

# Irish Radical and Working-Class History: II

Engels / Intermediaries / Compradors

Irish Working-Class Radicalism to 1851

10 April 2025



# Farming since the Famine



Irish Farm Statistics 1847-1996

Central Statistics Office

Price £20.00

## Farming Since the Famine, 1847-1996

### Farming Since the Famine, 1847-1996

[General Details \(PDF 1.4MB\)](#)

#### State

[Table 1 - Areas under selected crops \(000ha\) June 1847-1996 \(PDF 12KB\)](#)

[Table 2 - Number of selected livestock \(000\) June 1847-1996 \(PDF 11KB\)](#)

[Table 3 - Number of holdings June 1855-1991 \(PDF 24KB\)](#)

#### Province

[Table 4 - Areas under selected crops \(000ha\) June 1847-1996 \(PDF 37KB\)](#)

[Table 5 - Number of selected livestock \(000\) June 1847-1996 \(PDF 38KB\)](#)

[Table 6 - Number of holdings June 1855-1991 \(PDF 8KB\)](#)

#### County

[Table 7 - Areas under selected crops \(000ha\) June 1847-1996 \(By Year\) \(PDF 506KB\)](#)

[Table 8 - Number of selected livestock \(000\) June 1847-1996 \(By Year\) \(PDF 515KB\)](#)

[Table 9 - Number of holdings June 1855-1991 \(By Year\) \(PDF 98KB\)](#)

[Tables 7-9: Areas under selected crops \(000ha\), number of selected livestock \(000\) June 1847-1996, number of holdings June 1855-1991 \(By County\)](#)

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Commentary & Strategy

S&P 500 earnings, week of Oct. 30: 93 companies to report

Oct-30-2023 9:26 AM

A total of 93 members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results during the week of Oct. 30, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings: 136 companies in the week of Oct. 23

Oct-23-2023 10:52 AM

More than a quarter of the members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results during the week of Oct. 23, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings: 18 companies to report through end of August

Aug-21-2023 9:17 AM

Eighteen members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results in August to largely end the current reporting season, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings, week of Aug. 14

Aug-14-2023 9:56 AM

Fourteen members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results during the week of Aug. 14, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings, week of Aug. 7

Aug-07-2023 9:00 PM

Twenty-nine members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results during the week of Aug. 7, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings, week of July 31

Aug-02-2023 1:15 PM

More than a third of the members of the S&P 500 are expected to report results during the week of July 31, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence data.

S&P 500 earnings, week of July 24

Jul-25-2023 3:05 PM

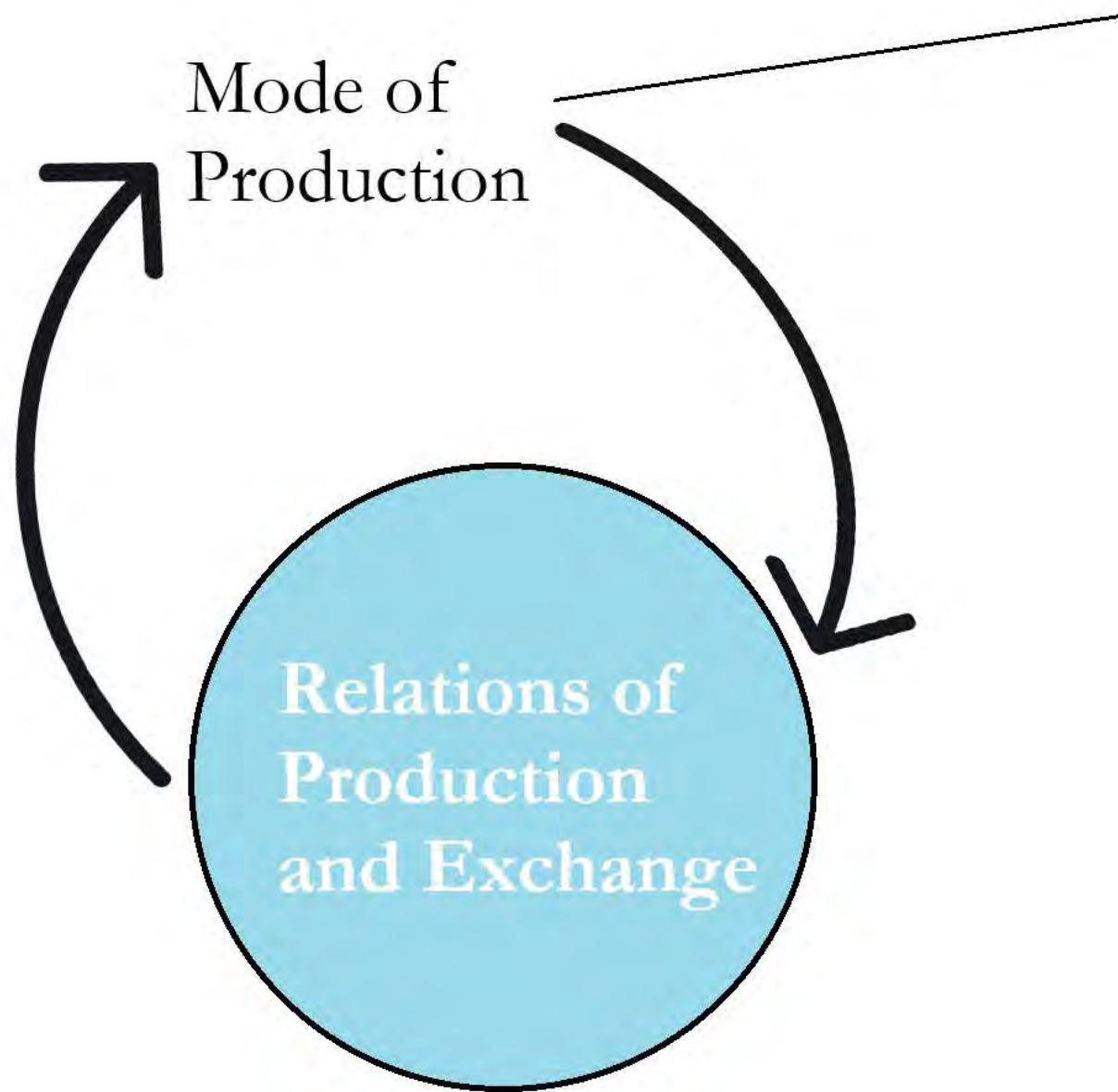
More than a third of the members of the S&P 500 are expected to report quarterly earnings during

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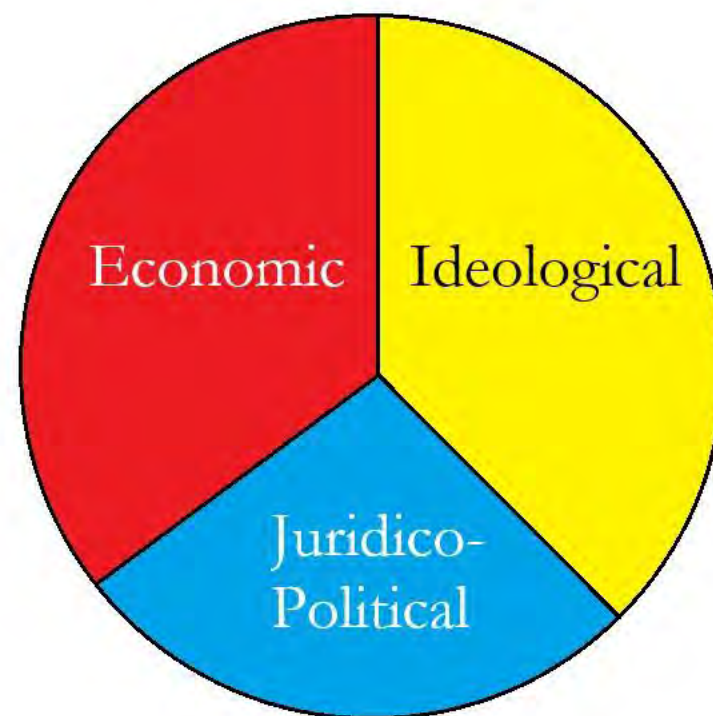
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Theoretical Concept



Entire Social Totality



## REPLY TO MR. PAUL ERNST

London, October 1, 1890

First published in the *Berliner Volksblatt*,  
No. 232, October 5, 1890

for worse, with my “Ernst”<sup>d</sup> correspondence.

On May 31 this year Mr. Ernst wrote to me from Görbersdorf that Mr. Hermann Bahr was reproaching him in the *Freie Bühne* for wrongly applying the Marxist method of viewing history with regard to the Scandinavian women’s movement,<sup>a</sup> and would I please

“say in a few lines whether my view corresponds with Marx’s or not, and furthermore permit me to use the letter against Bahr”.

“As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr. Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

Search Britannica...

## Paul Ernst

German writer

Ask the Chatbot a Question

More Actions

Also known as: Paul Karl Friedrich Ernst

Written and fact-checked by The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica

Last Updated: Mar 3, 2025 • Article History



Paul Ernst

## Quick Facts

**In full:** Paul Karl Friedrich Ernst**Born:** March 7, 1866, Elbingerode, Saxony [Germany]**Died:** May 13, 1933, Sankt Georgen, Austria (aged 67)**Notable Works:** “Ariadne auf Naxos” • “Der Weg zur Form” • “Der Zusammenbruch des Marxismus”**Subjects Of Study:** Neoclassical art[See all related content](#)

**Paul Ernst** (born March 7, 1866, Elbingerode, Saxony [Germany]—died May 13, 1933, Sankt Georgen, Austria) was a German writer known particularly for his short stories and for essays on philosophical, economic, and literary problems.

Ernst studied for the ministry but quickly became disillusioned with theology. He became a militant Marxist and the editor of the *Berliner Volkstribüne*. He severed his Marxist connections at the turn of the century, however, and repudiated the doctrine in *Der Zusammenbruch des Marxismus* (1919; “The Collapse of Marxism”). He had already expressed his antagonism toward naturalism in art and called for a return to classicism in his essay *Der Weg zur Form* (1906; “The Road to Form”). His search for eternal truths led him through German idealist philosophy back to a form of Christianity that he dramatized in what he called redemption *drama*, best exemplified by *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912).

“You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of *German* philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

“And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative,

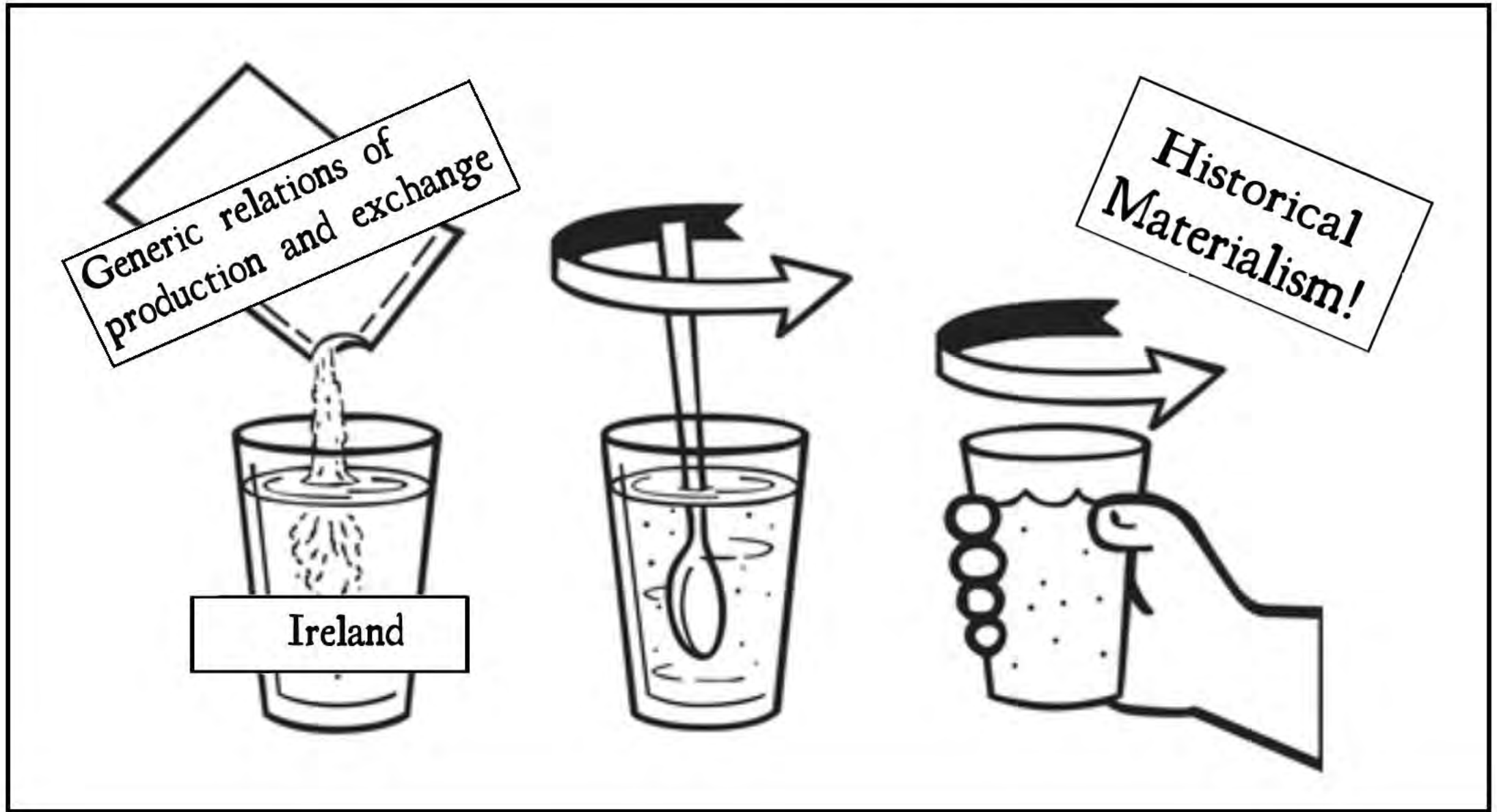
“In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the seventeenth century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years’ War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural literary revival.

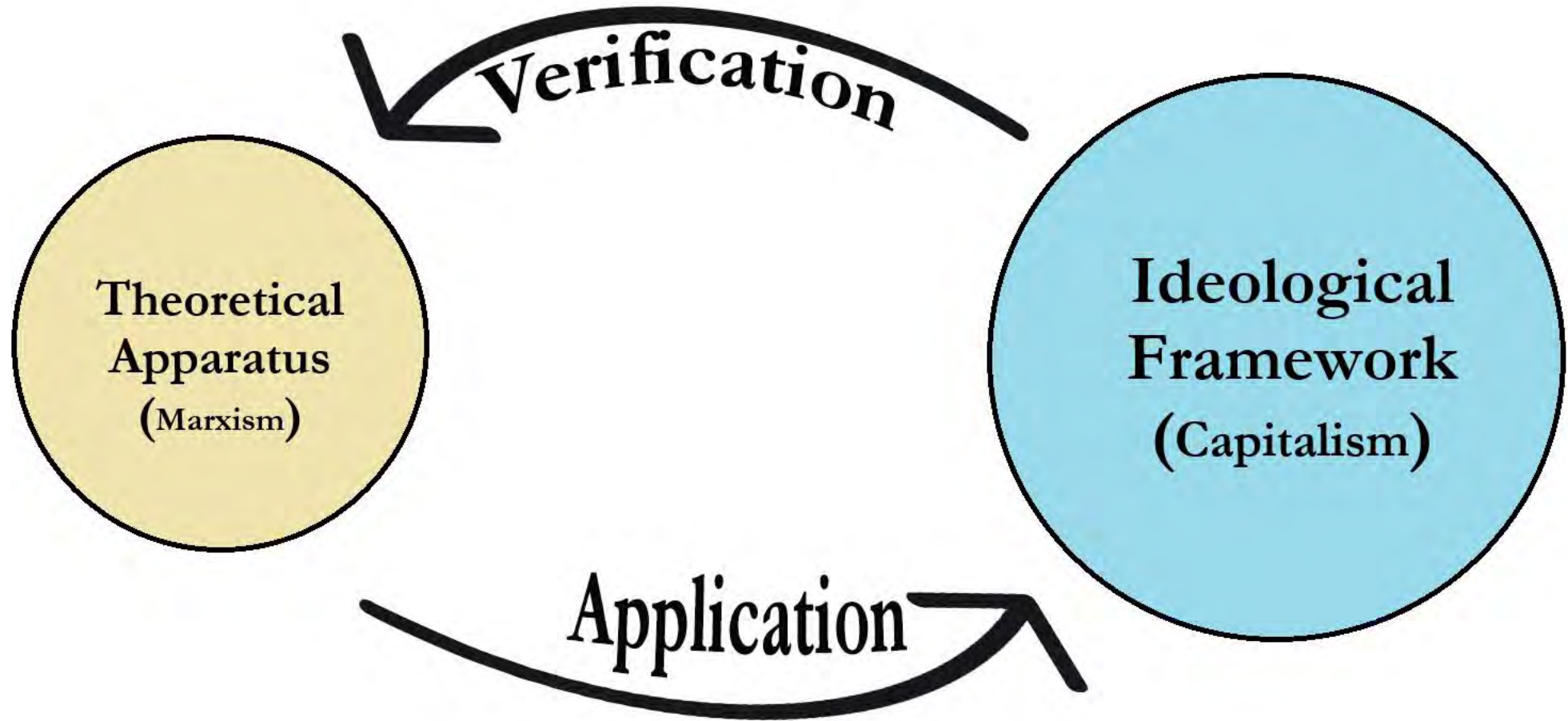
“The Norwegian peasant was never a serf, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background, as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a *man* compared with the degenerate German philistine. And whatever the failings of, for

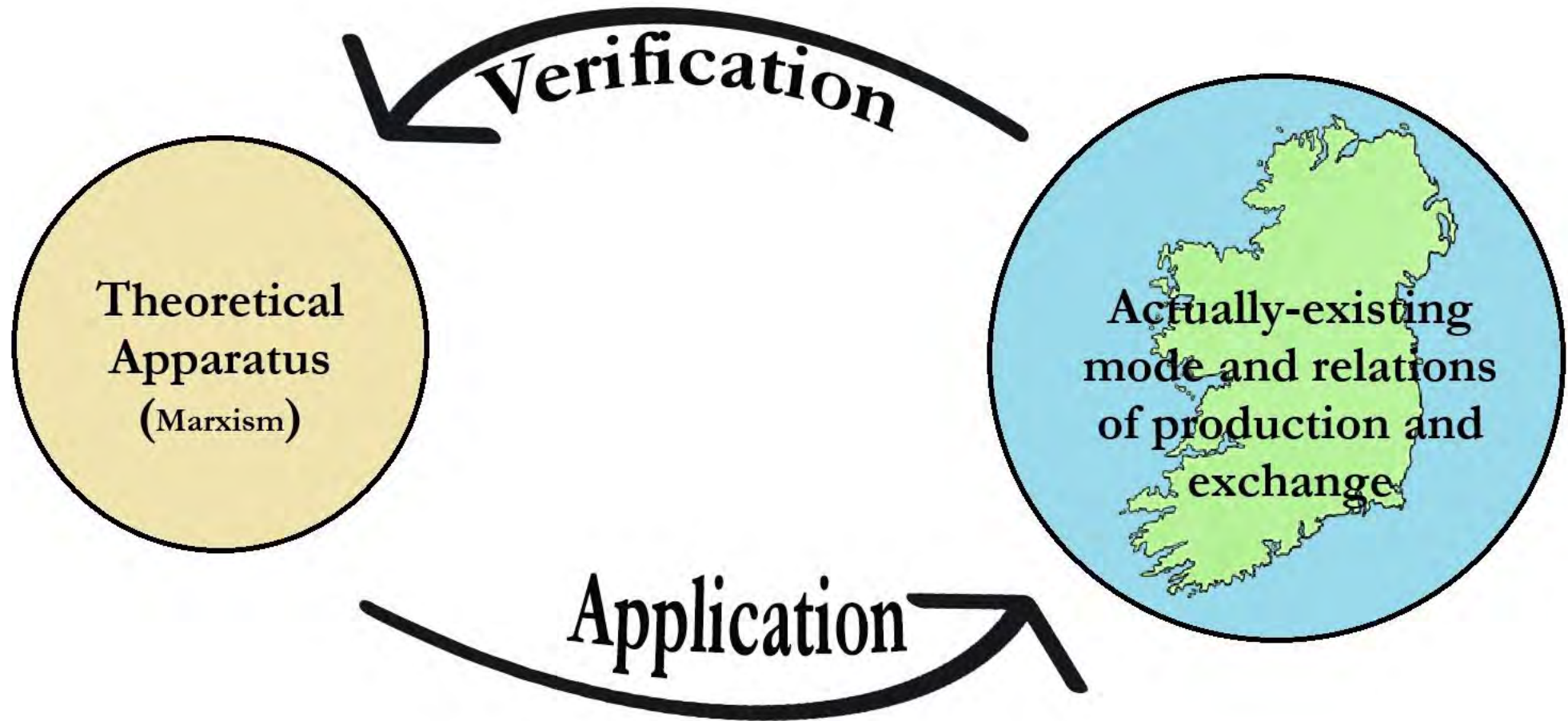
Marxism",<sup>a</sup> in which he appropriates without hesitation the odd assertion of the metaphysicist Dühring—as if, according to Marx, history makes itself quite automatically, without the cooperation of human beings (who after all are making it!), and as if these human beings were simply played like mere chessmen by the economic conditions (which are the work of men themselves!). A man who is capable of confusing the distortion of Marxist theory by an opponent such as Dühring with this theory itself must turn elsewhere for help—I give up.

There is, however, one thing which I can divulge to Mr. Paul Ernst by way of conclusion: there is something that is far more dangerous to the party than a petty-bourgeois group which can be consigned to the lumber-room at the next elections. I am referring to a clique of loud-mouthed men of letters and students, particularly when they are incapable of seeing the simplest things with their own eyes and of impartially weighing up the relative importance of the available facts or the strength of the forces involved when assessing an economic or political situation, and hence seek to force on the party tactics that are utterly insane, as gentlemen such as Bruno Wille and Teistler in particular, and to a

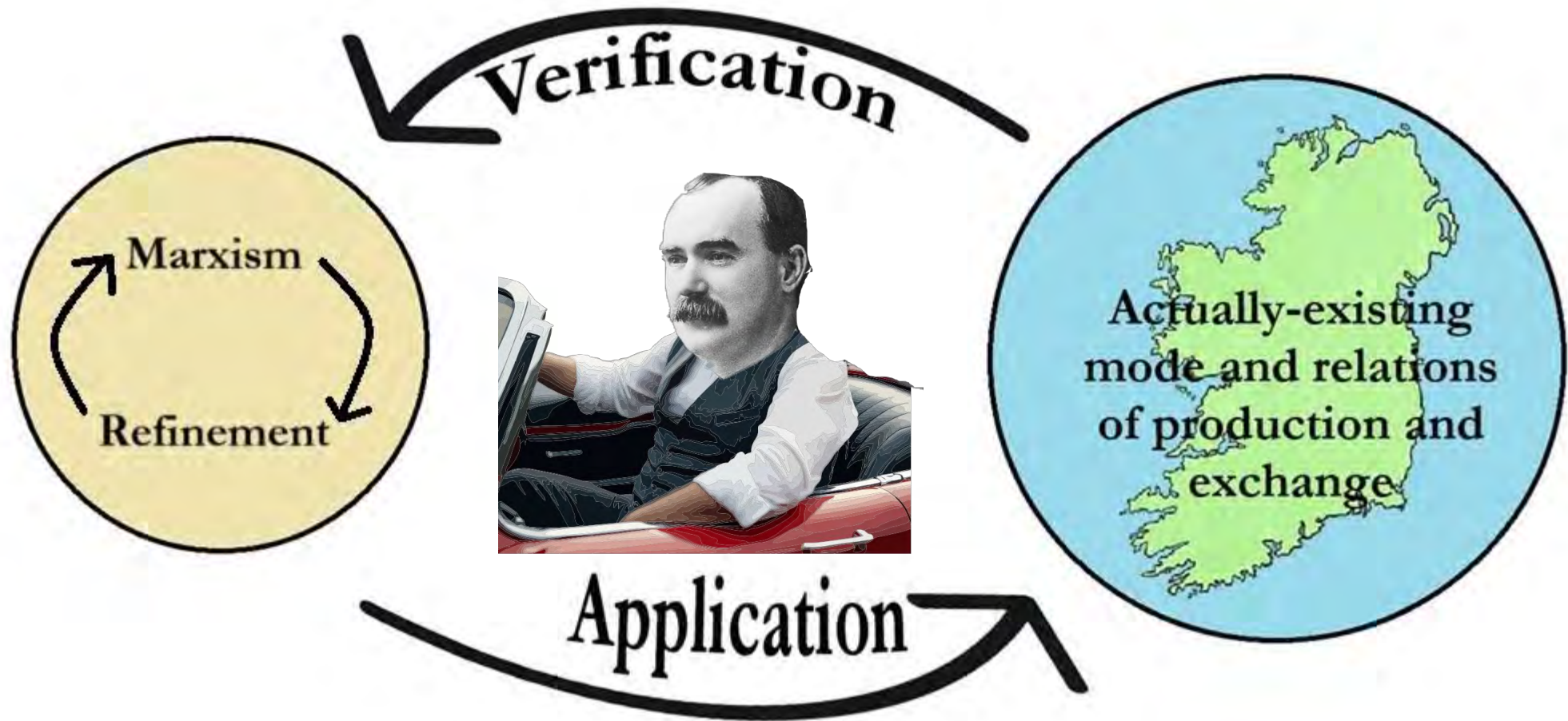
# ADD MARXISM AND STIR...











...est point reached by contemplative n.  
 ...ism which does not comprehend sensuous.  
 y, is the contemplation of single individuals and o.

The standpoint of the old materialism is civil soci  
 standpoint of the new is human society, or social humanity

The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in variou  
 the point is to *change* it.

'ritten in the spring of 1845

s version was first published in  
 —in German and in Russian—by  
 'itute of Marxism-Leninism  
 ntral Committee of the C.P.S.U.  
 els Archives, Book I, Moscow

Printed according to  
 script





"Since the rebellion, with the loss of its two leading figures and the indiscriminate increase of its membership, [the ITGWU's] revolutionary outlook has deteriorated, until now it has become a federation of unskilled workers with a large sprinkling of craft unions, and with bureaucratic and strong centralization tendencies. It is not a craft union, but neither has it kept abreast of the later developments of industrial unionism, consequently tending to become an unweildy and ineffective weapon for the proletariat either against alien imperialism or native capitalism. In some of the smaller towns it retains more of its old character and fighting spirit, in such cases the local organization is in opposition to the central officialiam."

Extract from *Confidential Report on the Situation in Ireland*.

Eamonn Macalpine and Roddy Connolly

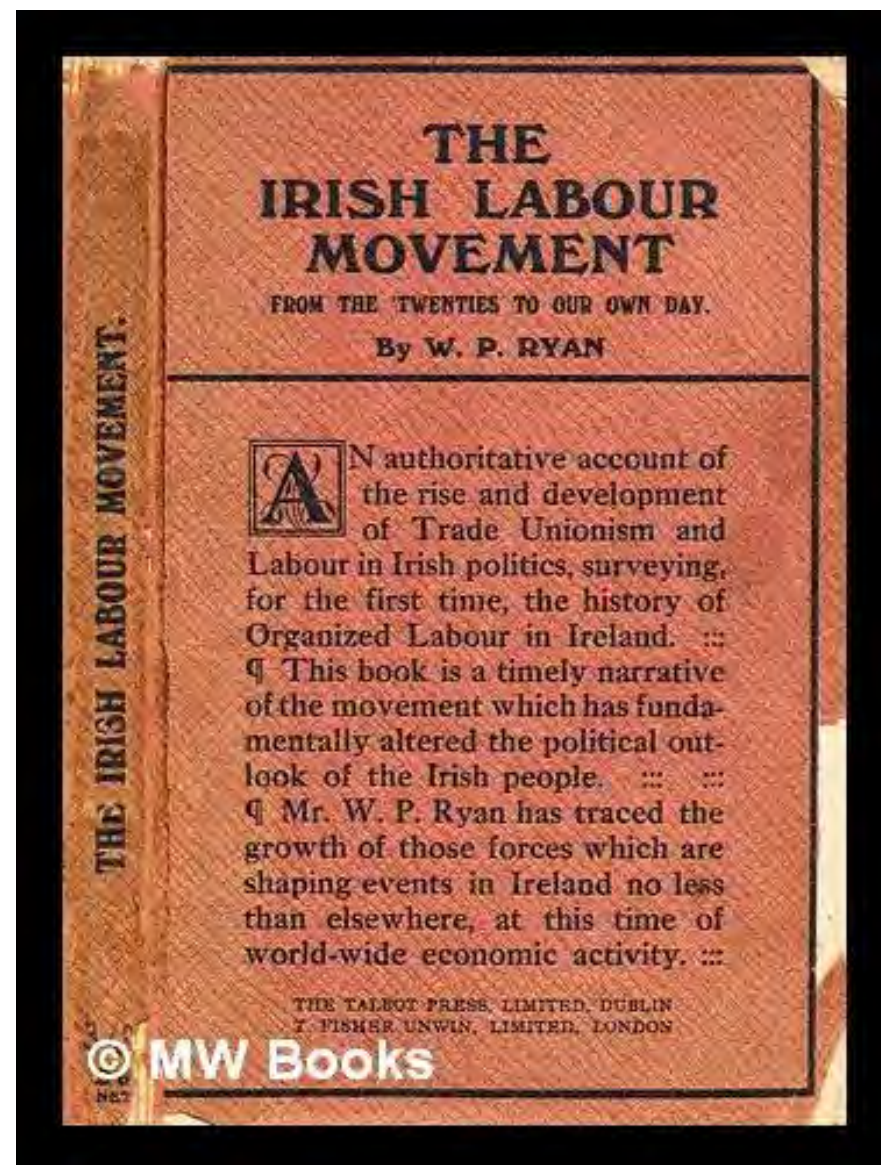
7 July 1920

And seen in their true light would mean that they would grow intolerable and impossible.

In short, we want a natural and healthy nation where, in the broad sense, the Christian and co-operative spirit is a reality. It cannot be natural, healthy, co-operative, Christian, unless all the component parts are in the way to realise and develop their best. If any are exploited, cramped, poisoned, marred—as most of the Labour elements are now to a greater or less degree—we are so far false to religion, humanity, civilisation, and real commonsense. All true nation-builders and all far-seeing Churchmen must bestir themselves intelligently, earnestly, even passionately, in regard to the whole Labour problem in Ireland.

WILLIAM P. O'RYAN.

TELEPHONE No. 64x.



# VOICE OF LABOUR

Official Organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

New Series, Vol. V, No. 48

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1923

ONE PENNY

## BY THE WAY. EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

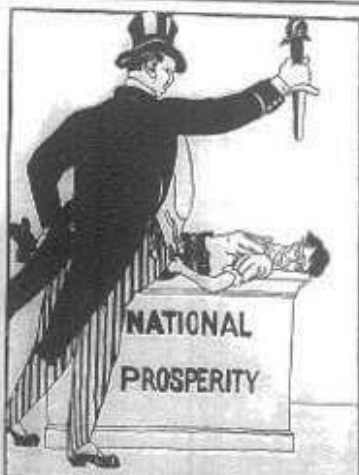
**Capitalist's Dream**  
The dream of the capitalist is to have a world in which the workers are so docile and obedient that they will do anything for him. He wants a world in which the workers are so stupid and ignorant that they will not know their own interests. He wants a world in which the workers are so divided and disorganised that they will not be able to fight for their rights. He wants a world in which the workers are so poor and desperate that they will accept any conditions that are put before them. He wants a world in which the workers are so afraid of the capitalist that they will never dare to stand up to him.

**And the Worker's Dream**  
The dream of the worker is to have a world in which he is free and equal to the capitalist. He wants a world in which he can work for his own benefit and not for the benefit of the capitalist. He wants a world in which he can have a say in the management of the enterprise in which he works. He wants a world in which he can have a share in the profits of the enterprise. He wants a world in which he can have a secure future for himself and his family. He wants a world in which he can live in peace and harmony with the capitalist.

**Capitalist's Policy**  
The policy of the capitalist is to keep the workers as poor and desperate as possible. He wants to keep the workers so poor that they will have to work for him no matter what conditions he puts before them. He wants to keep the workers so desperate that they will accept any conditions that are put before them. He wants to keep the workers so divided and disorganised that they will not be able to fight for their rights. He wants to keep the workers so afraid of him that they will never dare to stand up to him.

**Worker's Policy**  
The policy of the worker is to make the capitalist as poor and desperate as possible. He wants to make the capitalist so poor that he will have to work for the worker no matter what conditions he puts before him. He wants to make the capitalist so desperate that he will accept any conditions that are put before him. He wants to make the capitalist so divided and disorganised that he will not be able to fight for his rights. He wants to make the capitalist so afraid of the worker that he will never dare to stand up to him.

Larkin Flouts Runk and File—P.4 | Wages and the Housing Problem—P.7



Capitalist Politician: "Sacrifices must be made in the interests of National Prosperity."

The cartoon is a powerful statement on the relationship between the capitalist and the worker. It shows the capitalist as a figure of authority and power, standing on a pedestal and holding a sword. The worker, on the other hand, is shown as a figure of weakness and despair, lying on the ground. The pedestal is labeled 'NATIONAL PROSPERITY', suggesting that the capitalist's actions are justified in the name of the nation's prosperity. The cartoon is a clear critique of the capitalist system and the policies of the capitalist class.

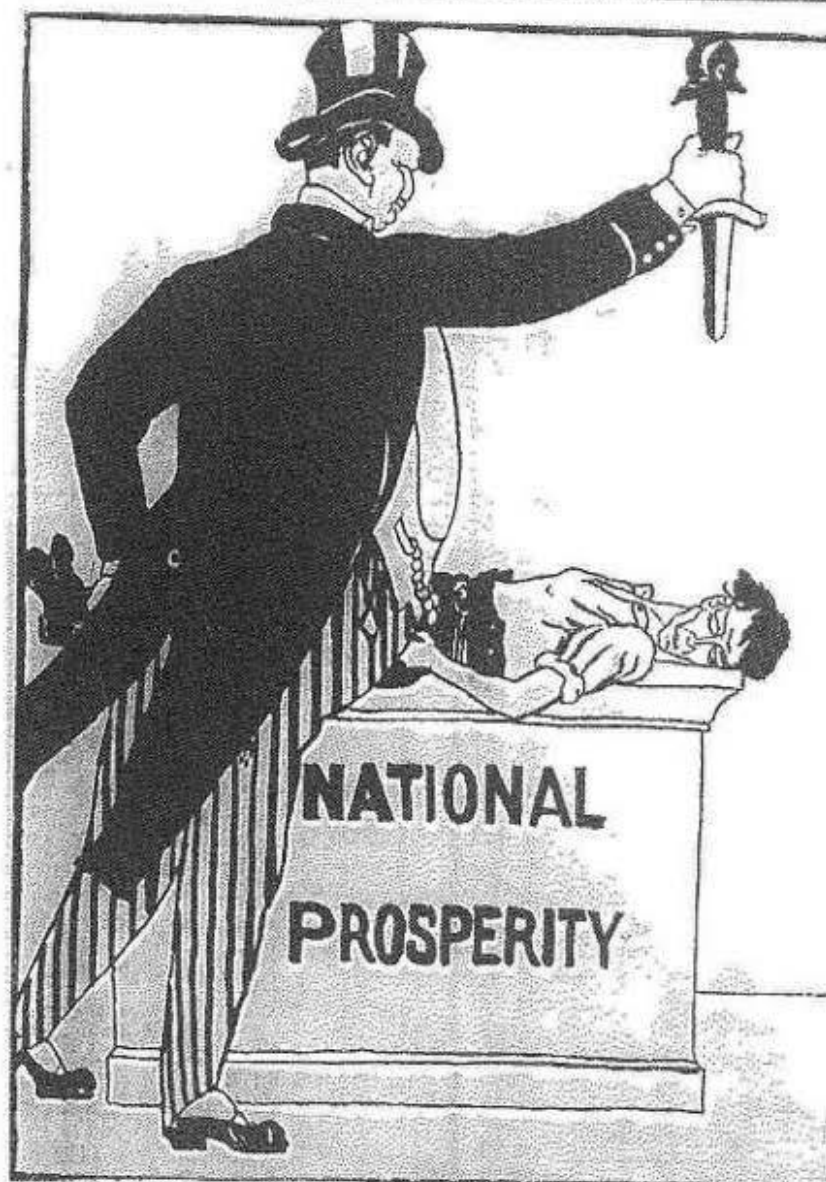
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Capitalist Politician: "Sacrifices must be made in the interests of National Prosperity."





# BUILDING FOR FREEDOM

## The Trade Unions and the Volunteers

By PEADAR O'DONNELL

In the first set of thoughts on mass organisation let us face the fact that any movement on the 1919 basis must end in betrayal. If we so organise that we accept the idea of co-operation with capitalism we must co-operate with Imperialism. Any organisation that is not anti-capitalist in its nature must simply yield a new set of officials to administer old institutions. Any movement that reaches offices without being organised in conflict with capitalism will make this country a puppet of British Imperialism.

It is a custom to say airily that when we get power things will be different. Let us understand clearly that things will be what our organisations are. A "Free Ireland" that is got by the rise of a Labour Government that imposes on the trades union movement arbitration schemes and conciliation boards to solve "labour unrest" in a capitalist Ireland must be the puppet of Imperial Britain. A Republican Government that will adjust Ireland's claims to freedom with the necessary safeguards for British Imperial security must co-operate with Imperialism, strengthen it and become its puppet. Freedom for Ireland is only promised when it is in the very nature of the organisation striving for it, that they cannot reconcile themselves with capitalism.



## Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society

March 1926

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.

What is the condition of each of the classes in Chinese society?

*The landlord class and the comprador class.*<sup>1</sup> In economically backward and semi-colonial China the landlord class and the comprador class are wholly appendages of the international bourgeoisie, depending upon imperialism for their survival and growth. These classes represent the most backward and most reactionary relations of production in China and hinder the development of her productive forces. Their existence is utterly incompatible with the aims of the Chinese revolution. The big landlord and big comprador classes in particular always side with imperialism and constitute an extreme counterrevolutionary group. Their political representatives are the *Étatistes*<sup>2</sup> and the right-wing of the Kuomintang.

<sup>1</sup> This article was written by Comrade Mao Zedong to combat two deviations then to be found in the Party. The exponents of the first deviation, represented by Chen Duxiu, were concerned only with co-operation with the Kuomintang and forgot about the peasants; this was Right opportunism. The exponents of the second deviation, represented by Zhang Guotao, were concerned only with the labour movement, and likewise forgot about the peasants; this was "Left" opportunism. Both were aware that their own strength was inadequate, but neither of them knew where to seek reinforcements or where to obtain allies on a mass scale. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the peasantry was the staunchest and numerically the largest ally of the Chinese proletariat, and thus solved the problem of who was the chief ally in the Chinese revolution. Moreover, he saw that the national bourgeoisie was a vacillating class and predicted that it would disintegrate during the upsurge of the revolution, with its right-wing going over to the side of imperialism. This was borne out by the events of 1927.

lutionary force if given proper guidance.

To sum up, it can be seen that our enemies are all those in league with imperialism – the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing

## Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society

may become our friend but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> A comprador, in the original sense of the word, was the Chinese manager or the senior Chinese employee in a foreign commercial establishment. The compradors served foreign economic interests and had close connection with imperialism and foreign capital.

<sup>2</sup> The *Étatistes* were a handful of shameless fascist politicians who at that time formed the Chinese *Étatiste* Youth League, later renamed the Chinese Youth Party. They made counter-revolutionary careers for themselves by opposing the Communist Party and the Soviet Union and received subsidies from the various groups of reactionaries in power and from the imperialists.

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of the role of the national bourgeoisie, see "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party", Chapter 2, Section 4, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II.

## Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front

*March 11, 1940*

while the middle section is sceptical. Unless we engage in resolute struggle against the die-hards and, moreover, get tangible results, we shall be unable to resist their pressure or dispel the doubts of the middle section. In that case the progressive forces will have no way of expanding.

4. Winning over the middle forces means winning over the middle bourgeoisie, the enlightened gentry and the regional power groups. They are three distinct categories, but as things are, they all belong to the middle forces. The middle bourgeoisie constitutes the national bourgeoisie as distinct from the comprador class, *i.e.*, from the big bourgeoisie. Although it has its class contradictions with the workers and does not approve of the independence of the working class, it still wants to resist Japan and, moreover, would like to grasp political power for itself, because it is oppressed by the Japanese imperialists in the occupied areas and kept down by the big landlords and big bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang areas. When it comes to resisting Japan, it is in favour of united resistance; when it comes to winning political power, it is in favour of the movement for constitutional government and tries to exploit the contradictions between the progressives and the die-hards for its own ends. This is a stratum we must win over. Then there are the enlightened gentry who are the left-wing of the landlord class, that is, the section with a bourgeois colouration, whose political attitude is roughly the same as that of the middle bourgeoisie. Although they have class contradictions with the peasants, they also have their contradictions with the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. They do not support the die-hards and they, too, want to exploit

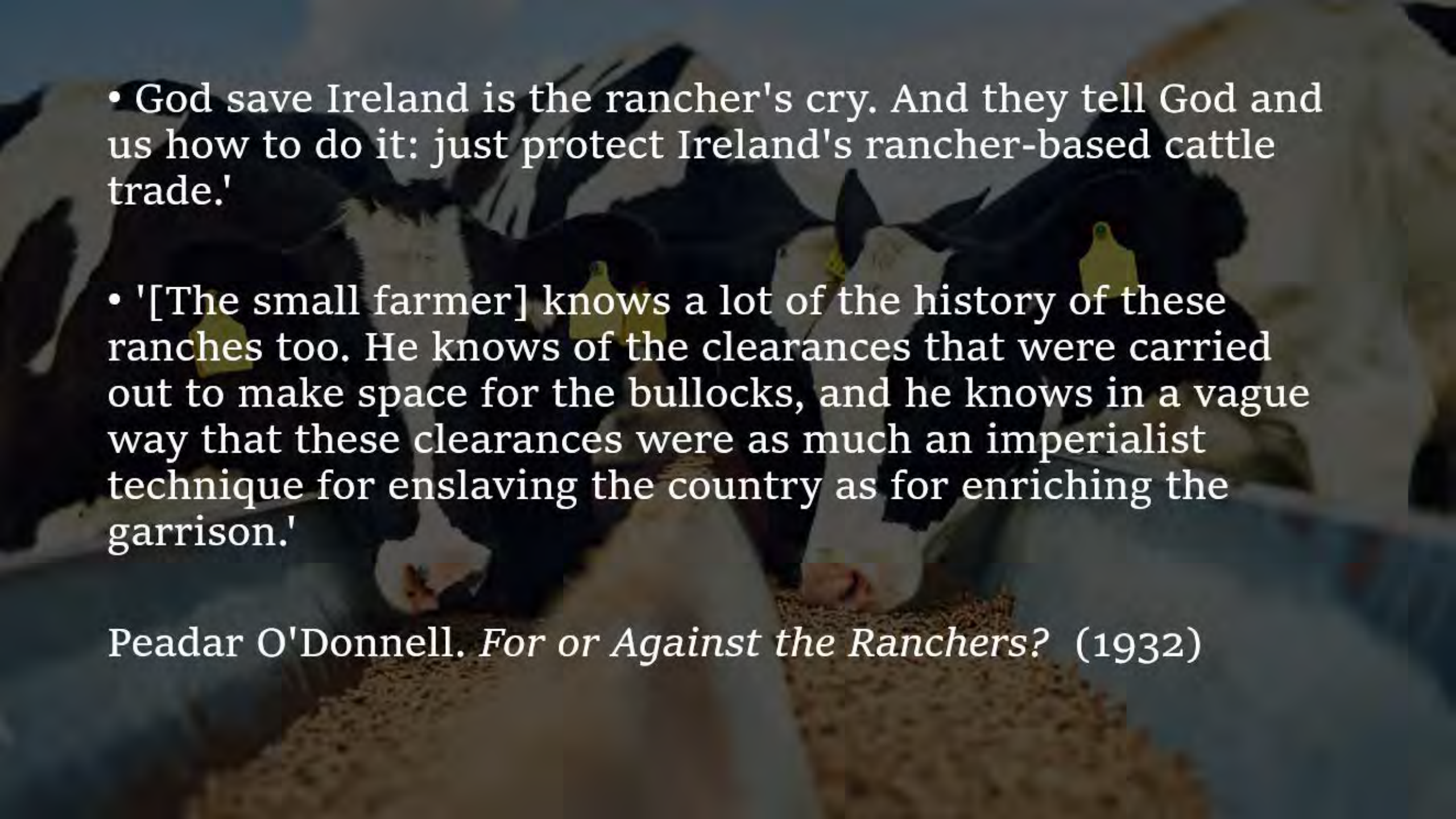
# FOR THE LAND IN IRELAND

Even if you have read  
“a thousand books about  
Ireland” you “will yet do well  
to read this one,” says the  
**NEW STATESMAN & NATION**, for  
to do so is “a new experience”

the victory of the one has meant that there was no room in Ireland for the other.

And latter-day events have shown how tightly Ireland's agrarian economy is bound up with British imperialism. Economically, the ranches are England's farmyards; politically, the ranchers are a vital division of England's garrison. Therefore, any movement that in any way “disturbs normal trading relations with Britain”—in other words, any movement for the liberation of Ireland from the Empire shackles—earns the fiercest hostility of the ranchers. The big graziers and their whole system not only hold the land of Ireland from the landless men and uneconomic holders, but they stand in the way of national freedom, they are an embodiment of the “robber rights and robber rule,” and here, therefore, as at so many points, the age-old battle for nationhood links with the struggle for the social emancipation of the Irish toiling people.

Even on their own battleground the case of the ranchers can easily be demolished. It is true that up to recently, the handful of graziers were prospering, while the rest of the rural community were slipping further into debt and penury. But even if tillage farming had been completely destroyed, and the whole country was dotted only with the mansions of the lords of bullockdom and the occasional cabins of the few thousand herdsmen and shepherds required to maintain “prosperity,” Ireland to-day would still be gripped by the world crisis. I have shown why Ireland was affected later than the grain-producing lands; and from the

A group of black and white cows with yellow ear tags are gathered around a trough, eating feed. The image is slightly blurred and has a dark overlay to make the text stand out.

- God save Ireland is the rancher's cry. And they tell God and us how to do it: just protect Ireland's rancher-based cattle trade.'

- '[The small farmer] knows a lot of the history of these ranches too. He knows of the clearances that were carried out to make space for the bullocks, and he knows in a vague way that these clearances were as much an imperialist technique for enslaving the country as for enriching the garrison.'

Peadar O'Donnell. *For or Against the Ranchers?* (1932)

**RED PATRIOT**

**ANTI-SUNNINGDALE STRIKE REVEALS THE STRENGTH OF THE IRISH WORKING CLASS**

**PROGRAMME OF THE DUBLIN BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST) FOR THE LOCAL ELECTIONS, JUNE 18th, 1974.**

**Angela Cunningham;  
Ballyfermot Area 6**

**David Vipond; Dublin  
South Central Area 7**

(See page 6 for the Programme of the Dublin Branch of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) for the local elections to the Dublin Corporation.)

oration and to lead mass democratic action, both on the basic principles of the day to day work of the Corporation and also on the question of the new constitution.

2b) It is the view of the Dublin Branch of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) that in order for the Corporation to be genuinely democratic it must minimally :-

- (i) Break entirely the influence of the comprador bourgeoisie and all forms of foreign monopoly capitalism over its affairs.
- ii) Take a resolute stand against imperialism, racism and fascism and refuse absolutely to cooperate with all anti-working class ideology.

Devélop the initiative and role of the mass defence organisations of the people such as the trade unions, the tenants and community associations giving them responsibility over

# THE RIPENING OF TIME

no. 4  
The Capitalist State



both these parties to the seizure of power by workers and farmers of Ireland. " (3)

But if the capitalist mode of production was dominant in Ireland, other modes of production, and early capitalist relations persisted alongside, as is common in many dominated social formations. In Ireland the persistence of a large fragmented whole of small farmers holders, labourers, tenant farmers resisted integration and it is precisely to these, that the Republican Congress and other revolutionary groups addressed themselves, to forge a movement under the direction of the working class.

It is important to remember that the political direction of the Republican Congress must have been strongly influenced by the arguments for popular fronts then circulating in the 111 International and forward at the 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935 by Georgi Dimitrov. These arguments, were underpinned by a narrow definition of the economic interests of finance capital, with the State as simple putty in the hands of the dominant class or fraction. (4).

(2) Saothair: Vol 1. no. 1 1975. pg. 56.

(3) The Republican Congress. Cork Workers Club.

(4) G. Dimitrov: 'For the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism'. Scientific Booksellers.

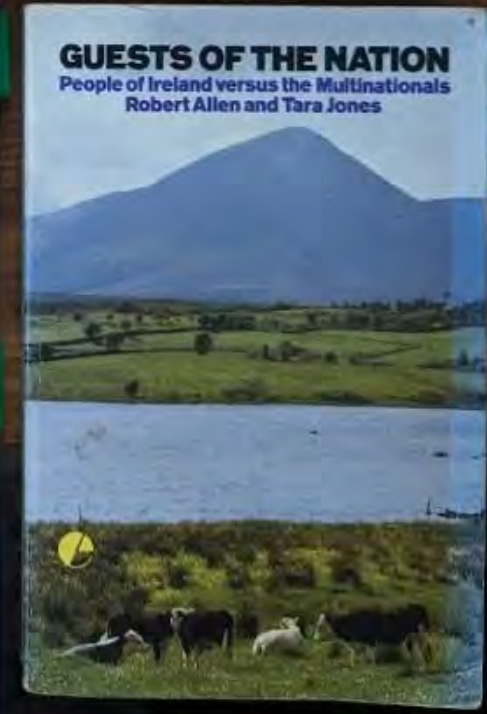
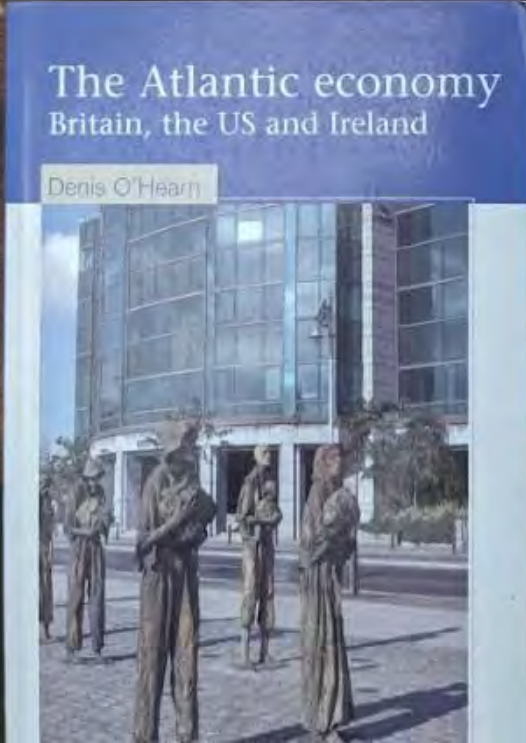
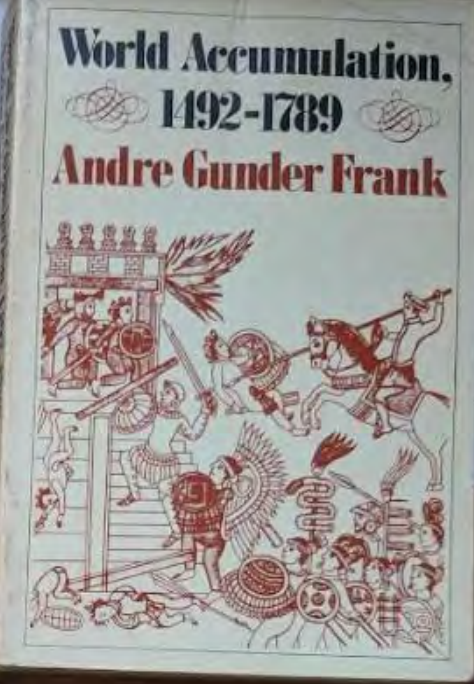


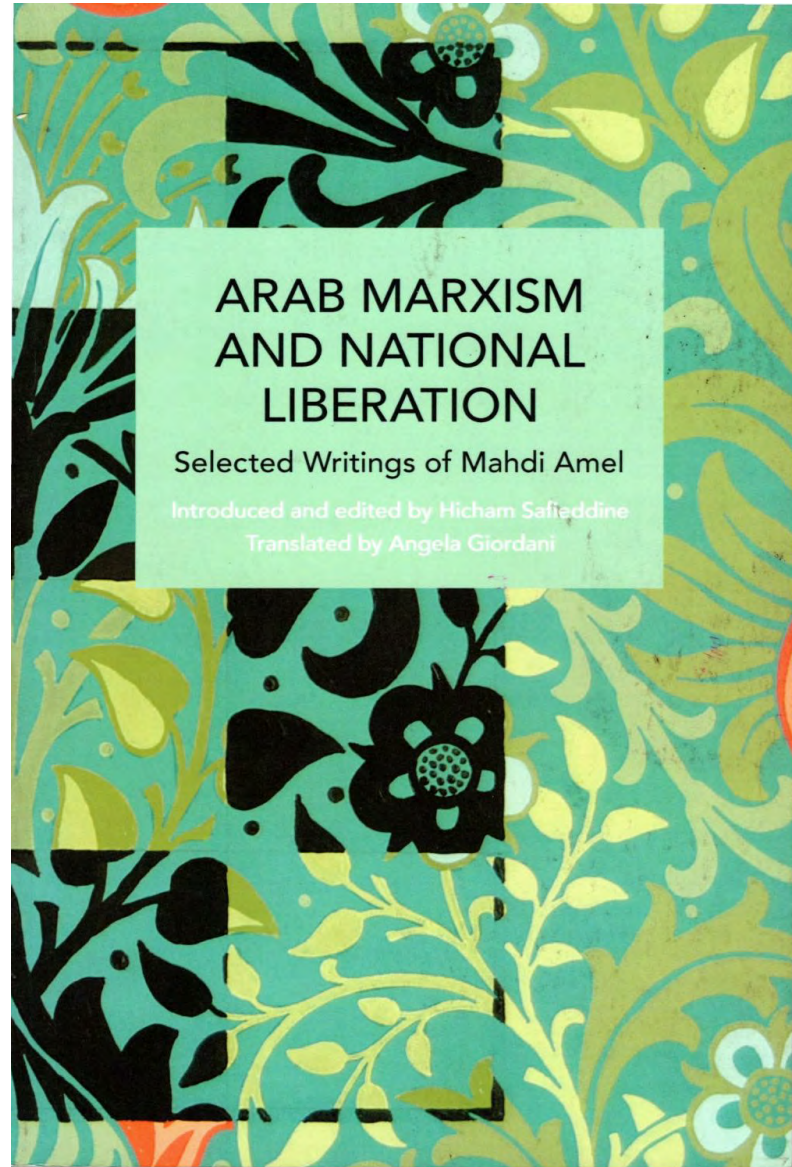
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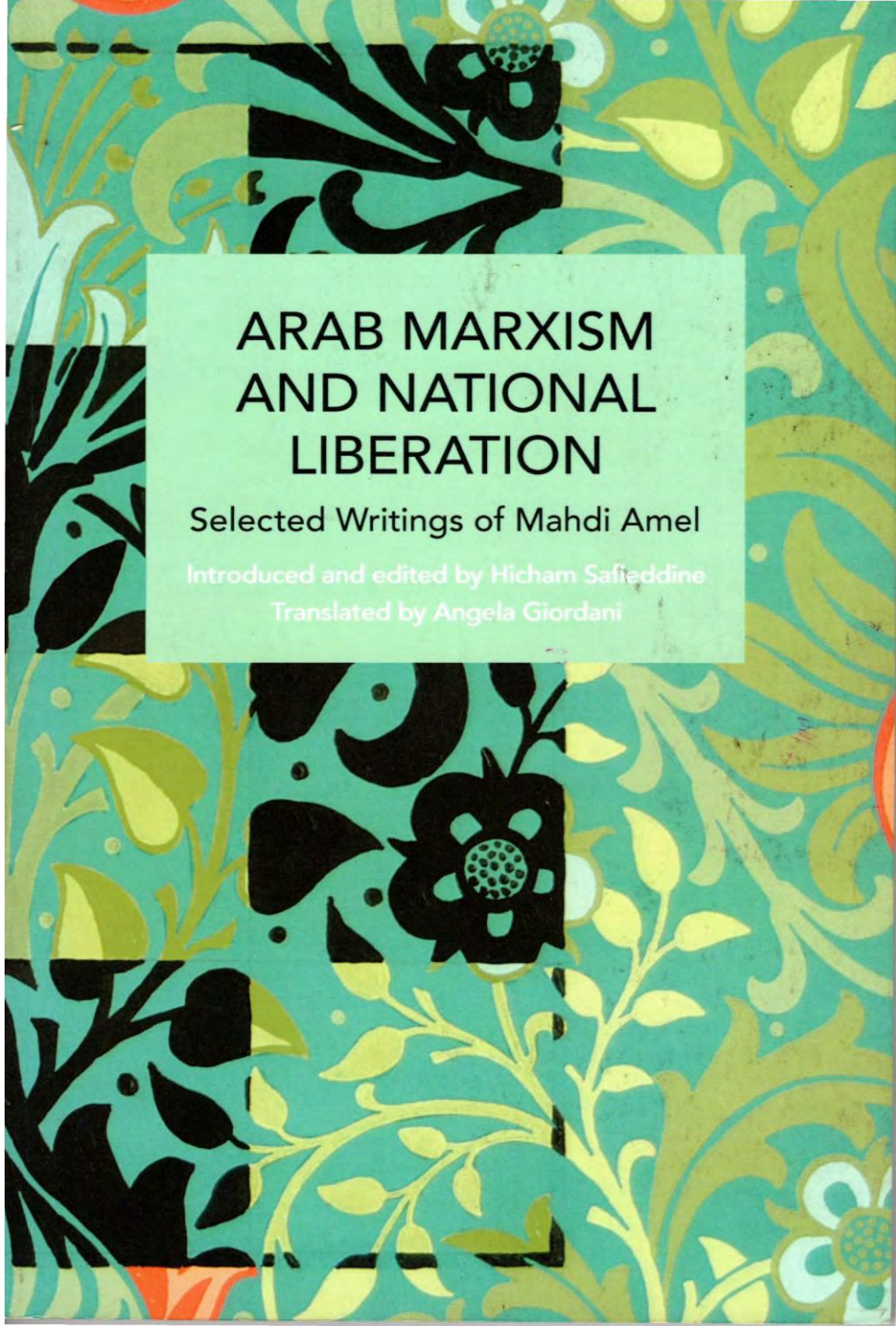


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Andre Gunder Frank







## ARAB MARXISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Selected Writings of Mahdi Amel

Introduced and edited by Hicham Safieddine

Translated by Angela Giordani

making the mode of production in these countries the standard for assessing them structurally and historically. Yet, by referring to a country as developing, on a developmental path, or underdeveloped, one occludes or masks the mode of production within it. Indeed, there is a danger in revealing these countries' mode of production to those attempting to hide it. All of these terms are similarly misleading because they veil the real, structural, and historical reasons for why 'growth' in colonial countries is slow or non-existent. Our choice of the term 'colonial production' was born out of a rational, scientific aim to bring the reasons for 'underdevelopment' to light and to define the dimensions of its development. Our term draws attention to the historical dimensions (i.e. the structural framework) of the full formation of this production.

In colonised countries, the colonial relation constituted the historical framework for the development of the forces of production. Colonialism introduced new relations of production into these countries in a very violent manner.<sup>8</sup> These new relations of production developed and shaped the forces of production. The insertion of new relations of production in colonised countries proceeded through the internal destruction of the pre-existing development structure, i.e. through a radical change in the historical logic of these countries' development. Unlike the capitalist relations of production that emerged through the historical development of feudalism in Europe, the relations of production that emerged in colonised countries were not a necessary outcome of the internal development of the mode of production which preceded colonialism. Because they formed under the aegis of the colonial relation and direct colonial rule, we have labelled them colonial relations of production. It was only by destroying the pre-existing structure of development that colonial-

#### 4 LABOUR IN IRISH HISTORY

administrator of the tribal affairs of his people, while the land or territory of the clan was entirely removed from his private jurisdiction. In the parts of Ireland where for 400 years after the first conquest (so-called) the English governors could not penetrate except at the head of a powerful army, the social order which prevailed in England—feudalism—was unknown, and as this comprised the greater portion of the country, it gradually came to be understood that the war against the foreign oppressor was also a war against private property in land. But with the forcible break up of the clan system in 1649, the social aspect of the Irish struggle sank out of sight, its place being usurped by the mere political expressions of the fight for freedom. Such an event was, of course, inevitable in any case. Communal ownership of land would, undoubtedly, have given way to the privately owned system of capitalist-landlordism, even if Ireland had remained an independent country, but coming as it did in obedience to the pressure of armed force from without, instead of by the operation of economic forces within, the change has been bitterly and justly resented by the vast mass of the Irish people, many of whom still mix with their dreams of liberty longings for a return to the ancient system of land tenure—now organically impossible. The dispersion of the clans, of course, put an end to the leadership of the chiefs, and in consequence, the Irish aristocracy *being all*

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firing squad. The paper then urged Irish youth to "atone for the crime," by enlisting for Flanders.

Connolly was arguably the finest political thinker of that tragic Irish generation and an unrepentant nationalist. Yet he was, for all that, no misty-eyed nostalgist: his use of the past was strictly strategic, for he recast it in terms of his desired future, by this means converting history into science fiction. So in *Labour in Irish History* he managed to convince himself that socialism would simply be a return to the old Gaelic system, whereby a chief held lands in the name of the entire people (except that under socialism the state would take the place of the chieftain).

This version of an archaic avant-garde proved catching. By a similar kind of logic, Patrick Pearse presented the Montessori educational method as a return to the Gaelic fosterage system, and James Joyce contrived to encase the subversive modern narrative of *Ulysses* in the framework of one of Europe's oldest stories, Homer's *Odyssey*. All were aware of the fact that in order to secure a hearing in a traditional

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(Vol. I. p. 299).

So much for Absentees. The clamour against Middlemen is, if possible, still more unfounded.— Middlemen are indispensable to every country in the situation of Ireland. Where the great mass of the people are entirely destitute of capital, landlords must let their estates to such as have it; and none but those who are desirous of the utter extermination of a third, or most probably, a half of the cotters, can object to the middlemen, or capitalists re'etting the farms they have taken from the landlords in smaller portions. But then, we are asked, why does not the landlord himself directly let the land to the cotter, without the intervention of the middlemen? To this it is sufficient to reply, that if the landlord found such a method of managing his estate to be for his interest, it would be quite unnecessary to advise him to adopt it. He would do so of his own accord. Neither is there the vestige of truth in the assertion, that the middlemen have an interest in