of
the national lands, and head commander of the national defence, nominated all the
high functionaries of state who in their civil capacity were governors of the provinces,
30 and next to the king, in command of the army. They were vassals of the Crown, and
disposed of the minor offices in their respective districts, investing the subalterns

with estates, the extent of which varied according to the services attached to them. As the civil officers were the commanders on the battlefield, military service was the only condition on which land could be held. Military service included full equipment for going to war, the means of subsistence while engaged in it not excepted. Thus the division of the soil was regulated by the organisation of the national defence. 5

At the bottom of all, excluded from the use of arms, any participation in the public service, and charged with the maintenance of all, were the serfs. Labour being considered a degraded and dishonourable occupation, the serfs were not only charged with the cultivation of the soil, but had to perform all kinds of work necessary for the maintenance of their superiors. War had therefore no disturbing influence upon production except in such places where engagements took place. 10

The serfs of the feudal lord, in contradistinction to the slaves of the ancient states, had a claim to the soil upon which they were born. The serfs could neither be sold nor removed ; they were part and parcel of their native estate, the possessor of which had to provide for their subsistence. To simplify the working of the system and make them, as it were, self-dependent, the serfs were lodged in cottages with sufficient land allotted to them to support themselves and families. The serfs thus located, had to cultivate gratis that portion of the estate which the lord of the manor retained for his own private benefit. 20

In a rude state of society, with an extremely plain and simple mode of living, when the produce of the land was more the spontaneous gift of nature than the result of tillage and cultivation, when labour was so little divided and the task to be performed by the workman so easy, that almost every one could execute the ordinary work required for a household ; when the population was so thin that there was ample room for all: under such a state of things the feudal system was probably not very oppressive. It was a decided step in advance compared to the ancient system of slavery under which the producers of wealth were a saleable commodity like the negro slaves in America at the present day. Besides though nobility was a necessary qualification for the higher offices, the respective individuals were only invested with the titles and revenues of the land as appendages to the public service which they performed. It was a sacred trust, the violation of which subjected the offenders to removal and punishment. The common rule was that the possession of an estate ended with the demise of the trustee, his family having no claim whatever to it as an inheritance—though regard was frequently paid to the sons of faithful servants to the Crown. In the course of time, however, the nobility succeeded in making the offices, and consequently the estates, hereditary in the respective families—they established individual proprietorship. 35

Having succeeded in securing their possessions the great barons now tried to make the crown subservient to their interest, or emancipate themselves from its control. A conflict ensued, which lasted for centuries, remarkable for its cruelties, crimes, and devastations. As an instance of the tender mercies of royalty, we may mention that, during the reign of Louis XI., no less than four thousand refractory barons were executed. But though royalty fought with advantage, in the long run nothing could have rendered its ultimate triumph more complete than the invention of gunpowder, 45

and the consequent introduction of firearms into the art of war. A single chemical composition threw the struggling and haughty aristocracy prostrate before the feet of the throne. By means of gunpowder the strongholds of refractory barons were easily destroyed—before the fire of disciplined and concentrated armies the scattered
5 and ill-organised hosts of aristocratic dependants, their own peculiar mode of warfare, the entire strength of chivalry, crumbled into the dust. The weapons of the noble warriors became as useless to their owners as hand-looms and spinning-wheels are at the present day to the workman.

During the space of time over which our remarks extend the relation between serf
10 and landlord was only modified inasmuch as the interest of the latter made it desirable. When towns became the principal seats of industry, the dexterity of the rustic serfs ceased to satisfy the tastes of their masters. But the superior products of the town mechanics could only be obtained by giving something in exchange—that is, by purchasing them. Money became the great desideratum. As the produce of agriculture
15 found a ready sale in the towns, the landlords began to curtail their hospitality, and entered into contracts and covenants with some of the serfs. They put more land u. Jer cultivation, and enlarged the holdings of those who distinguished themselves by "good conduct" and industry. For this they had to pay tribute. Besides, there were small freeholders who, in the time of the feuds, were unable to protect their holdings,
20 and had to seek protection from some powerful baron in the neighbourhood, which could only be obtained on tribute and socage service. But there was yet another class of men—the sons of freeholders—who could not settle on their fathers' estates; and who were averse, or not in a condition, to join the king's forces, or gain a subsistence in a town, and were therefore obliged to accept settlements in baronial dominions,
25 in servile conditions. Thus, in the same degree as the political power of the barons declined, in the same degree increased their social power as landlords, their revenues, their command over the luxuries of life.

With the surrender of arms and political power the social position of the aristocracy became more secure. Royalty not only maintained and protected aristocratic privi-
30 leges, but rather increased them. The court, reposing on the laurels of victory, became distinguished for Oriental pomp, debauchery, gorgeous feasts and entertainments, in which nobles were invited to participate. In consequence of this, they left their rural habitations, gathered round the throne, and entirely abandoned their old habits of life. If the barons of old had been characterised by the recklessness of their feuds,
35 highway robberies, and revolts, their descendants, in their new position, as if to indemnify themselves for past troubles, plunged with equal recklessness into vice, profligacy, and dissipation. With the progress of extravagance and luxury increased the oppression of the peasantry. Bailiffs and stewards became, in most cases, the sole managers of estates—who, to satisfy the wants of their masters, resorted to all
40 kinds of means to obtain money from the peasantry. Written deeds and covenants availed little against the rapacity of the landlords. They possessed the jurisdiction over their dependants to the fullest extent. The judges before whom the peasant could complain were the hirelings of the accuser, and whoever dared to refuse any kind of payment on the authority of a written agreement, had to consider himself very
45 fortunate if he did escape without being punished for his audacity. Moreover, it must

be borne in mind, that those oppressed beings were by law prohibited from acquiring any kind of property. The land, the cottages, the goods, and cattle—the shirt on the back of the bondman—everything was the lawful property of the landlord. Whatever amount of money the peasant might save by his industry and frugality, had to be hoarded and kept out of the scent of the noble devourer. Such was the condition of the predecessors of the present peasant proprietors. 5

Whatever difference there was between the social condition of the rural and that of the town populations, there was only one feeling of discontent, indignation, and disgust, pervading the whole nation, and only waiting for a favourable opportunity to explode. The court itself created this opportunity when, by its imbecile measures of repression, it provoked a battle in the streets of Paris which ended with the destruction of the Bastille, and a complete victory of the people, on July 14, 1789. No sooner was the triumph of the Parisians known in the provinces than the peasantry set to work to avenge their grievances, and to shake off their yoke. They renounced all obedience to the aristocracy—they lighted bonfires with their deeds and investitures, and destroyed the castles of tyrannical landlords. To prevent confusion and anarchy, it now became necessary that the emancipation of the peasantry should be forthwith acknowledged by a legislative act of the newly-constituted authority, the National Assembly. In one single night, the 4th of August, all feudal burdens, privileges, and appendages—the whole social fabric of feudalism—were abolished. The 20 tithes were declared to be redeemable, and should be commuted into a cash payment. On a subsequent day, however, the 11th of August, they were entirely abolished, without any compensation whatever to the clergy. Thus, within the brief space of seven days, the peasantry were legally freed from all burdens, save the payment of taxes to the State. They became free and independent proprietors of the land they occupied. It was made a present to them. Further advantages were offered to the new citizen proprietors, when the crown and church lands were declared national property, and sold to reimburse the creditors of the State, and defray current expenses. In addition to these there were the estates of emigrated aristocrats, which were sold for the benefit of the treasury. The extent of land thus brought into the market, the urgent wants of the State, the scarcity of money—all tended to depress its price, so that all the advantages were on the side of the purchasers. The newly-emancipated peasants purchased freely, but where did they get money? They opened their hoards—they disposed of money which, perhaps for years, had been locked up, and withdrawn from circulation. In less than ten years the peasantry was in possession of the most considerable part of all landed property. Such is the origin of French peasant proprietorship. 35

Hopeful as was the prospect of the peasantry half a century ago, peasant proprietorship in its further development has produced the most deplorable results. Peasant proprietorship is based on the division of the soil, and the French law of inheritance has led to sub-division; sub-division has produced encumbrance—encumbrance leads to beggary and ruin. According to the modern laws of inheritance in France, all the children of one father have equal claims to the patrimonial estate. Suppose a father of four children being in possession of forty acres of land, unencumbered at his decease, this farm will be divided into four lots of ten acres each. As this mode of 45

division proceeds with each successive generation, a time must arrive when the properties become so small that further division becomes impossible, and at this stage encumbrance is unavoidable. As the children are equally entitled, whoever succeeds the father must indemnify the sisters and brothers, unless the father's savings amount to as many times the value of the farm as there are children. As this is impossible, the successor generally applies to a capitalist—a mortgagee—to obtain the money, which, as experience shows, becomes a permanent burden on the land. If the father, the proprietor of an encumbered farm could not save sufficient to leave the land free of debt to one of his children, how is it possible for him who enters his career with encumbrance, to leave it even under such unfavourable conditions to his next heir? It is clear that every succeeding generation begins under worst auspices, and that a time must arrive when the descendants of the once happy freeholders must give up their inheritance when they become beggars and paupers. To what extent of misery this state of things has already led, may be seen from official returns which, if they deviate at all from the truth, represent the case rather favourably than otherwise. According to an official return of 1845 there were in France:—

| | | | |
|----|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| | Dwellings with no | aperture except the door | 348,401 |
| | | only one | 1,817,328 |
| | | only two | <u>1,328,937</u> |
| 20 | | | 3,494,666 |

In these wretched cabins vegetate full 16,000,000, or nearly one half of the population, all of whom pay a tax to the state. In the same return it is reported that "The number of rural beggars throughout France amounted to four millions: also that the bread in common use among the peasant proprietors of plots of land, was a mixture of bran, rye, barley, beans, and potatoes; and that meat was rarely eaten by them except on two or three *fete* days of the year."

In 1847 the inspectors of Louis Philippe report France to be sub-divided into 11,511,841 little estates, each paying a tax of one-twelfth of the income; that only 6,881 produced an income of £400 a year or upwards, and that the total amount of mortgages in all France was £501,760,000.

M.Chegaray reports on April 29, 1851, that "nearly the whole of the landowners in France are bankrupts." These facts speak for themselves, they require no comment. But encumbrance is not the only difficulty that besets the peasant proprietor. He is surrounded by obstacles in every direction, obstacles that increase in the same ratio as his capability of surmounting diminishes.

The People's Paper.
Nr. 64, 23. Juli 1853

No. II.
Charges on the Peasantry.

If the position of the peasantry was the pride of France fifty years ago, it has become a curse in the middle of the nineteenth century. When Guizot referred to that position in order to resist some proposed measures, intended to benefit the manufacturers, he only defended that part of the rural interest, which, in the shape of interest on

mortgagees, wanders out of the farmer's pocket into that of the mortgagee. We have seen how the equal division of property amongst the children, the least that the middle class nation of equality could do, has led to the encumbrance of the land, has forged new shackles for the peasantry, and thrown the independent proprietors into the bondage of the moneyocracy. But the payment of interest is only part of the burden that oppresses the peasant proprietor. The modern mortgagee, like the baron of old, has his bailiff, his scribe, and his lawyer, all of whom fleece the poor peasant before he obtains his loan. First comes the appraiser, who issues a certificate verifying the situation, qualification, and value of the mortgager's estate. His service must be paid for. Next comes the agent whom the farmer employs to find out a mortgagee. Most of these agents act in a double capacity. They are employed by the capitalist to engage customers—the customers employ them to find dealers. Their demands upon the borrowers rise with the tightness of the mortgage market and the precariousness of the security. Then comes the lawyer who makes out the pawn ticket, and lastly the registrar enrolling the transaction in the state's register. This cause of proceeding must be repeated as often as either the estates changes hands or the mortgagee recalls his loan, or expires. But this is not all. By sub-division, inter-marriage, purchases, etc., the properties become so intersected that one man's property is often scattered about over as many localities as he has acres. The proprietor of a hundred acres in one spot, can mortgage his estate by one single transaction; the proprietor of five acres in five different spots, if he mortgages at all, must pay five times.

The transfer of property from father to son, from the seller to the purchaser, goes on in the same manner. Every transfer of property must be legally registered, and the more landed property is cut to pieces, the more it costs in the shape of lawyers' fees. These costs are unavoidable; they are part and parcel of, and inseparable from, the system. But, besides these, the peasant proprietors incur other law expenses to which they often maliciously subject one another. As the properties become more precarious, as poverty increases, there arise greediness, envy, and litigiousness. The disposal of land by will, private sale, etc., by which relatives consider themselves to be defrauded, as also the intersection of properties, gives frequent occasions for actions at law. The frequent and minute division of the soil presents permanent lines of demarcation to be drawn, and substantial barriers to be erected. Hence there is always room for quarrels—always room to encroach upon one's neighbour. An honest and well disposed neighbour is indeed ablessing that can only be appreciated by those who are really conversant with such a state of things. Talk about the buss of rural innocence. Every little farmer is a living lump of suspicion and irritation. Fleeced, plundered, and defrauded on all sides he naturally casts a suspicious eye upon everyone with whom he comes in contact. What the reactionists call rural innocence and simplicity, is only a disguised name for an undeveloped and neglected mental state, a kind of unnatural idiotism, which is the more dangerous as it is inoculated and directed by the sacerdotal hirelings of church and state. The priests also exact their pound over and above their salaries from the state; but they exact their share in the shape of voluntary gifts for which the deluded dupes are promised to become particularly entitled to a comfortable seat in heaven.

But this is not all. Besides the mortgagee and his attendants, besides the ad-

ministrators of justice and the shepherds of souls, there is a class of business men, who carry on their operations clandestinely, and positively speculate upon the farmer's misery. Among all men of business the little farmer is most in need of credit, and amongst all men of business the little farmer has the least. Bad harvests, inundations, destructive hail storms, are all possible occurrences, and sufficient to make the little farmer insolvent. What security has he to offer? His estate? It is pledged to the utmost of its value to the mortgagee. His crop—the prospective reward of his toil? One fatal hour is sufficient to annihilate it. He has in fact, nothing to offer but an I O U. Whenever, therefore, he wants goods or cash on credit, he must apply to those who carry on their business on the principle of "lose all or gain all"—the usurer and the tallyman. Thus he borrows on the worst condition. He has to pay the usurer's interest and the sharper's profit. Once fallen into their hands, it amounts almost to an impossibility to extricate himself. For, while his expenditure has been enhanced in consequence of the loan, his income has remained the same as before. The same cause which at first compelled him to submit to unfavourable conditions is still at work, perhaps even in a more aggravated degree. Thus the peasant proprietor is slowly but surely handed over to the capitalist. Step by step his difficulties increase; step by step he gets deeper in debt; step by step he sinks into poverty and ruin. But all these transactions appear more beneficial than prejudicial to the farmer—they bear a sort of voluntary character, as the peasant himself agrees to the conditions on which the individual capitalists get hold of him *en detail*. To the mortgagee he applies, because he wishes to possess more land than his own money will purchase. He invokes the law for the sake of protection. Without the usurer and the tallyman he would often be compelled at once to throw up his farm. The priest is the merciful mediator between him and God—the ladder upon which the pious farmer climbs to heaven, when death bids him to leave his troublesome freehold, if otherwise the distrainer has not anticipated death, so that the farmer has nothing to leave. But the capitalists appear yet under another name—viz., as the collective power of the state under which they seize upon the peasantry *en gros*, and peremptorily demand money in the shape of taxes for which the peasantry receives scarcely any service, unless it be the *surveillance* of the *gensdarmierie*. What benefit does the peasant derive from the government expenditure? Education? The education of the poor would endanger the existing state of things. Protection by the army? He is not in need of it; the army is employed to keep the towns in check, and guards his oppressors. Assistance from the navy? The navy protects the floating riches of those who plunder him. To keep faith with the public creditor? The National Debt was not contracted for his benefit. He has no interest in keeping faith with the creditors. The whole of the state revenue is expended for the maintenance of interests which are totally foreign to the peasant. Nevertheless, he must pay—he is neither consulted, nor allowed to raise his voice against it.

If the expenses of the peasantry are progressively increasing, and have already brought the little proprietors on the brink of bankruptcy, the state has hitherto done nothing to mitigate the evil by public economy. On the contrary, just as if bankruptcy was the sole end of state administration, the respective governments have been steering rapidly to a point where the public expenditure far exceeds the resources

of the country. In less than forty years, with a pauperised peasantry, the public expenses have been more than doubled. The cost of the respective governments, since the beginning of this century, runs thus:—Average annual expenditure during the reign of Napoleon, 750,000,000*f*. Average annual expenditure under the Bourbons, 1815-30, 910,000,000*f*. Louis Philippe's "cheap" government (a *bon marché*) cost, during the first twelve years, 1,150,000,000*f*. per annum; and in the latter years the expenses amounted to 1,400,000,000. The honest Republicans who governed France in 1848, managed to carry on the affairs of the nation for 1,500,000,000*f*. The public expenses have considerably increased since then; but, as no new tax has been imposed upon the peasantry since 1848, this increased expenditure does not come under the head of the present inquiry. Under the parliamentary rule of the moneyocracy, the rural population contributed not less than fifty-seven per cent, of the whole public revenue. Thus the proprietors of land in France have to pay in the form of taxes to the state, and interest on mortgages to the bourgeoisie, a sum equal to £60,000,000 sterling per annum, exclusive of the heavy interest for occasional loans, tallyman's profits, and law expenses.

The guardians of the public purse, the honest and virtuous legislators, have proved quite as unscrupulous exactors as the barons of old. Nobody can consistently dispute the propriety of taxing real property, if the amount levied is in accordance with the requirements of the public service. But, in the case now before us there are open fraud and robbery committed. Not only is the amount of taxation levied by the state exorbitant, but the peasant proprietor is actually compelled to pay taxes on land, of which he is only nominal proprietor. If A buys a farm for £1,000 and mortgages the same to B for £500 to pay the purchase-money, it is clear that A is in reality only proprietor of one half of the farm, having to pay interest for the full value of the other half. But the state never troubles itself about B. The taxgatherer is sent to A and A is enrolled as proprietor of an estate worth £1,000 for which he has to pay the full amount of taxes. A, therefore, pays one-half of the taxes as proprietor for himself and the other half he pays out of his earnings as farmer for B's share in the property. Now, as the mortgages on land in all France amount to more than £500,000,000, and as this sum is necessarily included in the taxable value of land, it follows that the proprietors of land have to pay the taxes on that amount of property out of their industrial incomes for the mortgagees. This is robbery concocted by legislators, who only clothe themselves in the garb of legislation to defraud the industrious with impunity. Brigand-like they have stifled the voices of their victims and shackled every limb of the oppressed to paralyse alike the political agitation and development. Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans have in succession adopted the same maxim of saddling the peasantry with as large an amount of taxation as possible; and this has been effected principally, because the rural population has no means of resistance. Whether the new imperial *regime* will visit the peasant-proprietors with additional imposts, remains to be seen. Certain it is that, ere long, Loins Napoleon will have to increase the revenue by some means or other; since the income has not been adequate to cover even an average expenditure, much less the extravagance at present *in vogue*, which leaves no margin for a diminution of that share in the public burden hitherto borne by the peasantry.

No. III.
Barrenness of the Small Farm System.

In the preceding articles we have seen the rustic citizen as proprietor, debtor, litigant, and tax payer—a victim bound hand and foot, at the mercy of the money-grubbing
5 capitalists. It now behoves us to look at him in his capacity as a manufacturer of butter, cheese, beef, mutton, grain, etc.—in short, as a provider of food for the nation.

There is an essential difference between the large farm system carried onto a great extent in this country, and the prevailing small farm system in France. The large farm
10 system is carried on upon commercial principles just like any other industrial undertaking. With the same end in view as the capitalist who invests his money in cotton mills, the large farmer starts in business by investing his capital in the production of food. Neither the millowner nor the large farmer troubles himself about his own private consumption—the produce of their establishments is raised purposely to be
15 brought to market for sale, and whatever kind of goods in their respective lines of business are most likely to have a good demand, they endeavour to supply. Both mean profit. Profit is the difference between the cost of production and the market price, and the market price dictates the business line of action to both. The only distinction between them is, that the one accomplishes his purpose by the employment of the
20 spinner and weaver—the other by that of the ploughman and shepherd. Whatever tends to lessen the cost of production increases profit. Consequently, the large farmer's most immediate interest requires that he should continually revolutionise and progressively change his mode of production, as new discoveries in science and inventions in mechanism afford the means for an onward move. The mode of cultivation under the large farm system is essentially modern, scientific, and progressive.
25

The mode of cultivation under the small farm system is, at best, an obsolete and stationary routine. The little farmer, starting in business, has not the same end in view as the large one. His principal aim is to secure employment and produce food for himself and family. He only thinks of taking his produce to market when he is fortunate enough to reap a surplus, or when the tax gatherer, the collector of interest, and others, press for payment.
30

In a country like France, where nine-tenths of the soil are cultivated by little proprietors, employment for wages is very precarious. Agricultural labourers, in the English sense, can hardly exist. Those who perform the functions of labourers are
35 either servants, single folks—hired by the year, or they are the poorest of proprietors whose farm produce is not sufficient to maintain them and their families, and who are therefore glad to assist those who happen to possess a few square yards more than they can manage themselves in the busy season. These occasional help-days are the only jobs which fall to a married man's lot.

40 As the principal object of small farming is employment of one-self and family, the small farm system excludes the use of all those modern implements which substitute

machine for manual labour. The small farmer's income does not consist in the difference between the cost of production and the market price. His revenue is the cost of production itself—it is the reward for his own hard labour. To cheapen production would be tantamount to reducing the money value of his own dear self. The application of steam power, the sowing, the reaping, and trashing machine, etc., would supersede manual—his own labour; it would depreciate the value of his sinews and bones. Hence the very existence of the small farm system depends on the old mode of cultivation being preserved. 5

Those means of improvement and extensive cultivation, the development of which was impeded by the feudal system, were almost exhausted by the first generation of peasant proprietors. During the last twenty years the aggregate annual amount of agricultural produce has been stationary, no increase having taken place, except such as has been occasioned by favourable seasons. All that plough, spade, and hoe can do, has been accomplished, and more the little proprietors cannot do. The application of some of the most profitable improvements, such as irrigation and drainage, which by no means depreciate manual labour is, on account of the smallness and intersection of properties, utterly impossible. But this is not all. The parent of good farming, the mother of fertilisation, is manure, a sufficient quantity of which can only be obtained from live stock; but the small farm system is as ill adapted for the extensive breeding and keeping of live stock as it is, for the application of machinery. In whatever light we view the little farmer's position, it is a deplorable one. He is surrounded by insurmountable obstacles in every direction. 10 15 20

To give our readers an idea of the scanty supply of food obtained by the French nation from the prevailing system of farming, and also to show the difference between large and small farming, we quote the following statement of a French economist. M. Cantineau la Roche says: 25

"The total value of French agricultural produce, divided among all Frenchmen, gives each about 133 francs' worth. The total value of agricultural produce in England, would give each about 235 francs' worth. The French cultivator produces a yearly value of 215 francs to the British cultivator's 715. In France, the annual production of a hectare is valued at about 105 francs. In this country it produces more than 244. The wheat raised in France suffices only for two-thirds of the inhabitants. The rest live upon rye, maize, millet, potatoes, and chesnuts. 30

| | | Frs. Each. | |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------------------------|----|
| Bulls and Oxen | 492,905 | 153 | |
| Cows | 718,956 | 89 | |
| Calves | 2,487,362 | 26 | |
| Sheep (wethers) | 3,432,166 | 13V ₂ | |
| Sheep (ewes) | 1,337,327 | 97 ₂ | 40 |
| Lambs | 1,035,188 | 5 ² / ₅ | |
| Pigs | 3,957,407 | 35 | |

The total value of butchers' meat, diyjdfifLaojpng the inhabitants of France, would give nearly twelve frans each, wnite"the T»Dverment report states 16.

The State of France

The net weight of food, furnished by the different species of animals, La Roche estimates as follows:—

| | | France. Kilogrammes. | Britain. Kilogrms. |
|----|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 5 | Oxen | 248 | 360 |
| | Cows | 144 | — |
| | Calves | 29 | 60 |
| | Sheep (wethers) | 17 <i>î</i> | 40 |
| | Ewes | 12 <i>J</i> | — |
| 10 | Lambs | 6 | 20 |
| | Pigs | 73 | — |

The result being that each Frenchman consumes about **WVikil.** of animal food."

If this estimate be correct, 2 English oxen are equal to 3 French; 1 English calf, 2 French; 1 English sheep, 2 French and 1 lamb; and one English lamb is more than
15 three French.

La Roche calculates that this country possesses 2 oxen to one in France; and 57 sheep to 32 in France. The smaller number of inferior cattle manure 43 millions of hectares in France. The greater number of superior beasts manure only 23 millions in this country.

20 The gross value of agricultural produce in France produced by a rural population of not less than 24 millions, is £1,880,800,000, while the gross value of agricultural produce in England, produced by a farming population of not more than 6,000,000, is £139,356,875. But there is no need of going to France for comparison. Before the Saxon invasion took place in Ireland—that is, previous to the last famine—there were
25 in the sister country 2,000,000 of effective toilers employed to produce an annual value of £48,020,834, while, in England, there were only 1,000,000 of effective workers engaged to produce the £139,356,875 worth. The whole amount of animal food, furnished by the French peasantry, would, at the London rate of consumption, only supply 5,430,000 people with butchers' meat. Consequently, if the inhabitants of a
30 few of the largest towns in France would consume butchers' meat at the London rates, more than 29 millions and a half of Frenchmen would have to turn vegetarians at once. We must, however, take it for granted that the town population consumes rather more than an average share. Therefore, the rearer of oxen, sheep, pigs, etc., only enjoys their pleasant company while they are alive and kicking, but rarely finds his dinner
35 table ornamented with any of these animals in a roasted state.

But it may be asked, if the French nation is so scantily supplied with food? How did it happen that they exported such large quantities of wheat to this country in 1851? The reason is obvious. The rural population is two to one of the town population—consequently each farming family has only to supply half a family. In town the
40 average number of customers to each rustic individual is half a human being. The home market for agricultural produce is therefore very limited, and it is quite consistent with the existing state of things, that large quantities are exported, not for the benefit of the farmer, but at his expense. It has been already remarked that the little farmer only goes to market, when he has a surplus, or when pecuniary embarrassment

compels him to sell what he ought to eat himself. In the latter case—which is at present the rule—the amount to be disposed of depends on the claims which state and money-mongers have upon him, as well as on the market price of his produce. The more abundant the harvests the more plentiful the return for the farmer's toil, the less he is able to retain for himself. The most abundant harvests leave him the least for his own consumption, since they result in a depression of the market price, far below what the extra supply warrants. If, for instance, the extra yield of a good harvest be ten per cent, above an average one, the price of wheat is likely to fall twenty per cent, below the average. Now if the farmer's average yield be **100** bushels per annum, of which he has to sell, say fifty bushels at five shillings each to satisfy his creditors, he will retain fifty for his own use. Let the yield of an abundant season rise to **110** and he will only be able to sell his wheat at four shillings per bushel, consequently to satisfy his creditors he must sell **62½** bushels which will only leave **37½** for his own use. Thus a year of abundance is a year of scarcity to the farmer, while the corn merchant, being unable to dispose of the whole extra supply in the home market, will find it profitable to export that portion of the produce of which the former is deficient. One would think that exportation would keep up prices at home and prove beneficial to the little farmer. No such thing. The little farmer has neither an opportunity to take his own produce to market, nor can he wait until exportation begins; pressed for payment on all sides, in nine cases out of ten, he is obliged to sell his grain to the fore-staller as soon as it comes off the field.

Whatever impedes the production of an ample supply of food is injurious to national welfare and prejudicial to the growth of population. Increase of population, as experience proves, is the mother of all industrial, social, and political progress, and whatever retards the growth of population is inimical to the welfare of humanity. The small farm system is well adapted for a scanty population living in a semi-barbarous state, having few or no wants to satisfy, beyond the first necessities of life. But it is totally incompatible with modern industry and a dense and growing town population. The best system of agriculture is that which subjects the smallest possible number to rural idiotism, and gives the largest net return to provide for a town population. The less hands are required for the production of the first necessities of life, the more are left to administer to the comforts and luxuries of life. These conditions are best fulfilled by the modern large-farm system. The small-farm system neither makes its own peculiar product, the little farmer, happy, nor does it advance the general development of society. It is neither progressive in itself, nor does it provide adequate means of subsistence for the towns, the centres of all progress and development. Being incompatible with modern civilization it rapidly runs to its own ruin, extermination is its only solution—an Irish state of things is awaiting the French peasant proprietors.

It may be objected that the large-farm system is carried on for the benefit of the few, and that machine-power by displacing manual labour acts prejudicially to the interests of labour. Just so, but that does not make the mode of production a bad one; it only necessitates a change in the mode of distribution which it is the interest of the working classes to bring about. But as long as the land and its fruits remain in the possession of private individuals, let us have the English large-farm in preference

The State of France

to the French small-farm system. The influence of the latter upon the growth of the population may be seen from the following statement:—

From 1815 to 1842 the population of France increased only 18 per cent., and during that period with progressively increasing slowness; in the first eleven years 9 per cent. ; in the next nine years, less than 6 per cent. ; and in the seven years, from 1835 to 1842, 3 and 1-10th per cent. The census of 1806 showed a population of 29,107,425. In 1846, according to the census of that year, it had only increased to 35,409,486, being an increase of little more than 21V2 per cent, in forty years. According, however, to official documents, the population of France in 1847 was 35,400,486, or in 10 that year the progressive retardation noticed in previous years had become positive retrogression. The population of this country increased between 1801 and 1851, 98 per cent., and principally in the towns. Hence we conclude that, unless the present system of raising food is done away with, there can be no increase of population in France. The only thing that does increase is beggary which has 15 increased ten-fold since the beginning of the present century.

(To be continued.)

Adolf Cluß
Das „beste Blatt der Union“ und seine „besten Männer“
und Nationalökonomien

Die Reform.
Nr. 48,14. September 1853

Das „beste Blatt der Union“ und seine „besten Männer“
u n d N a t i o n a l ö k o n o m i e n

Als „bestes Blatt“ beurtheilt, mit anerkennungswerther Bescheidenheit die „Neu England Zeitung“ in Boston im Vorgefühl der Bedeutsamkeit ihres wässerigen Grenzboien-Radikalismus sich selbst, nachdem das „ungebildete“ Publikum auf- 5
gehört hat, über sie zu urtheilen. Dieses Blatt führt uns seit einiger Zeit groteske
Spektakelstücke vor. Es gleicht einem überladenen, gebrechlichen Schifflein, das von
den Küsten der alten Welt auf Entdeckungsreisen auslief. Das Fahrzeug sieht sich
plötzlich in Mitte der hohen See, und siehe da, man hat Kompaß, Piloten, und
seekundigen Kapitän vergessen; es wird zum Spiel der Launen von Winden und 10
Wellen. Hier versucht ein würdiger Alter der gedankenlosen Menge den *Ernst der*
Situation zu dociren; allein noch ist er nicht über das Evangelium hinaus, als eine
lachende Nymphe neckend in der Ferne sich zeigt und die erbauliche Andacht stört,
indem sie sich an dem konfusen Treiben der Biedermänner weidet. Aus dem bunten
Sammelsurium tritt Einer nach dem Andern auf das Hinterdeck, dreht und dreht am 15
Steuer und stellt die Segel. Die allgemeine Verworrenheit wird nur gesteigert durch
die direkt sich widersprechenden, aber allsamt *wohlgemeinten* Rathschläge, mittels
deren der Pseudo-Kapitän sich abarbeitet, die Quadratur des Zirkels, die „höhere
Einheit“, den *wahren*, den richtigen Kurs nach Kanaan, der Milch- und Honig-Welt
der Zukunft herauszuwickeln, nachdem er soeben noch in seiner Kajüte sich als 20
zweiter [Jean] Paul geträumt und gefühlt.

Heute, wie im letzten Aufflackern der Kraft, wie [im] Todesröcheln, werden plötz-
lich neue und größere Segel aufgezo-gen, morgen Erschlaffung wie nach der Auf-
regung eines verzehrenden Fiebers. Die Mannschaft refft, überarbeitet und zusam- 25
mensinkend, die Segel wieder ein. Man sucht sich die Konfusion des Getümmels aus
dem Sinn zu schlagen, indem man „interessante“ Familienzwistigkeiten heraufbe-
schwört. Die Gegensätze der Wirklichkeit, in deren Mitte man sich ohnmächtig fühlt,
sucht man zu vertuschen, indem man die ausposaunte „höhere Einheit“ der frei-
gemeindlich-idealen Thätigkeit aus dem Leim gehen läßt durch Dekretirung der
Gegensätze von *europäischer und amerikanischer Anschauung*. Der atheniensische 30
Bürger, dessen faule Gesinnungstüchtigkeit, dessen stolz über die Schulter geworfene

Chartisten den Finanz-Reformern (der industriellen Bourgeoisie) in die Hände zu spielen. Um *Ernest Jones* in die Falle zu locken, predigte er inmitten der glänzendsten Prosperität und der ungünstigsten Sachlage physische Gewalt und wollte nur noch von Büchsen wissen, er wurde zum Lohn aus jener offiziellen Stellung bei den Arbeitern herausgeworfen. Gut! Heute hat der Schuft die Maske abgeworfen. Er ist 5
Einer der respektabelsten Schwäger der Mittelklasse geworden, erklärt *Bright*, dieses Ideal des modernen engischen Bourgeois für den ächten „old Englishman“ und uninteressirtesten Humanitätsschwärmer zu Gunsten des unglücklichen indischen Volkes, und meinte kürzlich, daß er selbst den Despotismus einer „tollen Republik“ vorziehe. So jämmerlich nimmt sieh die aufgeblasene „höhere Einheit“ aus, hinter 10
der sich Arroganz in ihrer breiten Seichtigkeit brüstet, wenn sie in *wirkliche* Konflikte verwickelt wird!

Die Reform.
Nr. 49, 17. September 1853

Gehen wir jetzt über auf die „amerikanische Anschauung“, welche den Gegenpart des Familien-Krawalls in der Neu-England-Zeitung darstellt. Der größte Theil dieser Anschauung besteht aus Trivialitäten und neuerdings aus Gassenhauersentenzen, die 15
augenscheinlich in Kneipen, unter dem Einfluß von Philadelphier *Lagerbier* zusammengeflochten, das Material zur Füllung einer Dunggrube abgeben, deren Umfassungswände mit Unwahrheiten, Gemeinheiten und Gemeinplätzen zusammengekittet sind. Ein paar Philadelphier Römer, vorzüglich ein gewisser Herr Pösche, welcher soeben damit umgeht, sich die Epauletten zu verdienen, als Kliqueur Cushings, in 20
der Pierce'schen glorreichen Aemterjägerarmee, floriren als Matadore dieser Richtung. Eine ökonomische Theorie, konservativ-bürgerlich, so wie sie von den *Sozialen aller Fraktionen* direkt bekämpft wird, — diejenige des Amerikaners Carey und des Franzosen *Bastiat* wird dem gläubigen Publikum*) als neueste deutsch-amerikanische Entdeckung, als die „höhere Einheit“ der National-Oekonomie vorgeführt. 25
Wir werden sehen, daß überall, wo sich die hochtrabende *höhere Einheit* ins wirkliche Leben wagt, sie den *Gewalten, welche sind*, als dienstbereites Werkzeug in die Hand arbeitet. Die Redaktion der N. E. Z. scheint ihre keusche Gesinnung noch nicht befleckt zu haben durch Studien, so mühevoll materieller Art, wie national-ökonomische sind; denn wir sehen täglich, daß [...] Diskussion sozialer Fragen Jedem 30
in die Hä[...], welcher gerade Lust hat, sich zu entleeren. Die obenberührte Doktrin erlag mit Herrn Bastiat das letztmal vor den sozialistischen Tribunalen Europa's im Jahre 1849 bei einer Polemik in Proudhon's „Voix du peuple“; das Dahinrollen der Geschichte hat jenen theoretischen Ausdruck für eine genau bestimmte geschichtliche Epoche längst Grund und Boden in der europäischen Gesellschaft entzogen. 35
In Amerika, wo heute die gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze noch viel unentwickelter sind, als im radikal unterwühlten Europa, fand diese Theorie ihren Vertreter in dem Oekonomen Carey. Ihr konservativ-bürgerlicher Gegner (vom Standpunkt der

*) Nach dem anhaltenden Nothschrei der N. E. Z. und den laufenden Gerüchten scheint das Publikum übrigens eine voreilige Hypothese geworden zu sein A. C 40

neueren englischen Schule aus) hat sich auch bereits gefunden in Prof. **Wayland**. Seine **National-ökonomischen Prinzipien** sind auf den meisten Akademien Neu Englands als Lehrbuch eingeführt, zum großen Verdruß der Anhänger Carey's.

Resumieren wir kurz die Hauptlinien der Doktrin, welche von Bastiat in seinen
5 **Sozialen Harmonien** mit Grazie und in leichtfaßlicher Form zusammengestellt, von Carey aber ohne alles Darstellungstalent, ohne Zusammenfassungsgabe und Präzision propagirt wird. Mancherlei positive Kenntnisse und selbst originelle hübsche Einfälle sind dem C. H. Carey nicht abzusprechen. Sein Hauptverdienst besteht darin, daß er wirklich ein eigenthümliches, dem amerikanischen Boden direkt entwachsenenes
10 Produkt ohne fremde Beimischungen ausbildet. Seine Wissenschaft ist nichts weniger als universeller Natur, sie ist eine reine **Yankeewissenschaft**. Sie versucht darzutun, daß die óto/jom/sc/jen Bedingungen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, statt Bedingungen des Kampfes und des Antagonismus zu sein, vielmehr Bedingungen der Assoziation und der Harmonie sind. (Sehr schön in der Theorie, die Praxis hierzu liefern die
15 modernen Fabrikstädte!) Jene ökonomischen Bedingungen zerfallen in

1) **Rente**, den Antheil des Grundeigentümers,

2) **Profit**, den Antheil des Kapitalisten,

3) **Arbeitslohn**, den Antheil des Arbeiters an dem Werthe des fertigen Produkts.

Wir sehen, Carey ist zu erfahren, um, wie z. B. die neugebackenen Römerjünglinge
20 in Philadelphia, oder vor ihnen s. v. Heinzen, die Existenz von Klassen an das Dasein von **politischen** Privilegien und Monopolen zu knüpfen und deßhalb mit der großen französischen Revolution die soziale Harmonie unbedingt improvisirt und für alle Zeiten patentirt zu sehen. Carey sucht vielmehr für die ökonomische Thatsache ökonomische Gründe, wobei er freilich nicht hinauskömmt über die noch undeutlich
25 ausgeprägten, verschwimmenden, in Fluß begriffenen amerikanischen Klassenverhältnisse. Er beweis't deßhalb nur, daß ein **Durchgangspunkt** in der Entwicklung der Gesellschaft ihm für das **Normalverhältniß** des Lebens gilt. Am charakteristischsten ist die Polemik von Carey's Schule gegen die englischen Oekonomen. Sie greift **Ricardo**, den klassischen Vertreter der Bourgeoisie und den stoischsten Gegner des
30 Proletariats, an als einen Mann, dessen Werk das Arsenal für Anarchisten, Sozialisten, kurz für alle „Feinde der bürgerlichen Ordnung“ sei. Sie verfolgt mit Fanatismus wie Ricardo, so auch alle übrigen leitenden Oekonomen des modern-bürgerlichen Europas und wirft diesen ökonomischen Herolden der Bourgeoisie vor, daß sie die Gesellschaft zerrissen und für den Bürgerkrieg Waffen schmieden durch den mit
35 Cynismus gelieferten Nachweis, daß die ökonomischen Grundlagen der verschiedenen Klassen einen nothwendigen und stets wachsenden Antagonismus unter ihnen hervorrufen müssen.

Bastiat, der Franzose, ist unbedingter Freihändler; die Phiadelphier Römerjünglinge beten ihm die „Segnungen des Freihandels“ mit gläubiger Einfalt nach.

40 Carey selbst fing seine ökonomische Carriere als Freihändler an, und ließ zu jener Zeit hier und da gute Witze vom Stapel, wie z. B. das bürgerliche Frankreich seiner Schutzzollneigungen halber mit China zusammenzustellen. Wie gewöhnlich bei Freihandelsmännern, schob er alle Dissonanzen in der Gesellschaft auf ungebührliches Einmischen des Staates in Unternehmungen, welche der Privat-Industrie etc.
45 zukämen. Dies war Alles Yankee, Yankee von Kopf zu Fuß. Heute ist Herr Carey

säuerlich geworden, seufzt und jammert mit dem Franzosen *Sismondi* über die zerstörenden Wirkungen in der zentralisirenden großen Industrie England's, welche für ihn das „böse Prinzip“ in der Gesellschaft erzeugt. Er würde sich höchlich wundern, wenn er wüßte, wie deutsche Grünschnäbel im lawinenartigen Anschwellen der Macht des großen Kapitals die Herausbildung von Schneebällen sähen, erfüllt von „anglosächsischen“ Dezentralisations- und Individualitäts-Geist. Abgesehen davon, daß Carey den *revolutionären*, umwälzenden Moment in den destruktiven Wirkungen der Industrie gänzlich übersieht, ist er dennoch wieder zu sehr Yankee, um die Industrie, als solche, *verantwortlich* zu machen, was die einzige, richtige Konsequenz seines Raisonnements wäre. Er macht die Engländer persönlich verantwortlich für die Wirkungen ihrer Industrie, gar nicht davon zu sprechen, daß Ricardo wieder verantwortlich gemacht wird für England. In diesem Gegensatz befangen, muß er sich nach und nach nothwendig immer weiter hineinarbeiten in's Kleinbürgerliche, in die einmal dagewesene, aber längst verdrängte patriarchalische Assoziation von Agrikultur und Manufaktur.

Der Yankeewitz bei Carey und seinen Anhängern ist nun aber wiederum der: Unter dem Vorwande und, wir mögen es zugeben, auch mit dem guten Willen und der Ueberzeugung, für die „zahlreichste und leidendste Klasse“ aufzutreten, werfen sie der englischen Bourgeoisie den Fehdehandschuh hin. *Sismondi* that dies, indem er die *moderne Industrie* verdonnerte und sich nach der *alten Manufaktur* zurücksehnte ; sie aber thun es, indem sie heute den Schutzzoll predigen. Sie wollen demnach im Grunde mit all' ihren philanthropischen Phrasen bloß die englische Entwicklung der *industriellen Bourgeoisie in Amerika* künstlich *beschleunigen*. Es ist dies eine philanthropisch-utopische Manier im Kampf der Konkurrenz zwischen England und Amerika, diesem höchst interessanten Phänomen für die bürgerliche Oekonomie der Gegenwart. Die geniale Seite der Oekonomie zeigt sich hier auf's Glänzendste. Da diese sogar von Carey's Schule gänzlich übersehen wird, so wäre es natürlich ein unbilliges Verlangen, wenn wir bei Staatshämorrhoidarius und neugebackenen Staatsökonomern der Neu England Zeitung auch nur eine Ahnung hiervon voraussetzen wollten, da sie im bürgerlichen Koth bis über die Ohren versunken, noch nicht einmal entfernt die historische Bedeutung der Richtung kennen, welche sie selbst auswendig gelernt haben.

Die Reform.
Nr.50, 21.September 1853

Im Konkurrenz-Kampf zwischen Amerika und England sehen wir nämlich das letztere mehr und mehr in die Lage Von Venedig, Genua und Holland gedrängt, welche alle gezwungen waren, ihr Kapital auf Zinsen auszuleihen, nachdem das Monopol ihrer Handelsmacht gebrochen war. Genua und Venedig haben Holland zum Aufkommen verholfen, Holland hat England mit Kapital versehen, und ebenso ist England jetzt gezwungen zu thun in Bezug auf die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Nur sind heute alle Verhältnisse in diesem Umschwung riesenhafter als damals. England's Lage unterscheidet sich von der Lage jener Länder dadurch, daß bei diesen das Monopol des Handels der vorherrschende Moment war, was leicht zu brechen

ist, während jenes das Monopol der Industrie zugleich besitzt, was seiner Natur nach zäher ist. Die Uebersättigung an Kapital von England's Bourgeoisie ist dafür andererseits um so kolossaler, so daß sie gezwungen ist, Eisenbahnen in beiden Welttheilen zu bauen, Kapital in Berliner Gasbeleuchtung, in die Weinberge von
5 Bordeaux, in russische Fabriken und in amerikanische Dämpfer zu stecken. Dies Alles giebt Stoff zu der interessantesten Beobachtung, wie die Anziehungskraft, welche das englische Centraikapital ausübt, nothwendig sich ergänzt in einer Centrifugalkraft, welche es nach allen Ecken der Welt wieder ausströmt. Eine Revolution — und die Engländer haben dem europäischen Kontinent all jene Ver-
10 bindungswege und Maschinerie für die Produktion umsonst hergestellt. Amerika wartet nicht auf Revolutionen; es macht seine Abrechnung auf konservativ-bürgerlichem Wege ab, indem es sich von Zeit zu Zeit mit England durch den Bankerott liquidirt. Dies ist Eines der Geheimnisse seines raschen Auf Schießens, eine regelmäßige Erscheinung, ebenso wie Eisenbahn- und Dampfboot-Katastrophen. Dieselbe
15 Sorglosigkeit, derselbe rasende Produktions-Taumel, welcher ermöglicht, daß Zehntausende ins Dasein gerufen werden, die unter andern Umständen nie das Licht der Welt erblicken würden, überliefert kaltblütig Hunderte auf Hunderte per Dampf einem frühen Tode. Das Eine ist bloß die Ergänzung des Andern. *Unskrupulöse Multiplikation des Reichthums der Kapitalisten-Assoziationen mit völliger Hintan-*
20 *setzung von Menschenleben!* so lautet das Kommentar zum „Sieg der Individualität im Angelsachsenthum!“ Dies Alles sind Thatsachen, freilich unbegreiflich der „nüchternen Prügelscheu und der hausbackenen Verständigkeit“ von Philadelphier Römer jungens, welche ausgeklugelt haben aus irgend einer konservativen Review, daß die Arbeiterinnen von Lowell heute in ihrem Verdienst dreimal besser sich stehen,
25 als vor 30 Jahren. Nach diesem klugen Schluß müßten jene Arbeiterinnen vor Zeiten bloß 4V2 Tag in der Woche Speise zu sich genommen und ihre Blöße höchstens mit einem Feigenblatt bedeckt haben. Daß innerhalb 30 Jahren überhaupt erst entstanden oder von einer geruhig vegetirenden Bevölkerung von 200 Seelen sich auf eine Fabrikstadt von 36000 Seelen heraufgearbeitet hat, daß heute etwa der dritte Theil
30 dieser Bevölkerung aus Arbeiterinnen besteht*), welche bei einem Durchschnittswochenlohn von drei Dollars von der Hand zum Munde leben, d. h., deren Lohn um diesen Durchschnittspreis herum derart steigt und fällt, daß sie in günstigen Zeiten einen Pfennig in die Sparkasse niederlegen können, welchen sie zu Zeiten, wo die Geschäfte gänzlich stocken oder nur *halbe Zeit* gearbeitet wird, wieder aufzehren,
35 daß diese Arbeiterinnen größtentheils nicht durch demokratische Verordnungen, wohl aber durch die Macht der Verhältnisse zum Cölibat verurtheilt sind; dies Alles sind Sachen, welche ein „demokratischer“ Aemterjägerkandidat nicht sehen *darf*, wollte man sogar annehmen, er hätte die nöthige Sehkraft.

Die „Gleichheit der Möglichkeiten für das Individuum, über die hinaus man (d. h. 40 die Philadelphier Römer) nichts zu sehen vermag“ können wir hier in Amerika reichlich nicht läugnen; das gelbe Fieber hat lange genug als römisch-demokratischer Kommissär agirt und sie in New-Orleans demonstirt. Die Möglichkeit der Gleichheit aber,

*) Lowell's Bevölkerung wird zu fünf Achttheilen aus Weibern zu drei Achttheilen bloß aus Männern angegeben. Wir glauben, *faktisch* ist das Mißverhältniß noch viel greller. A. C.

junger Herr, liegt jenseits des bürgerlichen Gesichtskreises, nur der von keinerlei Vorurtheilen umzäunte weitere Horizont des Reformers schließt sie ein, welcher die modernen Arbeiterverhältnisse in ihrer ganzen Tragweite erkannt hat.

Nachdem wir jetzt die Helden einer jeglichen Welt skizzirt, bei dem Helden der neuen Welt aber vorgezogen haben, die National-Oekonomie in Original zu besprechen, deren matten, farblosen Abklatsch er wiederkaut, (wir thaten dies, um das dem Publikum schuldige Dekorum beobachten und die personifizierte Langeweile in ihrer Monotonie, die verflachte Gelahrsamkeit in ihrer Dürsterkeit unterbrechen zu können)—müssen wir noch bemerken, daß jede von beiden Parteien die andere grober Unwissenheit in der Weltgeschichte zeihet (was wir einfach registriren) und daß die Redaktion diese rührenden, „interessanten“ Szenen zuweilen auch einen „Kampf von Materialismus und Idealismus“ tauft, wobei Heinzen in der alten Maske des Orlando Furioso als Gevattermann auftritt.

Die Fehde hatte einen hohen Grad von Heftigkeit erreicht und das Spiel der gegnerischen Argumente schien sich eher in Fäusten verdichten, als in die sehn-süchtig gehoffte „höhere Einheit“ auflösen zu wollen. Es wurde also eine schiedsrichterliche Einheit improvisirt, ein Deus ex machina zitiert in der Person eines „ernschten“ Mannes, einen ehemaligen Diplomaten und Gesandten einer Duodez-republik, wenn anders die hochbetheuernde Staatsweisheit und die völkerrechtliche Grandezza uns nicht total trügen, welche in den vorsichtig zurückhaltenden Urtheilssprüchen überall den Mann verrathen, welcher schon jetzt unter dem Druck der Regierungslast der Zukunft seufzte. Er schlichtet den „Kampf“ zur allseitigen Zufriedenheit; denn beide Parteien bekommen Unrecht, so daß keine einen unehrvolleren Rückzug zu nehmen hat, als die andere. „Leonidas“ geht friedfertig, wenn auch noch zuweilen mürrisch grunzend, einher neben seinen Gegnern, den „unbekannten Griechen“, deren Rolle die Philadelphier Römerjünglinge in der Komödie übernommen hatten. Das Chor der Priester des Humanismus singt gerührt: „In diesen heiligen Hallen, kennt man die Rache nicht!“ Der Vorhang fällt, allein keine bengalische Flamme röthet das patriotische Tableau, die Schlußszene kommt noch.

Die Reform.

Nr. 51, 24. September 1853

Der „ernschte“ Schiedsrichter hatte sich als greinender Heraklit die Universal-sympathien erworben, mit vollen Händen gespendet von allen vor ihm greinenden Schatzgräbern der „Wissenschaft der Zukunft“, welche nach eigenem Geständniß in der Manier der kalifornischen Goldgräber dem Publikum ihre Perlen noch roh, ungeschliffen vorschmeißen. Und siehe da, plötzlich dazwischen tritt leichter Muths und frohen Sinnes ein werthester, weil ungebeter, Gast, welcher vorzieht, als Demokrit sich über alles Lustige lustig zu machen und nach allen Indizien glaubt, im ganzen Kampfe sei gar viel Geschrei und spottwenig Wolle zu Markte getragen worden. Er moquirte sich über die ganze Erfindung des speziell-demokratischen Verstandes, welcher sich die Revolution nicht anders als unter den am Draht gezogenen „feurigen Höllenhunden“ des Europäischen Centralkomites denken kann.

Er beruhigt Ihre Herrlichkeiten, sie sollten sich nicht vor Baschkiren fürchten, die Preußen und Baiern seien auch nicht so übel, erklärt ihnen, wie ohne das Knäsenthum seiner Fürsten, ohne die landesübliche Sammlung von Pickelhaubenjünglingen mit oder ohne Äffensteißkokarde, Deutschland eine Chance auf Baschkiren gehabt haben

5 möchte, kichert über die zärtliche „revolutionäre“ Besorgniß für die National-Unabhängigkeit der 36 Landesväter, der Preußischen, Bückeburgischen, Darmstädtischen oder Badischen Regierungen und den Vorzug, welcher Reichstruppen — Reichstruppen für die „deutsche Nation“ — vor Baschkiren gegeben wird. Er lacht über den Schauer vor den drohenden Baschkirenüberschwemmungen, über das

10 feierliche Gepolter, den Staatsweisheitskram, die sittlich-nationalen Manifeste an die preußisch-badischen Knäse, wie diesen an's Herz gelegt wird, daß sie die 36 Vaterländer mit ihrem halb und halb Despotismus ja treu gegen die Baschkiren bewahren sollen, damit nur nicht der große Konflikt vor der Zeit heraufbeschworen werde, welchen die Demokraten erst auf das 50. Jahr nach Napoleon's Prophezeiung erwarten, die sie aber nimmermehr bei Lebzeiten überkommen darf. Er lacht über das

15 ohnmächtige, absurde Bemühen demokratischer Sekten, die ganzen bestehenden Konvulsionen der europäischen Gesellschaft, die ganze ungeheure geschichtliche Krisis, die tausendfachen Schwierigkeiten, Komplikationen und Klassenfragen in den unwissend-flachen Gegensatz von Kosaken- und Republikanerthum, den Umsturz eines ganzen Produktionssystems mit allen ihn nothwendig begleitenden Weltmarkterschütterungen, Klassenkämpfen, Industrieumwälzungen in eine reine Wirthshaus Table d'hote-Frage, in ein zu arrangirendes, brüderliches Messer- und Gabelfrühstück zu verwandeln. Er lacht über die barbarischen Purzelbäume eines

20 Menzikoff, über die diplomatischen Absurditäten seiner Vorgesetzten Nesselrode-Labensky, wie über den stulpengestiefelten Don Quixote der europäischen Kontrerevolution, den mächtigen und furchtbaren Judenrekruteur Nikolaus und über die „hülfslose Stimme“ seiner staatsweisen Gegner nebst ihrem hohen Richter. Er gratulirt zum endlichen Erlöschen des „Kleiner Funke lebet noch“ und zum endlichen Vermodern des ganzen theatralischen Apparats der offiziellen Demokratie, raunte

30 aber andererseits den vor Staunen über die proletarische Keckheit erstarrten Turnierkämpfern ins Ohr, die *materielle Revolution ohne Phrase* sei ebendeßwegen erst recht heute unausbleiblich geworden und *sie* sei Rußland's ebenbürtiger Gegner.

Allseitiges Flüstern wird bemerkt und „gerechte Entrüstung“ giebt sich kund unter den demokratischen Honoratioren. Die Aufregung steigt und Niemand bemerkt, daß

35 der proletarische Schalk nach dem Schluß seiner spöttischen Strafpredigt geräuschlos den heiligen Hallen der „höhern Einheit“ den Rücken gekehrt. Geräusper. Die verkannte, versinkende Staatsweisheit feuert einen in Wehmuth verhallenden Nothschuß ab, tritt vor das unvermeidlich gewordene Faktotum der Regierungsgewalt in partibus. Es entwindet sich mit *ernscht* finsterer Geberde und tiefsinnig

40 verschränkten Armen langsam und bedächtig dem grimmig schnalzenden Knäuel von Talenten. Das Testament Peters des Großen prangt unter seinen Armen, eine schweinslederne Geschichte Rußlands wird auf seinen Befehl herbeigetragen und aufgeschlagen, Ballen von pergamentenen Verträgen werden um ihn aufgethürmt. Er erhebt seine Stimme. Swätoslaw, Iwan Wassiljewitsch, Peter I., Katharina II.,

45 Nikolaus passiren die Revue, eine Reihe von unwiderleglichen Wegweisern von

Moskau sukzessive vorgeschoben bis an die Donau. Wohin weisen sie? Nach Konstantinopel, nach der Schicksalsstadt des Czaren. Ist das klar? Zittre Byzantium! Wer rettet dich? Wer die Welt vor der kosakischen Sündfluth? Die Demokratie? „Sie erhebt allein“ und vergebens gegen Rußland ihre hülflose Stimme, die demokratische Partei ist in der City, in Westminsterhall und in St. James gleich anrühig“, so sagt 5 das Faktotum selbst. Die deutschen Fürsten? Sie sind selbst nur die Knäsen des Kosakenthums. Boustrapa? Er will selbst als Kosak am Rhein „pariren“. Aberdeen? Hat er nicht schon einmal die Kosaken bis Adrianopel gelassen?

Wer also bleibt übrig? Die slavische Revolution? Ein elender montenegrinischer „Hölperlips“. Sie ist nichts mehr für den staatsweisen Pessimisten. Was denn? 10 Nichts, nichts weiter, nirgends eine Rettung! Verhüllen wir das Haupt, vergraben wir unsere Talglichter — l'Europe sera cosaque. Doch halt! Hier kommt die Revolution, die große „gewaltige Volksrevolution“, er kommt - der „vierte Stand“, der „Stand“, der nichts weiter zu thun hat, als sich dem „tartarischen Strome des Czarendespotismus entgegenzuwerfen“, wenn er späterhin die „Messer- und Gabelfrage“ gelös't 15 sehen will, die für die Leute anderer Stände freilich längst gelös't ist. Ja wohl, auf mit dem „vierten Stand“, auf mit der „Völkerrevolution“, auf gegen Rußland! Rußland, das ist der Sitz der „europäischen Czepter-, Kreuz-, Säbel- und Geldordnung“!

Der Redner ist zu Ende, seine „hülflose Stimme“ versiecht, er wirft das Haupt 20 empor, sieht um sich, triumphirend, „ernscht“, ruhig kalt,

Wo ist der andre Reutersmann
Sein Pferdlein fehlt im Stalle?

Man mustert verblüfft die biedre Runde. „Kein Thalberg da?“ Keine Antwort erfolgt. Des dustern Redners Blick schweift unwütkührlich hinaus ans blaue Hirn- 25 melsgewölbe, er stammelt: „Paradoxen“ — resignirt läßt er die Augen sinken — sie treffen auf der Straße auf den verschwundenen Emdringling, der mit einem Packet Streif **Zündhölzchen** spielt und — fortlacht.

Ad. Cluß.

*) Rechnet die „demokratische Partei“ die alte Tante Voß und Herrn Brüggemann von der 30 **Kölnischen Zeitung** plötzlich unter die Ihrigen? denn der Letztere *allein* hat während der neuesten Komplikationen mindestens ein Schock sehr patriotischer, sehr nationaler, sehr rus-senfeindlicher Stimmen erhoben. Ebenso die ganze ehrbare deutsche Presse, mit Ausnahme der Kreuz-, der Ostsee-, der Augsburg- und der Oberpostamts-Zeitung. Das „wachsame Auge und die mahnenden Worte“ der „Anrühigen“ haben also doch noch Mitfühlende. A. C. 35

Adolf Cluß
Szemere und die ungarischen Kroninsignien

Die Reform.
Nr. 69, 29. Oktober 1853

An die Redaktion der Reform.

Dir geschätztes Blatt hat zur großen Freude meiner Gleichgesinnten, welche als Kosmopoliten dem „Gott der Magyaren“ ebenso wenig dienen, als sie dem „Gott der Russen“ sich zu Füßen legten, mit anerkennungswerther Unabhängigkeit *allein* in der

5 Presse die Vertheidigung unseres verdächtigten Führers *Szemere* unternommen. Erlauben Sie mir gefälligst, einige Bemerkungen beizufügen, von welchen das Publikum meines Wissens wenig Kenntniß hat. Sie sollen zeigen, wie absurd die Behauptung, wie niederträchtig die Verleumdung, unsern braven, anspruchlosen Freiheitskämpfer als Verräther, und nun gar als *gekauften* Verräther, der Partei

10 vorzuheucheln. Das letztere Faktum entlarvt die Triebfeder seiner Anfeinder; denn bei einem so erprobten Vaterlandsfreunde, wie er, könnten gewiß nur die unangenehmsten persönlichen Verwicklungen diesem Ansinnen auch nur bei Ununterrichteten den Schein von Wahrscheinlichkeit geben.

Szemere hat die Tochter eines (nun gestorbenen) österreichischen Hof agenten, so

15 nämlich heißen die Staatsprokuratoren in Ungarn, zur Frau. Ihr Vater war sehr reich. Während der ganzen Revolution 1848—49 lebte Madame Szemere bei ihrer Mutter in Wien und hatte alle Verbindung mit ihrem Gemahl abgebrochen, wahrscheinlich mit seinem Einverständniß. Ende 1849 starb die alte Schwiegermutter und Madame Szemere, gegen welche natürlich nichts vorlag, verkaufte unter der Hand ihr Eigen-

20 thum und verwandelte es in baares Geld. Alte Bekanntschaften ihres Vaters mögen ihr dabei behülflich gewesen sein; denn in Oesterreich kann man für Geld Alles erhalten. Nachdem Frau Szemere ihr Vermögen flüssig gemacht und in sichere Wechsel auf's Ausland umgesetzt, ließ sie sich einen Paß für einen preußischen Badeort geben, reiste aber statt dahin, nach London und von da nach Paris, um die

25 Verbannung ihres Ehegatten zu theilen. Die Herren Oesterreicher aber haben Nichts in Händen, woran sich ihr Fiskus vergnügen könnte. Die banale Verdächtigung, daß Szemerè Reste seines Vermögens aus dem Schiffbruch nachträglich zu retten suche, wird schon hierdurch zur unsinnigen Lüge.

Die Ereignisse der letzten Jahre haben uns Vorsicht gelehrt, so zwar, daß wir von

30 Natur schon durchaus nicht mehr zu über großem Vertrauen geneigt sind, am wenigsten, wo es sich um offizielle Größen von 1848—49 handelt; allein mit Szemere steht die Sache anders. Sie haben seine *Charakterbilder gelesen* und müssen gewiß

Adolf Cluß

zugeben, daß jede Zeile darin einen *überlegenen Geist* athmet. Die Wuth der Maulhelden erklärt sich hinlänglich aus der Schärfe, mit der er ihre Hohlheiten aufdeckt, und aus dem ausgezeichneten Geschick, mit dem er die Waffen des Geistes handhabt. Szemere ist Vielen unserer Landsleute weit voraus. Seine Schriften sind dem vorangeschrittensten Standpunkt in Ungarn entsprechend, ja sie sind von einem durchaus kritischen Geiste durchweht. Ich appellire an die gesunde Vernunft der Radikalen, ob ein Mann, der so denkt und so schreibt, ein österreichischer Agent zu sein verdächtigt werden darf, auf faule Berichte der reaktionären Presse hin.

Magyar.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Eine russische Niederlage — Aberdeens Friedenspredigt —
Die englische Arbeiterbewegung

Die Reform.

Nr. 103, 8. Dezember 1853

London, 18. Nov. 1853.

(Korrespondenz.)

Die Londoner Neuigkeitskrämer sind gegenwärtig vollauf beschäftigt. Die Türken sind der Diplomatie aus dem Sack gesprungen und haben bereits bewiesen, daß sie
5 nicht allein auf eigenen Füßen stehen, sondern auch marschiren, sich Bahn brechen, und die Russen schlagen können. Dieselben Türken, die vor Kurzem noch als das entnervteste Volk der Welt angesehen wurden, dasselbe Volk, dessen nationale Existenz keine andere Garantie zu haben schien, als die Unmöglichkeit einer Uebereinkunft der Großmächte, sein Territorium unter sich zu theilen, hat den
10 übermüthigen Czar bereits gedemüthigt und jene Theilungssüchtigen, welche die Lebensfähigkeit der Türkei mit dem Maßstabe ihrer eigenen Abgestumpftheit gemessen, auf die unangenehmste Weise überrascht. Alle Nachrichten, welche bisher vom Kampfplatze eingetroffen sind, stimmen darin überein, daß die Russen geschlagen und ihre Versuche, den Türken Widerstand zu leisten, vergebens sind.

15 In dem Gefecht bei Oltenitza, welches am 4. stattfand, hatten die Russen gegen 3000 Todte, worunter 14 höhere Offiziere. Fast sämmtliche Bataillonschefs, sowie verschiedene Obristen sind verwundet. Es scheint, daß es Leute in der türkischen Armee gibt, die etwas von Scharfschützerei verstehen und ein besonderes Wohlgefallen darin finden, die russischen Offiziere ihre mörderische Kunst fühlen zu
20 lassen. Die russischen Offiziere dagegen entschädigen sich durch summarische Verurtheilung und Erschießung von malcontenten Polen im russischen Heer.

Selbst wenn die weiteren von Wien mitgetheilten, etwas fabelhaft klingenden Siegesnachrichten sich nicht bestätigen sollten, so haben die Türken doch schon am 4. genug gethan, um sämmtliche diplomatische Intriganten außer Fassung zu bringen,
25 die Alles aufgeboden haben, die Pforte auf's Neue auf den schlüpfrigen Boden der Unterhandlung zu ziehen. In Cirkassien spielt das Schicksal noch ärger mit den barbarischen Welteroberern. Nach Briefen aus Trebisonde haben Schamyl's Truppen 20000 Russen überwältigt; was nicht todt geschlagen ist, ist gefangen genommen.

Wie sehr große Männer den Eindrücken von wichtigen Ereignissen unterworfen
30 sind, hat der alte Aberdeen, der Friedensminister à tout prix, auf dem Lord Mayors Dinner, am 9. d. M. verrathen.

Die Friedenspredigt, welche er an die versammelte Freß- und Sauf-Gesellschaft an demselben Tage hielt, wo die Londoner Zeitungen die ersten Nachrichten von der

Oltenitzer Schlacht brachten, schloß er mit der nachdrücklichen Versicherung, daß seine Friedenspolitik keineswegs die Unmöglichkeit eines Kriegs in sich schließe. Glückliches Land, das ein so großes Genie an der Spitze seiner Regierung hat.

Weniger erfreulich, als die Nachrichten aus dem Orient, lauten die Berichte über die Streitfragen zwischen Arbeiter und Kapitalisten im Norden von England. Die Arbeiter haben ihre Rechnung ohne den Wirth gemacht. Noch vor einigen Monaten hing der Prosperitätshimmel voller Geigen, der Erfolg, welcher zahlreiche Versuche zur Erhöhung des Arbeitslohnes während des Sommers begleitete, machte die Arbeiter kühn; sie glaubten, sie hätten die Fabrikanten in der Tasche, aber sie hatten sich getäuscht. Anstatt den Arbeitslohn zu erhöhen, fangen die Fabrikanten schon wieder an, denselben herabzusetzen. Die Bourgeois Zeitungen hatten wiederholt erklärt, daß die Baumwollen-Fabrikanten genöthigt seien, ihre Produktion zu beschränken. Es konnte daher nichts Vernünftigeres kommen, als ein Vorwand, die Fabriken einige Zeit zu schließen, um den Arbeiter zur Vernunft zu bringen. Die Arbeiter waren den Kapitalisten schon längere Zeit zu frech mit ihren Forderungen gegenüber getreten, daß sie nicht die erste Gelegenheit hätten ergreifen sollen, dergleichen Belästigungen ein Ziel zu setzen.

Wenn die Arbeiter noch irgend welche Hoffnungen hegen, ihre Differenzen mit den Kapitalisten und der von denselben beherrschten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft auszugleichen, so können sie durch nichts leichter zur Besinnung gebracht werden, als gerade durch die neueste Verfahrungsweise der Kapitalisten. Schon im Laufe des Sommers hatten sich die Baumwollenlords in Assoziationen zusammengescharrt, um weiteren Lohnerhöhungen zu widerstehen. Die Ausführung eines Handstreichs im Großen schien das beste Mittel, den Arbeitern auf einmal den Garaus zu machen, und als, nachdem es schon zur Gewißheit geworden, daß die Märkte überfüllt waren, die Arbeiter noch auf weitere Lohnerhöhung Anspruch machten, und in einigen Fabriken sogar die Arbeit niederlegten, beschlossen die assoziierten Fabrikanten ihre Fabriken einen Monat lang zu schließen.

In Folge dieses Beschlusses sind gegenwärtig in Lancashire von 70-80000 Fabrikarbeiter auf das Pflaster geworfen. Durch dieses Verfahren werden verschiedene Zwecke auf einmal erreicht.

Die Arbeiter werden von allen Hilfsmitteln entblößt, fremde Hülfe wird, wenn nicht gänzlich abgeschnitten, auf ein Minimum reduziert, die Unterstützung von Seiten der Gemeinden, auf welche die Arbeiter während einer Geschäftsstockung Anspruch machen können, wird unter dem Vorwand des Ungehorsams verweigert, und was die Hauptsache ist, nachdem die Arbeiter so bis auf's Aeußerste heruntergebracht sind, werden die schlechtesten Bedingungen zum Wiederbeginn der Arbeit gestellt. In Preston, wo gegen 25000 Personen brodlos sind, haben die Fabrikanten bereits ihre Bedingungen gestellt, unter welchen sie gesonnen sind, die Fabriken wieder zu eröffnen: nämlich 10 Prozent weniger, als sie vor dem 1. März d. J. bezahlten, während der Brodpreis fast das doppelte ist.

Die Arbeiter in den Kohlenminen fahren nicht besser. Die Minenbesitzer gehen bereits damit um, das Beispiel der Cottonlords nachzuahmen. Ein Korrespondent der Daily News schreibt: The colliers of Wigan have been fairly starved into the surrender.

Eine russische Niederlage — Aberdeens Friedenspredigt — Die englische Arbeiterbewegung

Der Hunger ist die Hetzpeitsche, womit die (freie?) moderne Gesellschaft ihre freien Lohnarbeiter züchtigt. Darbe bis Du Dich bedingungslos unterwirfst, ruft der Kapitalist seinem aufrührerisch gewordenen Arbeiter zu; er braucht weder Peitsche, Stock noch schwarzes Loch für seinen Sklaven. Darbe! dieses einzige Wort drückt die ganze Macht des modernen Besitzers aus.

J. G. Eccarius

Adolf Cluß
David Urquhart

Die Reform.
Nr. 112,19. Dezember 1853

D a v i d U r q u h a r d t .

In einer der mit den letzten Dämpfern uns zugekommenen englischen Zeitungen finden wir zu unserem Staunen Herrn D. Urquhardt, in der neuesten Zeit vielfach genannt als Agitator für die russenfeindlichen Meetings in England, als ein *Werkzeug im Dienste Rußlands* bezeichnet. Wir können uns diese Widersinnigkeit nur durch Ränke des „freien Slaventhums“ erklären, denn ganz Europa hat Urquhardt bis heute 5
blos als eingefleischten, bis zur Manie gehenden Russenfeind und Türkenfreund gekannt. Als Gesandtschaftssekretär in Konstantinopel suchten die Russen ihn sogar erwiesenermaßen zu vergiften. Deshalb einige Worte über einen Mann, dessen Namen Jeder im Munde führt, über dessen Bedeutung aber fast Keiner sich Rechenschaft zu geben weiß. 10

Urquhardt reitet systematisch auf *einer* fixen Idee. Während 20 Jahren hat er *erfolglos* den Palmerston und die russischen Pfiffe und Kniffe denunziert und mußte deßhalb natürlich halb verrückt werden, wie jeder Mensch, der eine bestimmte richtige Idee hat, mit welcher er aber in der Welt nicht durchdringt. Die Möglichkeit, 15
daß Palmerston mit seiner Diplomatie sich bis heute halten konnte, erklärt er sich aus dem Krakehl der Whigs und Tories, was zum Theil, aber wohlverstanden nur zum Theil, richtig ist. Gegen das heutige englische Parlament, welches jede Sache nicht nach ihrem eigenen Verdienst, sondern einzig nach dem Maßstab von „*im Amt*“ oder „*ausser Amt*“ schätzt, sieht er — da er von Haus aus konservativ ist — keine andere 20
Rettung, als Verstärkung der königlichen Prärogativen auf der Einen Seite und *lokale, municipale Selbstregierung* auf der andern. Um gegen Rußland Front zu machen, wünscht er, der Westen möge eine ebenso kompakte, einförmige Masse büden, wie die russische. Er wil daher *nichts von Parteien wissen* und ist ein Hauptfeind von Centralisationsbestrebungen. Da die bisherigen Revolutionen, seit 1848, momentan 25
Alle dem Fortschritt Rußlands günstig waren, schiebt er dies Resultat verrückterweise der russischen Diplomatie als *ursprüngliches Motiv* in den Kopf. Rußland's Agenten sind daher in Urquhardt's Idee die geheimen Hauptüeter der Revolutionen. Da innerhalb des konservativen, alten Systems *Oesterreich* das direkte Gegengewicht gegen Rußland büdet, so zeigt er Vorliebe für Oesterreich und Abneigung 30
gegen Alles, was Oesterreich's internationale Macht gefährden könnte. Im Gegensatz einerseits zum russischen, andererseits zum revolutionären Nivellement hält er fest

an der Individualität und besondern Eigenthümlichkeit der Völker. In seinen Augen sind daher die Juden, Zigeuner, Spanier und Muhamedaner mit Einschluß der Tscherkessen die vier famosesten Völker, weil sie von der Platttheit (vulgarism) von Paris und London nicht angefressen seien. Man sieht aus alledem, daß seine Ge-
5 schichts-Auffassung eine sehr subjektive Natur annehmen mußte; die Geschichte erscheint ihm mehr oder minder als das ausschließliche Werk der Diplomatie. Was die objektive, die materielle Geschichts-Auffassung angeht, so meint er, das sei dasselbe, als wolle man die Verbrechen nicht vor Gericht bringen, sondern sie zu Gesetzen generalisiren. „Er ist ein ehrbarer, obstinater, wahrheitsliebender, begei-
10 sterter, in starken Vorurtheilen sich abarbeitender, total vernunftwidriger alter Herr“, wie ein Kritiker von ihm sagt.

Da er aber nur *eine* Lebensaufgabe hat, den Kampf gegen Rußland, welchen er mit monomanischem Scharfsinne und vieler Sachkenntniß führt, so schadet das Alles nichts. Der Ritter einer Lebensaufgabe muß nothwendig wieder „der edle Ritter von
15 der traurigen Gestalt“ sein und auch an Sancho Pansa's fehlt es ihm nicht, hier wie in Europa. Ein modifizirtes Exemplar dieser Species produziert sich in „A.P.C.“ dem Londoner ABC-Schützen von der Tribune.

Ernest Jones
Secret Intrigue of Russian Tools, and Scandalous Doings
of "Our" Cabinet in the East

The People's Paper.
Nr.86, 24. Dezember 1853

S e c r e t I n t r i g u e o f R u s s i a n T o o l s , a n d S c a n d a l o u s D o i n g s
o f " O u r " C a b i n e t i n t h e E a s t .

The Coalition Cabinet is a "Coalition" no longer—it has been a conspiracy against liberty throughout its existence—it is a disruption of *effete* factions falling to pieces with their own decay. No external pressure—no stormy movement—but, as we predicted, inherent rottenness has made them tumble to pieces. Lord Palmerston has been the first to resign. Why has he done so? "His known hostility to all Reform." We do not think this a sufficient cause—for Lord John's Reform Bill is not likely to be anything so comprehensive as to shock even the tender susceptibilities of the sacrificer of Poland, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, or Turkey. The real cause must be sought deeper. 5 10

Lord Palmerston, as shown in the masterly articles of Dr. Marx, has ever been the friend, and ever acted like the tool of Russia. At the present moment, the irresistible force of circumstances is impelling peace-loving Aberdeen himself into a European War—at least, there will be great difficulty in avoiding such a consummation. 15

"This will never do," says Russo-Palmerston, "British interference must be avoided, at all hazards."

How can he accomplish this ? Not by remaining *in* the ministry, certainly. He would be either out-voted or forced to conform to the views which compulsion from without would necessitate his colleagues to take. He resigns therefore—by so doing he weakens—he embarrasses the ministry—and just at the most critical period—he necessitates their spreading dissolution—or, if they patch up are-constructed "coalition" he stands as an "independent opposition" in the house, to impede their every movement—he can oppose them, as going too far, or he can oppose them *by pretending they do not go far enough*-and thus, either way, prevent them doing anything against Russia. Perhaps, then, he may form a ministry himself, stepping in after all the mischief has been effected—after the irremediable blow has been struck—accepting as "a great fact" what has been done by Russia—throwing all the blame of what he himself in reality caused on the shoulders of his predecessors-getting all the popularity himself by saying: "Ah! if I had been Prime Minister it would have been very different"—and 20 25 30

then, in the midst of panic, dull trade, and starvation being allowed to conclude dishonourable terms with Russia, on the plea of reviving commerce which will have been wounded past revival.

Such, we strongly surmise, from our knowledge of the man's character, is the plot of the Ex-minister. It is a Russian manoeuvre, on the eve of an Anti-Russian war.

If we cast our eyes from the Downing Street intrigues of this despicable Cabinet to its conduct at the seat of war, fresh cause is afforded of unmitigated disgust. With a cowardly carnage unsurpassed for baseness and bloodthirsty treachery in the annals of "civilised" warfare, the Russians have sunk thousands of Turks in the sea by their over-powering artillery brought to bear on comparatively defenceless ships—some say, aided by the felonious hoisting of the British flag. If this latter report should prove correct—instant atonement should be demanded by Great Britain for this desecration of her flag on the foul mast of a Russian pirate. But, what have the British Government done? Has "our" fleet rolled its terrible thunder over Sebastopol—or sunk the returning freebooters in sight of their own shores? No; two steamers have gone sneaking to the scene of action—not daring to say, "We go to protect our weak alley"—not presuming to render warlike help—oh no! that might *give offence* to Russia—but as floating chemists shops, to carry medicines to the wounded, which it is hoped for the sake of that humanity for which he is so celebrated, the Czar will allow them to do.

What puts the conduct of the British Government in a still more degrading light is, that actually, after the two steamers had been sent into the Black Sea, with the beggarly excuse that it was not to interfere, but only to help the wounded, when the Austrian Ambassador had the astounding insolence to demand an explanation of the act, it had the meanness to give the humiliating assurance that nothing hostile or offensive was intended! A Russian war steamer followed the English ships, to watch their motions wherever they went. No "explanation" of that was demanded, although the Black Sea is a Turkish and not a Russian water.

Moreover, we are informed that the allied fleet, if it does enter the Euxine will go "merely to prevent a collision between the Russian and Turkish navies"—the practical meaning of which will be that the Turks will be ordered not to defend themselves, forbidden to sail in their own seas, and the Russians allowed to have everything to themselves.

The Sultan has naturally now claimed the promise made to him, viz., that the fleets, having been sent to assist him, should be placed at his disposal when required. He has said "I require it." He has sent for the ambassadors and admirals. And what do these say in reply? "We dare not act—we must send for instructions to our respective Governments."

Before the messengers can reach St. James's and the Tuileries, before answers can be returned, every Turkish ship may be sunk, 20,000 or 30,000 Muscovites may be landed on the shores of Asia-Minor in the rear of Selim and Abdi Pashas.

Wait for instruction! What a Government must that be, that sends ambassadors and fleets to Turkey in such a crisis, and does not in its instructions provide for the contingency! The meekest child in statesmanship would have done so—*if it had been honest*. Common sense would have told them that, as Russia and Turkey were at war,

and the respective fleets of both countries were cruising in the Euxine, a collision would ensue—and the ambassadors and admirals ought to have been instructed how to act in such an emergency. Men who have not got an amount of forethought slight as that, are not fit to manage the affairs of a hen roost, to say nothing of our empire. But it is not forethought they stand in want of. They are cunning enough. They have intentionally tied down their representatives and officers—they have given them too many instructions, instead of too few, and one of them has evidently been *to do nothing*.

This course is not pursued in every instance. This childish powerlessness of self-faction, this prohibition of all discretionary power does not always characterise our envoys and naval officers. But then, the cases must be different. A Commodore Lambert, on the shores of Burmah, has discretionary power enough to plunge Britain in the most harrassing and injurious war she has undergone for ages—and why? Because a merchant did not immediately get £90, and a subordinate officer was kept standing for a quarter of an hour in the sun. But here, when the British fleets are contemptuously thrown into the *shade*, when a veteran and honourable ally is threatened with destruction—when a barbarous butchery with shamfully disproportioned force is perpetrated almost under our own eyes, the Admiral of England's greatest fleet, and an Ambassador of the very highest rank, have not the power of a puny commodore, and of a subordinate officer who is sent on a message!

This speaks for itself. Will not the British people speak too, and in unmistakeable language put an end to this disgraceful mixture of imbecility and treachery, which now rules the destinies of our mighty empire, and impedes the liberation of the world?

Dubiosa

Kossuth and the London "Times"

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3757, 2. Mai 1853

K O S S U T H a n d t h e L O N D O N T I M E S .

The London Times, which during the Hungarian contest, was distinguished for its Austro-Russian articles, has not intermitted its malignity toward Kossuth, as appears from the following incident noticed in our columns on Friday:

- 5 In its number of the 15th April *The Times* stated that "the house in the occupation of M. Kossuth" had been searched by the authorities, in virtue of an order from the Home Secretary, and that a great quantity of arms, munitions, and other warlike materials had been found. And thereupon *The Times* proceeded to read a long homily to Kossuth, including such sentences as this: "All that we have learned hitherto of
10 the character of M.Kossuth, of his conspiracies and ridiculous juggleries," and so forth, in an equivalent strain of ridicule and obloquy.

- Now it appears that no such house in the occupation of M. Kossuth has any existence, but the following are the facts: Mr. Hale, the inventor of a certain rocket, (used in our Mexican war, by the way,) at Rotherhithe, had been visited by Kossuth
15 before and after he came to America. On his first visit he had suggested certain improvements to Mr. Hale, and after his return to England Mr. Hale called on him and stated that his suggestion had been applied with success. Subsequently, according to *The Daily News*,

- "A Hungarian soldier, a deserter from the Austrian army, called on him seeking
20 charity. M. Kossuth having ascertained that the man had had some experience in the Austrian artillery, and subsequently in the chemical department of the sanitary establishment, thought that he might be suited to the work of Mr. Hale's factory, and accordingly recommended him to that gentleman for employment. The man was taken on, but, in consequence either of his inattention or misconduct, was shortly afterward
25 dismissed; and it is just possible, that out of revenge, he rushed to the Home Office, and hoaxed its astute chief with the cock-and-buE story of the Old House at Rotherhithe,' and M. Kossuth's mysterious manufacture and accumulation of projectiles. It must be repeated that this is only conjecture, and may possibly involve an unjust accusation against a true-hearted Hungarian."

- 30 Mr. Hale has written a letter protesting against the police entry of his premises, stating that "no gunpowder and not an arm of any kind was found except the rockets ; Lord Palmerston boldly asserting that arms were found, and 500lbs. of powder, which is a gross fabrication."

Notwithstanding these facts *The Times* has a second article in the same accusatory spirit as the first, commencing as follows:

"In spite of the strenuous and repeated efforts of Sir Joshua Walmsley, Mr. Thomas Duncombe, Mr. Bright, Lord Dudley Stuart, and the friends and patrons of M. Kossuth, to elicit from Lord Palmerston a disavowal or contradiction of the statement published by this journal on Friday last, the Secretary for the Home Department said nothing to shake, in any important particular, the accuracy of our information. In using the expression, 'a house in the occupation of M. Kossuth,' we never intended to describe his dwelling-house, because we were aware that this seizure had been made at a manufactory in or near Rotherhithe, while M. Kossuth lives at Bayswater... Whatever may hereafter be proved on behalf of M. Kossuth, the essential facts of this case remain unexplained, and very much in need of explanation. It is undoubtedly true, that upon the entry of the police on these premises near Rotherhithe they found upwards of 70 cases closely packed, and containing, apparently for transmission to a distance, *several thousand war rockets*, besides a considerable number of rockets in a state of preparation, 2,000 shells not as yet loaded, and 500 lbs. of gunpowder. These are Lord Palmerston's own words in describing the seizure effected by the police ; and it will not be denied that these particulars establish the existence of an extraordinary case, which fully justifies the curiosity of the public and the interference of the Government."

When *The Times* was about to turn its memorable and historical somerset on the free trade question, there was a meeting of the proprietors, and the question was discussed as to the reason or apology which it should give therefor. After a flood of discussion, the chief proprietor rose and said: The Times never retracts or explains ; and, accordingly, the next day it appeared on the other side in politics, without a word of explanation. So goes the story. The persistence in its original view of the rockets is in keeping with the above.

Persia and England

New-York Daily Tribune.
Nr.3966, 2. Januar 1854

Persia and England.

In announcing the declaration of war by the Shah of Persia against the Turkish Sultan, we copied from *The London Times* a statement that Persia has fallen entirely under "Russian control;" but since our London cotemporary fails to explain how that
5 country has become estranged from the influence of Great Britain, we will supply the deficiency. It includes some singular historical facts.

In 1811, England bound herself, by the treaty of Teheran, negotiated with Persia by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, to maintain Persia on her then footing of independence, against Russia and all other powers. Persia, on her side, stipulated that she would
10 not enter into any relations with European nations, or with any power whatever, to the detriment or prejudice of the British Indian Empire. The stipulations of that treaty were faithfully kept by Persia. England violated them at first in 1826, when she allowed Russia to extend her territory to the frontier of the Araxes. And Lord Palmerston, from 1830—1841, did all in his power to supplant the British influence in
15 the Persian councils by Russian influence, as we proceed to show.

At the time when the noble Lord came into office, the Russians were so detested in Persia that they were scarcely able to find a footing for their Consuls or agents in any part of the kingdom. In Hamadan, for instance, permission to reside was secured to them only upon the application and remonstrances of the British Envoy.
20 So complete was the British ascendancy in Persia at that time, so complete the distrust and suspicion of Russian designs. In 1831 the menaces of Lord Palmerston prevented Persia from succouring the insurrection in Poland, disgusted the mind of Abbas Mirza, the Crown Prince, whose march to the Russian frontier he had intercepted, and thus disposed him and his house to look less unfavorably towards their former enemy,
25 Russia, than towards Great Britain, their unfaithful ally. On the death of the Crown Prince, Russia, with the aid of Palmerston, set aside the next heir to the crown of Persia, who, according to the usage of that country, was the eldest surviving son of the reigning Shah, and replaced him by the son of Abbas Mirza, the Governor of Azerbaijan, a province bordering on the Russian territory, this Prince having already
30 agreed to exchange the English for the Russian alliance. This transaction deeply compromised the independence of Persia, and had the effect of giving to the Czar a direct voice in the alteration and new arrangement of the succession to the Persian

monarchy. Aided by British forces, the Russian nominee was enabled to vanquish and put to death his competitor, the lawful heir, and place himself on the throne of Persia.

This was in the year 1834; and subsequently the noble Lord made it his system to leave the British Envoys at Teheran entirely without instructions ; or so to instruct 5 them as to leave them entirely unprovided to meet any foreseen or unforeseen emergency. They had, moreover, one standing direction given them, which was this: that they were in all cases to act in conjunction with the Russian Envoy. Dispatch after dispatch—some times as many as twenty consecutive dispatches—were received in Downing-st. from the British Envoys in Persia, beseeching information and advice, 10 and the necessary powers to proceed. But the answer of Lord Palmerston—when it came—was, invariably: "I approve of what you have done, and I shall wait for further information from you before I send you further instructions." In the meantime they are directed by him to continue to act upon the instructions already received. But these were that they must act in conjunction with the Russian Legation—that is, 15 concur in the measures which Russia might think fit to take. Thus it appeared to Persia that Russia alone was active, that England did nothing, except to concur with Russia, and that accordingly it behoved Persia to secure a favorable position with Russia alone. In Central Asia it is therefore said to this day that Russia and England are united on the terms of sovereignty and vassalage: the Czar of Russia being said to be the 20 suzerain and the Queen of Great Britain to be the vassal. The Russian Envoy, Count Simonien, actually advised and headed an expedition of the Persian army against Herat, with the avowed object of making that the first step toward the conquest of Candahar, of Cabul, and finally of Delhi itself. The first intimation to Lord Palmerston of the design to attack Herat was conveyed in a dispatch from Mr. Ellis, in November, 25 1835. And notwithstanding the earnest and frequent entreaties of Mr. Ellis and Sir John McNeill for instructions to lodge with the Czar protest against the expedition, the date of the noble Lord's first instructions is July 27, 1838, when the Herat expedition had already been brought to an ignominious end. This proves conclusively the cooperation of the late British Minister in the work of Russian aggrandizement. 30