

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 45
Marx and Engels
1874 - 1879

Contents

Preface	XVII
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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1874-December 1879

1874

1. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>19 January</i>	3
2. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>27 January</i>	4
3. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>14 February</i>	7
4. Engels to Wilhelm Blos. <i>21 February</i>	8
5. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>27 February</i>	9
6. Marx to George Moore. <i>26 March</i>	10
7. Marx to George Moore. <i>28 March</i>	12
8. Marx to Jenny Marx. <i>19 April</i>	13
9. Marx to Jenny Longuet. <i>Between 20 and 24 April</i>	15
10. Marx to Maurice Lachâtre. <i>12 May</i>	16
11. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>18 May</i>	17
12. Engels to Gottfried Ermen. <i>1 June</i>	19
13. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>24 June</i>	21
14. Marx to Engels. <i>15 July</i>	21
15. Engels to Marx. <i>21 July</i>	23
16. Marx to Maurice Lachâtre. <i>23 July</i>	25
17. Engels to Jenny Longuet. <i>2 August</i>	27

18. Marx to Engels. <i>4 August</i>	27
19. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>4 August</i>	28
20. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>4 August</i>	31
21. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>10 August</i>	32
22. Engels to Marx. <i>12 August</i>	32
23. Marx to Engels. <i>14 August</i>	33
24. Marx to Jenny Longuet. <i>14 August</i>	34
25. Marx to Engels. <i>1 September</i>	37
26. Engels to Marx. <i>5 September</i>	38
27. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>12[-17] September</i>	40
28. Marx to Engels. <i>18 September</i>	45
29. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>20 September</i>	47
30. Engels to Marx. <i>21 September</i>	48
31. Engels to Laura Lafargue. <i>15 October</i>	51
32. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>17 October</i>	52
33. Engels to Hermann Lopatin. <i>About 20 October</i>	53

1875

34. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>7 January</i>	54
35. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>9 January</i>	55
36. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>20 January</i>	55
37. Marx to Maurice Lachâtre. <i>30 January</i>	56
38. Marx to Juste Vernouillet. <i>3 February</i>	57
39. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>11 February</i>	58
40. Marx to Engels. <i>February-March</i>	59
41. Engels to Hermann Ramm. <i>18 March</i>	59
42. Engels to August Bebel. <i>18-28 March</i>	60
43. Engels to Rudolf Engels. <i>22 March</i>	66
44. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>5 May</i>	69
45. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>8 May</i>	73
46. Engels to Eugen Oswald. <i>8 May</i>	74
47. Marx to Jenny Marx. <i>10 May</i>	75
48. Engels to Patrick John Coleman. <i>20 May</i>	76
49. Engels to A. Gouppy. <i>14 June</i>	77
50. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>18 June</i>	78
51. Marx to Juste Vernouillet. <i>12 July</i>	79
52. Marx to Matilda Betham-Edwards. <i>14 July</i>	79
53. Marx to Engels. <i>21 August</i>	82

54. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>1 September</i>	86
55. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>6 September</i>	87
56. Marx to Engels. <i>8 September</i>	87
57. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>9 September</i>	89
58. Marx to Hermann Schumacher. <i>21 September</i>	90
59. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>24 September</i>	91
60. Marx to Peter Imandt. <i>27 September</i>	92
61. Marx to Bernhard Kraus. <i>30 September</i>	93
62. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>8 October</i>	93
63. Engels to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>11 October</i>	94
64. Engels to August Bebel. <i>12 October</i>	97
65. Engels to August Bebel. <i>15 October</i>	99
66. Marx to Bernhard Kraus. <i>20 October</i>	103
67. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>8 November</i>	104
68. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>9 November</i>	105
69. Engels to Rudolf Engels. <i>9 November</i>	105
70. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>12[-17] November</i>	106
71. Engels to Paul Kersten. <i>24 November</i>	110
72. Marx to Morel. <i>Probably autumn</i>	110
73. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>3 December</i>	111
74. Engels to Walery Wróblewski. <i>4 December</i>	111
75. Engels to Friedrich Lessner. <i>16 December</i>	112
76. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>17 December</i>	113

1876

77. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>4 April</i>	114
78. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>25 April</i>	115
79. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>18 May</i>	117
80. Engels to Marx. <i>24 May</i>	117
81. Marx to Engels. <i>25 May</i>	119
82. Engels to Marx. <i>28 May</i>	122
83. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>14 June</i>	124
84. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>14 June</i>	125
85. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>14 June</i>	126
86. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>15 June</i>	127
87. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>16 June</i>	128
88. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>30 June</i>	129
89. Engels to Marx. <i>25 July</i>	130
90. Marx to Engels. <i>26 July</i>	131

91. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>11 August</i>	133
92. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>15 August</i>	134
93. Marx to Engels. <i>19 August</i>	135
94. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>20 August</i>	138
95. Engels to Marx. <i>25 August</i>	139
96. Engels to Ida Pauli. <i>27 August</i>	141
97. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>30 August</i>	142
98. Marx to Jenny Longuet. <i>End of August-beginning of September</i>	143
99. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>1 September</i>	144
100. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>6 September</i>	144
101. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>9 September</i>	145
102. Marx to Ida Pauli. <i>10 September</i>	146
103. Marx to Max Oppenheim. <i>12 September</i>	146
104. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>15 September</i>	147
105. Marx to Ferdinand Fleckles. <i>21 September</i>	148
106. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>23 September</i>	149
107. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>30 September</i>	151
108. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>7 October</i>	153
109. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>7 October</i>	154
110. Marx to Leo Frankel. <i>13 October</i>	157
111. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>15 October</i>	159
112. Marx to Thomas Allsop. <i>16 October</i>	159
113. Engels to Emil Blank. <i>16 October</i>	160
114. Engels to Thomas Allsop. <i>17 October</i>	160
115. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>20 October</i>	161
116. Engels to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>20 October</i>	162
117. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>21 October</i>	163
118. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>1 November</i>	164
119. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>6 November</i>	166
120. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>10 November</i>	167
121. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>13 November</i>	171
122. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>20 November</i>	172
123. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>20 November</i>	173
124. Engels to Gustav Rasch. <i>End of November</i>	175
125. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>9 December</i>	178
126. Marx to Engels. <i>11 December</i>	179
127. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>16 December</i>	180
128. Engels to Hermann Engels. <i>18 December</i>	181
129. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>21 December</i>	183

1877

130. Marx to Maxim Kovalevsky. <i>9 January</i>	185
131. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>9 January</i>	186
132. Engels to Hermann Engels. <i>9 January</i>	187
133. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>21 January</i>	188
134. Marx to Ferdinand Fleckles. <i>21 January</i>	190
135. Marx to Wilhelm Alexander Freund. <i>21 January</i>	191
136. Marx to Frederic Harrison. <i>21 January</i>	192
137. Marx to Gabriel Deville. <i>23 January</i>	193
138. Engels to Hermann Ramm. <i>25 January</i>	194
139. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>14 February</i>	196
140. Engels to Ida Pauli. <i>14 February</i>	197
141. Engels to Marx. <i>23 February</i>	198
142. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>24 February</i>	201
143. Engels to Marx. <i>2 March</i>	201
144. Marx to Engels. <i>3 March</i>	203
145. Engels to Friedrich Lessner. <i>4 March</i>	204
146. Marx to Engels. <i>5 March</i>	205
147. Engels to Marx. <i>6 March</i>	206
148. Marx to Engels. <i>7 March</i>	207
149. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>16 March</i>	210
150. Marx to Mrs Wollmann. <i>19 March</i>	211
151. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>23 March</i>	213
152. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>24 March</i>	214
153. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>26 March</i>	215
154. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>27 March</i>	216
155. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>29 March</i>	217
156. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>11 April</i>	217
157. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>11 April</i>	219
158. Marx to Philip Stephen King. <i>14 April</i>	220
159. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>17 April</i>	220
160. Marx to Thomas Allsop. <i>20 April</i>	221
161. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>21 April</i>	222
162. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>21 April</i>	225
163. Engels to B. Lindheimer. <i>21 April</i>	225
164. Marx to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>23 April</i>	226
165. Engels to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>24 April</i>	227
166. Engels to B. Lindheimer. <i>26 April</i>	229
167. Engels to B. Lindheimer. <i>3 or 4 May</i>	229

168. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>26 May</i>	230
169. Engels to Marx. <i>27 May</i>	232
170. Marx to Engels. <i>31 May</i>	234
171. Engels to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>25 June</i>	236
172. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>2 July</i>	238
173. Engels to Marx. <i>15 July</i>	240
174. Marx to Engels. <i>18 July</i>	241
175. Engels to Marx. <i>19 July</i>	243
176. Marx to Engels. <i>23 July</i>	244
177. Engels to Marx. <i>24 July</i>	248
178. Marx to Engels. <i>25 July</i>	250
179. Engels to Franz Wiede. <i>25 July</i>	253
180. Engels to Marx. <i>31 July</i>	254
181. Engels to Natalie Liebknecht. <i>31 July</i>	256
182. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>31 July</i>	256
183. Marx to Engels. <i>1 August</i>	258
184. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>1 August</i>	262
185. Marx to Engels. <i>8 August</i>	262
186. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>8 August</i>	265
187. Marx to Maltman Barry. <i>15 August</i>	266
188. Marx to Engels. <i>17 August</i>	267
189. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>18 August</i>	269
190. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>24 August</i>	270
191. Engels to Marx. <i>25 August</i>	271
192. Marx to Nikolaus Delius. <i>25 August</i>	273
193. Engels to Natalie Liebknecht. <i>4 September</i>	274
194. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>27 September</i>	275
195. Engels to Hermann Engels. <i>5 October</i>	279
196. Engels to Ludwig Kugelmann. <i>12 October</i>	280
197. Engels to Hermann Engels. <i>13 October</i>	281
198. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>19 October</i>	282
199. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>23 October</i>	285
200. Marx to Sibylle Hess. <i>25 October</i>	286
201. Marx to Sigmund Schott. <i>3 November</i>	287
202. Marx to Wilhelm Bloss. <i>10 November</i>	288
203. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>20 November</i>	289
204. Marx to Sibylle Hess. <i>29 November</i>	290
205. Engels to Marx. <i>End of 1877-beginning of 1878</i>	290

1878

206. Marx to Thomas Allsop. <i>1 January</i>	292
207. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>11 January</i>	293
208. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>4 February</i>	296
209. Marx to Thomas Allsop. <i>4 February</i>	298
210. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>11 February</i>	299
211. Marx to Sigmund Schott. <i>29 March</i>	304
212. Marx to Valerian Smirnov. <i>29 March</i>	305
213. Engels to Carl Hirsch. <i>3 April</i>	306
214. Engels to Hermann Lopatin. <i>3 April</i>	307
215. Marx to Thomas Allsop. <i>28 April</i>	307
216. Engels to Wilhelm Bracke. <i>30 April</i>	308
217. Marx to Carl Hirsch. <i>26 June</i>	310
218. Marx to Sigmund Schott. <i>13 July</i>	311
219. Marx to Sigmund Schott. <i>15 July</i>	311
220. Engels to Valerian Smirnov. <i>16 July</i>	312
221. Engels to Oscar Schmidt. <i>19 July</i>	313
222. Engels to Philipp Pauli. <i>30 July</i>	314
223. Engels to Pyotr Lavrov. <i>10 August</i>	316
224. Marx to George Rivers. <i>24 August</i>	317
225. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>4 September</i>	318
226. Engels to Friedrich Lessner. <i>12 September</i>	319
227. Engels to Rudolf Engels. <i>12 September</i>	320
228. Marx to Jenny Longuet. <i>16 September</i>	320
229. Marx to Engels. <i>17 September</i>	321
230. Marx to Jenny Marx. <i>17 September</i>	324
231. Engels to Marx. <i>18 September</i>	325
232. Marx to Engels. <i>18 September</i>	327
233. Engels to Marx. <i>19 September</i>	330
234. Engels to Marx. <i>21 September</i>	330
235. Marx to Engels. <i>24 September</i>	331
236. Marx to Moritz Kaufmann. <i>3 October</i>	333
237. Marx to Moritz Kaufmann. <i>10 October</i>	334
238. Engels to Hermann Arnoldt. <i>21 October</i>	335
239. Marx to an Unknown Correspondent. <i>4 November</i>	336
240. Marx to Alfred Talandier. <i>About 10 November</i>	336
241. Marx to Nikolai Danielson. <i>15 November</i>	343
242. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>19 November</i>	345
243. Marx to Nikolai Danielson. <i>28 November</i>	346

244. Engels to Ernst Dronke. <i>29 November</i>	347
245. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>12 December</i>	348

1879

246. Marx to Hugo Heller. <i>29 January</i>	350
247. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>30 January</i>	350
248. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>1 March</i>	352
249. Marx to Nikolai Danielson. <i>10 April</i>	353
250. Marx to Rudolph Meyer. <i>28 May</i>	359
251. Engels to J. Gugenheim. <i>16 June</i>	359
252. Engels to Eduard Bernstein. <i>17 June</i>	360
253. Engels to Eduard Bernstein. <i>26 June</i>	361
254. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>1 July</i>	364
255. Marx to Carlo Cafiero. <i>29 July</i>	365
256. Engels to August Bebel. <i>4 August</i>	366
257. Marx to Rudolph Meyer. <i>7 August</i>	368
258. Marx to Engels. <i>14 August</i>	369
259. Marx to Jenny Longuet. <i>19 August</i>	371
260. Engels to Marx. <i>20 August</i>	372
261. Engels to Marx. <i>25 August</i>	374
262. Marx to Engels. <i>25 August</i>	376
263. Engels to Marx. <i>26 August</i>	378
264. Engels to Karl Höchberg. <i>26 August</i>	379
265. Marx to Engels. <i>27 August</i>	380
266. Marx to Engels. <i>28 August</i>	381
267. Marx to Engels. <i>3 September</i>	382
268. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>8 September</i>	383
269. Marx to Engels. <i>9 September</i>	385
270. Engels to Marx. <i>9 September</i>	385
271. Marx to Engels. <i>10 September</i>	388
272. Engels to Marx. <i>11 September</i>	390
273. Marx to Engels. <i>11 September</i>	391
274. Marx to Engels. <i>14 September</i>	392
275. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>15 September</i>	392
276. Marx and Engels to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (Circular Letter). <i>17-18 September</i>	394
277. Marx to Carl Hirsch. <i>18 September</i>	409
278. Marx to Nikolai Danielson. <i>19 September</i>	409

279. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>19 September</i>	410
280. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>24 September</i>	415
281. Engels to Marx. <i>After 8 October</i>	415
282. Marx to Bertha Augusti. <i>25 October</i>	416
283. Engels to August Bebel. <i>14 November</i>	416
284. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>14 November</i>	422
285. Engels to August Bebel. <i>24 November</i>	423
286. Marx to Achille Loria. <i>3 December</i>	426
287. Marx to an Unknown Correspondent. <i>11 December</i>	427
288. Marx to Charles Walstone (Waldstein). <i>13 December</i>	427
289. Engels to Thomas Allsop. <i>14 December</i>	428
290. Engels to August Bebel. <i>16 December</i>	429
291. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>19 December</i>	432
292. Engels to Amélie Engel. <i>Around 1879-1880</i>	434

APPENDICES

1. Brief Account of Marx's Letters to Carl Hirsch. <i>31 January 1875 to 20 February 1878</i>	439
2. Eleanor Marx to Carl Hirsch. <i>25 October 1875</i>	441
3. Jenny Marx to Johann Philipp Becker. <i>Between 16 and 20 August 1876</i>	442
4. Eleanor Marx to Carl Hirsch. <i>25 November 1876</i>	444
5. Jenny Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. <i>20 or 21 January 1877</i>	445
6. Eleanor Marx to Carl Hirsch. <i>8 June 1878</i>	449
7. Jules Guesde to Karl Marx. <i>March-April 1879</i>	450
8. Marx to Maxim Kovalevsky. <i>April 1879</i>	452

NOTES AND INDEXES

<i>Notes</i>	455
<i>Name Index</i>	520
<i>Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature</i>	559
<i>Index of Periodicals</i>	579
<i>Subject Index</i>	587

ILLUSTRATIONS

Karl Marx (London, 1875)	50-51
First page of Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875	71
Extracts made by Marx from A. I. Koshelev's book <i>On Communal Landownership in Russia</i> , Berlin, 1875	101

Diagram of the <i>Tableau économique</i>	258-59
The house in London, 122 Regent's Park Road, where Engels lived from September 1870 to October 1894	290-91
Lizzie Burns, Engels' wife	290-91
Jenny and Charles Longuet, early 1870s	370-71
The house in London, 41 Maitland Park Road, where Marx lived from March 1875 till the end of his life	370-71

TRANSLATORS:

- PETER and BETTY ROSS: Letters 16, 34-36, 40-44, 46, 47, 53-58, 60, 62-65, 67-71, 75, 77, 78, 80-83, 89-91, 93, 95-103, 105-07, 109, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121-24, 126-29, 131-35, 138-41, 143-48, 152, 153, 156, 157, 161, 163, 165-86, 188-91, 193-205, 207, 208, 210, 213, 216-19, 221, 222, 225-35, 238, 239, 245, 247, 248, 250-54, 256-76, 279-86, 290-92; Appendices 3, 5
- RODNEY LIVINGSTONE: Letters 1-5, 8-11, 13-15, 18-30, 32
- STEPAN APRESYAN: Letter 110, Appendix 8
- K. M. COOK: Appendices 1, 7

Preface

Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels' letters from 1874 to 1879, contained in this volume, provide an unrivalled source for the history of the working-class movement and Marxist theory after the Paris Commune (1871), a period in which Marx also wrote his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875), Engels his *Anti-Dühring* (1876-78), and both of them together wrote their Circular Letter (1879) to the leading German Social-Democrats.

At the centre of Marx's studies during this period was his economic theory, mainly the questions examined in the second and third volumes of *Capital*, and his letters give us an idea of the ever broader range of sources he used in his examination of the economic development of bourgeois society. From Russia and the United States he received piles of printed matter on the agrarian problem, finance, trade, and industrial growth. Lamenting the loss in the mail of a large parcel of books sent from Russia, Marx wrote to Pyotr Lavrov that it contained 'things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia' (see this volume, p. 58).

Marx followed closely the worldwide economic crisis of the 1870s, comparing its development in various countries, and comparing it with other crises of the 19th century. This, he wrote, was most important 'for the student of capitalistic production' (p. 355). Marx let his correspondents know he was compelled to delay completion of the subsequent volumes of *Capital*. Thus he wrote to Nikolai Danielson, a translator of *Capital* into Russian: 'I should under no

circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax' (p. 354).

Marx's studies of the 1870s reaffirmed his judgement of joint-stock companies in the manuscript of the third volume of *Capital* (1863-65) as a new form of concentrating and centralising capital. In the same letter to Danielson, he wrote that large joint-stock companies in British, Belgian, French, and US communications and banking gave 'an impetus never before suspected to the concentration of capital and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital' (p. 356).

Marx's letters of this period often refer to his preparation of new editions of the first volume of *Capital*, notably its French translation, for which he made many important changes.

Marx's letters show the importance he attached to popular versions of the first volume of *Capital*. He wrote to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on 14 June 1876 that at Wilhelm Liebknecht's request he had taken part in preparing the second edition of Johann Most's pamphlet, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*, and eliminated its most substantial faults. He had not put his name to it, however, 'because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own)' (p. 125).

Marx commended the popular pamphlet by the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero, issued in Milan in 1879, *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx*, though he did reprimand the author for failing to show in the preface that 'the material conditions indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production'. Marx also advised Cafiero to pay closer attention in the next edition of his pamphlet to the method of research he, Marx, had used in *Capital* (p. 366).

The letters also illustrate in detail the intensive research Frederick Engels undertook, notably for his *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Dühring*. Engels had gathered material for the former for many years, setting out to show 'that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events' (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 11).

Engels' letters reveal that *Dialectics of Nature* reflects his discussion of certain theoretical points with his correspondents during this

period. His letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875, for example, is repeated almost verbatim in a passage of his manuscript. Setting forth his attitude to Darwinism as a whole, Engels examined the theory of the development of the organic world from the dialectico-materialist angle. He called attention to the limitations of Darwin's 'struggle for existence' formula, and proved that the laws of the animal world should not be applied to human society, as was done by the social Darwinians, whom Engels called bourgeois Darwinians (pp. 106-07).

However, in the summer of 1876 Engels shifted his attention to a more urgent task, that of countering the eclectic petty-bourgeois views of Eugen Dühring which were spreading fast in the socialist movement.

Dühring's doctrine, which professed to be an all-encompassing system of economic, philosophic and socialist views, was influencing some socialists not only inside but also outside Germany.

The idea that action against Dühring had to be taken came from Wilhelm Liebknecht. Informing Engels of the spread of Dühring's ideas, he wrote on 16 May 1876 that measures should be taken at once to refute them.

Marx and Engels agreed that the situation called for action. Their letters reflect concern and understanding of the objective need for a comprehensive and integral rendering of their own doctrine. On 25 May 1876 Marx wrote to Engels that he considered Dühring should be criticised 'without any compunction' (p. 119). Three days later, Engels let him know of what he proposed to do (pp. 122-23).

The volume contains a number of letters showing how and why Engels wrote *Anti-Dühring*. Some of Engels' letters refer directly to his work on the book, namely to the subject of public property in bourgeois society (p. 308) and to social Darwinism, which he discussed in his letter to Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875. On 19 July 1878, sending a copy of *Anti-Dühring* to the German zoologist Oscar Schmidt, Engels wrote that in his work he had endeavoured, among other things, to give an outline 'of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin's theory in particular' (p. 313).

Marx participated in the work on *Anti-Dühring*. He helped Engels pick out material for some of the chapters, read the manuscript from beginning to end and wrote a critical outline of Dühring's views on the history of economic doctrines, which was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X of Part II.

Engels gave two years of his life to this book, published as *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and popularly known as *Anti-Dühring*. It provided the first ever comprehensive presentation of Marxism as an integral, indivisible science.

Much of Marx's and Engels' attention in this period was turned to the change in the organisational forms of working-class unity. In 1874 the International had in fact ceased to function, though it was not officially disbanded until 1876. In a letter to Sorge in September 1874, Engels wrote: 'The *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end... It belonged to the period ... when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore... For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies... But in its old form it has outlived itself' (pp. 41,42). A new form of international unity was called for, Engels observed, based on the independent working-class parties that were springing up in different countries.

Marx and Engels saw their prime duty in helping the new socialist parties to achieve ideological unity and gain mass support. Their many letters to German Social-Democratic leaders show how they dealt with this task. The specific commitment to the German socialists was due to the fact that they were then the only workers' party which was already an independent political force, as the 1874 Reichstag elections had demonstrated. For the first time in history, the working-class movement had a socialist faction of nine deputies in a parliament. This made a distinct impact on the international socialist movement.

But, as Marx and Engels noted in their writings, the German Social-Democratic Party had not yet become a truly mass party functioning on the principles of the International. To achieve this most difficult goal it was necessary to mend the split in the German labour movement and secure unification of the two socialist organisations—the Social-Democratic Party (Eisenachers) of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the General Association of German Workers consisting of followers of Ferdinand Lassalle (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 510-14 and this volume, pp. 6-7, 17, 43).

A draft programme, the basis for uniting the two organisations at a congress scheduled in Gotha for May 1875, appeared in the German socialist press in early March, causing Engels to write to Bebel on 18-28 March 1875 and Marx to Wilhelm Bracke on 5 May.

'You ask me what we think of the unification affair' (p. 60), Engels wrote in reply to Bebel's question, and set forth his critical view of many of the draft's provisions which, in the main, came from the Lassalleans: that 'in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass', the 'iron law of wages' and 'state aid' to the producers' co-operative societies. He noted the absence in the draft of a provision on the international character of the workers' movement and on the significance of trade unions, and so on. Engels also set forth his own views on various issues raised in the draft.

Marx and Engels blamed the Eisenachers for making unjustifiable ideological concessions to the Lassalleans, amounting in substance to a departure from their 1869 programme (p. 62).

If it was impossible to 'advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme,' Marx wrote to Bracke, '... they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe' (p. 70).

In a letter to Bracke of 11 October 1875, Engels examined the by then already adopted Gotha Programme. He noted that it did not sufficiently reflect his and Marx's suggestions, and called attention to its Lassallean rhetoric and slogans, its vulgarly democratic demands, and the incorrectly interpreted provisions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 'When two factions are agreed,' Engels wrote, 'they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested' (p. 95).

In letters to Bracke of 11 October and Bebel of 12 October, Engels explained why Marx and he had refrained from taking a public stand against the Gotha Programme. As he put it, it was because not only the bourgeois press but also the workers interpreted it 'communistically'. 'It is *this circumstance alone*,' Engels wrote, 'which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this.' Engels admitted at the same time that the unification as such was 'a great success... But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price' (p. 98).

The subsequent period showed that the union of the two socialist parties did lead to success for the German workers. The united party's membership rose appreciably. Trade unions sprang up under its guidance. The 'mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany', as Marx put it (p. 188), that took place in January 1877 demonstrated that the party's prestige had risen, as did the number of its deputies in the Reichstag. But the ideological concessions made to the Lassalleans had lowered the party's theoretical standard, enhanced the influence of petty-bourgeois

socialism, and caused the spread of Dühringian views which, in turn, led to the appearance of opportunism (p. 295). It was indeed obvious that the ideas of scientific socialism had not reached the minds of even the most advanced workers.

Marx and Engels were disturbed by the indifference of some of the party's leaders to opportunist pronouncements in the labour press. Engels wrote to Liebknecht in July 1877: 'I was speaking of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. ... If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. ... Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process' (p. 257).

Opportunism grew strong when the party was compelled to go underground in October 1878 in connection with Bismarck's Exceptional Law Against the Socialists (better known as the Anti-Socialist Law). A new tactic was called for to suit the new situation. More, the leaders had to cope with vacillation and confusion. As Marx and Engels saw it, a socialist party organ published outside Germany would help. It would propagate the party's views freely, and spell out its political and tactical principles. Many of Marx's and Engels' letters referred to preparations for the publication of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (in place of the banned *Vorwärts*) and reflected their struggle for its ideological line. They warned the party leadership that the Zurich Trio—Bernstein, Höchberg, and Schramm—who had been picked for the newspaper's control committee and who were former followers of Dühring, would be sure to lace the future party paper's platform with their opportunist views.

The letters of Marx and Engels reflect what preceded the writing of their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others. The Circular Letter, drawn up by Engels on 17-18 September 1879 and endorsed by Marx, was intended, as Engels wrote to Sorge, 'just for *private circulation* among the German leaders' (p. 414). Marx held that considering the party's underground status, any public discussion of inner-party affairs, a public polemic, would be inevitably damaging. The Circular Letter criticised opportunism as a whole: its renunciation of class struggle and the working-class party's class character, the conversion of the latter into a party of reform with the exclusive aim of improving capitalism, surrender of the reins of the movement to 'educated bourgeois', and the like. The writers

of the Circular Letter called attention to the Zurichers' endeavours to pass off the aggregate of their petty-bourgeois views for socialism. Marx and Engels pointed to the class roots of opportunism, first of all to the existence of a considerable petty-bourgeois contingent in the party which attempted 'to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints' (p. 407).

In conclusion they stressed: 'We cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes' (p. 408).

At the same time, Marx and Engels took note of the emergence in the socialist party of an ultra-left current represented by Johann Most, a follower of Dühring's, and others. According to Engels, their 'revolutionary tittle-tattle' was something that had ceased to surprise anyone after the preceding almost forty years (p. 363).

The emergence of the Most group, which was swiftly developing towards anarchism, was traceable largely to the invigoration of the opportunist trend. Engels informed Johann Philipp Becker that the newspaper *Freiheit* which Most published in London was publicly accusing the leaders of the party of patronising reformists, and blamed them for the mistakes of some socialist Reichstag deputies (p. 383).

Marx wrote to Sorge: 'Our complaint against Most is not that his *Freiheit* is *too revolutionary*; our complaint is that it has *no revolutionary content*, but merely indulges in *revolutionary jargon*. Again, our complaint is not that he *criticises the party leaders in Germany*, but, in the first place, that he *kicks up a row in public* instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, *i.e. by letter*' (p. 411).

The Circular Letter helped the party leadership considerably in setting the desired political course and in consolidating the party. Meanwhile, Marx and Engels continued to work for the party's ideological unity and to combat opportunism and ultra-left sentiment. Of special interest in that respect were Engels' letters to Bebel of 14 and 24 November and 16 December 1879. Here he elaborated on the correlation of theory and practice, the party's policy and tactics, the fight for ideological unity, and the like.

Engels maintained that 'every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere', and stressed the special responsibility borne by an advanced body such as the party of German Social-Democrats. He could not help feeling

concerned that 'the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory' (p. 421). He pointed out that it was essential to 'compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement' (ibid.).

Engels wrote: 'A party ... can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave' (p. 418).

Though these points were examined in relation to the underground Social-Democratic movement in Germany, they amounted in substance to general principles governing the development of the international socialist movement as a whole.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels shows that they followed developments in the working-class movement in Europe and the United States of America. They looked into its character and specific features from country to country, and any incipient new trends. Nor did they lose time to inform their correspondents about all the more significant events. In August 1874, for example, Marx let Sorge know about the appearance in France, where reaction dominated at the time, of trade unions (workers' syndicates) that could, as he saw it, serve as 'a point of departure for the time when freer movement' was again possible (p. 30).

When articles appeared in the German newspaper *Vorwärts* saying it was not necessary for the masses in France to fight the threat of a monarchist coup, Engels wrote to Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and others that it was not a matter of indifference to the workers what type of government existed in their country—a reactionary monarchy as, say, in Germany or a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consolidation of the republic in France, he wrote, offered the working class an opportunity to win democratic rights requisite 'for organisation and struggle'. He added: 'That is all they need to begin with' (p. 294).

Examining the working-class movement in Britain, Marx and Engels pointed out that its distinctive features were the trade unions that served as the movement's main form, a lack of interest in socialist theory, and the traditional commitment to a two-party system. Politically, Marx wrote, the English workers followed as before the Liberal Party (p. 299). The English workers' movement, Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein on 17 June 1879, 'has been

going round and round ... in a confined circle of strikes for wages and the reduction of working hours'. He added that the strikes were regarded in England not 'as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim'. Summing up, Engels stated: 'At this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here' (pp. 360, 361).

The contacts of Marx and Engels with socialist leaders in various countries increased over the years. In the Appendices to this volume you will find an extract from the reply of Jules Guesde, editor of the French socialist newspaper *Égalité*, to a letter from Marx which, unfortunately, is not extant. Guesde's reply gives a clue to what Marx had written: the historical necessity for a revolutionary transformation of society, the nature of the transformation, and the special role of an independent and militant workers' party (p. 451).

Engels' ties with Enrico Bignami, editor of the Italian newspaper *La Plebe* (Milan), and Eudóxio Gnecco, editor of the Portuguese newspaper *O Protesto* (Lisbon), were quite strong. He informed them of the German socialists' campaign in the January 1877 Reichstag elections. For the Italian workers' movement, in which anarchist influences still prevailed, this was important. Engels' letter to Bignami about the election results was published in *La Plebe* on 26 February 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 172-73).

An important means of securing ties among socialists of different countries, Marx and Engels held, was to exchange printed matter and learn about other parties' experience. Engels advised Johann Philipp Becker to contact the newly-established Portuguese socialist party, to print its contributions, and to supply it in return with requisite material (p. 174). He wrote the same to Liebknecht and other socialists.

On the whole, the correspondence of Marx and Engels was evidence of their growing influence on the international working-class movement. Besides, it reflected the growing role played by their associates heading the socialist movement and their increasing knowledge of theory.

Marx wrote to the German socialist Wilhelm Blos that he and Engels were categorically opposed to any personality cult. 'Neither of us,' he wrote, 'cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity' (p. 288).

The volume contains the letters of Marx and Engels to their Russian friends—Pyotr Lavrov, Nikolai Danielson and others. The contact with Lavrov was obviously strong and enduring. Marx posted various editions of the first volume of *Capital* to Lavrov, and received Russian books from him. He also regularly read the Russian-language journal *Vperyod!* published by Lavrov, which acquainted him with the state of the revolutionary movement in Russia (pp. 58, 91 et al.). Lavrov supplied him with various other material, including an account of the trials of young Russian revolutionaries in the 1870s. Marx passed on this information to Keyes O'Clery, an Irish MP, for use in the House of Commons (see this volume, pp. 210, 211; *MEGA*, Abt. I, Band 24).

In his long letters to Danielson, Marx set forth his views on the world economic crisis of the 1870s, industrial development, and Russia's financial straits (pp. 344, 346-47, 354-58). In a preface to the first Russian-language edition of the second volume of *Capital* in 1885, Danielson cited passages from Marx's letters to him of 15 November 1878 and 10 April 1879, examining the growth of capitalist relations in the United States, the British economic crisis of the 1870s, and the reasons why the appearance of the second volume was delayed.

In some of their letters, Marx and Engels delved into the foreign policy of European states and, notably, into the possibility of a new war in Europe and its consequences for the working-class movement. Though Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 20 November 1876 that there was a 'universal lull' at the time (p. 174), both he and Marx did not rule out the possibility of war between European countries in the 1870s. Dwelling on the subject in a letter to Bebel of 16 December 1879, Engels wrote he was convinced that a 'war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years' (p. 431).

Much space in the letters of 1877-78 was devoted to the rise of the revolutionary movement in Russia, its character, and international impact. Marx and Engels related revolution in Russia directly to the aggravation of the Eastern crisis that culminated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. In their letters and articles of that period, they noted Russia's abrupt economic decline, the impending financial crisis, and the mounting disaffection among Russia's impoverished nobility and among the peasant masses (see

present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 39-50, 203-06, 251-52, and this volume, pp. 278, 295).

Marx and Engels were certain that a Russian revolution would inevitably influence the state of affairs in the rest of Europe, causing the revolutionary movement to grow and laying the ground for the downfall of autocratic monarchies. They were convinced revolution would break out if Russia lost its war against Turkey. In a letter to Liebknecht in February 1878 Marx made this plain in the following terms: 'The *defeat of the Russians* would have greatly *expedited social revolution in Russia*, of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and *hence radical change throughout Europe*' (p. 296).

For Marx and Engels, revolution in Russia was part of the world revolutionary process. This explains their one-sided view of the democratic movement that sprang up at the time in Britain in support of the struggle of the Slav nations in the Balkans against Turkish rule (pp. 292, 299). In Marx's view it was tantamount to backing tsarism.

But even after the war, which culminated in Turkey's defeat, Marx and Engels noted that revolutionary events were coming to a head in Russia (p. 431).

The letters of Marx and Engels contain extensive biographical information. Those had been uneasy years for the two friends. Marx and his wife were often ill. Marx took the misfortunes of his eldest daughter Jenny, who lost her first-born child, very close to heart. Lizzie Burns, Engels wife, was taken ill time and again, and died in 1878. The letters show how considerate Marx and Engels were to each other and to their friends and associates. They helped them financially and offered moral support during the hard times of government persecution, when they were imprisoned or denied a chance to earn their living. The letters refer to many such cases. Engels, for example, wrote to Johann Philipp Becker, 'anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure' (p. 383).

* * *

Volume 45 contains 292 of Marx's and Engels' letters. Out of these, 206 appear in English for the first time, while out of the 86 that did appear before, 35 had previously been published

incomplete. Those published in English earlier are indicated in the Notes. Out of the eight letters given in the Appendices, six appear in English for the first time.

In view of the organic connection of Engels' letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875, Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 and the Circular Letter of Marx and Engels dated 17-18 September 1879, with all the other correspondence of that period, and considering their particular scientific and political significance, the three said letters, already published in Volume 24 of the present edition, are also being given in this volume.

Obvious slips of the pen in the letters have been corrected without comment. Proper and place names and separate words abbreviated by the authors are given in full, except when the abbreviations were meant to mislead possible censors or were undecipherable. Defects in the manuscripts are pointed out in footnotes, while lost or illegible passages are indicated by omission points. If presumable reconstruction is possible, it is given in square brackets. Any text crossed out by the authors is reproduced in footnotes only where it is pertinent. Rough drafts of letters or fragments reproduced in some other document, etc., are indicated either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions are left as given by the authors, with a translation wherever necessary, and displayed in italics (in spaced italics if underlined in the original). Wherever Marx and Engels used English words and expressions in letters they had written in German, French or some other language, these are given in small caps. If whole passages are in English, they are placed in asterisks. If the same facts or events recur in the texts of different letters, the same note number is given every time. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

The texts of the letters and Notes were prepared by Vladimir Sazonov (letters dated from January 1874 to December 1877) and Natalia Kalennikova (letters dated from January 1878 to December 1879, and the Notes). The Preface is written by Valeria Kunina, assisted by Natalia Kalennikova. The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals are by Natalia Kalennikova; Vera Popova took part in preparing the text and pertinent matter. The editors of the

volume are Valeria Kunina and Velta Pospelova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were done by Rodney Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook and Stepan Apresyan (Progress Publishers) and edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Lydia Belyakova, Yelena Kalinina, Stephen Smith (Progress Publishers), and Alexander Malysh and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editors (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Kalinina and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers).

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1874-December 1879

1874

1

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 19 January 1874

Dear Wenzel,

Engels informed me of your letter to him.² Hence these lines. After my return³ a carbuncle broke out on my right cheek, which was operated on; later it had several smaller successors, and I think that at the present moment I am suffering from the *last* of them.

Incidentally, don't worry at all about newspaper gossip and *still less answer it*. I myself allow the English papers to announce my death from time to time, without showing any sign of life. Nothing annoys me more than to appear to be supplying the public with reports of my state of health through my friends (*you are the great sinner in this respect*). I don't give a farthing for the public, and, if my occasional illness is exaggerated, it at least has the advantage that it spares me all sorts of requests (theoretical and otherwise) from unknown people in every corner of the earth.

My best thanks for the kind words from the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.⁴

I am very glad to receive the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and find all sorts of interesting things in it.

The relative victory of the ultramontanes and Social-Democrats in the elections⁴ SERVES MR BISMARCK AND HIS MIDDLE-CLASS TAIL RIGHT. More another time.

Your
K. M.

¹ Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

Apropos. On the advice of my friend, Dr Gumpert (of Manchester), I have now rubbed quicksilver ointment in the place concerned at the first trace of carbuncle irritation and find that it works quite specifically.

What has happened to your friend, 'Dr Freund' of Breslau,^a who in your opinion was so promising? It seems, *après tout, que c'est un fruit sec.*^b

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

2

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 27 January 1874

Dear Liebknecht,

I am glad you give me an occasion to write to you; what with the many different things I have had to deal with recently, our correspondence would otherwise just come to a halt. *Ad rem*, then.

A short while—perhaps a week—before the Geneva Congress,⁵ we received a little pamphlet of 16 pages from Geneva. It was signed by Perret, Duval and about another 6-8 names,⁶ for the most part, like the two referred to, leaders of the Geneva International and the noisiest opponents of the Jurassians. The pamphlet contained the statement that the Hague Congress was in the wrong, that it was necessary to weaken the General Council, abrogate its powers of suspension, transfer it back to Europe and at the same time debar London for two years (the fools—as if we were pining to have it here!), etc., etc. This was followed by a letter from Perret. Although it was he above all who instigated and conducted the whole row with the Bakuninists, he declared that these concessions would have to be made since this would ensure

^a Polish name: Wrocław. - ^b after all, that this is a dry fruit.

that '*des sections jurassiennes*'—by which he means the one in Münster-Moutier—joined forces with *them*.—Both Perret and the other Genevans had left us in the dark about this new development *right up to the very last moment*; they had failed to reply to our enquiries about the situation in Geneva and hence omitted to dispel the illusion they themselves had fostered that we could rely on unconditional support in Geneva—particularly since it was their doing that the London General Council had joined in the quarrel with the Bakuninists and become more and more deeply embroiled in it. Indeed, Perret had misled us only two weeks before, when he wrote telling us that the membership of the *Comité Romand* had been changed and that he had resigned! WELL, since all the information pointed to the fact that the Congress would be a purely local event in Geneva, or at most a Swiss Congress with negligible participation from abroad, we FINALLY decided not to attend.^a Subsequent events proved us right, and Becker^b was able to tell these sudden Genevan converts to 'anti-authoritarianism' that they could pass whatever resolutions they liked, but that no one would pay any attention and everything would be overturned at the next congress.

In the meantime, however, the whole intrigue came to light. Behind the affair was none other than that adventurer Cluseret, who had also inspired their celebrated pamphlet. The fellow imagined the moment had arrived for him to place himself at the head of the International and have the General Council transferred to Geneva. This latter notion had flattered the local bigwigs, who hoped to convert the International into a local Swiss gossip shop in which they could all play first violin. At the same time, M. Perret was in constant touch with Jung here, who, in the manner he had adopted since The Hague, told him a heap of lies about the powerful support they could count on here if they *reduced the International to an organisation concerned only with rendering support to STRIKES*, etc.

The Geneva *faiseurs*^c followed his lead, and this resulted in the establishment of the *Union des Travailleurs*, a paper without anyone behind it but Cluseret, Perret & Co., together with their projected *Ligue universelle*.⁷ So the whole thing was a new, somewhat modified scheme to make the International serve the Genevans' ends.

But the project was still-born. The paper published reports

^a See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 523-25. - ^b Johann Philipp Becker - ^c mountebanks

from Germany, Belgium and France, all of which were written in Geneva; only the London reports were by Jung, and those were as full of lies as only Jung has learnt how to lie in the last fifteen months. When they tried to have their little plans adopted in the Geneva sections they failed everywhere without exception. The Belgians would have nothing to do with them, and now the Sheffield Congress has also given them short shrift, as could have been foreseen by anyone who knows anything about English TRADES UNIONS.⁸ So that spells the end of their little plan, and M. Perret can now *resign* indeed.

So you can see how the very same little jackasses who deliberately ruined the Geneva Congress became turncoats immediately after it, and tried out a new swindle, which luckily has come to nought.

The pamphlet on the Alliance,^a incidentally, has achieved its aim. The entire dissident press, which was an artificial phenomenon, sustained only by the prestige of the International, has now collapsed. The Brussels *Internationale* and probably also *Le Mirabeau* have folded up, not to mention the *Liberté*. The same thing has happened to the plethora of Spanish and Italian papers. I cannot say with assurance whether *La Federación* and the *Bulletin Jurassien* are still appearing, but I think not. This sectarian press will be replaced by a better one BY AND BY, but it will take time and that will do no harm. The bad elements will have to wear themselves out completely before better ones can come along.

Over here the whole mass of workers' leaders in the pay of the bourgeoisie, and in particular of Samuel^b Morley, are trying their hardest *to get the bourgeois to elect them to Parliament as WORKING MEN'S CANDIDATES*. They won't succeed, though I would gladly see the whole crew there and for the same reasons as I welcome the election of Hasenclever and Hasselmann and still only regret the absence of my Tölcke. The Reichstag ruined Schweitzer, and it will ruin them too. It is the end of swindling and forces one to show one's colours.

The elections in Germany⁴ place the German proletariat at the head of the European workers' movement. It is the first time that the workers have voted for their own people *en masse* and have put themselves forward as a party in their own right, and throughout the whole of Germany at that. It can hardly be doubted that measures to restrict the franchise will follow, though

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b In the original: John.

not for a year or two. How right that feudal socialist R. Meyer^a was in his contention that the General Association of German Workers would become increasingly international—despite its bosses—was confirmed by the second ballot in Frankfurt when the jackasses finally had to vote for Sonnemann and acted quite correctly: first vote for our own man, and then, if it is clear that he won't get in on the second round, vote for the opponent of the government, whoever he happens to be. This was a very bitter pill for the bosses. But history has its laws, and even the mighty Hasenclever cannot prevail against them.

You have already had news of Marx. He is better, but still needs to *take care not to overwork*. This morning we went out walking on Hampstead Heath, something he ought to do every day; however, it shows you that there is no question of his having to remain indoors, etc.

I assume that the Reichstag will just let you serve out your sentence, so it would be very good if Jacoby were to be elected.⁹

I intended writing something about Germany for the *Volksstaat*, but have been so involved in economic and statistical material that it threatens to become a small, or even a full-size, book.¹⁰

Best wishes to Bebel.

Your

F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

Just a very hasty note to let you know that around a fortnight ago I sent you 1 parcel with 12 *Alliances*^b and the day before

^a R. H. Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1874, p. 120. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*.

yesterday, 2 parcels, each with 50 copies of the English Rules,^a i.e. 100 in all.

I have managed to get hold of around three hundred copies of the German Rules here, and the English Federal Council has promised me a further 400-500 English ones. As soon as I have them, I shall send you the whole lot, together with some *Alliances*, per PARCELS COMPANY. The post is becoming too expensive; the English Rules cost 4 shillings! To save you problems with customs duties I shall refer to you on the cover as GENERAL SECRETARY, I.W.A.

It was obvious that the New York movement would slip out of your hands as soon as PUBLIC MEETINGS and other demonstrations replaced real work and organisation.

I suppose the German gentlemen will have found out by now what it means to join forces with the Yankee swindlers.

Your
F. Engels

More soon!

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

4

ENGELS TO WILHELM BLOS

IN LEIPZIG

London, 21 February 1874

Dear Friend Blos,

Things received with thanks. I enclose the article on the English elections.^b The first of a series on the Military Law^c will follow in a few days; the second^d as soon as I have obtained a copy of Moltke's speech.

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b F. Engels, 'The English Elections'. - ^c F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. I'. - ^d F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. II'.

Jacoby's conduct is irresponsible.⁹ If he did not wish to take up his seat he should have requested the Party Committee in advance just to put him forward as a mere 'name' in completely hopeless constituencies. The workers have neither the money nor the time to squander on empty gestures of this sort. The most strenuous efforts will be needed to get Bracke in, and victory there is doubly important since it is in a *rural* constituency. Jacoby has disqualified himself for good with this. The man is just *too much of a sage*. And his reasons are so trivial and vulgar-democratic! He hurls abuse at *force* as something reprehensible in itself, even though we all know that, when it comes down to it, nothing can be achieved without force. If Löb Sonnemann had written such things, that would not be so bad, or Karl Mayer of the *Schwäbischer Beobachter*—but a candidate of our party! However, it is a good thing that he has reduced himself to the level of a mere 'name'.

And in fact it is all very fine and logical: on the one hand, he rejects *force*, on the other, parliamentary *legal* action—what is left then but pure Bakuninist abstention?

Yours in friendship,

F. E.

Liebknecht's letter arrived yesterday.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*,
No. 13, Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

5

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

The things listed on the back of this letter were sent off to you today in a parcel addressed to *F. A. Sorge, * General Secretary I.W.M. Association, 25 Hudson Street, Hoboken, N.J. via New York*, per Continental Parcels Express Company (W. Wheatley & Co.—

New York Agents: W. H. Bucknam & Co., 57 Broadway). Carriage forwarded, Value declared £10.*

The BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL has become so lackadaisical that I have not yet managed to extract an official price for the English Rules^a from them—only a POSTCARD from Barry saying, *I THINK I¹/₂D. WILL DO!*

I am charging 2 shillings each for the *Alliances*,^b but in return am paying the carriage of those sent by post.^c

I have to leave in an hour for a few days, so farewell and keep your chin up. Your police seem to want to outdo even those in Versailles.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

6

MARX TO GEORGE MOORE¹¹

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 26 March 1874
1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

It is quite understood that you are welcome to take your time in order to decide upon your course of action in regard to your private settlement with me.

But there was another item in my letter¹² of which you have taken no notice. In order to save expense, always caused by lawyers' letters, I had called upon you to send me the £2. 15s. due by Mr Lester Collier to the firm, and which, *according to the award*, are to be paid to me like all the rest of the outstanding debts.

Now to-day some incidents have come to my knowledge which give to the whole transaction with respect to the collecting of the outstanding debts a very ugly look.

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c See this volume, p. 7.

Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co. had, as I told you in my last letter, written to the different firms (except Mr L. Collier) in order to call in the sums due by them. To-day, at their offices, they showed me three letters till then received in reply.

The first letter is from Mr *Dickes* (dated 25 March). He states therein that he 'paid his debt on *31st January 1874*' and that the receipt he holds is signed 'Received for Moore and Le Moussu. L. Rocher'.

The second letter is from the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (dated 25 March), and, according to it, 'they have paid all up on *February 26*'.

The last letter (dated 25 March) is from Mr Turner (Dover). He states that he '*holds receipt* from Messrs Le Moussu and Moore'.

I suppose that the other letters still to drop in will be cut upon the same pattern.

However that may be, the three cases already certified give cause not only for *actions before a County Court*, but, I am afraid, for *actions for embezzlement*.—This is at least the opinions expressed by Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co., considering 1) that this money has been taken up not only *after* the dissolution of partnership, but while the lawsuit was pending, and after a *notice of warning* sent by Messrs M., P., and Co. to Mr Shaen on 22nd January; 2) that the fact of the drawing in the money was kept not only secret with regard to myself, but before the judge, Mr Harrison, when he was in presence of the three partners scrutinising every single item of the list drawn up originally by you of the outstanding debts, a fact which Mr Harrison, when summoned as a witness, will have to confirm; 3) that after the award had been communicated to the parties concerned the appropriation of the money was still withheld from my knowledge.

I must now request you to write me at once as how far you have acted in common with Mr Le Moussu in every single case. The moment my final instructions are once in the hands of my solicitors—and you understand that I am not at all inclined to be bothered with this affair longer than is strictly necessary—it will be no more in my power to stop such disagreeable proceedings as these 'very ugly facts' may give rise to.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

7

MARX TO GEORGE MOORE

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 March 1874

To Mr G. Moore

Your yesterday's letter contains assertions which rest partly upon a misstatement and partly upon an erroneous interpretation of facts.

Firstly. Your misstatement of facts.

In the first statement of my solicitors in the hands of Mr Harrison at the time of his arbitration I declared not only that I had *received* the money collected from *The Engineer* and *The Farmer* (but of no other '*etc.*' which figures in your letter) but that I had spent it (and something more) in paying Messrs Longuet and Griset.^a On the first day of our examination I handed over the respective receipts to Mr Harrison in proof of my declaration.

Mr Shaen having said in his counter-statement that I was not appointed liquidator of the concern, I replied that being the only creditor of the concern, I had a perfect right to act as my own liquidator. This declaration of mine is also contained in my written answer to Shaen's counter-statement, which I handed over to Mr Harrison, on the second day of our examination, and which he has now returned to my solicitors. In his award Mr Harrison has literally endorsed my claim by appointing me my own liquidator. Moreover, Le Moussu having further stated in his own oath to Mr Harrison that I had already laid hold on the machines,—which was not literally exact, but true in that sense that you held then the machines for me—I denied in no way his statement.

There was, therefore, on my part, no concealment of facts.

Secondly. Your erroneous interpretation of facts.

In order to prove Le Moussu's mendacity in which he had the boldness to persist when being on oath before Mr Harrison, I proved that the money was not collected by him, that the money [was] collected *in my name*, [that] on the contrary the invoices were made out by you, handed over by you to Longuet, [and the mon-

^a Further the words 'creditors of the concern' are crossed out in the original.

ey was] collected by him in the name of the firm, and that my very name was not mentioned in *Mercurer*. This transaction...^a The judicial proceedings having once begun, I took no step whatever to get at the outstanding debts. You will now have to judge for yourselves whether my proceedings have any analogy with yours.

I come now to another point. In your letter you say:

'I have received the money from *Dover*, the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and I will send you *Collier's Account*.'

You do not mention *Dickes*, but I expect that in your next letter of Monday I shall receive all the details.

In conclusion let me remark that in regard to the *legal* character of the past proceedings, I have only communicated to you not my own view, which is not yet at all settled, but an opinion provisionally expressed by my solicitors, Mr Merriman and Mr Powell, at the interview I had with them, in presence of another gentleman, on Thursday last.^b

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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8

MARX TO JENNY MARX¹³

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,^c SUNDAY [19 April 1874]
16 Abbot's Hill

Dear Jenny,

16 Abbot's Hill—vis-à-vis Mme Williams—that is the address of the 'CLIFF' where I have lodgings. BUT NEVER MIND! There was no price fixed for it either. The landlady first asked for £1 and then came down to 12 shillings. They are incidentally perfectly decent 'folk'; the man, a COACH BUILDER, seems also to dabble in art. He

^a The sentence remained unfinished. - ^b i.e. 26 March - ^c Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874.

has painted, and not just daubed, a very idealised and RATHER enigmatic figure who stands guard at the entrance to a certain place. And in the middle of the front-garden there is a TOM-THUMB-sized clay figure of Napoleon I, standing on a brick pedestal, dressed in black, yellow and red, etc., A VERY MANLY MAN, AND WELL DONE. The landlady has a number of children, including a six-week-old BABY who often makes his presence felt in a very disagreeable manner.

The air here is delightful, but despite all the walking I do, I have not yet managed to get good night's sleep.

The place is not quite deserted, but it is the HOME BREWED PEOPLE who are most in evidence, as yet.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling better and that the EXCELLENT LITTLE MAN^a is not suffering too much with his teeth. Both mother and son are constantly in my mind.

Apropos. Tell Tussychen who found Tennyson's *Alexandrovna!*¹⁴ so amusing, that there is nothing new under the sun (even though she is sufficiently well versed in the Bible to need no telling). In June 1872 the *comte du Nord* (subsequently Tsar Paul, the MADMAN, who was travelling under this name) found himself in Paris with his young wife. He was present at a session of the Académie Française at which M. de la Harpe read out a poetic epistle to his *Altesse impériale.*^b Each stanza ended with the word 'Petrovich' (son of Peter), of which Grimm remarks:

'Apostrophe répétée, plus ridicule encore pour les oreilles russes qu'elle n'est étrange pour les nôtres. Ce mot, lorsqu'il n'est pas précédé de quelque épithète qui le distingue, est aussi familier en russe que le serait celui de Toinette ou de Pierrot en français'.^c

Tussy will be doing Tennyson a great favour if she sends this piece of information to the *Quiddities and Oddities Journal*.

GIVE MY THANKS TO ENGELS FOR HIS LETTER.¹⁵ Such a punctilious correspondent is seldom met with in our *temps corrompu.*^d

Adio and greetings to everyone.

Your
Karl

First published in *Annali*, an. I, Milano,
1958

Printed according to the original

^a Charles Longuet - ^b Imperial Highness - ^c 'The repetition of this name is even more ridiculous in Russian ears than it is strange in ours. Unless preceded by some distinguishing epithet, the word is as common in Russian as Toinette or Pierrot would be in French.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, Vol. 11, Paris, 1830, pp. 154-55. - ^d degenerate age

9

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET¹⁶

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate, between 20 and 24 April 1874]

Dear Jennychen,

I am sending the *épreuves*^a today. Please let me have them back after Longuet has looked through them. I shall then make a definitive version of the copy to be sent to Paris.¹⁷

Today was the first day I have been able to do even the slightest amount of work. Up to now, despite baths, walks, marvellous air, care with my diet, etc., my condition was even worse than in London. Proof that the matter had reached a crisis point and that it was high time for me to disappear. For the same reason I am delaying my return, for it is absolutely vital for me to be *fit for work* when I come back. Engels' letter,¹⁵ saying that he is arriving today, reminds me of one of the reasons, I SUPPOSE, for your not coming. How is your health? I am convinced that a few weeks at the SEASIDE would restore you completely. At present it is in fact more pleasant and soothing than during the actual season.

I hope that my darling Putty^b will still recognise me.

Tell Tussychen that the 'SACRED MUSIC'—*sacrée musique*, as she translated it—was not actually known by this name among the frivolous Parisians, but that what it referred to had come from Italy, where they have always turned the Divine into a comedy, and was known as '*concerts spirituels*' in Diderot's day.

Pour la bonne bouche^c Grimm retells the following witticism of the Chevalier de Boufflers:

'Les princes ont plus besoin d'être divertis qu'adorés; il n'y a *que Dieu qui ait un assez grand fonds de gaieté* pour ne pas s'ennuyer de tous les hommages qu'on lui rend.'^d

Adieu, my darling.

Your

OLD NICK^e

First published in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano,
1958

Printed according to the original

^a proofs (of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*) - ^b nickname of Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet - ^c As a final titbit - ^d 'Princes would rather be distracted than worshipped; *only God has a sense of humour great enough* to prevent him from being bored by all the homage he receives.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, Vol. 7, Paris, 1829, p. 449. - ^e jocular name for Marx

10

MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE
IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 12 May 1874

Dear Citizen,

It was not until today that I despatched to Paris the proofs^a you sent me. I had a relapse; my doctor^b sent me to the seaside resort of Ramsgate^c and forbade me to do any work. It is as if the devil himself were involved. Now I am feeling better and hope I shall at last get it finished. There will be some three more instalments in all (including the instalment I have begun).¹⁷

I am much obliged to you for your amendments, etc. I have altered the sentence to which you drew my attention.

You will remember that I wrote to you in St Sebastian saying that Bismarck was backing Thiers, but that the Prussian ambassador, Arnim, was, with the King's^d support, conspiring with the royalists. Bismarck has finally toppled Arnim and caused him to be recalled from Paris.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

Roy's manuscript was finished long ago, but as the whole thing had to be reworked from start to finish, the printer^e in Paris has not yet received my version, of which only the draft has been done.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

^a of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - ^b Eduard Gumpert - ^c Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874. - ^d William I - ^e Louis Justin Lahure

11

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 May 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have received everything: your letters (including some kind lines from your dear wife and Fränzchen^a), the 'Meyer' (police-socialist, *faiseur*,^b literary scribbler),¹⁸ the cuttings from the *Frankfurter*, etc., and finally a letter from Madame Tenge.

I am very grateful to you, your family and Madame Tenge for the kind interest in my progress. But you do me an injustice if you ascribe my failure to write to any other cause than shaky state of health, which continually interrupts my work, then goads me on to make up for the time lost by neglecting all other duties (letters included), and finally puts a man out of humour and makes him disinclined to activity.

After my return from Harrogate³ I had an attack of carbuncles *d'abord*, then my headaches returned, insomnia, etc., so that I had to remain from the middle of April to 5 May in Ramsgate (SEASIDE).^c Since then I have been feeling much better, but am far from being quite well. My specialist (Dr Gumpert in Manchester) insists upon my going to Karlsbad^d and would like to make me travel there as soon as possible, but I must finally complete the French translation¹⁷ which has come to a full stop, and, apart from that, I should much prefer it if I could meet you there.

In the meantime, while I was unable to write, I worked through a lot of important new material for the second volume.^e But I cannot start on its final composition until the French edition is completed and my health fully restored.

So I have by no means yet decided how I shall spend the summer.

The progress of the German labour movement (ditto in Austria) is wholly satisfactory. In France the absence of a theoretical foundation and of practical COMMON SENSE is very evident. In England at the moment only the agricultural labourers' movement

^a Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - ^b mountebank - ^c See this volume, pp. 13-14. - ^d Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - ^e of *Capital*

shows any advance¹⁹; the industrial workers have first of all to get rid of their present leaders. When I denounced the fellows^a at the Hague Congress²⁰ I knew that I was letting myself in for unpopularity, slander, etc., but such consequences have always been a matter of indifference to me. Here and there people are beginning to see that in making that denunciation I was only doing my duty.

In the United States our party has to fight against great difficulties, partly economic, partly political, but is making headway. The greatest obstacle there are the professional politicians, who immediately try to falsify every new movement and change it into a new 'floatation business' ['Gründungsgeschäft'].

Notwithstanding all diplomatic moves, a new war is inevitable *au peu plus tôt, au peu plus tard*,^b and before its conclusion there are hardly likely to be any violent popular movements anywhere, or, at the most, they will remain local and unimportant.

The visit of the Russian emperor^c is giving the London police a great deal to do and the government here will be glad to get rid of the man as soon as possible.²¹ As a precautionary measure it requisitioned forty police (*mouchards*^d), with the notorious police commissioner Bloche at their head (Ali Baba and the forty thieves), from the French government, to watch the Poles and Russians here (during the Tsar's stay). The so-called amnesty petition of the Poles here is the work of the Russian embassy; in answer to it the Poles here issued an address, written and signed by Wróblewski, which is aimed at the English and which has been distributed in large numbers at the Sunday MEETINGS in Hyde Park. The English press (with very few exceptions) is obsequious—the Tsar is after all 'OUR GUEST'; but for all that the real feeling against Russia is incomparably more hostile than it has been since the Crimean War,²² and the entry of a Russian princess^e into the royal family has aroused rather than disarmed suspicion. The facts—the arbitrary abrogation of the decisions concerning the Black Sea in the Paris Treaty,²³ the conquests and trickeries in Central Asia, etc.—irritate John Bull, and Disraeli has no chance of remaining at the helm for any length of time if he continues Gladstone's unctuous foreign policy.

^a in a speech on 3 September 1872 (see *The Hague Congress of the First International. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 37) - ^b sooner or later - ^c Alexander II - ^d spies - ^e Maria Alexandrovna

With my warmest greetings to your dear family and Madame Tenge.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

12

ENGELS TO GOTTFRIED ERMEN

IN MANCHESTER

London, 1 June 1874

Dear Sir,

A fortnight's absence from London, and subsequently a slight cut in my hand which however disabled me for some time from writing, have caused some delay in my replying to your letter of the 16th April.

When, in 1869, we discussed the conditions on which ultimately I left the business,²⁴ I certainly gave you reason to hope that, even after the lapse of the five years stipulated, I might consent to allow you to retain my name in the firm. But this was always made dependent upon certain contingencies.

Had these contingencies been realised, I should have been quite willing, on application, to allow you to continue the use of my name in the firm.

But certainly, no word ever uttered by me could have induced you to consider yourself entitled to continue using my name after the 30th instant as a matter of course, and without my express permission.

The principal amongst these contingencies were:

1) That there should occur no collisions between the Manchester house, and that of my brothers^a in Barmen. I am glad to say, that

^a Hermann and Rudolf Engels

none such have occurred, and that moreover, from what I heard of my brothers last autumn, none are likely to occur, the two houses scarcely ever coming into competition.

2) That Mr Acton's views as to my not incurring any liability should prove correct.

Now I have consulted upon this point ever so many lawyers, and they are one and all unanimous as to my responsibility for all the debts of the firm so long as I allow my name to remain in the firm.

If you would be good enough to send me Mr Acton's opinion on the point written by himself, I believe I could make short work of this misunderstanding.

The point is so notorious, that it is laid down in plain terms in all handbooks on the law of partnership. I quote from one by a barrister of high reputation:

'If any retiring partner consent to be held out to the public as connected with the firm, as for instance by allowing his name to be written over the shop, or used in the advertisements or invoices of the firm, *he will continue liable.*'

So that, if there can be anything positive in English Law (which I should not risk to assert), it must be this point.

But even supposing Mr Acton to be right on this point, and all the other lawyers wrong, the contrary opinion of the others would merely prove the point to be such a knotty one that, if the very improbable case now under consideration should ever occur, and if my money should not go to the Creditors, it would surely go to the Chancery Lawyers.²⁵

However, I shall be quite willing to give my consent to the old firm being continued for a period not extending beyond the 30th June 1875, on the condition of your giving me a distinct promise, that after the 30th of September 1875 my name shall not any longer appear as that of a partner on any goods sent out by the firm.

You see I am quite willing to do everything to facilitate the change of firm, giving you the use of my name there, where it is of most value to you, on the tickets and wrappers, for three months longer than you ask for.

Hoping that this letter will find you in good health and spirits, I remain

Yours very truly,

Fr. Engels

13

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 24 June 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have at last decided to go to Karlsbad in the middle of August with my youngest daughter Eleanor (known as Tussy). You must therefore see about lodgings and inform me approximately how much it will cost per week. What happens later will depend on circumstances.

My best greetings to the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.^a

Your
K. M.

The Austrian government would be stupid enough to put difficulties in my way; it is therefore advisable to let nobody know anything of the intended journey.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

14

MARX TO ENGELS²⁶

IN RAMSGATE

Ryde, 15 July 1874
11 Nelson Street²⁷

Dear FRED,

It is really shameful of me not to have written to you before, but, as is well known, it is very hard to find time when one is absolutely idle. This ISLAND is a little paradise, above all for the gentlemen who have everywhere turned the best-situated land into

^a Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

their own parkland. We have made a tour round the island by BOAT, have been in Ventnor, Sandown, Cowes, Newport and also on a number of walks. It is too hot to pursue the latter with any thoroughness, although compared to London, the temperature is doubtless very moderate.

Religion seems to thrive here among the NATIVES, but apart from that they are practical people. 'VOTE FOR STANLEY, THE RICH MAN', we found on posters all over the district. The Town Council of Ryde, on which various members of the Ryde Pier and Railway Company have seats and whose proceedings replace those of the House of Commons in the local press, is a true model of JOBBING.

OUR LANDLORD IS A SCRIPTURE READER FOR THE POOR, and his theological library, ABOUT TWO DOZEN VOLUMES, adorns our SITTING-ROOM. Although he is a member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, I found Spurgeon's sermons among them. In Sandown, where I took a hot bath, I found a similar LIBRARY in the bathhouse, and one can scarcely move an inch without seeing posters advertising pious MEETINGS. And in fact, the PLEBS here is very poor and seems to seek its chief distraction in the church. It would be quite interesting to investigate how what was originally a community of fishermen became reduced IN NO TIME to this state of religious self-abasement. It is certainly not the result of 'over-population', since all told there are not even 100,000 genuine inhabitants.

My health is improved, above all no pills required. But my head, despite everything, is still not completely right.

Laurachen gave us great pleasure with her visit last Saturday.^a Unfortunately, she had to return again on Monday evening. When we went down to the pier to see her off, we witnessed the arrival from Brighton of a Temperance gang back from an excursion. Half of them were drunk. As an old Englishman next to me remarked, it was 'THE WORST LOT HE HAD EVER MET WITH IN HIS LIFE', and neither have I ever actually experienced such a mob of stunted, loutish and smutty-minded idiots all at once, the women as ugly as sin, all of them 'young people'. FOR FOREIGNERS THIS SAMPLE OF FREEBORN BRITONS would have been an amazing sight.

It is a matter of great regret that the Emperor of Russia^b didn't break his neck in Saxony. You will have seen from the newspaper reports that if the Russians promised to give Bismarck a European sanction for his Articles of War at the Brussels Congress, what they really intended was to take up the issue of MARITIME RIGHTS²⁸ on the basis of their earlier preparatory work in Paris (1856).^c If

^a 11 July - ^b Alexander II - ^c See this volume, p. 18.

Gladstone had been Premier instead of Disraeli, the trick would have worked. As things stand, the congress can only be a FAILURE.

The abortive assassination attempt on Bismarck²⁹ seems, for all that, to have momentarily turned his head. Would he otherwise have talked, despite the waters at Bad Kissingen, among other things, of 'the freedom' that he himself and those who fell in the war have fought to acquire for Germany? The handsome William^a for his part must consider it against all etiquette that no one thinks it worth the trouble to take a shot at him any more.

In France it is the fear of DISSOLUTION that makes the fellows so coy. MacMahon is obviously by no means as resolute as he pretends to be, despite his Royal Prussian Order in Council. He is too well aware that a coup d'état would make him dependent on the Bonapartists and would put a speedy end to his septennium.³⁰ On the other hand, he is afraid of a DISSOLUTION without previously regulating or 'organising' his authority as Marshal. If the Rurals³¹ put their interests before their ideological fancies, they will make it 'possible for him to rule' despite his reluctance. But has anything as comic as this conflict and its heroes ever been seen in world history? If the Republic pisses its way to survival, certainly no one will have been more innocent of the deed than the professional republicans themselves.

With best regards to Mrs Lizzy and Pumps.

Your
Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

15

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RYDE

Ramsgate, 21 July 1874
11 Abbot's Hill

Dear Moor,

Last Friday^b evening I received out of the blue a letter from Gumpert posted in *London*; he has gone there to have an

^a William I - ^b 17 July

operation and asked us to visit him when it is all over (Saturday). I telegraphed and wrote to him at once¹⁵ and have received a reply today saying that the operation went off all right and that he hopes to be up again in a few days. Depending on what he says in his next letter, I shall visit him either this week or early next, when I have to be in London on business and to fetch Pumps.

I hope that your head has finally given in to the sea air and has ceased to rebel.

The Carlists have indulged in the pleasure of shooting a Prussian officer. So the Prussian fleet can go off there and take its revenge without delay, instead of blockading you in Ryde. It seems obvious that one way or the other the Prussians will come into conflict with Spain. In the meantime, Bismarck is putting his injured wrist to good use.²⁹ There will certainly be new legislation on the press, assembly, associations, etc.

I fear that you are deceived in William.^a I suspect that from now on he will regard it as one of the chief duties of all his ministers to take all bullets upon themselves in peacetime, in accordance with the Constitution. The only aspect of constitutionalism that he takes seriously.

Friend Dizzy^b will probably want to become a minority minister once more now that his crack-brained SQUIRES have compelled him, perhaps for the first time in English history, actually to revoke two parliamentary measures passed by his predecessors: the school business and now the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.³² The jackasses don't know what they are doing by overturning the traditional unassailability and once-and-for-all establishment of laws which have been enacted. This certainly knocks quite a hole in the Old English tradition of loyalty. A few more tricks of that sort and this Tory Parliament will find itself in quite the same position as the Versailles Assembly vis-à-vis the electorate, and it will cling to its septennium just as desperately as MacMahon.³⁰

But what a blockhead that man is! First the PRUSSIAN MESSAGE,^c and then the abdication of the author of the MESSAGE,³³ and now the self-same MacMahon begs for a postponement, immediately after almost giving the order to charge! I think all this will come to nothing, the Assembly will pass contradictory resolutions, will adjourn its sessions until the winter, without any result, and will then start to go round in circles once again until a majority has been created in favour of dissolution. If it achieved anything, it

^a William I - ^b Benjamin Disraeli - ^c See this volume, p. 23.

would be a sheer FLUKE, a lucky shot at billiards, and up to now this Assembly hasn't a single FLUKE to its credit.

What a financier this Magne is, wanting to squeeze even more money from already overstrained indirect taxes! And he was the financial wizard of the Second Empire! Gambetta really looks very dignified in comparison, as he stands there with his big drum with which to convert the three men of principle, Blanc, Quinet & Co.! And the beaten Italians and the beaten French celebrate the 'supremacy of the Latin race' in Avignon and Arqua over the corpse of Petrarch!³⁴ While at the same time the German philistine revels in the *Kulturkampf*³⁵ and his English equivalent gets drunk for CHURCH AND STATE. VERILY the ruling classes are going to seed at the same rate everywhere, and even our German citizens do not lag behind the times in this respect.

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

16

MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 23 July 1874
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Fellow Citizen,

After receipt of your last letter but one,³⁶ I myself informed Rochefort of its contents, but he had already made an agreement with the English publisher who brings out the *Lanterne anglo-française* in London.

As to the delay with our publication,^a you may rest assured that no one is more distressed by it than I am. It is not, as you appear to imagine, merely a question of details and of minor corrections

^a of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

of style; rather I had, indeed am still having, to do virtually the whole thing over again. Once condemned to this thankless task I added here and there some important new developments,¹⁷ which will give the French edition—as I shall incidentally point out in the afterword—a value not possessed by the German original.^a As to my French friends, they can only be of use on a few points of phraseology.

My earlier letters must have convinced you that physical weakness alone has prevented my finishing it. My health has been further aggravated by family misfortunes: Mrs Longuet's only child, a little angel ten months old,^b has been taken from us by a sudden choleric attack, while my youngest daughter^c has been suffering for months past from a serious illness.

However my physician^d—who has given me strict instructions to refrain for the time being from work of any kind—says that a stay at Karlsbad and the taking of its mineral waters will effect a complete cure. I leave on the 15th of August, so that I shall be able to resume work at the end of September, and you have my guarantee that the task will be finished by the end of November.³⁷ At present the delay cannot be of much importance, seeing that the dead season has begun.

In any case, the previous delays, for which I was in no way responsible, and the total lack of publicity occasioned by the state of affairs in Paris, had long since killed off sales by instalment.³⁸ I have in my hands a letter from you (from San Sebastian) in which you say so categorically, adding that it would be impossible to set things in motion again until after the sale of the complete work.

I shall always be most grateful for the interest you have taken in this publication and for the patience with which you have put up with tiresome incidents. The need for a scientific basis for socialism is making itself increasingly felt in France, as everywhere else.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in the newspaper *Les Lettres françaises*, No. 310, Paris, 4 mai 1950

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a See present edition, Vol. 35. - ^b Charles Longuet - ^c Eleanor Marx - ^d Eduard Gumpert

17

ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 2 August 1874
11 Abbot's Hill

My dear Jenny,

I was sorry I did not see you again before my return and now write to you to remind you of your promise to come over here for a short time.³⁹ We are staying here till Tuesday fortnight and can accommodate you any day. After all you have gone through both bodily and mentally during these last weeks, it is absolutely necessary for you to have some change of air and change of scene, and I am sure you require the seaside quite as much as Mohr and Tussy require Karlsbad. Do take me for your doctor for the nonce and let me prescribe a short term of sea air for you. The sooner you come the better it will be for you. Mrs E.^a was quite vexed I had not brought you with me there and then. She and Pumps send their loves to you.

Please remember me to Longuet and believe me yours ever faithfully and affectionately

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

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time

18

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 4 August 1874

DEAR FRED,

Jennychen will join you the day after tomorrow; she'll probably leave by the 12 a.m. train from Maitland Station, Kentish Town. I shall come down with her for the day.³⁹

^a Lizzie Burns

My four referees, Manning, Matheson, Seton and Adcock, all assembled at the SOLICITOR'S at precisely 12 o'clock on Saturday; the various STATEMENTS before the MAGISTRATE were taken care of and the papers were delivered to the HOME OFFICE by the SOLICITOR the same day. He thinks that a decision can be expected this week.⁴⁰

Enclosed a letter from Lafargue of which I forgot to inform you.

For the last two days I have had the beginnings of a carbuncle on the left buttock. It will probably succumb to the mercury ointment. Sleep badly; I had taken the little chap^a to my heart. Best regards to all at home.

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

19

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁴¹

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Sorge,

My long silence cannot be excused at all; *cependant il y a des circonstances atténuantes*.^b That damned liver complaint has made such headway that I was positively unable to continue the revision of the French translation^c (which actually amounts almost to complete rewriting), and I am very unwillingly submitting to the doctor's^d orders that I go to Karlsbad. I am being assured that after my return I shall be fully able to work again, and being *unable* to work is indeed a death sentence for any man who is not a beast. The journey is expensive and so is the stay there, and what is more, it is not certain whether the foolish Austrian government might not expel me! The Prussians would scarcely be

^a Charles Longuet - ^b however, there are extenuating circumstances - ^c of the first volume of *Capital* - ^d Eduard Gumpert's

so stupid, but they like to talk the Austrians into such compromising measures; and I actually believe that the false newspaper reports that Rochefort wants to go to Karlsbad, etc., stem from Mr Stieber and are, in the final analysis, aimed at me. I have neither time nor money to waste and have therefore decided to apply for British naturalisation,⁴⁰ but it is very likely that the British HOME MINISTER,^a who decides on naturalisation like a sultan, will upset my plans. The matter will probably be decided this week. In any event, I am going to Karlsbad, if only because of my youngest daughter^b who was seriously, dangerously ill, is only now able to travel again, and has also been told by her doctor^c to go to Karlsbad.

About a week ago we were afflicted by a great misfortune, the death of Jenny's (Mme Longuet's) eleven-month-old BABY,^d a truly lovable child. He fell victim to a *foudroyant*^e attack of gastro-enteritis.

I have given Beifuss a receipt for the monies transferred to me (and which would have been of much greater use in New York, since I need American things from time to time, publications, I mean). You must also convey my thanks to Section I for the splendid box of cigars.

The few Frenchmen (I mean of those who still stuck to us in The Hague) later turned out for the most part to be rascals, in particular M. Le Moussu, who cheated me and others out of significant sums of money^f and who then resorted to infamous slanders in order to whitewash his character and present himself as an innocent whose beautiful soul has gone unappreciated.

In England the International is as good as dead for the present. The Federal Council in London exists as such only in name, although some of its members are active individually. The great event over here is the reawakening of the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.¹⁹ The failure of their initial efforts does no harm, *au contraire*. As for the urban workers, it is regrettable that the whole gang of leaders did not get into Parliament. That is the surest way of getting rid of the rascals.

In France workers' syndicates are being organised in the various big cities and are in correspondence with one another. They confine themselves to *purely professional* matters, nor can they do anything else. Otherwise they would be suppressed without further ado. In this way they are keeping some sort of

^a Robert Lowe - ^b Eleanor - ^c Elisabeth Anderson-Garrett (see next letter) -
^d Charles - ^e sudden and terrible - ^f See this volume, pp. 11, 12.

organisation, a point of departure for the time when freer movement will again be possible.

By their own practical impotence, Spain, Italy, and Belgium demonstrate the content of their super-socialism.

In Austria our people are working under the most difficult conditions; they are compelled to move with the greatest caution. Nevertheless they have made one great advance: they have prevailed upon the Slav workers in Prague and elsewhere to act together with the German workers.⁴² During the final period of the General Council in London I had tried in vain to achieve an understanding of this sort.

In Germany Bismarck is working for us.

General European conditions are such as to increasingly wage a *general European war*. We shall have to pass through it before there can be any thought of decisive overt activity on the part of the European working class.

My wife and children send you their best regards.

Your

Karl Marx

Despite errors of all sorts, the publication of B. Becker's pamphlet on Lassalle's movement^a is very useful in putting an end to the sect.

You will have noticed how semi-taught philistine fantasies make their appearance in the *Volksstaat* from time to time. Such stuff emanates from schoolmasters, doctors and students. Engels has told Liebknecht off about it, which he seems to need from time to time.

In judging conditions in France, especially those in Paris, it should not be forgotten that alongside the official military and political authorities the gang of epauletted Bonapartist blackguards is still secretly active out of which the great republican Thiers formed the *military courts* for slaughtering the Communards. They constitute a sort of secret tribunal of terror; their *mouchards*^b are everywhere, making the Parisian workers' districts, in particular, unsafe.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a B. Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - ^b police spies

20

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

About a week ago I wrote your dear wife a few lines,¹² telling her of the death of my only grandson^a and the serious illness of my youngest daughter.^b This was not an isolated but rather an acute outbreak of an illness from which she has long suffered. Eleanor is now up again, much sooner than her doctor (Madame Dr Anderson-Garrett) had dared to hope. She is able to travel, though of course still delicate. Madame Anderson thinks the Karlsbad waters will help considerably to restore her health, just as Dr Gumpert *ordered* rather than *recommended* me to go there. It is naturally difficult for me to leave Jenny^c now (I mean IN ABOUT TWO weeks). I am in this respect less stoical than in others and family afflictions always hit me hard. The more one lives, as I do, almost cut off from the outside world, the more one is entangled in the emotional life of one's own circle.

You must send me your exact Karlsbad address by all means and, in particular, make my excuses to your wife and Fränzchen^d for not answering their kind and affectionate letters.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a Charles Longuet - ^b Eleanor Marx - ^c Longuet - ^d Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

21

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 10 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I cannot leave here before 15 August (Saturday)⁴³ and shall take about 4 days to get to our destination, since Tussy^a must not exert herself too much.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

22

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, Wednesday,
12 August [1874]

Dear Moor,

Peasant War^b received with thanks.

Be so good and write at once a few lines about how you are, if you have not done so already. Jenny^c has heard from Longuet that your leg is not all it should be and she is so worried about it that yesterday she was talking about going back to see you. The sea is visibly doing her good, the bathing is also good for her and her cough is gone, as far as I can judge. Unfortunately, she is still suffering from insomnia somewhat, and I do not know what to do about that except to advise her to try and snatch a little sleep after meals, which she has just done with success.

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - ^c Longuet

In general, it would be good if you could write to her more frequently; you know how much she is attached to you.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

23

MARX TO ENGELS⁴⁴

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

DEAR FRED,

I suppose you will have received the letter¹² I posted to you last Tuesday^a? If not, we shall have to ask the Post Office to look into it, since another letter that Tussychen wrote likewise failed to arrive.

On going through the accounts with my wife yesterday, it turned out that she had had many additional expenses. So I gave her some of the money intended for my trip⁴³: £16.5sh. for the LANDLORD and £15 for herself. For the moment I do not need more than what is left after I have made various purchases for the journey, and since I do not expect to be leaving Karlsbad before 18 or 20 September, you could send me what money I need then out of the next quarter's allowance.

However, it is very improbable that I shall be able to stay in Karlsbad. Last week there was a trial in Vienna where the accused was indicted on a number of counts, including the charge that he had sent a photograph of the 'Social Communist K.M.' (as the prosecutor described me) to London. Admittedly, this charge was not held by the court to be a criminal act.

New arrests have been made at all the Russian universities,⁴⁵ and it is obvious that throughout Europe the attempt is being made once again to turn the 'International' into a bogey.

^a 11 August

HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, I shall set off tomorrow, since otherwise I shall arrive too late in the SEASON.

Tussy is feeling much better; her appetite is growing in geometric PROPORTION, but it is the characteristic feature of these women's ailments in which hysteria plays a part; you have to pretend not to notice that the invalid is again living on earthly sustenance. This too becomes unnecessary once recovery is complete.

The carbuncle did not develop into anything big, but it did go deep. Since yesterday the discharge has *quite stopped*, so it is starting to heal. A real blessing that I did not set off earlier. It could have been really unpleasant while travelling. HOWEVER, it was idiotic of Longuet to write about it to Jennychen. If there is any harassment in Karlsbad, I suppose I shall be compelled to beat a retreat to Hamburg. Borkheim is away.

With best regards to all.

Your
K. M.

Has Jennychen received the *Lanterne* which I posted off at the same time as the *Peasant War*^a?

If Rochefort fails to produce a good *Lanterne* this week, he will have to be written off. The French government is doing all that is humanly possible to ridicule other people.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Published according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

24

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET¹⁶

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

My darling Child,

I think that you will have received at long last the letter¹² I addressed to Engels last Tuesday.^b If not, enquiries should be

^a F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - ^b 11 August

made at the Post Office, since such irregularities should not be allowed to pass without comment.

It was very wrong of Longuet to alarm you with the story of my carbuncle. Yesterday morning the so-called core came out, putting an end to the discharge. I then immediately put a plaster on it, which likewise began to have its usual effect. So you can see, my dear child, that all is well in this respect.

As far as my naturalisation is concerned,⁴⁰ my SOLICITOR had not received any further NEWS from the HOME OFFICE by last night. I shall go and see him again today. Come what may I shall take my departure tomorrow evening.⁴³ At the worst I should find myself forced to retreat from Karlsbad to Hamburg, which would be vexing enough, if only on account of the expense. After a long period in which neither the 'International' nor myself had attracted any attention, it is very curious that my name should have figured again JUST NOW in trials in Petersburg and Vienna, and that ridiculous RIOTS in Italy⁴⁶ should be connected not only with the 'International' but (see the reports from Rome in today's *Daily News*^a) directly with me. The insinuation of the Rome correspondent that the INTERNATIONAL RIOTERS are acting on behalf of the Papists smells very much like a recipe provided by Bismarck.

Yesterday's *Evening Standard* contained a small LEADER which began with the words: 'THE INTERNATIONAL HAS BEEN SCOTCHED, BUT NOT KILLED.'^b This was with reference to the arrest of 80 people in Marseilles,^c something which is said to be secretly linked with the Italian farce, although the true connection was in fact very PALPABLE: *Bazaine s'est échappé*.⁴⁷ *Donc*—as *compensation Macmahoniste*—80 Communards à Marseille sont arrêtés.^d The *Standard*, which at the level of sheer police nastiness can vie with *The Daily News*, goes on to comment that these REVOLUTIONISTS become very conservative as soon as they can lay hands on the smallest bit of property, and that they are nothing but penniless rabble, etc. In the same issue there is a telegram from Marseilles according to which one of the men arrested is a millionaire. BRAVE FELLOWS, THOSE BRITISH GENTLEMEN OF THE 'FREEST PRESS IN THE WORLD'! Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that various French (Parisian) papers which I have

^a 'International Bands in the Romagna (From Our Own Correspondent), Rome, August 10', *The Daily News*, No. 8831, 14 August 1874. - ^b *The Evening Standard*, 13 August 1874 ('The Internationalist snake has been scotched, not killed...') - ^c *The Evening Standard* of 13 August 1874 also reported on the arrests in Marseilles, in an item entitled 'The Arrest of Communists at Marseilles'. - ^d Bazaine has escaped. Whereupon—as a MacMahonist retaliation—80 Communards were arrested in Marseilles.

seen—including some very conservative ones—do not make any attempt to link the Italian farce with the ‘International’.

Now to another topic. Frankel and Utin were here yesterday evening. The latter brought the news that Madame Tomanovsky has got *married*. (What he was uncertain about—quite between ourselves—was whether her imminent confinement had been prepared before or after the wedding. Nor did he have any details yet about the fortunate husband.^a) Frankel was very upset by this unexpected blow.

General Cecilia bored me for 3 to 4 hours the day before yesterday. Among other things, he told me that they (*id est*,^b as we already knew, he and his party, C. Martin) were founding a school for the French refugee children. In it, he said, *l'enseignement de l'hygiène*^c was to play a part, as well as *économie sociale*, and would I do him the favour of composing A PRIMER for this on the English pattern? He also told me with great indignation that in one of its latest issues *Le Figaro* had made the grotesque assertion that the Republic had ruined France by its appointment of 4 generals *qui s'appellent*: Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, Cecilia—*et* Lissagaray! I whispered this flattering piece of news into the latter's ear that very evening.

I am just gossiping on because I scarcely dare mention the only subject which interests you. The house is as silent as the grave, now that our little angel^d is not there to animate it. I miss him at every turn. My heart bleeds when I think of him, and how can one get such a sweet, lovable little chap out of one's mind! But I hope, my child, that you will be brave for your old man's sake.

Adieu, my darling Schwärzchen,^e

Your loving,

OLD NICK^f

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

^a Ivan Davydovsky - ^b that is to say - ^c instruction in hygiene - ^d Charles, Jenny Longuet's son - ^e Marx's affectionate name for his daughter Jenny, alluding to her dusky appearance—'schwarz' means black. - ^f jocular name for Marx

25

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁶

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, Austria,
1 September 1874
Germania, am Schlossberg

Dear FRED,

By next Wednesday^a I shall have been here for two weeks and my powder, ALIAS MONEY, will just suffice for a third week. If you should write to me, please use the above address, but put Miss Eleanor Marx on the envelope. The cure has done wonders for Tussy; I am feeling better but my insomnia has not yet been overcome.

We are both living in strict accordance with the rules. We go to our respective springs at 6 every morning, where I have to drink seven glasses. Between each two glasses there has to be a break of 15 minutes during which one marches up and down. After the last glass, an hour's WALK, and finally, coffee. Another cold glass in the evenings before bed.

I am not allowed to drink anything but pure Pumpenheimer^b; Tussy, on the other hand, DAILY receives a glass of Pilsner beer, which makes me envious. The doctor^c prescribed for me by Kugelman, an Austrian, very like the celebrated General Cecilia in his mannerisms, speech, etc., felt some initial anxiety at the prospect of my staying here. On his advice I have registered as Charles Marx, *Privatier*,^d London, and this '*Privatier*' meant that I had to pay double the usual *spa taxes*, both for Eleanor and myself, into the worthy municipal treasury. But it did remove the suspicion that I might be the notorious Karl Marx. Yesterday,^e however, I was denounced as such in the Viennese scandal-sheet *Sprudel* (a spa paper), and the Polish patriot Count Plater (a good Catholic and liberal aristocrat) was bracketed with me as 'head of the Russian Nihilists'.⁴⁸ But this has probably come too late, since I already have the municipal receipt for the spa tax I have paid. I could also have lived much more cheaply than where Kugelman has lodged me, but his arrangements were useful and possibly

^a 2 September - ^b i.e. water - ^c probably Ferdinand Fleckles - ^d private gentleman - ^e Marx is mistaken. It should be 'the day before yesterday', i.e. 30 August (see *Der Sprudel*, No. 18, 30 August 1874).

essential, in view of my specific need to appear respectable. I shall not travel back via Hanover *under any circumstances*, although Kugelmann does not yet know it, but shall instead take the southern route by which I came. The man irritates me with his grizzling and carping—and the sheer brutishness with which he quite baselessly poisons both his own life and that of his family. On the other hand, it is quite possible that I shall have to remain in Karlsbad for five weeks.

The surroundings here are very beautiful, and one cannot have enough of the walks here over the wooded granite mountains. But there are no birds in these forests. Birds are healthy and do not like the mineral vapours.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling somewhat better.

Best regards to all from

Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

26

ENGELS TO MARX⁴⁹

IN KARLSBAD

London, 5 September 1874

Dear Moor,

Arrived back safely last night, or rather at 2 a.m., after a very rough but splendid sea-crossing³⁹—waves up to 20 feet high. Jenny rather sea-sick at first, but better after *σεισάκθεια*^a; [she spent] the whole time on deck in a warm, very well-sheltered place. Her chief problem is now irregular sleep, the poor girl spends the whole night brooding over her dead baby,^b and there is nothing that can be done about it.

Last Sunday^c I wrote to you¹⁵ at Kugelmann's address, enclosing a CROSSED CHEQUE for £30 made out to him. Should you be unable to cash it, telegraph Miss Burns: CHEQUE RETURNED, and then

^a vomiting - ^b Charles Longuet - ^c 30 August

either send or bring the cheque back with you and I shall send notes. This is for the worst eventuality; I couldn't manage things otherwise, but assume that on arrival it will be all right. If the sum is insufficient, as I almost suspect from your letter which was waiting for me here,^a just drop me a line, and more will follow. At any event you must take the cure for as long as the doctor thinks necessary, and I enclose a further 2 £5 notes which I happen still to have for all eventualities—the first halves now, the second to follow in a few days. PARTICULARS OF NOTES AT FOOT.

Also waiting for me was a letter from Mesa⁵⁰—a very pleasant surprise, very nice of him.

That the cure should begin by making your insomnia worse if anything seems normal to me in view of the inevitably stimulating effect of the waters. If you keep your doctor informed about the progress of this symptom, he will modify his orders accordingly, and make sure that the matter does not become too serious.

Jenny wrote to Tussy this week—I think it was Tuesday or Wednesday, the letter will probably have arrived by now.

Jenny suffered no after-effects from the tour of the caves, so that even a two-hour trip in an open carriage in the rain last Tuesday—the weather came down on us on the way home—went off well. She was in any case well protected with umbrella, WATERPROOF and SHAWL. On the whole, however, we had constant fine weather up to the very last days, while reports are that it has rained mercilessly on the continent.

Jersey has changed significantly since we were last there.⁵¹ A tremendous amount of building, elegant villas, large hotels, dear, almost English prices in them, and at the market, too, everything more expensive; the London market forces prices up even here. The French language is rapidly disappearing, even country children speak almost nothing but English among themselves, and people under 30 almost all speak English without a trace of a French accent. Only the older notables cling to French. There are also two small railways there now on which you never hear a word of French. In the season 5 different entrepreneurs organise excursions around the island every day. We went on one with more than 150 people in 8-9 carriages. The public: philistines, CLERK and VOLUNTEER, and snobs all providing much occasion for amusement and sometimes annoyance. On such trips even in Jersey the TRUE BRITON casts off his laboriously acquired DOMESTICATION, but resumes it all the more conscientiously at the *table d'hôte*.

^a See this volume, pp. 33-34.

The growing supply of money among certain up-and-coming individuals—one can scarcely speak of strata—in the lower English middle class, and the SPREAD of luxuries and of the affectation of RESPECTABILITY associated with it, could be seen very clearly in Jersey precisely because Jersey is still counted a cheap and hence unfashionable little island. The RESPECTABILITY STANDARD of travellers to Jersey seems to diminish each year—an observation, incidentally, which we made also in Ramsgate, where no one complained about it more bitterly than the wretched barber who cut our hair so short last April.

Nunc autem domine dimittis^a—I still have a pile of things to write, and it is time to have this letter registered. Best regards to Tussy, ditto Wenzel.^b

Your
General^c

D 67, 77773 and 4, London, 13 July 1874. 2 £5- BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES, 1st halves enc.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

27

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁵²

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12[-17] September 1874

Dear Sorge,

The invoice you requested enclosed.^d As far as the German Rules^e are concerned, please look in the books to see whether the printing costs for them were paid for by the old General Council

^a But now, O Lord, dismiss me (cf. Luke 2:29). - ^b Ludwig Kugelmann - ^c jocular name for Engels - ^d See this volume, pp. 44-45. - ^e K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* (K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*).

or not. I think not; they were charged up to *me privately* by the *Volksstaat* and, to the best of my knowledge, I have never been reimbursed. However, if the amount appears in the account book as one laid out by the General Council here, then obviously the copies will be inherited by the new General Council and the balance in its favour vis-à-vis myself rises to £6.3.6. Unless you have any claims on the money, which of course take precedence, the present General Council can use it as it wishes, *if you agree*. I have advanced £32 for the cost of printing the *Alliance*^a and shall *certainly* lose something like half of it, so that there may be a nice little counter invoice at the end of the year. The fact is it would be idiotic to hand the money over to these nonentities who are only there to make sure that everything goes wrong.

With your resignation⁵⁵ the *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end anyhow. And that is a good thing. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, when the oppression throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal controversy for the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy, and Denmark had only just entered the movement or were entering it. In reality, the theoretical character of the movement in 1864 was still very unclear throughout Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, the Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist on its particular fads, Bakunin's new trash did not yet exist even in his own head, and even the leaders of the English TRADE-UNIONS thought they could enter the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the *Considérants*^b of the Rules.^c The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was beyond doubt the child of the International intellectually, though the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International—to that extent with full justification—was held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International became a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Each tendency wanted to exploit the success for itself. The inevitable decomposition set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b Preamble - ^c K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association*.

Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties.²⁰ The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a fortunate instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there too, and any further effort to galvanise new life into it would be folly and a waste of energy. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived itself. In order to produce a new International like the old one—an alliance of all the proletarian parties of all countries—a general suppression of the workers' movement like that which prevailed from 1849 to 1864 would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I think the next International—after Marx's writings have been at work for some years—will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles.

Stahl from Chicago was here. A man of much practical ability, like most German Americans. I liked him in other respects too, but this does not mean that he won't do anything silly in Germany. Even he is not entirely immune to that conciliation nonsense.

The Belgians and the Bakuninists are now holding their congress in Brussels.⁵⁴ For reports see *The Times*, London, of 10 September et seq.^a Fourteen full delegates: one German (Lassallean), one Frenchman, one Spaniard (an unknown called Gomez), one Schwitzguébel. The remainder all Belgians. General disagreement on all essentials, concealed by the fact that they did not debate, but only narrated and listened. Admittedly, I have only seen one report. The Italians announced what amounted to their resignation; a public International could only harm them, they intended in future only to conspire. The Spaniards are leaning in the same direction. For the rest, they just tell each other lies about the colossal movements they are creating. And they imagine they will still find people who will be taken in.

Mr Bastelica, too, has become a Bonapartist agent. In Strasbourg, he made approaches of that nature to Avrial, a former member of the Commune, and was, of course, shown the door. One by one, these anarchists all end up in the same way.

Mesa has written to me from Madrid saying that he will have to go to Paris because government persecution is becoming more

^a *The Times*, Nos. 28104, 28105, 28107, 28108, 28109; 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 September 1874 ('The Seventh International Working Men's Congress').

than he can bear. So we are back in contact with Spain once more.⁵⁰

In Germany things are going splendidly despite the persecutions, in part *because of* the persecutions. The Lassalleans have become so discredited by their representatives in the Reichstag that the government had to start harassing them just so as to convey the impression that they are a serious movement. That aside, ever since the elections, the Lassalleans have found it necessary to cling to the coat-tails of our people.⁴ It was a real stroke of luck for Hasselmann and Hasenclever to have been voted into the Reichstag. They are visibly ruining their reputation there: either they will have to join our people or make a mess of things off their own bat. Either course will finish them off.

Mr Jung thought it fitting to write to Liebknecht and make advances to him! Liebknecht sent me the letter and I have shown it to people who will reveal this to Mr Jung.

Marx is in Karlsbad drinking the waters to restore his liver.⁴³ He has had a lot of bad luck. Scarcely had he managed to recover somewhat in July on the Isle of Wight²⁷ when he had to return because his youngest daughter^a suddenly fell seriously ill. No sooner had he arrived than Jenny's little boy^b died at the age of about one year. That really hit him hard again. I think that once his liver is all right again the cure may more easily have an effect on his overworked nervous system. All the doctors prophesied that Karlsbad would do him a lot of good. Up to now the Austrian government has left him in peace, and he will probably be leaving at the end of this week.

The squabbles in New York, which made it impossible for you to remain in the General Council any longer, are just as much proof as consequence of the fact that the thing has outlived itself. When circumstances no longer allow a society to act effectively, when the first thing to be done is simply to keep the bond of union tied so that it can be used again when the occasion arises, there are always people to be found who cannot fit themselves into this situation, definitely want to play the BUSYBODY, and demand that 'something be done', and this something can then only be folly. And if these people succeed in getting the majority, they compel everyone who does not want to bear the responsibility for their absurdities to resign. What good fortune that we did not send the minute books over!

^a Eleanor - ^b Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet

The French refugees are in utter chaos. They have all fallen out with each other and with everyone else for *quite personal reasons*, money matters for the most part, and we are now almost entirely rid of them. They all want to live without doing any real work, their heads are full of imagined inventions which would bring in millions if only someone would enable them to exploit their discoveries, a matter of just a few pounds. But anyone who is naive enough to take them at their word will be cheated of his money and denounced as a bourgeois into the bargain. Le Moussu has behaved more disgracefully than anyone and now stands exposed as a charlatan pure and simple.^a All these people have been horribly demoralised by their dissolute life during the war, the Commune and in exile, and the situation really has to be desperate to rescue a Frenchman once he has let himself go. The great mass of politically unknown French workers, on the other hand, has simply abandoned politics for the moment and found work here.

Best regards.

Your
F. Engels

17 September 1874

General Council of the International Working Men's Association

On account with F. Engels

Account No. 1^b

1873 Nov.	Received per Serrailier		£16.-
	Sept. Telegram to New York		£1.16.-
	" 25 copies 'Alliance' ^c by post	2/-	£2.10.-
1874 Feb.	12 " "	2/-	£1.4.-
	" 12 " "	2/-	£1.4.-
	" 100 Engl. 'Rules' ^d by post	1 ¹ / ₂ d.	£12.6
	" 400 " "	1 ¹ / ₂ d.	£2.10-
	" 300 Ger. "	1d.	£1.5.-£11.1.6
Balance in favour of the General Council			<u>£4.18.6</u>

^a See this volume, pp. 11-13. - ^b The account is written on a separate sheet of paper and enclosed with this letter. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - ^d K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*.

Account No. 2

1874 August. Printing costs of *L'Alliance* advanced by
 F. Engels £32.--
 Up to now have received payment only
 for the above-mentioned 49 copies for Amer-
 ica (not reckoning postage) £4.18.-
 There remains owing to me £27.2.-
 (Accounts with Darson and Meissner still
 to be settled.)

London, 17 September 1874

F. Engels

First published abridged in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
 Published in English in full for the
 first time

28

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁶

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, 18 September 1874

Dear FRED,

We shall set off on Monday^a; we shall make for Hamburg via Leipzig,⁴³ where I shall stop off for a while and see Wilhelm.^b

You know that I am very lazy when it comes to writing, but on this occasion that was not the cause of my stubborn silence. The first three weeks were spent *almost without sleep*. Together with the exertion here that will make it all clear to you.

Although you drink only in the morning (evenings, before going to bed, we have a cold glass from a special spring brought into the house), the fact is that the whole day you find yourself caught up in a sort of machine that hardly leaves you a minute.

^a 21 September - ^b Liebknecht

Up at 5 or half past 5 in the morning. Then 6 glasses from different springs, one after the other. There must be at least a quarter of an hour between each glass.

Then breakfast is prepared, beginning with the purchase of pastry appropriate to the cure. After that, a walk lasting at least one hour. Finally, some of the very excellent coffee available here in one of the coffee houses outside the town. This is followed by a walking tour through the surrounding hills; at ABOUT noon you return home, but have to take a bath every other day, which takes up yet another hour.

There follows a change of toilette; *puis*^a luncheon in a local hotel.

Sleeping *after* meals is strictly forbidden (it is allowed before meals) and rightly so, as I have become convinced after a single attempt. So, another tour, alternating with an excursion. Return to Karlsbad 6-8 in the evening, a light snack, and—to bed. This programme is varied by visits to the theatre (which always closes at 9, like all other ENTERTAINMENTS), concerts and reading room.

The effect of the waters is to make my head very IRRITABLE. So you will appreciate how unbearable Kugelmann has become in the long run. He had been so considerate as to give me a room between his and Tussy's so that I enjoyed him, not just when we were together, but also when I was alone. I patiently endured the way he incessantly poured out his solemn, long-winded balderdash in his deep voice. I had greater difficulty in putting up with the gang of Hamburg-Bremen-Hanover philistines, male and female alike, who simply refused to leave me in peace. But my patience came to an end finally when he inflicted his family scenes on me. The fact is that this arch-pedant, this pettifogging, bourgeois philistine has got the idea that his wife^b is unable to understand him, to comprehend his Faustian nature with its aspirations to a higher world outlook, and he torments the woman, who is his superior in every respect, in the most repulsive manner. So it led to a quarrel between us; I moved to a higher floor, completely liberated myself from him (he was having a ruinous effect on my cure) and we only became reconciled once more just before his departure (which took place last Sunday^c). However, I declared point-blank that I would not visit him in Hanover.

A man who turned out to be quite an agreeable companion was Simon Deutsch (the same one I had the row with in Paris, and who looked me up without more ado here). In addition half the

^a then - ^b Gertrud Kugelmann - ^c 13 September

local medical faculty soon assembled round my daughter^a and me; all very acceptable people for my present purpose when I have to think little and laugh often. Also Knille, the painter from Berlin, a very charming chap.

Shall regale you in London with some amusing details of my adventures with Hans Heiling Kugelmann.

The more one hears of the details about the 'situation in Austria' the more one becomes convinced that this state is coming to the end of the line.

Up to now I have lost about 4 lbs (imperial weight) and even with my hand I can feel that the fat on my liver is in a *status evanescens*. I believe that I have finally achieved my purpose in Karlsbad, at least for a year. It would give me great pleasure if I could find a few lines from you awaiting me at Meissner's in Hamburg.

With best regards from Tussy and me to Madame Lizzy and Pumps.

Your
Moor

I was invited to go to Ischl (by Dr Kraus, editor of the *Wiener Medizinische Zeitung*^b) and to Prague by Mr Oppenheim (the brother of Mrs Kugelmann and a very agreeable man), but after a certain stage is reached, one longs to be back at home.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 20 September 1874

Dear Friend,

My daughter^a and I had been eagerly looking forward to spending a few days with you in Prague and we had made all our

^a Eleanor - ^b *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*

arrangements yesterday to make our way tomorrow (Monday) to the old Hussite city. Today, however, simultaneously with your kind letter, we received news from Hamburg which makes it imperative for me to choose the direct route via Leipzig in order to settle some business.⁴³

However, all is not lost. I am almost certain to be coming back to Karlsbad next year and will incorporate the visit to Prague in my travel plans from the very start. Your sister^a will already have written to you how very anxious I am, quite apart from the varied points of interest which Prague itself has to offer, to extend my personal acquaintance with yourself beyond the brief intermezzo here at the spa.

Farewell and rest assured of my feelings of friendship towards you; my travelling companion sends her best regards.

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*,
Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

30

ENGELS TO MARX

IN HAMBURG

London, 21 September 1874

Dear Moor,

I would have written to you long before, had it not been for the fact that the news from Karlsbad left me in doubt whether a letter would still reach you.

Delighted to hear that Karlsbad has borne fruit. Once your liver is back in working order, it will be possible in due course to calm down your nervous system again after the further stimulation provoked by the cure. You will also have to continue the treatment on your return and should bring instructions with you from

^a Gertrud Kugelmann

Karlsbad about how to proceed. It was absurd of you not to have gone via Dresden; the journey is much prettier and some idle touring would have done you good just now. But there is still time to visit the Holstein coast from Hamburg and you should in any case spend a few days there, it is very attractive. If you are SHORT OF CASH Meissner can give you an advance and we shall pay him back from here.

You will have seen reports of the Brussels congress⁵⁴ in *The Times*; they were obviously written by Wingfield, or whatever his name is, who was in The Hague. IT WAS A MISERABLE FAILURE: 14 people, all Belgians apart from 2 German Lassalleans (Frohme from Frankfurt and? ^a), Schwitzguébel, 1 Spaniard, Gomez, and Eccarius.—Rochat has sent us a highly entertaining account of the nonsense in a small Brussels paper, *La Gazette*.^b

Furthermore, the two Scheus^c and the restless Frankel were within an ace of destroying the German communist society here.⁵⁵ Determined to prove that they could act, they arranged a public meeting in their pub and invited the Lassallean robber band of Zilinski et Co., whom they had such difficulty in ejecting only 2 years previously! I learned of it only when it was too late, gave Frankel a piece of my mind and also gave him instructions about what to do, whereupon, naturally, he did the opposite. WELL, as was to be expected, Zilinski turned up with 50-60 men (while from the society there were barely 10 men!), packed the committee with his own supporters and they HAD IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY. Finally, the meeting was adjourned, and so we were spared the worst, but it is not over yet. Since I have not yet seen Lessner (who must have something on his conscience, otherwise he would have come), I have not yet had a reliable report on what transpired. Frankel is very peeved about his act of heroism and your wife has given him a good scolding. The Scheus appear to be IRREFRESSIBLE MEDDLERS.

In Leipzig you will perhaps have a chance to see Bloss who is being released tomorrow or the day after. At any rate, you will have heard that the Cologne workers want to publish a daily paper and Bloss has approached me to find out whether they could call it *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—Bloss is to be the editor. Since it was not possible to confer with you—at the start of your stay in Karlsbad and before any news had arrived from you—I had to make a provisional decision. CONSIDERING that this is the first time that these people have approached us IN A BECOMING MANNER, 2. that it is unlikely that we shall ever publish a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* again

^a Paul Kersten - ^b *La Gazette de Bruxelles* - ^c Heinrich and Andreas

ourselves, if only because of the provincial nature of Cologne, I had no objection *quant à moi*,^a and I also hazarded the opinion that you too would agree to it. Jenny,^b whom I consulted as your representative, was also of this opinion. It would have made a very shabby impression on the Rhineland workers if we had refused. However, if you have any objections there is still time to reverse the matter.⁵⁶

The *Volksstaat* under Wilhelm^c is becoming worse and even more boring thanks to the tendency to accept materials uncritically just to fill up space. Only here and there is there anything readable.

I am deeply immersed in the doctrine of essence. Back from Jersey, I found Tyndall's and Huxley's speeches in Belfast⁵⁷ waiting for me, which once again reveal the plight of these people, and the way they are stuck fast in the thing-in-itself and their cry of anguish for a philosophy to rescue them. This brought me back again, after all manner of interruptions on the first week, to the theme of dialectics. In view of the feeble mind of the natural scientists, the great *Logic*^d can only be used sparingly, although as far as dialectics are concerned, it goes much more nearly to the heart of the matter. But the account of it in the *Encyclopaedia*,^e on the other hand, could have been tailor-made for these people, the illustrations are taken largely from their own subject and are striking, and at the same time, because of the more popular presentation, they are freer of idealism. Now, since I neither can nor will exempt these gentlemen from the punishment of having to learn from Hegel, it is clear that there is a veritable treasure-trove here, all the more so since even today the old fellow can give them a number of tough nuts to crack. Tyndall's inaugural lecture, incidentally, is the boldest speech to have been delivered in England to such an audience, and has created a tremendous impression and panic. It is evident that Haeckel's much more incisive manner of speaking has not let him rest. I have the *verbatim* report in *Nature*, which you can read here. His acknowledgement to Epicurus will amuse you. So much is certain: the return to a genuinely reflective view of nature is making much more serious progress here in England than in Germany, and people here seek salvation at least in Epicurus, Descartes, Hume and Kant, rather than in Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The

^a for my part - ^b Jenny Longuet - ^c Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^d G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. - ^e G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Part I: *Die Logik*.

French thinkers of the eighteenth century, of course, are still taboo.

In New York, the rowdies and braggarts have obtained a majority in the General Council, and *Sorge has abdicated*^a and completely retired. All the better. It means that we have absolutely no responsibility for the nonsense any more and it will soon die a natural death. How fortunate that we have records of the proceedings!

Quant à la grande politique,^b we can fortunately LET IT TAKE CARE OF ITSELF; there will be time enough to laugh about it all when you return.

Otherwise everything here is ALL RIGHT, Jenny looked very well the day before yesterday and was in high spirits. Wróblewski is better and has used the electricity. There was never any question of amputating his arm, only of cutting out a piece of muscle in which, in all probability, a nerve end had become lodged, thus causing the pain. But he must have felt terrible and our money came in the nick of time.

Regards to Meissner from me; I shall be writing to him myself about various matters.

Warmest regards to Tussy, *à revoir*.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

31

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 October 1874
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Laura,

If I sent you only one of the three articles^c it was, firstly, because I thought you would have had the two previous ones from

^a See this volume, p. 41. - ^b As for high politics - ^c F. Engels, *Refugee Literature*.

your Mama and, secondly, because of No. 1 I had given the few extra copies I had to the Poles for propaganda, and because of No. 2 I had no extra copies at all. I send you now my copy of No. 1 which I shall thank you to return at your convenience; as to No. 2 I have lent it to a friend and as usual not received it back, so that I must get it first before I can send it to you.

Of the *Bauernkrieg*^a I expect to be able to send you, in a few weeks, a new edition with a few words added to the introduction,^b but otherwise unaltered; as usual, the notice given me was too short.

With kindest regards to Lafargue.

I remain

very affectionately yours,

F. Engels

Mrs Engels^c sends her kindest regards to you both.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first
time

32

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

London, 17 October 1874

1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Oppenheim,

A few days ago I posted off one *Capital* and one *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* for you and one copy of each of these books for Dr Gans jun. Would you be so kind as to send his copies on to him; he lives in Rosengasse, No. 17, 1st floor, Prague.

When I took my departure from Karlsbad, I did so with the intention of proceeding directly to Hamburg in order to settle my business with the bookseller^d there and then to return to London

^a *Peasant War* - ^b F. Engels, 'Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*'. - ^c Lizzie Burns - ^d Otto Meissner

as soon as possible to resume my work. I soon discovered, however, that the *after-treatment* following the strict regime of Karlsbad is not to be taken lightly and so had to spend almost another two weeks romping around Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg.⁴³ Had I foreseen this—and my daughter^a and I both regret our mistake—I would have first come to see you in Prague. *Mais l'homme propose et le chemin de fer dispose.*^b

I hope that your health has improved and that your business may one day soon bring you in this direction.

My daughter sends you her best regards.

Yours very sincerely,

K. Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*,
Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

33

ENGELS TO HERMANN LOPATIN⁵⁸

IN PARIS

[London, about 20 October 1874]

...But such was not at all my intention. On the contrary, I toned down as much as I possibly could, because after perusing the pamphlet: *Русской социально-революционной молодежи*,^c I really could no longer bear any grudge to our friend^d for the uncommonly severe and really unjustifiable expressions he had used towards us. As far as I am concerned *nous sommes quittes*,^e and I am ready to shake his hand any time if he takes the thing as easy as I do.

First published, in English and in Russian, in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Reproduced from Lopatin's copy

^a Eleanor - ^b But man proposes and the railway disposes. - ^c [P. L. Lavrov,] *Русской социально-революционной молодежи. По поводу брошюры: 'Задачи революционной пропаганды в России'*. - ^d Pyotr Lavrov - ^e we are quits

1875

34

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 7 January 1875

Dear Liebknecht,

Happy New Year!

Tomorrow or the day after I shall send you the epilogue and list of printer's errors.⁵⁹

Owing to lack of time I have not, for the most part, read the explanations of terms. Only one thing struck me: '*fleurs de lys*', mentioned in connection with Fleury, are what the brand-marks were called that were imprinted on felons during the *ancien régime* in France.⁶⁰

The essay on the banking system is downright bad.^a Kirchmann's stuff, too, would have been better left out of the *Volksstaat*.^b

With kindest regards to all your family.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a 'Der Bankgesetz-Entwurf', *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 140 and 141, 2 and 4 December 1874; 'Die Reichsbank oder die Association des Reiches mit dem Kapital', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 146, 16 December 1874 (both essays were published under the correspondent's sign K-Z). - ^b See the article 'Kulturkampf und Parlamentarismus' (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 149, 23 December 1874), where J. H. Kirchmann's pamphlet, *Ueber Parlamentarische Debatten*, was discussed.

35

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 9 January 1875

Dear LIBRARY,^a

Herewith the epilogue, together with the list of printer's errors,^b which you must supplement with the printer's errors marked by me on the unpaginated proof I enclose in a wrapper. In future the *prime consideration* in such cases must be that the proofs are sent off to me before publication in the *Volksstaat*. Correct the epilogue carefully. Your Rörig has some nice ideas about my abundance of time. He actually demands of me that I do a work for him on game laws outside Germany. Had I the time I should have no objection. But as it is, twelve hours in the day are not enough for me.

With kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
Moor

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
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time

36

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM¹⁶

IN PRAGUE

London, 20 January 1875

Dear Friend,

Excuse the delay in writing. I have been exceptionally busy, for it was not until today that I finished dealing with the translation

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht's jocular name given to him by Marx's daughters. - ^b See previous letter.

(French) of the as yet unpublished *livraisons*^a of *Capital*.¹⁷ As soon as the whole thing comes out I shall send it to you, for I have altered a lot and added a lot, especially in the final sections of the French edition.

Your consignment of pheasants and livers arrived in good time and met with a genuinely enthusiastic reception here.

I am not familiar with the Berlin paper^b about which you wrote to me; however one of my disciples here may be contributing to it, unbeknown to me.⁶¹

I now have another request to make of you. The doctors have forbidden me to smoke without a cigar-holder. I should therefore like 200 holders for myself and my friends here; they came to my notice in Karlsbad, can be thrown away after every cigar if they no longer seem usable, and are not to be had over here. But bear in mind that this is a commercial commission, the costs of which you must acquaint me with if you carry it out, for otherwise I should feel embarrassed about approaching you in a similar predicament.

My daughter^c sends you her kindest regards. She corresponds with Mrs Kugelman and daughter from whom she has recently had letters.

When you next write, would you be so good as to tell me something more about the state of business in Bohemia?

I much look forward to the time when I shall see you here.

Yours very cordially,

Karl Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*,
Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original

37

MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

London, 30 January 1875

Dear Citizen,

I have today sent off to Paris the last part of the manuscript,^d save only for the afterword, the table of contents and the *errata*,

^a instalments - ^b *The International Gazette* - ^c Eleanor Marx - ^d of the French translation of the first volume of *Capital*

none of which can be done until I have before me those FASCICLES which have not yet been published.¹⁷

I agree that it would be best to *publish* the last FASCICLES together, but that does not explain why Mr Lahure should have ceased *printing* three months ago. (He hasn't even sent me back the proofs of instalments 34 and 35.) I am hard-pressed by other work and am receiving letter after letter from my German,^a and likewise my Russian,^b publisher, urging me to complete the final editing of the second volume.⁶² So if, instead of printing and sending me the proofs as they come off the press, Mr Lahure continues to procrastinate, he alone will be to blame for any new delays and interruptions that may result. Not being desirous of writing further to that gentleman, I would request you to let him have your instructions.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

38

MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET⁶³

IN PARIS

[London, 3 February 1875]

...The Bonapartist gentry, or so it would seem, have finally succeeded in alarming the Orleanists, who will now hastily and after their own fashion botch up a republic for you.⁶⁴ But once constituted it will, I believe, also frustrate Orleanist intrigue, put an end to the Rurals',³¹ régime and potter along in its own way...

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the copy of
the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

^a Otto Meissner - ^b N. P. Polyakov

39

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV⁶⁵

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 February 1875

My dear Friend,

I am sending you today the German edition^a in one volume (I no longer have any available *Hefte*^b), and the first six fascicles of the French edition.¹⁷ The latter contains many changes and additions (see e.g. *fascicle 6*, p. 222 attacking John Stuart Mill—a striking example of how bourgeois economists, even with the best of intentions, instinctively go off the rails at the very moment when they seem about to light on the truth^c). The most important changes contained in the French edition, however, are to be found in those parts not yet published, namely the chapters on accumulation.

Many thanks for the publications you sent me. What particularly interested me were the articles 'Что делается на родине?'.⁶⁶ If I had the time I would make excerpts for the *Volksstaat*. The 'He наши'^d are first-rate people. I rather suspect that our friend Lopatin had a hand in the said article.⁶⁷

A large parcel of books and official publications was despatched to me from St Petersburg but was stolen, probably by the Russian government. Amongst other things it contained the reports, *Комиссія по сельскому хозяйству и сельской производительности въ Россіи* and *По податному вопросу*,^e things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia.⁶⁸

My health has greatly improved since my stay at Karlsbad⁴³ but, for one thing, I am still compelled to greatly restrict my hours of

^a the second German edition of the first volume of *Capital* - ^b instalments - ^c See *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVI (present edition, Vol. 35). - ^d Not Ours - ^e *Докладъ высочайше учрежденной комиссіи для изслѣдованія нынѣшняго положенія сельскаго хозяйства и сельской производительности въ Россіи; Труды комиссіи, высочайше учрежденной для пересмотра системы податей и сборовъ*, Vol. XXII: 'Сводъ отзывовъ губернскихъ земскихъ собраній, земскихъ управъ и особыхъ земскихъ комиссій, по проекту преобразованія подушной системы сборовъ, составленному въ министерствѣ финансовъ', Parts I-III.

work and, for another, I was no sooner back in London than I caught a *COLD* which has not ceased to plague me ever since.

I shall come and see you when the weather turns finer.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

40

MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁹
IN LONDON

[London, February-March 1875]

Go to it, but in jovial fashion. So stupid, that Bakunin may have *contributed*. What Peter Tkachov is above all trying to tell his readers is that you had treated *him* as an enemy, and he therefore invents all manner of disputes that never occurred.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 18 (Note 444), Moscow, 1961

Printed according to the original

41

ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM⁷⁰
IN LEIPZIG

[London, 18 March 1875]

Answered 18/3. *Possibly* 1,000 talers from me, but dependent on circumstances over which I have no control. Shall revert to this as soon as possible.^a

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a The text crossed out before this note reads: 'Answered 16/3/75. Have offered, as soon as I can make them available, 1,000 talers on the same terms as the other contributors but definite decision postponed until after the Congress,⁷¹ so that I shall be entirely uncommitted should it produce a predominantly Lassallean programme and authorities.'

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL⁷²

IN ZWICKAU

London, 18-28 March 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of 23 February and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers—not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.⁷³

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tölckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid⁷⁴ and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869⁷⁵ or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where

political guile is concerned; once again the 'honest men' have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.^a

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, like the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion. If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party,⁷⁶ for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not *bourgeois-democratic*.⁷⁷

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war^b; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect—not even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation—nay, but of a future 'international brotherhood of peoples'—of your Peace League⁷⁸ bourgeois 'United States of Europe'!

^a 'Honest men'—members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); 'dishonest'—members of the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans). - ^b the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71

There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement should have been made to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the 'International', consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean 'iron law of wages'⁷⁹ which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the worker receives only the *minimum* wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*,^a where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's,^b is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on 'Accumulation of Capital'.^c Thus, by adopting the Lassallean 'iron law' one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward—Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez.⁸⁰ And this, after Bracke has so ably demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand⁸¹; after almost all,

^a by Lassalle - ^b [F. Lassalle,] *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*. - ^c K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII (see present edition, Vol. 35).

if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this 'state aid'! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

But 'state aid' in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as 'paving the way for the solution of the social question', as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end!—then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature—for instance 'legislation by the people' such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people—that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty—that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-à-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic

government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece^a and after it the *Communist Manifesto*^b declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen*^c be universally substituted for *state*; it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French 'Commune'.

'The elimination of all social and political inequality', rather than 'the abolition of all class distinctions', is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality* is a one-sided French concept deriving from the old 'liberty, equality, fraternity', a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development*, but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* give our allegiance to a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude—public as well as private—we should adopt towards it. Remember that abroad *we* are held responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*,^d in which we are made to answer for

^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* - ^c commonalty - ^d [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархия* (for Marx's notes on this book see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 485-526).

every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders—and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh.^a The split will come; but we shall have 'made honest men' again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tölcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the 'reactionary mass'!

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on 1 April, in honour of Bismarck's birthday,⁸²

^a Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 3.

not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion.⁸³ I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm¹⁵; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly.¹⁵ I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him*.

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.⁸⁴

Ever your friend,
F. E.

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W. London.

First published in: August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

London, 22 March 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I have received your letter as well as the two from Ermen & Engels and have made entries in conformity with them. Many thanks for dealing with the matter, which has been settled to my entire satisfaction.

Today there is something else. The day before yesterday in the evening little Heinrich Ermen suddenly turned up from Manchester with the following story:

Gottfried Ermen intends to retire in two years' time and has actually allowed Peter Ermen to insinuate his son-in-law, Matilda's husband, the schoolmaster Roby, into the business as an *associé*.^a No more than a fortnight after Roby's arrival, however, he apparently had second thoughts when it transpired that the aforementioned Roby, who had been described to him in glowing terms as a man of many parts, a builder of schools and heaven knows what else, was no good at business. But Gottfried had become so deeply involved that he could find no way out and, despite the fact that Roby does nothing save study the bank account and *The Times*, Gottfried now wants to [force] him—now his nephew—onto his nephews as principal *associé* with a share approximately as large as those of the three nephews (Heinrich and his brother Franz and Franz, Franz's son) put together.

This Roby, you see, had a very nice little post on the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION, a government commission set up by Gladstone several years ago to investigate and redress at least some of the most flagrant abuses in the administration of the very considerable endowments designated for schools; he was one of the commissioners. But as soon as Disraeli took the helm he engineered a vote in Parliament whereby he was authorised to disband the whole commission and assign such work as was still outstanding to the CHARITY COMMISSIONERS who, having been elected under a Conservative government, are much more inclined to conserve moderate abuses.³² In this way our Roby lost his little post and, with Peter's help, hit upon the ingenious notion of becoming a manufacturer.

Now, the contract which Gottfried has had drawn up for this purpose between Roby and the three nephews is so framed that the three nephews actually undertake to work for *fourteen years*, in return for which Mr Roby can expect to get an income of £5,000 and they, between the three of them, perhaps slightly more. True, the two Franzes have signed but not, as yet, Heinrich, and if needs be this will enable the other two to withdraw, as Heinrich thinks his brother Franz would do, should he, Heinrich, not sign and find something else.

He then asked me to inquire whether you might feel disposed to carry on the business of Ermen & Engels in Manchester with him and/or his brother Franz and turn to account its already

^a partner

established reputation, either by simply forming a partnership with the pair of them or, as is now very common over here, by turning the concern into a limited partnership (Ermen & Engels *LIMITED*, as the firm would then be called); in that case it would have to be ascertained which of the *associés* (the *gérants* of the Code Napoléon) would be liable to the full extent of their assets—the law on this point is almost exactly the same as in the Code Napoléon. As to the capital, he maintains that he will be able to raise it immediately—whether for the former or the latter—as soon as you give your assent, and this I can well believe, for after the good years of 1870-73 Lancashire is again so flush with money that people don't know how to invest it.

I said you would be unlikely to agree to this. You had quite enough to cope with; a limited company would be unlikely to suit you and you would be unlikely to agree to an ordinary company, if only because it might entail the removal of one of you to Manchester, and that wouldn't suit you; moreover you would be unlikely to start up a firm on the money that could be raised in Manchester. In short I was fairly lukewarm about the matter.

But the fact remains that there is still a fair amount of money to be made with the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester, particularly if, as would be the case here, one starts off with entirely new machinery which will soon be obtainable very cheaply. Heinrich is a *very good* spinner and twister and has a wife and 4¹/₂ children, which does at least provide some guarantee for his performance. Franz has an exhaustive knowledge of bleaching, dyeing and bobbin manufacture and of the whole actual manufacturing process of SEWING and KNITTING yarns, including steel thread. On top of that Heinrich says that Franz has become an excellent businessman, which I can well believe, for all his talents lay in that direction. At any rate the two together would always be more acceptable to me than Gottfried. If you feel inclined to take up the idea, H. Ermen will come over at once when you will be able to take a closer look at him and question him at greater length about the details of his plan.

So think the matter over and let me know as soon as possible; apparently Heinrich can't postpone a definite decision vis-à-vis Gottfried for very much longer.

Love to Mathilde,^a the children and yourself,

Your
Friedrich

^a Mathilde Engels

Devil take the Rhenish Engelses! Trusting in the numerous assurances of prompt payment, I have let myself in for all kinds of things and am now in a bit of a jam.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to a photocopy of the original

Published in English for the first time

44

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE⁸⁶

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 5 May 1875

Dear Bracke,

Will you be so kind, after you have read the following critical marginal notes⁸⁷ on the unity programme,^a to pass them on for Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht to see. Notabene. *The manuscript should be returned to you* so as to be at my disposal if needs be. I have more than enough to do, and, as it is, must take on far more work than laid down for me by my doctor. Hence it was by no means a 'pleasure' to write such a lengthy screed. Yet it was necessary if the steps I shall have to take later on are not to be misinterpreted by the party friends for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress⁷¹ is over, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that we entirely disassociate ourselves from the said programme of principles and have nothing to do with it.⁸⁸

This is indispensable because of the view taken abroad—a totally erroneous view, carefully nurtured by party enemies—that we are secretly directing the activities of the so-called Eisenach Party from here. Only recently, in a newly published Russian work,^b Bakunin suggests that I, for instance, am responsible, not

^a 'Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, 7 March 1875. - ^b [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархия*.

only for that party's every programme, etc., but actually for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day he began co-operating with the People's Party.⁷⁶

Aside from this, it is my duty to refuse recognition, even by maintaining a diplomatic silence, to a programme which, I am convinced, is altogether deplorable as well as demoralising for the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Hence, if it was impossible to advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme⁷⁵—and circumstances at the time precluded this—they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe. But to draw up programmes of principles (instead of waiting till a longish spell of common activity has prepared the ground for that sort of thing) is to set up bench marks for all the world to see, whereby it may gauge how far the party has progressed.

The leaders of the Lassalleans came because circumstances forced them to. Had they been told from the start that there was to be no haggling over principles, they would have been *compelled* to content themselves with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead, our people allow them to present themselves armed with mandates, and recognise those mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to men who are themselves in need of help. To crown it all, they are holding another congress *prior to the congress of compromise*, whereas our own party is holding its congress *post festum*.^{a 89} Obviously their idea was to elude all criticism and not allow their own party time for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is enough to satisfy the workers, but it is wrong to suppose that this momentary success has not been bought too dear.

Besides, the programme's no good, even apart from its canonisation of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall shortly be sending you the final instalments of the French edition of *Capital*.¹⁷ Printing was held up for a considerable time by the French government ban. The thing will be finished this week or at the beginning of next. Have you received the six previous instalments? Would you also very kindly send me the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must likewise send the final instalments.

The *bookshop* of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar manners. For

^a after the event

+ Marx - Drucklegung in der Zeitung London, 5. Mai '75
2. Mai 1875

W. Bracke

Lieber Bracke

Internationales Coventionsprogramm

Die internationale Arbeiterbewegung wird wohl so gut, nach Durchführung, und nicht
an sich zu sehen, Bisher = Arbeit mit anderen Parteien abzuwarten, und
man wird sich über die Umstände hinaussetzen, das mir endlich
vorgeschrieben ist. Es war mir sicher, dass man sich gegen solche langen
Wörter schreiben sollte. Doch was notwendig, und nicht notwendig
zu machen sollte, wenn die Parteiführer, die solche eine Mitteilung bestanden
ist, nicht mündlich werden.

Die abgeleiteten Coventions-Congress werden im Prinzip ein klarer Lösung
veröffentlicht, die Inhalt, dass wir beabsichtigen, ein Programm zu machen, für
Arbeit und nicht damit zu tun haben.
Gründe sind, dass man im Grunde die von Parteiführer kongress geordnete
Anzahl - die Zahl der Abgeordneten, die man die Bewegung der
konkreten Partei einbringen und hieraus bestehen. Jedes eine ist ein klarer
wissenschaftlicher macht Partei mit der nicht nur für alle Programme die
jeweils Partei verantwortlich, sondern auch für jede Partei der Arbeit
am Tag neue Kooperation mit der Volkspartei am selben Tag. ~~Die Partei~~

~~die Partei~~
Abgeordnete haben die Pflicht, ein nach einer Nebenregierung darüber zu verfahren
lötter, und die Partei demselben Programm mit nicht einmündlich
Mittelwege anzuwenden.

Das ist ein klarer, unklarer Bewegung, die wir als ein 2. Teil Programm.
Hauptelemente = die internationale Bewegung, das nicht in = über die internationale
Programm herausgeben, es hätte man einfach eine ~~Partei~~ Nebenregierung
für Aktion gegen die gemeinsamen Sache abzuwarten sollen. Macht man aber
Internationales Programm (statt das bis zur Zeit aufgeschoben, was die letzten
durch längere gemeinsame Tätigkeit vorangetrieben war), so entwickelt man vor allem
Welt Arbeiterbewegung, an dem die Punkte der Parteibewegung nicht
die Ziele der internationalen Bewegung, und die Verteilung der gemeinsamen Ziele
man über von dem heraus erklärt, man kann sich auf keinen Programm
schreiben ein, so hätte man sich mit einem Aktionsprogramm über

instance, they haven't as yet sent me so much as a single copy of their reprint of the *Cologne Communist Trial*.⁵⁹

With kind regards

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Nr. 18, Berlin, 1891 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

45

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from a Berlin businessman^a (a very upright man and of no political importance at all, at any rate in the eyes of the world and the police), who asks me to explain to him some points in *Capital*.⁹⁰ When replying to him, which I did at once, I took the opportunity of requesting, in my turn, that he give me a safe address for your letters from Russia.⁹¹ My letter will go off today.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a Carl August Schramm

46
ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD
IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

Dear Oswald,

I can't imagine what I was thinking about during our discussion yesterday when I maintained that *teutsch* was quite a modern spelling. What is modern is not the spelling but merely the significance attached to it as being the *correct* one. In Middle High German *tiutsch*, *tiusch* actually predominates throughout (e.g. Walther von der Vogelweide). Also *diutisch* (e.g. *Annolied*⁹²). During the 16th century *teutsch* again predominated (e.g. Luther, U. von Hutten). In Old High German, on the other hand, it is *always* *diutisk*, *diotisk*. Indeed I believe that the older form *thiodisk*, *theotisk* has even been identified somewhere.

The facts are as follows: the Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian *th* (*þ*) subsequently changes into *d* in Saxon and Franconian as a result of reduction or slurring, and likewise into *d* in High German as a result of the sound shift (which is why all words beginning with *th* in English uniformly start with *d* both in High German and in Low German, including Dutch). This correspondence, ostensibly flouting all the rules, induced in 13th-century High German scribes, when dealing with a word as important as the name of the nation itself, a tendency to redress the ostensibly correct distinction resulting from the sound shift by using *T* and thus adulterating the language.—All this had been as completely forgotten in Luther's day as had the origin of the word itself. From the Renaissance onwards, on the other hand, the names handed down by the Romans—*Teutones*, *Tuisto*, etc.—were used as an etymological basis and continued as such up till the time of Jacob Grimm.

My philological conscience will give me no peace until I have sent you a rectification of the statement I made yesterday. *Règle Générale*^a: one ought not to prattle away about comparative philology after 2 o'clock in the morning.

Yours,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a General rule

47

MARX TO JENNY MARX

IN SHANKLIN

[London,] 10 May 1875

Dear Jenny,

We have all been greatly concerned about your indisposition, but after the CASTOR-OIL and now that the weather is fine, I hope it has passed.

Engels' suggestion that I accompany him to Shanklin suited me quite well in that I thought it expedient to stay there, if only for your sake; but I would not have wished him to delay on my account or, on the other hand, to restrict my freedom of movement, thereby inconveniencing both me and himself. I am awaiting the final PROOF-SHEETS from Paris, you see, and would have no peace of mind if, because of my absence, the unspeakably protracted publication of the final instalments¹⁷ were to be still further protracted. This time I have received two letters in succession from Lachâtre who is presently staying in Vevey (Switzerland). The fool expresses his utmost satisfaction with the *dernières livraisons*,^a these being, he says, generally comprehensible, i.e. even to him. Of course, I shall not reply to this stuff, any more than to his disgruntled letter from Brussels.

I have sent off the circular (now already in Bracke's possession) on Liebknecht-Hasselmann's concoction; it's a little pamphlet⁸⁷; also given the required information to Mr Schramm in Berlin^b; finally, made Willebrord unhappy by STRICTLY refusing to collaborate in any way on a journal¹² under the editorship of *Messieurs de 'L'Indépendance'*.^c I'm sorry for Willebrord's sake, but really, what a nonsensical request.⁹³

Here at home everything goes on as usual. It seems to me that the finer weather is doing Jennychen good. To her great satisfaction MOTHER Lormier has subjected Longuet to a merciless criticism of his 'French' furniture RUBBISH. Lafargue's business appears to be getting on all right.⁹⁴

I'm minding the house today, since Lenchen and Tussy have gone into town where they are to meet Jennychen at a furniture auction.

^a last instalments - ^b See this volume, p. 73. - ^c *L'Indépendance belge*

Our little garden is beginning to look quite green and cheerful.

Lopatin paid me a surprise visit on Friday.^a The following Saturday he was already on his way to Hastings where he is to spend a few months. In Paris he found that his lodgings were never for one moment free of Russian visitors, which made it impossible for him to work.

With love,

Your
Karl

Give Madame Lizzy my regards.

First published in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano,
1958

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

48

ENGELS TO PATRICK JOHN COLEMAN⁹⁵

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 May 1875

[Draft]

As to your own business, I am sorry I am not in position to become security for *anybody*. I have done it once and the experience I made then has been such that I shall never repeat the act. If it was in my power to assist you in any other way I should be glad to do it, but at present I do not see any possibility of being useful to you.

[Engels' later note, in German, on the envelope of Coleman's letter]

Coleman, [18]75. McDonnell's follower at the time of the International.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first
time

^a 7 May

49

ENGELS TO A. GOUPPY

IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London,] 14 June 1875

Sir,

If my memory serves me right, I have seen you only once in my life. Hence it was not without some surprise that I read your suggestion that I should stand surety for you in the sum of £100. In any case, I must forewarn you that I am not in a position to undertake any guarantees for anyone at all.

As for the Dupont children, I explicitly declared to Dupont before his departure that if he were to go to America and leave them in England, he would be doing so at his own risk and peril; that, having advanced him more than a hundred pounds for their maintenance and education, I could do nothing further; and that, in consequence, he could in no way count on obtaining my help again. This I can only repeat to you. Having done all that I could for these poor children,^a there can be absolutely no question of my making any further sacrifices on their behalf.

Respectfully yours, etc.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first
time

^a See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 189 and 200.

50

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV⁹⁶

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 June 1875

My dear Friend,

When I visited you the day before yesterday I forgot to tell you an important piece of news of which you may not yet be aware. Traube, a Berlin physiologist, has succeeded in making artificial cells.⁹⁷ Needless to say, they are not completely natural cells, being without a nucleus.

If a colloidal solution, e.g. of gelatine, is combined with copper sulphate, etc., this produces globules surrounded by a membrane that can be made to grow by intussusception. Here, then, membrane formation and cell growth have left the realm of hypothesis! It marks a great step forward, the more so since Helmholtz and others were engaged in disseminating the absurd doctrine that the germs of terrestrial life fall ready-made from the moon, i.e. that they were brought down here by aerolites.^a I detest the kind of explanation which solves a problem by consigning it to some other locality.

The trade crisis goes on. Everything now depends on the news that will arrive from the Asiatic markets which, for years, have been getting increasingly overstocked—especially those in East Indies. Under certain conditions, which are, however, not likely to materialise, the final crash may yet be delayed until the autumn.

One truly remarkable phenomenon is the decrease in the number of years between general crises. I have always regarded that number not as a constant, but as a decreasing magnitude; what is pleasing, however, is that the signs of its decrease are so palpable as to augur ill for the survival of the bourgeois world.⁹⁸

My compliments to Mrs and Mr Noel.^b

Yours ever,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English in full for the
first time

^a See present edition, Vol. 25, p. 574. - ^b Rozalia Idelson and her husband Valerian Smirnov

51

MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET⁹⁹

IN PARIS

[London,] 12 July 1875

Dear Citizen,

You have done me a great service in telling me all about the affair. I shall at once write to M. Lahure, asking him to let me have an unequivocal reply.¹⁰⁰

In the meantime, perhaps you would be so kind as to send me the name and address of that *managerial* Cerberus,^a as also the address of a *lawyer* to whom I might have recourse should need arise.

If the French government wants a rumpus, I have sufficient contacts with the European press to do it signal service in that respect.

Yours very sincerely,

K. Marx^b

First published (facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983 and in the language of the original (French) in *Schriften aus dem Karl-Marx-Haus. Arbeiterbewegung und Geschichte*, Nr. 29, Trier, 1983

Printed according to the facsimile
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

52

MARX TO MATILDA BETHAM-EDWARDS

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 July 1875

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Sir,^c

In your article 'The International Working Men's Association'^d there occur matter-of-facts errors to some of which I shall call

^a Adolphe Quêt - ^b There follows an undecipherable postscript. - ^c When Marx wrote this letter, he probably did not know that the author of the article, 'The International Working Men's Association', was a woman. - ^d The article was published anonymously in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nos. LXVII-LXIX, July to September 1875.

your attention. But before doing so, allow me to express my astonishment at your statement:

'We believe that an abbreviated translation of this work' (*Das Kapital*) 'is to be brought out shortly.'

I have reserved the right of translation and there exists a copyright treaty between Germany and England.¹⁰¹ I shall, therefore, certainly stop the circulation of any such epitome, *not beforehand authorised by me*. Abbreviation affords the *traduttore*^a peculiar facilities to turn *traditore*.^b Even the *revision* of the not-abbreviated French translation, published in *livraisons*^c at Paris, has given me more trouble than the re-writing the whole book in French would have done.¹⁷

Supposing that you know the translator, and being anxious to avoid the nuisance of law-proceedings, I have taken the liberty to write to you upon this subject.

With regard to the matter-of-fact errors occurring in your article, I shall limit myself to a few items.

You say:

'*Das Kapital* came out soon after Proudhon's essays on the *Fallacies of Political Economy*, and in a little chapter called the *Miseries of Philosophy* Marx answered Proudhon's chapter on the *Philosophy of Misery*, etc.

It was Proudhon's voluminous work: *Système des Contradictions Economiques ou Philosophie de la Misère*, to which I replied by the brochure, written in French, *Misère de la Philosophie*.^d The latter was published in 1847, but *Das Kapital* only twenty years later, in 1867. I suppose that you have been led into error by Fribourg's most untrustworthy publication on the 'International'.^e

Not being aware that, when giving in full the preamble of the Rules, and parts of the Inaugural Address of the International, you were actually quoting writings from my pen,^f you reprint from an address, nameless and dateless, a proposition which, you say, 'must have come from the pen of Dr Marx himself'. Unfortunately, they did not. I never saw that address before I read it in the columns of *Fraser*.^g It has evidently been indited by one of my adherents, but, at the same time, contains some loose phraseology I was not delighted to have fathered upon me.

^a translator - ^b traitor - ^c instalments - ^d See present edition, Vol. 6. - ^e E. E. Fribourg, *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*. - ^f K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and 'Provisional Rules of the Association'. - ^g *Fraser's Magazine*

Mazzini and Blanqui had never any 'correspondence' whatever with the General Council of the *International*. When the *International* was founded, some Italian workmen, partisans of Mazzini, and one Major Wolff (whom papers, detected at the time of the Paris Commune, have proved to have been a police spy, in the regular pay of the Bonapartist *prefet de police*), his agent, became members of the General Council. Wolff proposed an Inaugural Address and Rules which, it was known, had been written by Mazzini. Both documents being rejected, and those drawn up by me being accepted, Mazzini, soon after, induced his partisans to secede from the General Council, and remained, from that time to his death, the most irreconcilable enemy of the *International*.

Orsini^a (the brother of the Italian patriot) was never present at the sittings of the General Council and never gave it any account, interesting or otherwise, of any subject whatever. He had some private correspondence with me, relating to his doings in the U. States.

Potter was never a member of the 'International', Hales was not present at the Basle Congress,¹⁰² etc.

I have the honour, Sir,

To be yours most respectfully,

Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Sotheby and Co. Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents, etc.*, London, 1952, and in full, in Chinese, in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Renmin Publishers, Beijing, 1972, and in the language of the original (English, facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983

Reproduced from the facsimile

^a Cesare Orsini

53

MARX TO ENGELS²⁶IN RAMSGATE¹⁰³

Karlsbad, 21 August 1875
 Germania, Schlossplatz

Dear FRED,

I arrived here last Sunday.¹⁰⁴ Dr Kraus had already left for Gmund where he has joined his family; has sorted out his relations with his wife.

As was my intention, I am now my own doctor and, as Dr Gans confided to me more in sorrow than in anger, the same applies to one third of the older visitors to the spa. Another very therapeutic factor so far as I am concerned is the absence of my personal physician Kugelmann.^a

Though the *dramatis personae* may change, the public here looks much the same one time as another: Quetelet's AVERAGE MAN¹⁰⁵ is the exception; instead, extremes prevail—round as a barrel and thin as a rake.

I spend at least 12 hours out of doors, and once I have completed my business, my principal diversion consists in discovering new walks, beauty spots and vistas in the mountain forests, and here I am the more subject to surprises for having so little sense of direction.

As from today—when I received chits in return for the spa tax—I am safe from the police. I registered as a D. Phil. and not as a rentier, which is advantageous to my pocket. My namesake, the Vienna chief of police, is civil enough to arrive here always at the same time as myself.

Yesterday I went to the *Hopfenstock*,^b renowned for its beer, to drink my glass of Giesshübler mineral water. There were some Karlsbad philistines there, and the entire conversation turned on what is locally an *everlasting* bone of contention, viz., the respective merits of the old Pilsner, Bürgerbräu and commercialised beer. 'Aye,' says one, 'I can sup 15 glasses (and they're big 'uns) of the old stuff and be none the worse.' 'Well,' says another, 'I used to stick up for it too, but now I'm above such bickering. I drink all and any of 'em and the result's the same,' etc. Beside these

^a See this volume, pp. 46-47. - ^b Hop Pole—a hotel in Karlsbad.

sagacious NATIVES, however, there sat two Berlin SWELLS, *Referendarien* or some such.¹⁰⁶ They were arguing about the merits of the coffee in the various well-known Karlsbad restaurants, and one of them declared in all seriousness: 'It has been *statistically*' (!) 'demonstrated that the coffee at the Garten von Schönbrunn^a is the best.' At this point a NATIVE cried: 'Our Bohemia's a pretty big place and it's done big things. Its Pilsner beer goes to every country in the world; Salzmänn, the big brewer, has got a branch in Paris now, and it goes to America as well! A pity we can't also supply them with our big natural rock cellars, for they're part and parcel of Pilsner!'

Now that I've imparted to you the insights I have just gained with regard to the bustle of the world *in nuce*,^b here are some of my travelling experiences.

In London, a crafty-looking little Jew with a small box under his arm climbed into our carriage with great haste. Shortly before we got to Harwich, he started looking for keys with which to open his box in order to see, as he said, whether his office-boy had packed the clothes he needed. 'For, while I was at the office,' he continued, 'I got a telegram from my brother in Berlin telling me to leave for Berlin immediately, so I sent the boy to my house to fetch the stuff I needed.' After searching here, there and everywhere, he at last found admittedly not the right key, but nevertheless a key that opened the box, only to discover that trousers and coat didn't match and that nightshirts, top-coat, etc., were missing. On the ship the little Jew poured out his heart to me. 'Such double-dealing! The world's never seen the like of it,' he cried, over and over again. This was his story: A German Yankee by the name of Börn- or Bernstein, recommended to him by his Berlin friend Neumann, had done him out of £1,700—him, who passed for one of the cleverest traders! This laddie, ostensibly engaged in the African trade, showed him invoices for goods worth many thousands of pounds which he had bought from leading houses in Bradford and Manchester; the ship they were in was berthed at Southampton. At this he gave him the advance he had asked for. But hearing nothing more from the man, he grew anxious and wrote to Manchester and Bradford. He even showed me the replies he received saying that Börnstein had taken samples and purchased goods from them, but payment was to be made only *on receipt of the goods*; the invoices were just a formality;

^a Schönbrunn—royal palace and park in Vienna. - ^b in miniature

goods never received. In Southampton they were placed under distraint and the discovery made that B.'s shipment consisted merely of bales stuffed with straw mattresses. Our little Jew who was incensed, not only about the £1,700, but above all by the fact that such a cunning trader should have let himself be taken in, wrote to his friend Neumann and to his brother in Berlin. The latter informed him by telegraph that B. had been located in Berlin, that the police had been notified and were keeping an eye on him, and that he must set off for Berlin without delay. 'Do you intend,' I asked, 'to hand the man over to the law?' 'Not on your life. I aim to get the money off him.' *I*: 'He'll have squandered it.' *He*: 'Not on your life! In the City, I tell yer, he did the fellers' (at this point he listed all manner of blokes) 'out of £12,000. It's me he's got to pay. The others will have to nab 'im where they can.' But the really choice part was that, when we arrived at Rotterdam, it was discovered that he couldn't travel beyond Minden where he would have to wait until 11 o'clock the following morning before continuing his journey. The fellow cursed the RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION like mad. All to no purpose.

We had a curious passenger on board—a corpse. His attendant was a red-haired German; he told me the dead man was called Nassauer, a young fellow of 34 from Mainz, on a trip to London, run over, his family wanted him buried at home. The dead man's escort, too, was unable to continue his journey straight away. The ship's captain told him they couldn't hand over the corpse until he had completed certain formalities with the German consul.

Between Cologne and Frankfurt (I travelled straight through) a Catholic priest^a of worldly mien got in. From his conversation with others I gathered that he was on his way back to Frankfurt, his home, from Dublin where he had attended O'Connell's centenary.¹⁰⁷ He had plenty to say for himself. At Koblenz, where the carriages were changed, I found myself tête-à-tête with him in the carriage. He had come by the new route via Flushing; obviously the boat was far preferable to the Harwich *Dreckshuite*. I tried to draw him on the subject of the *Kulturkampf*.³⁵ But to start off with he was mistrustful and exceedingly reserved, though he spoke with much enthusiasm of Monsignore Cappele's eloquence. Eventually the Holy Ghost came to my aid. The priest pulled out a BOTTLE—it was empty; and he now told me that he had been

^a Mutzelberger

hungry and thirsty ever since arriving in Holland. I offered him my brandy BOTTLE, a few swigs from which loosened his tongue. He now began to talk nineteen to the dozen. When passengers got in, he cracked bad jokes with them in our mother tongue, but resumed his conversation with me in English, which he speaks very well. 'So great is the freedom we enjoy in the German Empire that one has to chat about the *Kulturkampf* in English.' Before we got out in Frankfurt I told him—without, however, disclosing my name—that he must not be surprised if, next day, he were to read in the newspapers about yet another conspiracy between the black and the red International.¹⁰⁸ At Frankfurt I learned (in the editorial office of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*) that my companion had been Mr Mutzelberger who acts as a kind of substitute for a Catholic bishop there. He too will have seen my name in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (which he reads). It published a note about my passing through there.¹⁰⁹

Saw Sonnemann, who had just made another appearance in court for refusing to reveal a correspondent's name and had been granted a further ten days' stay of execution which, however, was to be the last.¹¹⁰ Sonnemann is a man of the world, though one can see that he is aware of his own importance. In what was a fairly long conversation he explained that his principal aim was to involve the petty bourgeoisie in the Social-Democratic movement. The financial strength of his paper lay in its being avowedly the best commercial and stock-market paper in southern Germany. He was, he said, well aware of the service his paper rendered as political retailer of the workers' press. By contrast, however, that party did nothing for him. He had, for instance, taken on Vahlteich as correspondent; but the latter had been *forbidden* to act as such by the Executive Committee of the united party.¹¹¹ In the Reichstag, he said, Liebknecht's attitude was unduly demagogic; Bebel, on the other hand, was accorded the most universal acclaim, etc. I shall see him again on my return journey. I also saw Dr Guido Weiss who is spending a few days with his daughter (wife of Dr Stern, one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*). Had I arrived at the office a little earlier, I would have had the misfortune to encounter Karl Mayer from Swabia (the former *Beobachter* man).

Incidentally, business in Frankfurt and all the other leading commercial centres is far worse than would appear from the German press.

Your friend Cafiero is living with Bakunin and he even bought the house in Lugano for him.

And now *vale faveque*.^a I must get back to business. My kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

54

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM
IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 1 September 1875
Germania

Dear Friend,

By the time your letter of the 12th ult. arrived in London, I had already set off on my journey here.¹⁰⁴ I found it extremely interesting. I shall be leaving here a week next Saturday (not this Saturday, that is, but the Saturday after)^b and shall travel via Prague so that I may enjoy the pleasure of your company. However, urgent business will preclude my staying for more than 2 days.

With kindest regards.

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a good-bye and farewell - ^b 11 September

55

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 6 September 1875
 Germania

Dear Friend,

Having had no reply to the letter I sent you last week, I conclude that you are not in Prague. On that assumption, I shall not return home via Prague on Saturday (11th September) but direct via Frankfurt.

Au revoir,

Your most sincere friend,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
 Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
 Published in English for the first
 time

56

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁶

IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 8 September 1875
 Germania

Dear FRED,

You will doubtless have already heard from Tussy that my first letter to her, which I handed in personally at the main post office here on 18 August in the presence of Dr Gans junior, has been intercepted, doubtless by the Prussian postal authorities. The subsequent ones have arrived; the latest, which I sent her last week, appears to have shared the fate of the first, for I should otherwise surely have had an answer from her.¹¹²

This time I'm really getting on splendidly with the cure; with rare exceptions good nights, too. But I am also, or so my

numerous doctor friends say, Karlsbad's model guest. From time to time these gentlemen have been at pains to lead me away from the path of 'salvation'^a on the pretext '*praesente medico*',^b etc., but their attempts have failed.

As a second-year patient I have been promoted in the hierarchy of the springs. Last year my sources of supply were Theresienbrunn (41° R), Marktbrunn (39°) and Mühlbrunn (43.6°), while I only took a glass of Sprudel twice. This year, from the second week on, they have been Felsenquelle (one glass a day) (45° R), Bernardsbrunn (53.8°) (two glasses) and Sprudel (two glasses) 59°-60° R, making five glasses of hot every morning, on top of which come one cold Schlossbrunn on rising and one at bedtime.

According to Prof. Ferdinand Ragsky's analysis, Sprudel water consists of:

In 16 ounces=7680 g.

Sulphate of potash	1.2564
Sulphate of soda	18.2160
Chloride of sodium	7.9156
Carbonate of soda	10.4593
Carbonate of lime	2.2870
Carbonate of magnesia	0.9523
Carbonate of strontium	0.0061
Carbonate of ferric oxide	0.0215
Carbonate of manganic oxide	0.0046
Phosphate of clay	0.0030
Phosphate of lime	0.0015
Fluoride of potassium	0.0276
Silica	0.5590
Total of fixed constituents	41.7099
Free and uncombined carbonic acid	5.8670

Among the fellows calling for the celebration of Sedan Day¹¹³ here was a businessman from Barmen, Gustav Köttgen—might he be connected with the old fool¹¹⁴?

You had better watch out: Karl Grün is competing with you. He is bringing out a work on natural philosophy next spring and has already given a foretaste of it in the Berlin *Wage* which Weiss has sent me from Berlin.¹¹⁵

^a '*Heil*' in the original, meaning 'salvation' and 'treatment'. - ^b Here: that doctors were in attendance.

I shall be leaving here on Saturday,^a initially for Prague, having got a letter from there today from Oppenheim.^b From Prague I shall proceed via Frankfurt.

Dr Fleckles has just arrived and is taking me out for a meal. So my long letter has come to naught; moreover Dr Fleckles says it is unsuited to the cure. Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

57

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 9 September 1875
Germania

Dear Friend,

I shall be leaving on Saturday (11th) at 3.57 and am due to arrive at the State Railway Station in Prague at 8.50.¹⁰⁴

I shall be on my own, without any female companion^c; hence any old bedroom will do.

Many thanks for the *Prager Führer*.

With most cordial regards,

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a 11 September - ^b See next letter. - ^c Marx is referring to his daughter Eleanor.

58

MARX TO HERMANN SCHUMACHER

IN ZARCHLIN

London, 21 September 1875

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Esteemed Sir,

Your letter of 27 June reached me in good time, but the book^a did not arrive until much later, after I had already left London to take the cure at Karlsbad.¹⁰⁴ Hence the delay in replying. I didn't get back until yesterday.

While tendering my best thanks for your letter and the first part of Thünen, I shall be presumptuous enough to ask for the biography of Thünen you also offered me.^b If you do not possess the second edition of *Capital*^c I shall send it to you with the greatest pleasure.

I have always regarded Thünen as something of an exception among German economists, since it is exceedingly rare for an objective, independent inquirer to be found in their midst.

I would endorse your preface in its entirety if our attitudes in regard to 'wages' did not differ materially. Thünen and you yourself regard wages as the immediate expression of a genuine economic relation; I regard them as a spurious form concealing a content materially different from the expression of that form.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a J. H. Thünen, *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirthschaft und Nationalökonomie*, 3rd ed., Part I, Berlin, 1875 (with Preface by the publisher H. Schumacher). - ^b [H. Schumacher,] *Johann Heinrich von Thünen. Ein Forscherleben*. - ^c the first volume of *Capital* in German

59

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 September 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Ramsgate where I had spent a few weeks,¹⁰³ I found your letter of the 20th, along with a pile of newspapers, books, etc. which had arrived during my absence. To start with I shall try to get all this into some kind of order and, as soon as possible, turn to reading your article in *Впередь!*^a—so as to be able to tell you where we agree and where we differ in our views on the relationship of socialism to the struggle for existence as propounded by Darwin.^b If this does not reach you within a day or two, you must excuse me on the grounds of the many letters I have to write and the backlog of work that remains to be tackled, since for the past month I have only been able to do those things which absolutely had to be done without delay.

I do not know the pamphlet of which you speak¹¹⁶; if you could let me have it by post for a day or two, I should be much obliged.

We once more have a Portuguese paper, *O Protesto* (The Protest) of Lisbon, of which six (weekly) issues have appeared—editorial department, Rua do Bemformoso 110, second floor, management, Rua dos Cardeas de Jesus (!) 69, second floor. I still have not looked through the four issues we have received.

Would you kindly remember me to Mr and Mrs Smirnov.^c

Yours ever,

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Социализмъ и борьба за существование', *Впередь!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - ^b See this volume, pp. 106-09. - ^c Valerian Smirnov and his wife Rozalia Idelson

60

MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

London, 27 September 1875

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Imandt,

I was very glad to hear from you again at last.

I have only just arrived back from taking the cure at Karlsbad.¹⁰⁴ It has done me a great deal of good and is also the reason why I didn't know about the article that was sent to me.¹¹⁷ I imagine it originates from Barry, a very fanatical Scottish party member. The article in *Fraser's* (to which Eccarius, Hales, Mottershead, Jung contributed their share—chaps now in very low water) stems from a deplorable novelist, Mrs Betham-Edwards^a who relates, e.g., that my anti-Proudhon piece^b is a short chapter in *Capital*.

Printing of the French edition of the latter (the last three FASCICLES in particular heavily revised by me) has been constantly *disrupted by the French government*. The last three instalments, which were set more than six months ago, are finally to be allowed to leave the press. I shall send them to you on receipt of the same.

Kaub and Dr C. Hirsch, who have come over from Paris for a few days, tell me that things are going ill with our old friend Schily (he is still living at 4 rue St Quentin); to begin with, there had been trouble for years between him and his better half, health ruined, lost most of his German clients through their having to leave Paris after the catastrophe,^c has grown morose, francophobe and somewhat conservative. He could probably do well for himself in Strasbourg, but is rightly too proud to petition the Prussians.

In Germany I found much disenchantment, even among the philistines, following the sorry outcome of the milliards windfall.¹¹⁸

The whole family send their warmest regards. Drop us a line again soon.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a See this volume, pp. 79-81. - ^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^c i.e. of the Franco-Prussian War that began in 1870

61

MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS

IN VIENNA

London, 30 September 1875

Dear Kraus,

May I most heartily commend to you my friend *Leo Frankel*, the bearer of these lines and a former member of the Paris Commune. I enclose another photograph, since the first was a poor one. I should be grateful if you could let me have your compendium of the new medical sciences.^a You would already have received the French edition of *Capital*, had not the publication of the last instalments been delayed and obstructed by the French police.¹⁷ It's bound to appear some day.

With best wishes from myself and daughter Eleanor,

Yours,

Karl Marx

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, Nr. 5,
Wien, Mai 1978

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

62

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV¹¹⁹

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 October 1875
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

I am sorry that I and my wife were not at home when you were kind enough to call.

I got the *Quelques Mots d'un Groupe ... Russe etc.* from Engels^b and shall, with your permission, show it to another of my friends

^a B. Kraus, *Compendium der neueren medicinischen Wissenschaften*. - ^b See this volume, p. 91.

before returning it. This puerile *scriptum* does not warrant an answer.

Yours sincerely,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

63

ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE⁷²
IN BRUNSWICK

London, 11 October 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.^a

Dear Bracke,

I have put off answering your last letters, the most recent dated 28 June, firstly because Marx and I have been apart for six weeks—he at Karlsbad¹⁰⁴ and I at the seaside,¹⁰³ where I didn't see the *Volksstaat*—and next, because I wanted to wait and see how the new coalition and the combined committee¹²⁰ got on in practice.

We entirely share your view that Liebknecht, in his anxiety to achieve unity and pay *any* price for it, has made a complete mess of everything. Even if they deemed this necessary, there was no need to say or indicate as much to the other contracting party. Thereafter the vindication of one mistake has inevitably entailed another. The Unity Congress,⁸⁹ once established on an unsound basis and blazoned abroad, could on no account be allowed to fail, and thus they again had to give way on essential issues. You are perfectly right: this unification bears within it the seeds of dissension, and I shall be happy if, when the split does come, the *only* ones to go are the incurable fanatics, and not, with them, the whole of the otherwise sound rank and file who could, if given a

^a This line is written by an unknown person.

good training, be licked into shape. That will depend on the time when, and the circumstances under which, the inevitable happens.

The programme in its final version¹²¹ consists of 3 parts:

1. Lassallean dicta and slogans which ought in no circumstances to be adopted. When two factions are agreed, they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested. By permitting this regardless, our people voluntarily passed under the Caudine yoke¹²²;

2. a series of vulgar democratic demands, drawn up in the spirit and style of the People's Party⁷⁶;

3. a number of would-be communist propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Manifesto*,^a but so reworded that, looked at in the light of day, every one without exception contains hair-raising balderdash. If they don't understand these things, they should either leave them alone or else copy them word for word from those who are generally admitted to know what they are talking about.

Luckily the programme fared better than it deserved. Working men, bourgeois and petty bourgeois alike read into it what it ought, in fact, to contain but doesn't contain, and it occurred to no one, of whatever complexion, to submit one of these wondrous propositions to public scrutiny in order to discover its real import. That's what has made it possible for us to say nothing about this programme. A further consideration is that one cannot translate these propositions into any foreign language without being *forced* either to write down stuff that is palpably idiotic or else place a communist construction on them, the latter having already been done by friend and foe alike. I myself have had to do so when making a translation for our Spanish friends.¹²³

What I have seen of the committee's activities has not so far been gratifying. Firstly, their proceedings against your book and that of B. Becker; it wasn't the committee's fault if they didn't succeed.¹²⁴ Secondly, Sonnemann, whom Marx saw when in transit, said that he had offered Vahlteich the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* but that the committee had *forbidden* Vahlteich to accept!^b That's worse than censorship, and how Vahlteich could possibly submit to anything of the kind is beyond my comprehension. And then, what ineptitude! Rather they should have ensured that, everywhere in Germany, it was our people who worked for the *Frankfurter*! Finally, the methods

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^b See this volume, p. 85.

adopted by the Lassallean members at the founding of the Berlin co-operative printing office would seem to me not altogether above-board; after our people had confidently appointed the committee as supervisory board of the Leipzig printing office, those in Berlin had first to be *coerced* into doing so.¹²⁵ But I am not very well acquainted with the details in this instance.

However, it's a good thing that the committee is comparatively inactive and, as C. Hirsch says, who was over here recently, confines itself to the humdrum existence of a news and information agency. Any vigorous intervention on its part would only precipitate the crisis, something its members would appear to sense.

And what weakness, assenting to a committee of three Lassalleans and two of our chaps!¹¹¹

All in all, it looks as though they'll get away with a black eye, if a mighty one. Let us hope that that will be all and that meanwhile propaganda will have its effect upon the Lassalleans. If things hold out until the next Reichstag elections,¹²⁶ all may be well. But then Stieber and Tessedorf will do their damndest and then, too, the time will come when our folk will see for the first time *what* exactly they have taken on in the persons of Hasselmann and Hasenclever.

Marx has returned from Karlsbad a completely different man, strong, invigorated, cheerful and healthy, and will soon be able to get down seriously to work again. He and I send our cordial regards. Write again every now and then and let us know how things are going. The Leipzigers^a have all of them too deep interests of their own to be frank and open with us, and at this particular juncture the party would not dream of washing its *dirty linen* in public.

Most sincerely yours,

F. E.

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

^a above all Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel

64

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL⁷²

IN LEIPZIG

London, 12 October 1875

Dear Bebel,

Your letter^a wholly corroborates our view that for us unification⁷¹ is premature and bears within it the seeds of future dissension. Should it prove possible to stave off such dissension until after the next Reichstag elections¹²⁶—well and good...

The programme, as it now stands,¹²¹ consists of three parts:

1. of Lassallean propositions and slogans whose adoption is a lasting stigma on our party. When two factions agree upon a common programme, they should include in it what is agreed, and not touch on anything where they disagree. True, Lassallean state aid figures in the Eisenach programme, but as *one* of many *transitional measures* and, from all I have heard, it would almost certainly have been thrown out on Bracke's motion at this year's Congress⁸¹ had there been *no* unification. Now it figures as a unique and infallible panacea for all social ills. To have let the 'iron law of wages' and other Lassallean dicta be imposed upon it was for our party a tremendous moral defeat. It became converted to the Lassallean creed. That is something which brooks no denial. This part of the programme is the Caudine yoke¹²² beneath which our party has crawled for the greater glory of Saint Lassalle;

2. of democratic demands, drawn up in the very spirit and style of the People's Party⁷⁶;

3. of demands on the '*present-day state*' (there is no knowing to whom, if anyone, the other 'demands' are addressed), which are very muddled and illogical;

4. of general propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Communist Manifesto* and the Rules of the International,^b but so reworded that what they convey is either *totally wrong* or pure *balderdash*, as Marx has made abundantly clear in the essay known to you.^c

The whole thing is excessively disjointed, muddled, inconsequential, illogical and discreditable. Had the bourgeois press

^a See A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part II, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 334-36. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c K. Marx, *Critique of the Cotha Programme*.

possessed a single critical mind, he would have gone through this programme proposition by proposition, examined each proposition for its true content, shown it quite clearly to be nonsensical and enlarged on the contradictions and economic howlers (when it says, for instance, that the means of labour are today 'a monopoly of the capitalist class', as though there were no landowners, or talks of 'freeing labour' instead of the working class, the trouble nowadays being that labour as such is *far too free!*), thus exposing our whole party to the most dreadful ridicule. Instead of that the jackasses on the bourgeois papers have taken this programme perfectly seriously, reading into it what isn't there and interpreting it communistically. The workers are apparently doing the same. It is *this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it.

If you are satisfied with the outcome in the matter of personnel, then our side must have lowered its sights considerably. Two of our men and three Lassalleans!¹¹¹ So here again our people are not equal allies but losers, and outvoted from the start. Nor, from what we know of it, is the committee's^a activity edifying: 1. Resolution *not* to place the two books about Lassalleanism by Bracke and B. Becker on the party's list; if this was withdrawn, the fault did not lie with the committee or Liebknecht¹²⁴; 2. Ban on Vahlteich's acceptance of the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* offered by Sonnemann, who himself told Marx this when he was in transit there.^b What surprises me even more than the arrogance of the committee and the readiness with which Vahlteich knuckled under instead of giving the committee a piece of his mind, is the colossal stupidity of the said resolution. Rather, the committee should have ensured that a paper like the *Frankfurter* be served *exclusively* by our people in all districts.

...You are perfectly right when you say that the whole thing is an educational experiment which promises the most favourable results even with circumstances as they are. The unification as such may be considered a great success if it holds out for two years. But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil II, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

^a the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany - ^b See this volume, p. 85.

65

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL¹²⁷

IN LEIPZIG

...but all I can see is that the legal status of the company must have changed considerably.¹²⁸ I'd like some elucidation on this point, and also as to what guarantees there are to prevent the Lassallean majority on the administrative board from taking over the whole printing office in the event of the split.¹²⁹

From the fact of the [press's] removal, I gather indirectly that the plan to purchase a house for the purpose^a has been abandoned or become unnecessary. That is undoubtedly a very good thing, for only in a case of the utmost necessity would a poor party like ours be justified in tying up money in property. First because it could be better used as working capital, and second because, in view of the total unpredictability of the law in Germany where political matters are concerned, one can never tell what might become of the property if, at any time, acute reaction should set in.

We again have a paper in Portugal, *O Protesto—Protest*. The movement there is forging ahead, despite much obstruction on the part of the government and the bourgeoisie.

Marx has complained bitterly about the incomprehensible comment in No. 104 on the passage in his 'Anti-Proudhon'—about the condemnation of coalitions by socialists and economists alike—namely that these were 'socialists of the Proudhonian stamp'.¹³⁰ In the first place, there was at that time not a single socialist of the Proudhonian stamp unless it were Proudhon himself. Secondly, Marx's assertion applied to *all* socialists who had hitherto entered the arena (except for us two, who were not known in France), in so far as they had occasion to concern themselves with coalitions—first and foremost *Robert Owen*. The same applies to the Owenites and, among the French, to Cabet *inter alia*. There being no right of coalition in France, this question was hardly touched on in that country. But since the only kind of socialism that existed before Marx was feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or utopian, or a combination of various of these elements, it was clear that all these socialists, all of whom claimed to possess a definite universal panacea of their own, and were completely outside the real workers' movement, regarded *every* manifestation of the real movement—and that includes coalitions

^a See this volume, p. 59.

and strikes—as a wrong turning that would deflect the masses from the one redeeming path of the true faith. Thus, you see, the comment was not only mistaken but utterly preposterous. However, it would seem to be impossible for our people—some of them, at least—to confine their articles to what they have really understood. In proof I cite the endless columns of theoretical-socialist matter by K-Z,¹³¹ Symmachos^a *et al* who, with their economic blunders and false perspectives and ignorance of socialist literature, furnish the means best calculated to destroy completely the superiority hitherto enjoyed by the German movement in the field of theory. Marx all but issued a statement on the subject of this comment.

But enough of complaining. I only trust that the hopes and expectations engendered by this injudicious and precipitate unification will be fulfilled, that the bulk of the Lassalleans will prove amenable to conversion from the Lassalle cult and adopt a more reasonable view of their real class position, and that the split, which will come as surely as two times two is four, will take place in what are for us the most favourable circumstances. But that I should also believe all this is more than anyone could ask.

Aside from Germany and Austria, the country to which we should continue to devote most of our attention is Russia. There, as in Germany, the government is the movement's principal ally. An infinitely better one, however, than our Bismarck-Stieber-Tessendorfs. The Russian court party, now more or less in the ascendant, is seeking to reverse all the concessions made during the 'new era' of 1861¹³² and the years that ensued, and to do so in true Russian style. Once again, for instance, only the 'sons of the upper classes' are to go to university and, in order to bring this about, all the rest are failed in their school-leaving examinations. In 1873 alone this fate befell no less than 24,000 young people, thus totally barring their way to a career, for they were even expressly banned from becoming elementary school-teachers! And then they're surprised at the spread of 'nihilism' in Russia. If Walster, with his knowledge of Russian, were to summarise a few of the pamphlets emanating from the *liberal* opposition and published by B. Behr in Berlin,^b or if somebody could be found

^a Karl Kautsky's pen-name - ^b Engels is presumably referring to the following pamphlets that appeared in Berlin in 1875: [Koshelev] А. Кошелевъ, *Наше положение; Обь общинномъ землевладѣннн въ Россіи; Общая земская дума въ Россіи*; [Vasilchikov] А. Васильчиковъ, *Письмо министру народнаго просвѣщенія графу Толстому*; [Samarin and Dmitriev] Ю. Самаринъ и М. Дмитріевъ, *Революціонный консерватизмъ*.

25/
 Teil des Ortes unterhalb des Kirchplatzes in die Länge und Breite, wobei vor dem Eingange 2 Anlagen die
 Hauptstr. ... (160-180) ...
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А Коселев. О рѣшительномъ землевладѣніи въ Россіи

Введен. (В. Вост.) 1875.

[ТО ЖЕОБРАЗЪ АРХИВА ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКОЙ КОМПАНІИ ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЙ АКАДЕМІИ НАУКЪ ВЪ САНКТЪ-ПЕТЕРБУРГѢ]

ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ ТЕХНОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО УЧЕБНАГО ЗАВѢДѢНІЯ И СЕВЕРНОГО ТРАНСПОРТНАГО РУССКАГО БАНКА.

С. Петербургъ 1875.

1. Основное понятие о рѣшительномъ землевладѣніи, какъ о рѣшительномъ, въ противоположность тѣмъ, которые существуютъ въ настоящее время въ Россіи, и о рѣшительномъ землевладѣніи, какъ о рѣшительномъ, въ противоположность тѣмъ, которые существуютъ въ настоящее время въ Россіи.

2. Историческое развитие землевладѣнія въ Россіи, начиная съ древности и до настоящаго времени.

3. Свои преимущества рѣшительнаго землевладѣнія по сравнению съ существующими въ Россіи формами землевладѣнія.

4. Выводы изъ вышесказаннаго, относящіеся къ вопросу о необходимости рѣшительнаго землевладѣнія въ Россіи.

5. Заключеніе.

Extracts made by Marx from A. I. Koshelev's book On Communal Landownership in Russia, Berlin, 1875

with enough Polish to read the Lemberg^a newspapers (e.g. *Dziennik Polski* or *Gazeta Narodowa*) and extract things of that nature, the *Volksstaat* could become Europe's leading newspaper on Russian affairs. And it almost looks as though the next do will take place in Russia. Should this happen at the time when the *inevitable* war between the German-Prussian Empire and Russia is in progress, as seems highly probable, it will have inevitable repercussions on Germany.

Marx sends his best regards.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

[London,] 15 October 1875

Cordial regards to Liebknecht.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

66

MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS¹³³

IN VIENNA

London, 20 October 1875

Dear Friend,

You will have seen from my daughter's^b letter that, of the 3 letters you wrote me, not one has reached London, and that the same thing happened to the letters I wrote¹³⁴ and those directed to me (during my stay at Karlsbad). This bears the stamp of—Stieber! So in future write to me at the following address: Mr John Withers, 54 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, London.

If I didn't write to you from Karlsbad, it was because your

^a old name of Lvov - ^b Eleanor Marx

friends there told me that you intended to return thither from Gmund.

With sincere regards,

Your
K. M.

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, Nr. 5,
Wien, Mai 1978

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

67

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 8 November 1875
(122 Regent's Park Road)

Dear Pauli,

We got back here safely last Saturday afternoon, having stopped overnight in Bingen, Cologne and Dover.¹³⁵ In accordance with your advice we took the steamer from Bingen to Cologne and didn't regret it for one instant. The crossing from Ostend was quite good for the time of year, though my wife suffered a little from seasickness for a while. In Dover, where we stayed at the Lord Warden, we recalled how once, in this same hotel, an old Englishman with six daughters had said: 'THANK GOD, T'S THE COMFORTS OF AN ENGLISH HOTEL'—consisting of a good bed and a bad breakfast and unpolished boots, for which they charged us the trifling sum of 16/-, say, sixteen shillings.

Once again my wife and I would like to say how deeply grateful we are to you and your dear wife for receiving us so warmly and for promising to take Pumps under your wing every so often during her exile; and we are definitely counting not only on your bringing Mrs Pauli over here as soon as possible, but also on your regarding our house as your own whenever you come to London

WITH OR WITHOUT NOTICE.

With sincere regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

68

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Pauli,

In my haste yesterday I forgot what was most important of all. I am therefore sending you today per BOOK POST a parcel containing:

1. 3 numbers of *The Housing Question*
2. *The Bakuninists at Work*
3. *On Social Relations in Russia* (separate copy of the first article, omitted from this publication, is on the wrapper of the parcel)¹³⁶
4. *The Peasant War in Germany*
5. *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (1860) by me
6. the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and me
7. *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* by Marx (1851)¹³⁷

and trust it will arrive safely.

Once again warm regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

69

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I'm sorry that nothing has come of Paul's^a trip; next year, perhaps.

^a Paul Engels

Last Saturday I and my wife returned from Heidelberg where we had taken our little one to spend a year *en pension*.¹³⁵ On the return journey we drank a truly excellent Obergelheimer at the Domhotel; I at once ordered some to be sent to me and would ask you to arrange to pay Mr Theodor Metz, Domhotel, Cologne, 35 *talers*=105 marks for my account.

Cologne is a town of miracles. Thus, between the Cathedral and the Central Station, I came upon a gentleman so similar to Hermann^a as to be indistinguishable from him, save that he seemed to have grown somewhat, had a more grizzled beard and looked frightfully serious. I was only waiting—alas in vain—for him to go through the usual performance of collecting himself before falling into his arms. This miracle happened last Friday morning between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Love to Mathilde^b and the children.

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 2, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

70

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV¹³⁸

IN LONDON

London, 12[-17] November 1875

Mon cher Monsieur Lavrov,

Enfin, de retour d'un voyage en Allemagne,¹³⁵ j'arrive à votre article,^c que je viens de lire avec beaucoup d'intérêt.^d Voici mes observations y relatives, rédigées en allemand ce que me permettra d'être plus concis.^e¹³⁹

1. Of Darwin's doctrine, I accept the *theory of evolution*, but assume Darwin's method of verification (STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, NATURAL

^a Hermann Engels - ^b Mathilde Engels - ^c See this volume, p. 91. - ^d [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Соціалізмъ и борьба за существованіе', *Впередъ!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - ^e At last, on my return from a trip to Germany, I have got round to your article which I have just read with great interest. Here are my observations relating to it, written in German and thus enabling me to be more concise.

SELECTION) to be merely a first, provisional, incomplete expression of a newly discovered fact. Before Darwin, the very people who now, wherever they look, see nothing but the *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott and others), once laid particular stress on *co-operation* in organic nature, the way in which the plant kingdom supplies oxygen and food to the animal kingdom and, conversely, the latter supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, as indicated notably by Liebig. Both conceptions are to some extent justified, but each is as one-sided and narrow as the other. The interaction of natural bodies—both dead and living—comprises harmony as well as strife, struggle as well as co-operation. Hence, if a self-styled naturalist takes it upon himself to subsume all the manifold wealth of historical development under the one-sided and meagre axiom 'struggle for existence', a phrase which, even in the field of nature, can only be accepted *cum grano salis*,^a his method damns itself from the outset.

2. Of the three *uběždennyie Darwinisty*^b you cite, only Hellwald would seem worthy of mention. After all, Seidlitz is at best no more than a minor luminary and Robert Byr a novelist, whose novel *Drei Mal* is currently appearing in *Ueber Land und Meer*. And that's where all his rodomontade belongs.

3. While not denying the merits of your mode of attack, which I might describe as psychological, I would for myself have chosen a different one. Every one of us is more or less swayed by the intellectual medium in which he predominantly moves. For Russia, where you are better acquainted with your public than I am, and for a propagandist journal which appeals to the *sviazujuščij affect*—the moral sense—your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has wrought and still wreaks such untold havoc, it would not be suitable, since it would be misunderstood and a sentimental twist put upon it. In our case, hatred is needed rather than love—at any rate to start off with—and, above all, the abandonment of all remnants of German idealism, the placing of material facts in the historical context that is theirs by right. Hence I would—and some time perhaps will—attack these bourgeois Darwinians in about the following terms:

All that the Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence boils down to is an extrapolation from society to animate nature of

^a with a grain of salt - ^b convinced Darwinians (hereinafter Engels quotes Lavrov's article in Latin transcription)

Hobbes' theory of the *bellum omnium contra omnes*^a and of the bourgeois-economic theory of competition together with the Malthusian theory of population. Having accomplished this feat (the absolute admissibility of which, as indicated above under 1, I contest, especially where the Malthusian theory is concerned), these people proceed to re-extrapolate the same theories from organic nature to history, and then claim to have proved their validity as eternal laws of human society. The puerility of this procedure is self-evident, and there is no need to waste words on it. If, however, I did wish to enlarge upon it, I should represent them, firstly as bad *economists* and secondly as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4. The essential distinction between human and animal society is that the most animals do is *garner*, whereas humans *produce*. This unique but crucial distinction alone makes it impossible simply to extrapolate the laws of animal societies to human societies. What it does make possible, as you rightly remark, is that

človek vel borjbu ne toljko za suščestvovanie, no za naslaždenie i za uveličenie svojich naslaždenij ... gotov byl dlja vyššago naslaždenija otrečsja ot nižšich.^b

While not contesting the conclusions you proceed to draw from this, I would, from my own premisses, draw the following inferences: At a certain stage, then, human production reaches such a level that not only necessary requirements are produced, but also luxuries if, to begin with, only for a minority. The struggle for existence—if, for the moment, this category be allowed—thus becomes a struggle for enjoyment, not just for the means of *subsistence*, but for the means of *development*—*socially produced* means of development—and in respect of this stage the categories of animal kingdom are no longer applicable. If, however, as has now happened, production in its capitalist form produces means of subsistence and development far in excess of what can be consumed by capitalist society since it keeps the great mass of real producers artificially at a distance from these means of subsistence and development; if, by its own existential law, that society is compelled continually to raise what is, for its own purposes, an already excessive production and hence periodically, every ten years, gets to the point of destroying, not only huge

^a war of all against all (an expression from Th. Hobbes' *Elementa philosophica de cive* and *Leviathan*, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil. Preface). - ^b man was not simply engaged in a struggle for existence but also for enjoyment and for the intensification of his enjoyment ... was prepared to forego less high for the sake of higher enjoyment (italics by Engels)

quantities of products, but even the productive forces themselves—what meaning still attaches to talk of the ‘struggle for existence’? For in that case the struggle for existence can consist only in this—that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class formerly entrusted with that task but now no longer capable of it, and this, in effect, is socialist revolution.

I might remark *en passant* that the mere consideration of previous history as a series of class struggles is enough to reveal the utter shallowness of the view of that same history as a slightly modified representation of the ‘struggle for existence’. Hence it’s a favour I’d never do these bogus naturalists.

5. For the same reason I would have formulated rather differently your substantially correct proposition,

čto ideja solidarnosti dlja oblegčenija borjby mogla ... vyrosti nakonec do togo, čtoby ochvatitj včë čelověčestvo i protivupostavitj jęgo, kak solidarnoje občęstvo bratjev, ostaljnomu miru mineralov, rasteniji i životnych.^a

6. I cannot, on the other hand, agree that the *borjba vsęch protiv vsęch*^b was the first phase of human evolution. I should regard the social instinct as one of the most essential factors in the evolution of humans from apes. The first humans must have lived in bands and, as far back as we can see, we find that such was the case.

17 novembre. J'ai été de nouveau interrompu et je reprends ces lignes aujourd'hui pour vous les remettre. Vous voyez que mes observations se rattachent plutôt à la forme, à la méthode de votre attaque, qu'au fond. J'espère que vous les trouverez assez claires, je les ai écrites à la hâte et en les relisant, je voudrais changer bien des mots, mais je crains de rendre le manuscrit trop illisible.

Je vous salue cordialement.^c

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a that the idea of solidarity as a means of alleviating the struggle might ... finally gain the whole of mankind and pit it, as a fraternal society imbued with solidarity, against the rest of the world of minerals, plants and animals - ^b war of all against all - ^c 17 November. Having again been interrupted, I have today resumed this letter so that it may go off to you. You will have seen that my observations apply rather to the form, to the method, of your attack than to its substance. I hope you will find them sufficiently clear; I wrote them in haste and, upon rereading them, find many words I should like to alter, but I fear to make the manuscript unduly illegible.

With cordial regards.

71

ENGELS TO PAUL KERSTEN

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 November 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Kersten,

I have just received your esteemed note of this morning¹⁴⁰ and hasten to inform you that I shall be pleased to see you and your friend at my house next Sunday evening at about six o'clock.

Yours faithfully,
F. Engels

[Engels' later note on Kersten's letter]

[18]75. Kersten has not been seen any more.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

72

MARX TO MOREL

[London, probably autumn 1875]

Monsieur Morel,

Be so kind as to let me know, through Mr Theisz, your neighbour, what has become of the three copies of *Capital*^a which you received from me.

Salutations,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

^a the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

73

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV¹⁴¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 December 1875
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

A carbuncle (and on my left nipple to boot)—which you may actually inspect for yourself by coming to call on me—makes it quite impossible for me to go out in the evening to attend the meeting of 4 December. For that matter, I should only have reiterated the opinion I have upheld for the past thirty years,¹⁴² namely that the emancipation of Poland is one of the preconditions for the emancipation of the working class in Europe. The new conspiracies of the Holy Alliance¹⁴³ provide further proof of this.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in full, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

74

ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI¹⁴¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 December 1875, midday
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Wróblewski,

This morning I awoke with so violent a cold in the head that it almost prevents me from talking. Hence, to my great regret, it will not be possible for me to attend your Polish meeting tonight, the more so since the evening promises to be one which will combine

all the advantages of the Polish climate with the pleasures of an English fog.

My feelings for the cause of the Polish people, feelings to which I am sorry not to be able to give expression tonight, will always remain the same; I shall always regard the liberation of Poland as being one of the foundation stones of the ultimate liberation of the European proletariat and, in particular, of the liberation of the other Slav nationalities. So long as the division and the subjection of the Polish people continues, so, too, will endure and reproduce itself with fatal inevitability the Holy Alliance between those who partitioned Poland, an alliance which signifies nothing but bondage for the Russian, Hungarian and German peoples, just as it does for the Polish people. Long Live Poland!

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

75

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 December 1875

Dear Lessner,

Frankel, who was imprudent enough to live in Vienna under an assumed name, has been found out and arrested. The French Embassy are demanding his extradition for arson and for taking part in the shooting of the Dominican monks.¹⁴⁴ But this is nonsensical, for a country does not extradite its own nationals but only foreigners, assuming in the first place that there could be any question of extradition here. He will probably get off with a token punishment for using a false name.

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

76

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV¹¹⁹

IN LONDON

[London, 17 December 1875]

Dear Friend,

Our good Leblanc is very ill and likes to be visited. *Definite* limits were set for the last sheets (i.e. the last instalment, 44th, of the French edition of *Capital*).¹⁷ Mr Lachâtre alleged that things had been so arranged with the printers that it would be impossible to go beyond the 44th sheet. This meant that I had to sacrifice the subject *index which had already been drawn up*. If I find a copy of it, I will send it to you.

Yours ever,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

1876

77

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹⁴⁵

IN HOBOKEN

*London, 4 April 1876**41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.*(PAY ATTENTION TO THE ADDRESS; IT IS 41 NOW
INSTEAD OF 1, BUT SAME STREET)

My dear Friend,

It gave me great pleasure to see your handwriting again at last. My interpretation of your silence was correct, that is to say it tallied with your own explanation. I assure that we over here have also experienced more than enough mudslinging, though it was not done in so brazenly public a manner (and even that wasn't lacking in the early days after the Hague Congress²⁰). But here one might say with Chernyshevsky: 'He who treads the path of history must not be afraid of getting besmirched'.¹⁴⁶

I sent you the last fifteen *livraisons du*^a *Capital*^b at the beginning of January, namely on *Monday 3 January* (I made a note of every copy I sent off at that time, which is why I know the date). However, I'm not surprised that you haven't had them, for no less than three copies consigned to Paris from here did *not* arrive, and fresh ones had to be sent off. At the beginning of January there is such a HURLY-BURLY in the post office over here that to send anything by post is irresponsible. I shall send you a further fifteen numbers this week. I only regret that you didn't get consignment No. 1, since it is precisely this part, in particular the section on the accumulation process, that I have substantially revised and hence would like you to have read.

Engels and I cannot come to Philadelphia¹⁴⁷ because we have too much work on our hands—I, especially, have even less time to spare inasmuch as MY STATE OF HEALTH still compels me to lose ABOUT 2 MONTHS taking the cure at Karlsbad.

^a instalments of - ^b the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

We intend to apply ourselves to the *Communist Manifesto*; but the time is not yet ripe for a decision on the appendix.¹⁴⁸

And now I have various requests to make of you:

1. Might I have my *'Tribune'*^a articles (ex, I think, Weydemeyer's effects) which had been kept by our friend Meyer^b before his untimely death. I have got none of them.

2. Could the American *book catalogues* from 1873 up till the present be sent to me from New York (*needless to say at my own expense*)? The point is I want to see for myself (for the second volume of *Capital*) what has appeared that might, perhaps, be of use as regards American agriculture and relations of landownership, ditto as regards credit (panic, money, etc., and anything connected therewith).⁶²

3. There is absolutely nothing to be gleaned from the English newspapers about the present scandalous goings-on in the United States.¹⁴⁹ Have you by chance kept any American PAPERS that refer to them?

With warmest regards from all the family.

Totus tuus,^c

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

78

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 25 April 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Pauli,

I really don't know how we can thank you and your wife for all the kindness and friendship you have shown our Pumps,^d so much so that she evidently feels completely at home with you. If her

^a *New-York Daily Tribune* - ^b Hermann Meyer - ^c All yours - ^d See this volume, p. 104.

year *en pension* remains in her memory as the happiest of her life, it is you and your dear wife she has to thank for it.

She has told us of a nice little scheme which she devised when with you, and apparently with your help, aimed at bringing us all together at Whitsuntide. Unfortunately, as is usually the case with girls of her age, she has forgotten to tell us the most important thing of all, namely *when* in June her holidays begin. If I remember rightly, Miss Schupp said the holidays were in *July*, this being the hottest month of the year. So I shall first have to extract more accurate information from Mamsell Pumps on this point before I and my wife can come to any decision.

I hardly need tell you that it would give us both great pleasure to spend Whitsuntide with you at Rheinau.¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately my wife always feels somewhat seedy in the springtime, and for that there is only one doctor—sea air, so I shall see whether I can't send her there for a few weeks, in which case the trip to Germany would do her twice as much good.

We were quite delighted when Pumps wrote to say that Mrs Pauli had decided to come to England with us. That is splendid, and we only trust that Pumps is voicing not simply a hope but a firm decision to be implemented without fail, even if the Whitsuntide excursion comes to nothing through Pumps having possibly made a miscalculation about her holidays, for after all the summer lasts a long time and she will have to be fetched whatever happens. However, we prefer to hope that Pumps is right and that the combined strategical operation will go off splendidly. Needless to say we shall do everything we can to make your wife's stay here as agreeable as possible and to induce her to prolong it until you yourself come to fetch her. *Projet contre projet!*^a Schorlemmer and Allman, if the latter hasn't gone away, would also be summoned, and the former will probably spend a fortnight with us at the seaside as he did last year. So we shall regard the thing as settled, the only point at issue being whether it takes place a fortnight earlier or later.

Schorlemmer was here for a few days in March; he looked very well and was very cheerful.

We got Mrs Pauli's letter in due course and were glad to learn that the pudding, after its long Odyssey, had arrived undamaged at its destination and had met with approval.

^a Plan for plan!

With warm regards from my wife and myself to you, your wife and the children.

Most cordially yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

79

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV
IN LONDON

[London,] 18 May 1876

Dear Friend,

Pio's address is 15 Hargwyne Street, Stockwell, S. W.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

80

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Ramsgate,¹⁵¹ 24 May 1876
3 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I have just received the two letters enclosed herewith.¹⁵² The curse of paid agitators, of the semi-literate, lies heavy on our party

in Germany. If things go on at this rate the Lassalleans will soon be more lucid than anyone else because they assimilate less rubbish and Lassalle's writings provide the least noxious form of agitation. I wonder what this man Most really wants of us and what we should do to satisfy him. Obviously, these people imagine that Dühring, by his scurrilous onslaughts upon you, has rendered himself invulnerable vis-à-vis ourselves, for, if we make fun of his theoretical nonsense, it will look as though it's out of revenge for those personalities! The ruder Dühring is, the more humble and propitiating we are to be, and can, in fact, thank our stars that Mr Most, besides requiring us to point out Mr Dühring's howlers kindly and privily to him (as if nothing more than howlers was involved) in order that he might eliminate them from the next edition,¹⁵³ shouldn't ask us to kiss his most worthy of posteriors. This fellow—Most, I mean—has contrived to do a résumé of the whole of *Capital*¹⁵⁴ without understanding a word of the thing. Of this the letter provides striking proof while showing up the fellow for what he is. All such nonsense would be out of the question if only, instead of Wilhelm,^a there were at the top a man with some modicum of theoretical insight, someone who wasn't eager to print every and any kind of nonsense—the crazier the better—and commend it to the workers with all the authority of the *Volksstaat*. *Enfin*,^b the business has made my blood boil, and the question is whether it isn't about time we seriously reconsidered our position vis-à-vis these gentlemen.¹⁵⁵

So far as that silly ass Wilhelm is concerned, all this is simply a welcome pretext to dun us for manuscripts. What a party leader!

I enclose an interesting news item from Constantinople in yesterday's *Daily News*^c; one is all the more prepared to credit the man in that the softas' revolution¹⁵⁶ goes very much against the grain with him. The affair in the east is about TO COME TO A HEAD; the Serbians' renewed attempt to raise a loan, likewise their suspension of bills of exchange and the fresh demands of the Herzegovinian insurgents¹⁵⁷ are all evidence of the extent of Russia's machinations there. I am curious to see what turn things will take.

We've had our first rainy day here; yesterday there was only a brief shower. I hope all continues to go well with Jenny.¹⁵⁸ Lizzie and I send our love to all of you, the Longuets and Lafargues.

Your
F. E.

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b In short - ^c 'The Revolution in Constantinople', *The Daily News*, No. 9386, 23 May 1876.

I have just noticed that Wilhelm has sent me the whole of Most's manuscript¹⁵⁹ in a wrapper. Who knows whether that is internationally admissible and hence whether it will arrive? Would you go and see some time if it's there and, IF SO, send it to me? I shall be staying here until the Friday of *next week*.^a Mrs Leeson will show you where she keeps any papers, etc., that arrive for me.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4. Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

81

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 25 May 1876

Dear FRED,

At the same time as this letter I am posting off Most's manuscript¹⁵⁹ in the inadequately packed state in which it arrived. I opened the enclosed scrawl from Wilhelm^b because I thought it had something to do with Most's affair. In addition, I removed from your house a communication from the GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY intending to forward it to you because I thought it was a business letter, but now discover it to be simply a PROGRAMME OF TOURIST ARRANGEMENTS.

I consider that, if one is to adopt a 'position vis-à-vis these gentlemen' one can do so only by criticising Dühring without any compunction. He has obviously been secretly at work among the literary loutish *careerists* devoted to him in order to obviate such criticism; they for their part have been counting on Liebknecht's weakness of which they are well aware. It was, BY THE BY, Liebknecht's duty, and he should be told as much, to let these laddies know that he had repeatedly asked for such criticism and that we had long (for the business started after my first return from Karlsbad⁴³) refused on the grounds that the work was too

^a 2 June - ^b Wilhelm Liebknecht

paltry. As he knows, and as his letters to us go to prove, the thing only seemed worth doing when, by repeatedly passing on to us the louts' letters, he drew our attention to the threat of debased propaganda within the party.¹⁵⁵

As regards Mr Most *in specie*,^a he must by the nature of things regard Dühring as an authentic thinker because of the latter's having broadcast the discovery, not only in a lecture to workers in Berlin, but subsequently in black and white, that Most was the only one to have made some sense out of *Capital*.¹⁶⁰ Dühring systematically flatters these louts—something they cannot complain we do. Most and Co.'s vexation over the way you *dumbfounded* the Swabian Proudhonist¹⁶¹ is typical. It serves as a terrible example before which they quail, and they are trying to prevent such a thing ever happening again by means of tittle-tattle, stalwart bonhomie and outraged brotherly love.

Certainly, the root of the trouble is and will remain Liebknecht's want of manuscripts, in which, generally speaking, his editorial talent seems to be concentrated. However, the pettiness with which he avoids according Becker's history of the French Commune^b so much as a word of recognition, let alone publishing an extract or two from it, proves that even the want of manuscripts is not the *only* governing factor.

You may remember that, in a recent conversation we had about Turkey, I drew your attention to the possibility of a puritan party (based on the Koran) amongst the Turks. This has now supervened. According to a news item from Constantinople in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, there is a plan, if things continue as they are, to remove the Sultan and put his brother in his place.¹⁶² The correspondent, who speaks Turkish and has much personal intercourse with Turks in Constantinople, insists *inter alia* that they know very well what Ignatiyev is up to, and that he is the source of all the disquieting rumours circulating among the Christians in Constantinople. Of one thing we may be sure: the Turks are not to be got rid of WITHOUT HARNESS ON THEIR BACK, and the Russians, who did not dare (or, perhaps, could not, due to lack of money) act swiftly and thus seize time by the forelock, may perhaps by the present ADVENTURE contribute more to the collapse of their own régime than to that of the Turks in Europe.

Jennychen is well, but the little boy is somewhat seedy, though it's nothing of consequence, the doctor says. He is to be called

^a in particular - ^b B. Becker, *Geschichte der Revolutionären Pariser Kommune in den Jahren 1789 bis 1794*.

Jean (after Longuet's father) Laurent (NICKNAME OF LAURA) Frederick (in your honour).

The Copenhagen people have invited me by telegram, as well as in a letter to Pio (who left on Monday^a), to attend a working men's congress (beginning of June).¹⁶³ It's fantastic to suppose I should now be able to give guest performances of this kind.

Today our park has been boarded off. Funny how ancient Teutonic customs survive as curiosities in England. This is the safeguarding of 'genuine freehold' by fencing off and hence separating it from the common mark.

Pumps has written long letters to my wife and Tussy. Even if the spelling sometimes isn't up to scratch, she has really made astonishing progress in the matter of style and ease of expression, which are far more important.

Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your
K. Marx

What a jackass Dizzy^b has become! At a moment when England is completely isolated, he insists on keeping a dozen or more Fenians to himself!¹⁶⁴

As regards 'Richter',^c Liebknecht shouldn't confine himself to mere HINTS when uttering warnings of this kind.¹⁶⁵ While there may be a possibility that my address book disappeared along with Richter, I don't for the time being believe it.

The fact of Eichhoff's working for Arnim was, of course, known to us long before Liebknecht, nor is there anything in the least surprising about it, in view of Eichhoff's hatred of Bismarck and Stieber. Notabene, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* there is a Prussian warrant against Arnim, in accordance with which he is to be relieved of his money and handed over to the Berlin police; the authorities abroad will have their expenses paid and are assured of their services being requited in kind! (This on account of the *suppression of documents* for which he had already been sentenced.)¹⁶⁶

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a 22 May - ^b Benjamin Disraeli - ^c Dmitry Richter

82

ENGELS TO MARX⁵²

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 28 May 1876

Dear Moor,

It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie in a warm bed—study Russian agrarian relations in particular and rent in general without anything to interrupt you—but I have to sit on a hard bench, drink cold wine, and all of a sudden drop everything else and break a lance with the tedious Dühring.¹⁵⁵ However, it can't be helped, I suppose, even if it means letting myself in for a controversy to which there is no foreseeable end; for otherwise I'll get no peace, and anyway, *amicus*^a Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*¹⁵⁹ has shown me exactly from what quarter and how the attack must be made. It's essential to include that book as well because in many crucial points it reveals the weak sides and foundations of the arguments contained in the *Ökonomie* more clearly.¹⁶⁷ I shall order it straight away. For there's no philosophy proper—formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.—in it at all, rather it's supposed to present a course in general knowledge in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are discussed in what purports to be an internal relation. Again, there is a whole chapter in which the future, or so-called 'free', society is depicted in its less economic aspects and, *inter alia*, a syllabus is already laid down for the primary and secondary schools of the future. Here, then, one finds platitudinousness in an even simpler form than in the political economy, so that, by taking both books together, one can kill two birds with one stone by exposing that side of the fellow as well. As regards the magnanimous chap's view of history—that it was nothing but rubbish till Dühring came along—the book affords one the additional advantage of being able to quote his own preposterous words. ANYHOW, I HAVE HIM ON THE HIP NOW.^b My plan is laid—*j'ai mon plan*. I shall begin by taking a wholly objective and apparently serious look at the stuff; then, as evidence of its nonsensicality on the one hand and platitudinousness on the other begins to mount up, my treatment of it will become correspondingly severe until eventually I come down on it like a ton of bricks.

^a friend - ^b Paraphrased words from Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice*, Act. IV, Scene 1.

In this way Most & Co. will be deprived of the plea of 'uncharitableness', etc., while Dühring will still get his deserts. These gentlemen ought to be shown that we have more ways than *one* of dealing with such folk.

I hope Wilhelm^a will print Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was evidently written. As always, Most is incapable of copying and has Dühring write the most absurd nonsense about natural science, e.g. the detachment of *rings* (according to Kant's theory) from *fixed stars*!

The trouble with Wilhelm isn't simply a want of manuscripts, something that could be overcome by printing more articles on topical questions, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Bloss' time. It is Wilhelm's urge to make good the shortcomings of our theory, to have an answer to every philistine objection and to have a picture of future society, because that's another thing about which your philistine is always pestering them with questions; he is, besides, intent on being as independent of us theoretically as possible, and in this, considering his complete ignorance of theory, he has always been far more successful than he himself is aware. But he has thus put me in the position of having to remind myself that, compared with the theoretical bunglers on the *Volksstaat*, Dühring is at least an educated man and his *opera*^b are better at any rate than the products of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen.

You were absolutely right about the Turkish business and I only hope the affair will proceed satisfactorily; during the past week it appears to have hung fire somewhat and an oriental revolution, more than any other, calls for a prompt decision. The Sultan^c—and this is the reason for the complaints about his constant requests for money—has accumulated a vast *HOARD* in the palace, so vast that the *softas*¹⁵⁶ have demanded that he hand over £5,000,000 of it, which means that there must be far more. The presentation of the Gorchakov Note of 3 emperors¹⁶⁸ will, one may hope, bring the matter to a head.

Please convey my best thanks to Jenny and Longuet for the honour they have done me; I shall try and show myself worthy of it. I trust the little boy with the three potent names is all right again.^d

My re-reading of early history and my studies in the field of natural science have rendered me yeoman service where Dühr-

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b works - ^c Abdul Aziz - ^d See this volume, pp. 120-21.

ing^a is concerned, and have done much to make things easier for me. Natural science, in particular, is a field in which I feel very much more at home and one in which I am able to move about with a fair amount of freedom and assurance, albeit with considerable caution. I am beginning to see an end even to this task.¹⁶⁹ The thing's beginning to take shape in my head, no small contributory factor being the idle existence here at the seaside, where I am able to turn over the details in my mind. In so vast a field it is absolutely essential to break off one's systematic studies every now and again, and ruminates upon what one has learnt.

Ever since 1853 Mr Helmholtz has been continuously harping upon the thing-in-itself and hasn't got it sorted out yet. The fellow doesn't hesitate to go on calmly bringing out reprints of the balderdash he had published *before Darwin*.¹⁷⁰

Lizzie and I send our love to all of you. We shall be returning to London¹⁵¹ on Friday.^b I'm very glad to hear that Pumps is doing so well in the matter of style^c; I, of course, have noticed it too, if to a lesser extent.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

83

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹⁷¹

IN HOBOKEN

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear Friend,

I am today sending you for the third time *livraisons*^d Nos. 31-44 of *Capital*^e; should you once more fail to receive them, let me

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. - ^b 2 June - ^c See this volume, p. 121. - ^d instalments - ^e the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

know immediately, then I shall pick a SERIOUS QUARREL with the GENERAL POST OFFICE here. As for meddling by Dr Kugelmann (*resp.* Meissner, which I cannot credit, though I shall inquire further from the man himself), I was greatly surprised to hear of it since I am not yet a 'goner' and hence no one apart from myself has any say in the disposal of my writings.¹⁷²

By 'scandalous goings-on' I meant what you suppose, but shan't be needing it until towards the end of September.^a

Shall send you a copy of the *Most*,¹⁵⁴ corrected by me, forthwith; didn't put my name to it because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own).

More anon. Warm regards from the whole FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

84

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹⁷³

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear LIBRARY,^b

Herewith—for communication to those concerned in Chemnitz—a copy of *Most's* thing, with corrections of what are often very bad printing errors.¹⁵⁴

Warmest regards from one family to the other,

Your
K. M.

^a See this volume, p. 115. - ^b jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht

[Address in Marx's handwriting on the postcard]

Via Ostend W. Liebknecht, Esq.,
11, Braustrasse,
Leipzig (Germany)

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

Printed according to a Xerox copy
of the original

Published in English for the first
time

85

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 June 1876

Dear Friend,

Engels will already have informed you that Liebknecht and his friends have reason to regard Richter as *under suspicion*—of spying.¹⁶⁵ If this were to be confirmed, it would also explain why my address book—containing *the addresses* of my correspondents in various countries—should have disappeared after the last visit which Richter deigned to pay me. The grave disquiet this business is causing me is solely on account of a few people in Russia.

Pio should be warned as well.

Yours ever,
K. Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first
time

86

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 June 1876

My dear Friend,

I am delighted to see from your letter that the suspicions about R.^a cannot be anything other than figments of the imagination.

Liebknecht first wrote to Engels, telling him that certain suspicions attached to R. and that he (Engels) should *privately* warn our Russian friends in London.^{b 165} Engels replied that he would do nothing so long as Liebknecht had not informed him of the facts upon which those suspicions were based. Then Liebknecht wrote saying that one evening, while in the company of several members of the *Volksstaat's* despatch department and some other working men, R., *who was not altogether sober*, tried to filch a packet of letters (from the *Volksstaat*) intended for the post, that his friends did not try to stop him, but went with him to the post office and made him post the packet. The matter was reported to Liebknecht, so that it was not he, but the working men—who had previously trusted R. implicitly—who raised the alarm. Liebknecht himself says that the adage '*in vino veritas*'^c is very far from being gospel truth, but nevertheless the incident gives food for thought. As you well know, once a suspicion of this kind has been aroused, other evidence invariably comes to mind which, however vague, lends itself to unfavourable interpretation.

In my opinion, Liebknecht was doing no more than his duty in reporting the matter; neither he (and up to a point this also applies to *me*) nor his friends were aware of the *intimate* ties between R. and yourself; otherwise he would certainly not have thought it necessary to have you informed. Misunderstandings of this kind can best be cleared up by plain speaking. In the life of a militant party one must be ready for anything; I, at any rate, was not at all surprised when I was accused of being one of Mr Bismarck's agents.

Engels was here last night. I asked him if he had written to you; he said he had *not*; he did not think it right to *write* to you on the subject, since Liebknecht had enjoined him to inform you

^a Dmitry Richter - ^b See next letter. - ^c Truth comes out in wine.

privately, and he had not yet had time to go and see you. I told him I had written to you, whereupon he said he would also write.^a

I shall write and give Liebknecht the gist of your letter. At the same time I feel that it might be better not to let R. know anything about what has happened. When Liebknecht shows my letter to his friends, the latter—I feel sure—will do all in their power (for they are honest working men) to right the wrong they have done their comrade.

Last week's *Pall Mall Gazette* carried an article fulminating against Russia's financial policy.^b

Yours ever,
K. Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

87

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 June 1876
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Mr Lavrov,

A short while ago Liebknecht wrote asking me to inform you that R.^c was under suspicion and, since I could not undertake such a mission without so much as a single fact to go on, I told him so outright.

Here is his reply, which I pass on to you *in strict confidence*:

'Last winter R. tried in the most conspicuous way to get hold of a packet of letters that was due to be sent me in Berlin. He was *tipsy* and, in consequence, went about it clumsily so that he was caught out. For hours, befuddled as he was, he was *obsessed* by the thought of getting hold of the packet, and in this he succeeded, but was forced by his companions to drop it into the letter-box, which he did after an attempt to *substitute* it had failed. Those who were present on this occasion had, up

^a See next letter. - ^b 'Russian Credit', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 3529, Vol. XXIII, 10 June 1876. - ^c Dmitry Richter

till then, been absolutely convinced of his honesty, but now they began to wonder. Drunkenness, it is true, sometimes brings strange thoughts into a man's head, but nothing that had not already been there when he was sober. *In vino veritas*^a does after all have a modicum of truth in it. I shall not mention here other highly suspicious circumstances, these not being so grave as the one I have related. But it is noteworthy that R. should have repeatedly offered himself as intermediary in the *carrying of letters* and that he should have asked for introductions to all manner of party members.^b

I am sorry that repeated interruptions should have prevented my passing on this communication before now; I really don't know what to make of the thing.

I trust that this letter finds you in good health. My regards to Mr Smirnov.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French and German

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

London, 30 June 1876

My dear Mr Lavrov,

To console you for the ban placed by Mr Bismarck on *Vpered*^c in Germany, I must inform you that, six days since, I saw it on public display in bookshop windows in Heidelberg.¹⁷⁴ Mr Bismarck

^a Truth comes out in wine. - ^b Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German. - ^c Thus in the original.

has not yet discovered a way of teaching all his policemen the letters of the Russian alphabet.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

89

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,¹⁷⁵ 25 July 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Moor,

Have written to Lafargue asking him to let us know what day he is arriving, Friday or Saturday.¹⁵

Herewith Wilhelm's^a letter with enclosure by Most. You see what sort of people they are—both of them. Take Wilhelm's portentous attitude to the 'attempts at a rapprochement'.^b As though one—that is anyone—could become involved with canaille who have been convicted of such treason! And as though any kind of rapprochement could lead to anything! What is supposed to happen when they have effected it? If, circumstances being what they are and the situation what it is, these people want to resume the role of the International, LET THEM PLEASE THEMSELVES AND BAD MANNERS TO THEM!

The COLLAPSE of the Serbs is stupendous.¹⁷⁶ The campaign was intended to set the whole of Turkey in flames, and everywhere the tinder is damp—Montenegro has betrayed the campaign for her own private ends, Bosnia has absolutely no intention of rebelling now that Serbia proposes to liberate her, and the worthy Bulgarians aren't lifting a finger. The Serbian army of liberation is having to live at its own expense and, after a swashbuckling

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht's - ^b See this volume, p. 184.

offensive, withdraw into its robber's lair without having been seriously defeated anywhere.—No doubt that will also serve as a lesson to the Romanians, in which case the Russian plans will be pretty well in the soup.

For the rest, I console myself here with Dühring's philosophy^a—never before has anyone written such arrant rubbish. Windy platitudes—nothing more, interspersed with utter drivel, but the whole thing dressed up, not without skill, for a public with which the author is thoroughly familiar—a public that wants by means of beggar's soup^b and little effort to lay down the law about everything. The man is as if cut out for the socialism and philosophy of the milliards era.¹¹⁸

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

90

MARX TO ENGELS
IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 26 July^c 1876

DEAR FRED,

SEASIDE OR NO SEASIDE, you must recall that you did not leave till last Monday^d; moreover, according to the RELICTS living at No. 122,^e you will both of you be returning in the middle or at the end of this week (or so I was informed only yesterday).¹⁷⁵ As for *last week*, Laura (and I accompanied her, as my wife had written to say she was very unwell) spent the second part of it in Brighton (Lafargue came down on Saturday and returned with myself and Laura on Sunday); Longuet and Jennychen, however,

^a E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie...* - ^b expression from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 ('Hexenküche') - ^c June in the original - ^d 24 July - ^e i.e. in Engels' house in Regent's Park Road

were still SCHOOLBOUND.¹⁷⁷ The Lafargues will be coming down to Ramsgate this *Friday* or *Saturday*, and will return on Sunday, since Lafargue cannot interrupt his BUSINESS⁹⁴ and Laura has to resume her teaching on Monday. The only week she will have off is *the last week in August*. (She has got to make up this week for the one day she missed last week, which, in this heat, is far from agreeable.)

I shall pass on the contents of your letter¹⁵ to the other members of the family.

My wife was still very unwell when we arrived, and slightly better when we left her. As soon as she feels fit enough she will certainly wish to spend a few days in Ramsgate. During the *next day or two* Lenchen will be completely taken up with the preparations for Tussy's trip.¹⁷⁸

We were told in Brighton that Madame Bravo used to be a ballet dancer and Madame COX her DRESSMAKER. During my wife's stay in Brighton, Mrs Bravo gave GREAT PUBLIC (*plus ou moins*^a) DINNER PARTIES there.

In the last *Впередь!* there's a disgustingly sycophantic article about Bakunin's funeral,^b at which Guillaume, Brousse, the two Reclus and *l'illustre*^c Cafiero were the chief ACTORS. Bakunin is depicted therein as the 'giant' of the Revolution. We are promised a sequel by the same correspondent on the subject of the plans put forward after the funeral for a coalition between the two Internationals, namely the Jurassians who want a 'FREE FEDERATION' of workers, and the Germans who aspire to a 'People's State' [*Volksstaat*]. To achieve this, it was said, all that was needed was to reframe Article 3 of the Rules in accordance with the version adopted at the 'Congress of 1873' (Guillaume's congress).¹⁷⁹ In a short paragraph in the *Volksstaat* (I don't know whether you've read it yet) Liebknecht declares that nobody could desire this more than we (i.e. he); but, incorrigible TALKER that he is, goes on to say: 'Let us see deeds instead of words'.^d Naturally, he is gratified that Mr Guillaume should proclaim the 'People's State' the be-all and end-all of the non-Bakuninist International. Lavrov clearly considers it a good BUSINESS MANOEUVRE to accept Bakuninist articles, thus also committing that PARTY to his paper.^e

The Brighton AQUARIUM has really come into its own since the time (three years ago) when I witnessed its beginnings.¹⁸⁰ In accordance with the compromise it has reached with PARSON POWER, it

^a more or less - ^b 'Бернъ, 4 июля. Похороны М. А. Бакунина', *Впередь!*, No. 37, 15 July 1876. - ^c the illustrious - ^d 'Das Begräbniß Bakunin's...', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 82, 16 July 1876. - ^e *Вперед!*

now stays open on Sunday afternoons (until the evening), but on the arid condition that the poor devils of EXCURSIONISTS shall not obtain a drop of liquid, not even undistilled water. YOU ought to go and have a look at it one of these days.

Love to the whole FAMILY and kind regards to Madame Pauli.^a

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

91

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 11 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Pauli,

On Friday^b I duly proceeded to Cologne as planned and would have gone on overnight to London via Ostend had not the confounded midge bite on my left hand swollen to truly colossal proportions. So I went to an hotel in Cologne and held my hand in iced water for about an hour, which relieved the worst of the inflammation; on Saturday to England via Flushing. At Chatham I found a train going to Ramsgate and came straight here.¹⁷⁵ When I arrived in London on Tuesday I found Schorlemmer at the Marxes preparing to leave for Darmstadt on Wednesday, where he will doubtless arrive today.

It's still very fine here, moderately hot summer temperatures and a cool wind off the sea, on top of which the bottled beer is excellent and salt water bathing 'a proper treat',^c as Nadler's seamstress would say.¹⁸¹ His stuff has made me laugh a lot; the small town patriot of '48 is particularly well portrayed.¹⁸²

The crossing from Flushing was once again as smooth as glass; I'm heartily sick of it by now; a bit of tossing about is all part of

^a See this volume, p. 116. - ^b 4 August - ^c Engels has 'e wohres Laubsal' (dialect).

the game, otherwise one has no idea of having been at sea. But that's something I can have whenever I want here aboard the pleasure boats which sail every afternoon.

We are staying here until Monday fortnight and in London shall, I trust, retire from the very idle life we've been a-leadin' of.

The trip and the sea-bathing have done my wife a great deal of good, so I have reason to hope that I shall also be able to get her through the winter in passable health. Both she and I send our kindest regards to you, your wife and the children, and in the hope that Rheinau's gnat population will shortly diminish I shall close because of incipient table-laying.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

92

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 August 1876
11 Camden Square

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Germany¹⁷⁵ I found awaiting me your letter of the 7th which I hastened to pass on to Liebknecht.¹⁵ Since the people concerned are completely unknown to me, there was little else I could do.¹⁸³

I hope our poor Smirnov will have strength enough to get over his illness. He has been working harder than the delicate state of his health allows, and he would be well-advised to take it a bit easier. With warmest regards both to him and to yourself.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

93

MARX TO ENGELS¹³

IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 19 August 1876
Germania

Dear FRED,

I am writing to your London address since I don't know whether you are still living at the seaside.¹⁷⁵

First, our adventures *en route*.¹⁷⁸ As I had planned, we spent a night in Cologne—left there at 6 o'clock in the morning, our next staging post being Nuremberg. We arrived in Nuremberg at about five in the afternoon, not intending to leave for Karlsbad until the following evening (it was the 14th and we had informed our Karlsbad landlady that we would be arriving on the 15th). Our cases were unloaded and entrusted to a man with a barrow who was to accompany us to the nearest inn, just beside the railway station on the outskirts of town. But at the said inn we were told there was only one room left, and at the same time the landlord conveyed to us the awful tidings that we were unlikely to find accommodation elsewhere since the town was overcrowded, partly as a result of a millers' and bakers' convention, partly by people from all over the world who were on their way to state musician Wagner's Festival of Fools at Bayreuth.¹⁸⁴ And such was the case. We spent ages wandering about the town with the barrow beside us; neither the smallest beer-house nor the biggest hotel could offer us asylum; all we gained was a nodding acquaintance with the (highly interesting) birthplace of German handicraftsmen. So we returned to the station; there we were told that the town closest to Karlsbad, whither we might still be transported by rail, was Weiden. We took TICKETS for Weiden. However, the worthy guard had already had one (if not more) over the eight; instead of making us get out at Neunkirchen, from which there was a new branch line to Weiden, he carried us on as far as Irrelohe (that's roughly what the beastly place is called)^a and we had to spend two whole hours travelling back (in the direction opposite to that from which we had come) so that we finally arrived at Weiden at midnight. Here again the only hostelry in the place was full to overflowing so that we had to possess our souls in patience on the

^a The correct name is Irrenlohe.

hard chairs at the railway station until four o'clock in the morning. Altogether, the journey from Cologne to Karlsbad took us 28 hours! Add to which, it was outrageously hot!

Next day at Karlsbad (where it hasn't rained for six weeks) what everybody was talking about, and what we experienced in our own persons, was the excessive heat! Likewise the water shortage; the Tepl looks as though it's been almost completely drained. Deforestation has reduced it to a sorry state; at times of heavy rain (as in 1872) it floods everything, in hot years it disappears altogether.

Incidentally, the excessive heat has let up during the past three days and, even on really hot days, we found wooded glens, long familiar to me, where it was bearable.

Tussychen, who was rather unwell during the journey, is recovering visibly here and, as always, Karlsbad is having a wonderful effect on me. During the past months the horrible feeling of heaviness in the head had shown signs of returning, but now it's completely gone again.

Dr Fleckles passed on a piece of news that astonished me very much. I had asked him whether his cousin, Madame Wollmann from Paris, was here; I met her last year—a most interesting lady. In reply he said that her husband had lost the whole of his own fortune, as well as his wife's, speculating on the Paris Bourse so that the family, now in desperate straits, was forced to retire to some German backwater. The curious thing about this affair is that Mr Wollmann had made a large fortune in Paris as a dyestuffs manufacturer; he had never gambled on the Bourse but had soberly invested the money not required for his business (as also that of his wife) in Austrian state bonds. All of a sudden he went a bit wrong in the head; he regarded the state of Austria as unsound, sold all his bonds, and *quite secretly*, without the prior knowledge of his wife or of his friends Heine and Rothschild, and in anticipation of a rise, he speculated on the Bourse in—Turkish and Peruvian securities!—until the last farthing had gone down the drain. The poor woman was just in process of furnishing her newly rented hotel in Paris when, one fine day, without any warning at all, she heard that she was a pauper.

Professor Friedberg (at Breslau University, medicine) tells me today that the great Lasker has brought out anonymously a semi-fictitious work entitled *Experiences of a Man's Heart*.^a These exceedingly boastful experiences are preceded by a fulsome

^a [E. Lasker,] *Erlebnisse einer Mannes-Seele*

foreword or introduction by Mr Berthold Auerbach. What Lasker experienced was this: that all women (including a daughter of Kinkel's) fell in love with him, and he proceeds to explain, not only why he didn't marry the whole lot at once, but why he didn't even so much as clinch matters with a single one of them. It's said to be a veritable odyssey of a milksop's heart. Hot on its heels came a parody (likewise anonymous)^a so horrible that, at great loss to himself, Otto's^b big brother^c bought up every copy of the *Experiences* he could lay hands on. 'Duty' calls me from my desk. So until next time, in so far as I am not prevented by the magically stupefying effect of the hot alkaline tipple from scrawling a line or two.

My love to Madame Lizzy.

Your
Moor

No Kovalevsky here. What I have got is a stout volume, sent me by Lavrov, about the functions of the 'state' in the future.^d Anyway I am also putting off reading it till some future time. Just now everything's future here after the drums of the music of the future¹⁸⁵ at Bayreuth.

Swarming with Russians here.

Have just heard from my wife that you are still in Ramsgate. I am therefore sending the letter straight there.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

^a H. J. Gehlsen, *Das Buch vom 'großen' Lasker oder Leiden und Freuden einer schönen Mannes-Seele*. - ^b Otto Bismarck - ^c Eduard Lasker - ^d [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Государственный элементъ въ будущемъ обществѣ', *Впередь!*, Vol. IV, 1876.

94

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 20 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Marx,

My best thanks for Tussy's letter which we have promptly forwarded to Jenny.^a

Lenchen^b has had a curious and distinctly unpleasant turn while down here. Last Tuesday she went bathing with my wife^c and was assailed by a violent headache which persisted for three days. On Friday she had another try and was at once assailed by the same headache, this time more violently. On Friday evening it was again very bad and she simply could not sleep. It was not until Saturday afternoon that she managed to get a little sleep, but then came another violent attack which, however, died down in the late evening, whereupon she slept soundly and today is ALL RIGHT again. The result is that, this year at any rate, she would be well-advised not to repeat the bathing experiment.

Lenchen wanted to return to London no later than tomorrow, but we have persuaded her to give herself another day in which to recover completely from what have sometimes been extraordinarily violent attacks, so now she doesn't intend to return until Tuesday. We thought, if you were to come here on Wednesday and stay until Friday week, then we could all return to London together.¹⁷⁵

Since STEAMERS take at least 30-31 days from the Cape, Carolinchen^d could not, after all, arrive before 3-4 September, i.e. 3-4 days after your return.

We have had to put up with some pretty oppressive heat here—a few days ago there were thunderstorms and, since yesterday evening, there has been a lot of rain, but it's clearing up again now. My wife is in very good health, and bathing suits her particularly well. Both she and Lenchen send their warm regards.

Your devoted
F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels 1820-1970. Referate. Diskussionen. Dokumente*, Hannover, 1971

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Jenny Longuet - ^b Helene Demuth - ^c Lizzie Burns - ^d Karoline Juta

ENGELS TO MARX

IN KARLSBAD ¹⁷⁸

Ramsgate, Friday, 25 August 1876

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived here on Tuesday and is now circulating among your daughters.^a No one here envies you your 28 hours of roving between Cologne and Karlsbad^b; on the other hand, there's been much waging as to the amount of Bavarian 'liquid' that helped to see you through your many vicissitudes.

A week ago on Monday Lenchen^c arrived here from Hastings where she had been spending Sunday with Jenny and the Lafargues; despite being rather seedy, she went into the water, thereby incurring a frightful headache that lasted two days; a second attempt only made matters worse, so she had to give it up. She went home on Tuesday, and the day after that, the day before yesterday, your wife turned up here; she is noticeably better than she was—six weeks ago at any rate. She does a great deal of walking, her appetite is good and she seems to be sleeping very well. After being fortified by me at the station with a glass of port, she and Lizzie are loafing about on the SANDS and rejoicing at not having to write any letters. Sea-bathing has done Lizzie a power of good and I hope that this time it will last the winter through.

At this moment Ramsgate is populated almost exclusively by small GREENGROCERS and other quite small SHOPKEEPERS from London. These people stay here a week, for as long as the RETURN TICKET is valid, and then make way for others of the same ilk. It's the former day-trip public which now takes a week off. At first sight one would think they were working men, but their conversation immediately betrays the fact that they are RATHER ABOVE THAT and belong to quite the most disagreeable stratum of London society—they're the kind who, in speech and manner, are already preparing themselves, after the inevitably impending bankruptcy, for the no less inevitably impending career of COSTERMONGER. And now, let Tussy imagine her old friend Gore on the SANDS of a morning, surrounded by 30 or 40 *dames de la halle*^d of that ilk.

In view of the ever denser stultification induced by the seaside, the most suitable reading has, naturally enough, been Mr Düh-

^a Jenny Longuet and Laura Lafargue - ^b See this volume, pp. 135-36. - ^c Helene Demuth - ^d market women

ring's natural philosophy of reality.^a Never have I encountered anything so natural. Everything occurs naturally since everything is regarded as natural that occurs naturally to Mr D., which is why he invariably takes his departure from 'axiomatic propositions', for what is natural requires no proof. As far as banality goes, the thing is absolutely unprecedented. Poor though it is, the part dealing with nature is by far the best. Here, at any rate, there are still some withered remains of dialectical phraseology, but no sooner does he touch on social and historical conditions than the old metaphysic prevails in the form of *morality*, and then he gets well and truly onto the wrong tack and turns helplessly round and round in circles. His horizon barely extends beyond the area covered by the common law of the land¹⁸⁶ and, for him, Prussian officialdom represents 'the state'. We shall be returning to London a week today¹⁷⁵ and then I shall at once settle down to work on the fellow. The nature of the eternal truths he preaches will be apparent to you from his three *bêtes noires*—tobacco, cats and Jews—and they get it hot and strong.

Tussy's letter to Lenchen has just arrived here; I shall forward it to London directly.

With their hullaballo about TURKISH ATROCITIES,¹⁸⁷ *The Daily News* and old Russell have done the Russians a signal service and splendidly paved the way for the latter's next campaign, which may begin as soon as the liberal gents have taken the helm here. The liberal provincial press is even now sounding the alarm and, since OLD DIZZY^b has retreated to the HOUSE OF LORDS,¹⁸⁸ it will no doubt be the liberal ranters who will lay down the law in the next session in the COMMONS. Not a word is said, of course, about the infamies perpetrated by the Montenegrins and Herzegovinians. Luckily the Serbs are getting knocked for six¹⁷⁶—even Forbes, who, by the way, is again the one solitary rational war correspondent, speaks with unmistakable admiration of the superior military prowess of the Turkish troops—and it isn't so easy for the БЪЛЫЙ ЦАРЬ^c to intervene.

Your wife and Lizzie send much love to Tussy as also to yourself.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie...* - ^b Disraeli - ^c White Tsar (Alexander II)

96

ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 27 August 1876
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Pauli,

The midges must indeed have been hard at it if you have felt obliged to follow in the footsteps of the emancipated Russian ladies and smoke cigarettes. I hope, however, that like us, you have had cooler weather for the past three or four days and hence freedom from midges. Here, we've been positively frozen and have had to have the windows shut, while my wife has been hankering for fur jackets. On Friday night in London it was only 6 degrees Reaumur, and in Liverpool the melons have been positively frozen hard.

Mrs Marx has been staying with us since Tuesday.^{a189} She has made a fairly good recovery, but will probably have to leave before Tuesday as she is expecting a niece^b from the Cape of Good Hope by then.

Despite the weather, we are persevering with our bathing as the sea is still warm and, with this wind, the breakers get better and better and keep one warm; it's precisely these cold sea-baths that have the most invigorating effect, and my wife's health has improved wonderfully since she's been going into the water. On Friday we repack our bags and shall then, I hope, at last settle down again. We are now both heartily sick of lounging about; my wife longs for her kitchen and I for my writing-desk and both of us for our big, roomy bed.

Marx's address in Karlsbad is: Dr. Marx, Germania, Schlossberg, Karlsbad.¹⁷⁸ I heard from him a few days since^c; the Karlsbad water was doing both him and his daughter Tussy a great deal of good, but unfortunately it has a tiresome sequel: for months afterwards one may neither tipple nor eat salad or suchlike palatable things. He will stay there until mid-September at least and maybe a week longer, depending on the cure and the effect it has.

At the same time as yours we received a letter from Pumps. I shall reply to her as soon as I get back to London; here, where

^a 22 August - ^b Karoline Jutta - ^c See this volume, pp. 135-37.

idleness is an institution, it always requires an effort of will to sit down and write.

What's the position about Pauli's trip to England? He must surely almost have completed his building operations at the factory and, being so fond of rough seas, he shouldn't put it off too long.

Mrs Marx asks me to send her warmest regards and my wife and I send you, Pauli and the children our love. I am sending Pauli a newspaper today. Well, may you all keep well and happy and, whenever the beer is especially good, spare a thought for

Your sincere friend,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

97

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 30 August 1876
Germania, Schlossberg

Dear Friend,

My daughter and I have been here for the past two weeks and, despite changeable weather and rain, intend to persevere for another two weeks.¹⁷⁸ We should be very glad to see you here. At any rate, drop us a line.

Very sincerely yours,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET¹⁶

IN HASTINGS

[Karlsbad, end of August-
beginning of September 1876]

My Darling,

I was delighted to see from your letters, one of which unfortunately went astray, that your health has improved and that Hastings is suiting the fine little chap^a and that he already has a presence of his own. *Macte puer vitute!*^b

Here we jog along from day to day, as mindlessly as the cure demands if it is to be successful. Latterly we have virtually ceased our excursions into the mountain forests owing to the sharply changing weather,—now April showers, now a cloudburst, then sunshine again. But the cold that suddenly set in after the prolonged heat is now quite gone again.

We have made many acquaintances of late—aside from a few Poles, mostly German university professors and doctors of other descriptions.

Everywhere one goes one is plagued with the question: 'What do you think of Wagner?' It is highly typical of this latter-day Prusso-German imperial court musician that he, plus wife (the one who was divorced from Bülow), plus the cuckold Bülow, plus their mutual father-in-law Liszt, should all four be living together harmoniously in Bayreuth, cuddling, kissing and adoring one another, and generally enjoying themselves. If, moreover, one reflects that Liszt is a Roman monk and Madame Wagner (first name Cosima) his 'natural' daughter by Madame d'Agoult (Daniel Stern)—what better Offenbachian *libretto* could one possibly conceive than this family group with its patriarchal relationships? Or again, the goings-on of the said group might—like the *Nibelungen*¹⁹⁰—be made the theme of a tetralogy.

I hope, dear child, that I shall find you well and happy. Give Longuet my best regards and my little grandson a dozen kisses from his GRANNY.

Adio

First published in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano,
1958

Printed according to the original

^a Jean Longuet - ^b Cf. 'Good speed to thy valour, O youth!', Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 641.

99

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 1 September 1876

Dear Friend,

I had never given up the idea of spending a day or two in Prague with my daughter, but did not wish to say anything about it in my letter to you, because I wanted to entice you here.¹⁷⁸

Mais les affaires sont les affaires^a; perhaps on closer reflection you may find that a trip to Karlsbad might after all be of benefit to your health. I await your final decision on this score.

I wouldn't mind very much what the weather as such was like if it didn't to some extent clash with the conditions of the cure.

My daughter sends her warmest regards.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

100

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 6 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Your sister's letter enclosed; her news of the *aventures de Norderney*^b was of the very greatest interest to my daughter^c and myself. I have seen your sister's portrait and heard many complimentary things about her in Hanover, and had hoped to

^a But business is business. - ^b the adventures in Norderney - ^c Eleanor Marx

make her acquaintance at your home in Prague; however, I see from your letter that she is still staying in Aachen.

My cure ends on Sunday.^a Monday is therefore the day appointed for our departure for Prague¹⁷⁸; nevertheless, it's possible that our stay at Karlsbad will have to be prolonged. My daughter has suddenly become unwell. I hope it's nothing serious; I'm expecting a second visit from the doctor^b this evening. You shall have further information as soon as I can communicate something more definite.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

101

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 9 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Very many thanks from self and daughter^c for your kind letter. She had a nasty fever, had to stay in bed for three days and at this moment is still confined to her room; but she is now quite out of danger thanks to the speedy intervention of Dr Fleckles junior. It's unlikely we'll be able to leave for Prague before Wednesday.^d However, I'll notify you of the exact day before our departure.

Trusting meanwhile that we shall see you again shortly.

Yours,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a 10 September - ^b presumably Ferdinand Fleckles - ^c Eleanor Marx -
^d 13 September

102

MARX TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

[Karlsbad,] 10 September 1876

My dear Mrs Pauli,

My warmest thanks for your kind invitation. I'm sorry to say that an unfortunate contingency has arisen which precludes my taking advantage of it.

Today, you see, our four weeks' cure came to an end.¹⁷⁸ As a result of the constant changes of weather, however, my daughter^a went down with a cold, fever, etc. For the time being she is confined to her room and I shall of necessity have to prolong our stay here. As I must be in London on an appointed day because of certain business matters, I shall be able to make even fewer diversions on the return journey. But to postpone is not to abandon. Perhaps we shall meet again next year.

With kindest regards from my daughter to you and Mr Pauli.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

103

MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 12 September 1876
Germania

Dear Friend,

I'm most grateful to you for your kind concern; fortunately my daughter^a has completely recovered; *mais elle l'a échappé belle*.^b She

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b but she had a narrow squeak

was on the brink of pneumonia; speedy action by Dr Fleckles jun., her doctor, saved her from a long and dangerous illness.

As a result of this contingency, however, we shall have to stay here until Friday^a for her to undergo after-treatment. We shall leave Karlsbad at 10.47 and arrive in Prague (State Railway Station) at 5.50 in the afternoon.

So until we meet again,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

104

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

At the bottom of this note I append a few observations that Liebknecht has just sent me on the subject of the people you mentioned in your letter.^b You will see that Liebknecht disclaims all responsibility for what D.^c may have written and what Ch.^d might have done.

I trust Mr Smirnov is getting better.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

^aThe letters from me, which G.^e allowed to fall into the hands of the police, were from the outset intended for Stieber's eyes—not, however, the numerous letters from the Russians. L.^f is mistaken if he imagines that I confided in any Russian refugee. I take no responsibility for such people's *chatter*, and chatter they

^a 15 September - ^b See this volume, p. 134. - ^c Vladimir Dekhterev - ^d Ivan Chernyshev - ^e Grigory Gurevich - ^f Lavrov

do to a fearsome extent. Ch. went to Berlin *not* at my behest, though admittedly I was aware of it; there was no longer any damage to be done there.^a

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French and
German

Published in English for the first
time

105

MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

Liège, Belgium, 21 September 1876
Hôtel de Suède

Dear Fleckles,

I am sending YOU POST-HASTE a line or two concerning an urgent matter.

A medical examination of my friend, Nikolai Utin, aged 35, has indicated incipient fatty degeneration of the heart. Karlsbad has been recommended to him, but since he is exceptionally busy in the spring, summer and autumn—he is an engineer in charge of big railway and similar undertakings—he can only spare time for treatment in December and during the winter months.

Since he is greatly afraid of the cold, he would like to know whether he might not go to Vichy rather than Karlsbad.

It is of course difficult, perhaps impossible, to reply to such a question without knowledge of his person. But at all events you will be able to give a general opinion as to whether Vichy might serve as a substitute for Karlsbad in cases of this kind.

The man in question is one of my dearest friends and for that reason I take the liberty of appealing to your friendship and requesting your early reply (to my London address: 41 Maitland Park Road, London). The child^b and I leave here for home tomorrow.¹⁷⁸

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

^a Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German. - ^b Eleanor Marx

[From Eleanor Marx in French]

Dear Doctor,

I've just received the photographs from Karlsbad—but only eleven—have you got one of them? If so, send it off to me—if not, will you tell Hirsch?

I'm eagerly awaiting the letter you sent to London. Let me have some news about 'Marion', which interests me greatly—and work away at the last acts.

Good-bye—write and send me *your* portraits.

Yours sincerely,

Eleanor Marx

First published in *Marx-Engels-Lassalle. Eine Bibliographie des Sozialismus*, Berlin, 1924

Printed according to the original

Translated from the German and French

Published in English for the first time

106

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 23 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

A French work by Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune* (500-600 pages), is now being printed, publisher, H. Kistemaeckers, *librairie contemporaine*, Boulevard du Nord, 60, Bruxelles. This will be the first *authentic* history of the Commune. Not only has Lissagaray made use of all the published sources—he is also in possession of the material inaccessible to all others, quite apart from his having witnessed with his own eyes most of the events he depicts.

Yesterday I had from him a letter addressed to him by Julius Grunzig of Berlin, in which the latter offers himself as translator.

D'abord,^a I don't know Grunzig; perhaps you can let me have some information about him.

Secondly, however, he says nothing whatever about where the thing is to be published or how and, even if we could use Mr

^a First

Grunzig as translator (this depends entirely on his ability to do such work), he would be taken on *only* as translator, and in no case would he be entrusted with its publication.

I would suggest that you undertake to bring out this work, which is of importance to our party and of interest to the German reading public at large. But Lissagaray—who, needless to say, as a refugee in London, isn't exactly in a bed of roses—must, in return for the German publication rights conceded by him, get a share of the profits which you yourself should determine.

As for the translation, I would send Grunzig—since he was the first to apply and is also recommended by Most—some sample sheets to translate in order to assure myself of his competence.

Should you accept the proposal, the original would be sent to you (and/or the translator) in batches, so that the German translation might appear pretty well simultaneously with the French original.

Publication by instalments, as proposed by Grunzig in his letter, is inadmissible since the thing would then appear in German sooner than in French, and the Belgian publisher would object to this.

As regards payment of the translator, that is a matter to be settled exclusively between yourself and him.

You would oblige me by letting me have an early reply so that no time may be lost, and I can, if needs be, write to another publisher.

With best regards from myself and Engels.

Yours,

Karl Marx

My address is:

41 Maitland Park Road, N.W., London.

First published in: K. Marx-F. Engels, *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und andere*, Teil I, Moskau-Leningrad, 1933

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

107

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 30 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

I had already learnt of your transactions with B. Becker from your various letters to Engels, since we always show one another everything that has a bearing on party interests.

As soon as I received your letter, Engels and I ventilated every aspect of the question and came to the conclusion that consideration for Becker is not in any way incompatible with your publication of Lissagaray's work.^a

1. You *terminated* YOUR ENGAGEMENT with B. Becker, *purely on business grounds*—long before there was any mention of Lissagaray's work—after *he* had abruptly *turned down* your proposals. Moreover, you paid him 300 talers by way of compensation. That meant that the matter was settled, nor could it possibly be assumed that, from then on, your house would refrain from printing any works relating to the history of the Commune.

2. In so far as Lissagaray's work competes with Becker's,^b such competition is going to arise whether the work is published by you or by someone else. (Liebknecht just now offered to have it published by the *Volksstaat* printing office, an offer we would in *no circumstances* accept.) Lissagaray's work will be *appearing* in Brussels in a few weeks' time, whereas Becker won't have *finished* his until May 1877. So any injury he may incur thereby is in any case inevitable.

3. Although Becker's and Lissagaray's books have the same title—*History of the Commune*—they differ completely in kind and are works which, had not commercial or other considerations intervened, might very well have been brought out by the same publisher.

Becker's work is at best a compilation, written from the *German critical* standpoint, of material concerning the Commune which is available to anyone in Paris.

Lissagaray's book is the work of a participant in the events described (and to that extent it is in the nature of a memoir), a participant, moreover, who had at his command a wealth of

^a [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. - ^b B. Becker, *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*.

manuscripts stemming from the protagonists in the drama, etc., which were not accessible to anyone else.

The only possible connection between the two works is that Becker will find in Lissagaray's book a fresh source which he cannot afford to leave out of account and which may necessitate extensive alterations to his manuscript, in so far as this has already been completed.

Your interest in the publication of Lissagaray's book is the same as induced you to commission Becker to compile the material—namely party interest which you can satisfy, as said above under I., without remotely infringing your publishing ENGAGEMENTS originally entered into with Becker.

So much for that point.

As regards Mr Grunzig, I should like you to make inquiries from Most concerning the man's character. Should the particulars prove satisfactory, I would *tentatively* send Mr Grunzig a first sample sheet for translation so as to be able to judge whether he is up to this far from easy work.

Lissagaray has sent me the first five printed sheets. From this I see that it is a luxury edition, only thirty lines per page. If the French original runs to 500-600 pages, it will, in an ordinary German edition, hardly run to more than 400 pages.

Your stipulation as to the apportionment of profits meets with my complete approval; should it yield nothing, Lissagaray, like you yourself, must and will rest content with that.

As regards the translator's fee, that is a matter for you alone to decide. It is no concern of the French author.

As regards all the other stipulations—number of copies, design, prices, etc.—the decision is yours *alone*. (For Lissagaray has given me *plein pouvoir*^a to act in his name.)

On the title-page you should print: 'Translation authorized by the writer of this work.'

On the title-page of the French original Lissagaray will put '*tous les droits réservés*'^b so that you will be able to confiscate any eventual German translation that competes with yours.

With cordial regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a absolute authority - ^b all rights reserved

108

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV
IN LONDON

[London,] 7 October 1876

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from Paris (from an employe^a at Lachâtre's booksellers) from which it transpires that the banning of *Capital*^b is simply a myth, a myth, moreover, assiduously disseminated by the police and by Mr Quêt himself, the judicial administrator appointed by the late Buffet as sequestrator of Lachâtre's booksellers.³⁸

Because it had been published under the state of siege, *Capital*—now that the state of siege has been raised—could only be banned by the regular courts, and the authorities fear a scandal of this kind. So they are seeking to suppress the book by underhand methods of intrigue.

You would greatly oblige me by advising me of the contents of the letter in which your agent Guyot mentions the banning of the book.^c Kovalevsky, for his part, has Russian friends in Paris prepared to attest that even Lachâtre's booksellers has refused to sell them the work.

Armed with these proofs I shall be able to threaten Mr Quêt—a great miser, albeit a millionaire—with legal proceedings and a demand for damages and interest. It is only through the force of such threats that he has finally ordered the printing of the last fifteen instalments.^d Under French law he is, vis-à-vis myself, merely Mr Lachâtre's representative, his deputy, and must fulfil all the conditions laid down in my contract with the latter.

Last September's *Revue des deux Mondes* contains a so-called critique of *Capital* by Mr Laveleye.^e Only by reading it can one get any idea of the idiocy of our bourgeois 'thinkers'. Mr Laveleye is, however, naive enough to admit that, once you accept the doctrines of Adam Smith and Ricardo or even—*horribile dictu*^f—those of the Careys and the Bastiats, there is no means of escaping the subversive doctrines of *Capital*.

^a presumably from Henri Oriol - ^b the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - ^c See this volume, p. 440. - ^d Ibid., p. 92. - ^e E. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876. - ^f dreadful to relate

I congratulate you on your LEADING ARTICLE in *Впередъ!* on Pan-Slav lyricism in Russia.^a It is not only a masterpiece, it is above all a great act of moral courage.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

How is Smirnov's health progressing?

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

109

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 October 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear LIBRARY,^b

According to a letter you wrote to Engels, you told the Congress that Engels was going to deal with Dühring. Instead, much to his displeasure, he found—and showed me immediately on my arrival from Karlsbad¹⁷⁸—a report in the *Volksstaat* according to which you had said that I (something I would never dream of doing) was going to take issue with Mr Dühring.¹⁹¹

Resolve for me, O Oerindur, this dichotomy of nature!^c

Engels is busy with his work on Dühring.^d It entails a considerable sacrifice on his part, as he had to break off an incomparably more important piece of work^e to that end.

The fact that your Congress proffered a fraternal hand to Guillaume and Co., is, given the form it took, relatively innocuous.¹⁹² However, any *real co-operation* with these people, who

^a [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Русские передъ южно-славянскимъ вопросомъ', *Впередъ!*, No. 42, 1 October 1876. - ^b jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^c from Adolf Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene 5 - ^d *Anti-Dühring* - ^e *Dialectics of Nature*

have systematically worked to bring about the dissolution of the *International*, is to be avoided under all circumstances. The *very few* working men in the Jura, Italy and Spain whom they are still leading by the nose, may FOR OUGHT I KNOW be upright men. They themselves are incorrigible intriguers who, now that they have discovered their nullity *outside* the International, would like to worm their way in again through the back door so that they may resume their previous role.¹⁹³

I had already been in communication with Bracke about the translation into German of Lissagaray's book before your proposal^a reached me; I have concluded an agreement with Bracke.¹⁹⁴

It is about time the *Volkstaat*, or rather, I should now say, the *Vorwärts*,¹⁹⁵ put a finger at last on the real source of the rot in dealing with the oriental question.¹⁹⁶ In one of its most recent numbers the *Kölnische Zeitung* says that one might echo the words of a famous diplomat: '*Il n'y a plus d'Europe!*'^b; once upon a time it was possible to speak of other powers, now the stage is held by only one power—Russia!

But why is this? The German papers, in so far as they aren't dancing to Russia's tune, now heap reproaches on Disraeli, now accuse Andrassy of weak-minded vacillation.

Yet the nub of the matter is—*Bismarck's policy*. He embarked on it after Sedan¹¹³ during the Franco-Prussian War. At this moment he is hamstringing Austria (and even England, relatively speaking) by his official flirtation with Russia; indeed, he is hamstringing the entire Continent. The passage (according to the latest advices) of armed Russian troops through the Romanian provinces (under the auspices of a Hohenzollern^c) has led everyone in Paris and London to believe in the existence of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia. In fact, by his policy of conquest in France, Bismarck has disarmed Germany vis-à-vis Russia and condemned her to the shameful role she is playing at this moment, *et qui est véritablement 'la honte de l'Europe'*.^d

Here in England a turning-point has been reached; the curtain is about to fall on the sentimental farce staged by the Whigs in their haste to reconquer the LOAVES AND FISHES OF OFFICE and for which an appropriate chorus has been provided from among the workers—such canaille as Mottershead, Hales *et tutti quanti*^e—under the influence of bourgeois FIVE POUND NOTES; Gladstone has

^a See this volume, pp. 149-52. - ^b There is no longer a Europe! - ^c Carol I - ^d and which is truly 'the shame of Europe' (an allusion to É. de Girardin's pamphlet *La Honte de l'Europe*) - ^e and whoever else there may be

sounded the retreat, ditto Lord Russell, and now only the brazen Bob Lowe (the Australian ex-demagogue, the creature who, during the recent reform movement,¹⁹⁷ followed the example of Edmund Burke and branded the working class a SWINISH MULTITUDE) is making a fool of himself with his talk of the AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS AS 'THE ONLY FATHER OF THE OPPRESSED'. Amongst the London workers, it is precisely the most progressive and resolute who have staged a PROTEST MEETING against the Pan-Slavophiles. They realise that, each time the working class acts as chorus to the governing classes (to a Bright, Gladstone, etc.), it is perpetrating an infamy. *Caeterum censeo*^a that it behoves you to write a LEADING ARTICLE revealing how sorry a figure is cut by the German-Prussian, ostensibly anti-Russian, bourgeois press which, while at most presuming to criticise the ministers of other countries, maintains a most devout silence in regard to its own Bismarck.

With warmest regards to your family.

Your
Moor

Apropos. The rascal from Antwerp, whom Guillaume and Co., by their intrigues among the unwitting Dutch workers, foisted upon the Hague Congress²⁰ as its provisional president, one van den Abeele, has now himself been unmasked by his own people as an agent of the French government and has accordingly been thrown out of those sections of the International still eking out an existence in Belgium. This, after another of the same clique, Mr Bastelica, had publicly disclosed in Strasbourg that he was a Bonapartist agent!^b

[Note at the beginning of the letter]

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*'s 'unbaptized crusader'^c is playing a thoroughly grotesque role in the oriental imbroglio.

First published in *W. Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, Den Haag, 1963

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a For the rest, I consider. These are the initial words of Cato the Elder's famous expression: '*Caeterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*' (For the rest, I consider that Carthage must be destroyed). - ^b See this volume, p. 184. - ^c Presumably Leopold Sonnemann.

110

MARX TO LEO FRANKEL¹⁹⁸

IN BUDAPEST

London, 13 October 1876
41 Maitland Park Grescent, N. W.

Dear Frankel,

I could not answer your long letter, for which I am much obliged, because I was not clear about your situation, that is, did not know whether a letter from me might not be to your detriment if intercepted by chance, no matter how harmless its content might be.¹⁹⁹ Will you be so kind as to explain to me, if possible, the following: What is the relationship between sown plains and highlands (the latter used possibly as pasture)?

You are quite right to take part in editing a workers' newspaper.^a

As for the so-called Swiss international congress,²⁰⁰ it is the work of the Alliancists—Guillaume and Company.²⁰¹ Knowing that they are worth absolutely nothing by themselves, they deem it necessary to step again into the limelight under the banner of 'unification', which they could not do alone.²⁰² Their plan was supported by the Malons, Pindys and other Arnoulds, who, frightened at the fact that the workers are 'acting' in Paris without them, are out to bring themselves back to people's minds as patented representatives of the workers. On the other hand, Guillaume's group cunningly took in Bebel while he was in Switzerland. However, this matters but little. The Gotha Congress did not appoint any official representative to the Swiss congress but contented itself with general rhetoric about the community of workers' interests.¹⁹² Meanwhile I sent a warning to Leipzig, and if any of them goes to the congress as a private person, he will take a negative stance on the blandishments of long-standing conspirators against the International. How you acted as a former member of the General Council and a delegate to the Hague Congress²⁰ is entirely understandable. You must not in the least succumb to the intoxication of reconciliation, a state in which scheming villains always swindle honest fools.

They have just begun printing Lissagaray's book^b; he is now busy reading the first proofs. The scoundrels, the so-called labour

^a *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* - ^b *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*

leaders (Englishmen), those whom I exposed at the Hague Congress, swallowed during the Russo-Bulgarian campaign over atrocities¹⁸⁷ a handsome amount of five-pound notes from the great leaders Gladstone, Bright, Robert Lowe (the man who during the latest reform agitation¹⁹⁷ called the working class a swinish multitude^a), Fawcett and others. But the plot is coming to a terrible end. These labour leaders, Mottershead and others, are the same dogs with whom it was impossible to hold a meeting against the butchers of the Commune.

I am sending you the latest issue of *The Diplomatic Review*. Despite the space it gives Urquhart to unload his inanities, the journal contains weighty facts concerning the Bulgarian epidemic of atrocities by which Russia has fooled the whole of Christian liberal Europe.^b

I inform you on evidence from *the most trustworthy* source—and it would be a good thing to publish this fact in *Hungarian* papers—that some months ago the Russian government *suspended the payment of interest* due at fixed intervals to the Russian railways, and this *completely in secret*; every single department received private notification with *orders* to hold its tongue (and we know what that means in Russian). All this notwithstanding, the news of the fact reached not only me but also *Reuter's Telegraph Agency* (the biggest member of the Holy Trinity of European telegraph agencies, Reuter—Havas—Wolff) but the good man withheld the news at the special request of the Russian Embassy in London.

In any case, this is an edifying symptom of Russia's financial embarrassment. Should the English bourgeois feel it, he will again become pro-Turkish, for no matter how much the Turks owe England, it is nothing compared to the Russian debt.

Warm regards from my whole family.

Your

K. M.

First published, in Hungarian, in the newspaper *Népszava*, No. 142, Budapest, 17 June 1906

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Hungarian

Published in English for the first time

^a See this volume, p. 156. - ^b 'The Bulgarian Insurrection', *The Diplomatic Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October 1876.

111

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE²⁰³

IN WATERLOO

[Note]

[London, 15 October 1876]

Liverpool, 13 October 1876. E. Dronke.

Replied 15 October¹⁵ that I had written to E. Blank.¹⁵

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

112

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LIMINGTON

[London,] 16 October 1876

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

A few days since Mr Leblanc informed us of the decease of your wife, but I find it even now almost impossible to address you a few lines. Those who had the privilege of knowing and admiring your noble companion for life, dare not intrude with empty words of consolations. It was in fact but her love for you, her fear to leave you alone that enabled her to resist so bravely to increasing ailments and to struggle so hard with nature for her own existence. Your love of mankind, your passionate interest in its general life, will, I hope, enable you to bear even with this irreparable loss.²⁰⁴

Your most devoted friend

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the
original (English), in *Économies et Sociétés*,
Tome IV, No. 11, Genève, 1970

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113

ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LEUTESDORF

[Copy]

[London,] 16 October 1876

To E. Blank

If then, upon the POLICY being deposited with you, you are prepared to open a credit of £150 for Dronke, I would gladly pay you that amount through Hermann^a as soon as desired, likewise any possible expenses arising out of the transaction.²⁰³ As soon as Dronke repaid the money you could remit it to me in any way you chose, and return the POLICY to him.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

114

ENGELS TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LIMINGTON

London, 17 October 1876
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have just been informed by Marx of the very, very heavy blow which has fallen upon you in the shape of the death of your wife. I fully realise the dreadful, dreary feeling of loneliness which this bereavement, after fifty years of happiness, must have thrown you into. At the same time I know your character well enough to be assured that, with time, you will get the better of it, and not give way to despondency. You are bound to live until you see at least the first instalment of the victory of that cause for which you have

^a Hermann Engels

now worked and struggled for fully two generations; and there are events now preparing in the East which must hasten, and may bring about, the downfall of the old political and social system. In the meantime, rest assured that from the depth of my heart I feel with you in your affliction, and so does my wife. I say no more. I know that consolation in such a case would seem a mockery.

With heartfelt sympathy

Ever yours faithfully,

Frederick Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

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115

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London,] 20 October 1876

To Dronke

My brother-in-law Blank writes to say that he absolutely and categorically refuses to enter into a transaction such as you suggest.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, he tells me he severed all connections with Hinsberg, Fischer & Co. three years ago, as is indeed the case.

I am sorry that nothing has come of the matter, since I should have liked to help you in so far as it was in my power to do so.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

116

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 20 October 1876

122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

You may give Mr Caro the most positive assurances that, aside from announcements of family events in the more distant past and personal statements signed with his name on the Vogt affair, etc., Marx has never written *one line* for the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,²⁰⁵ and, if the gentlemen in Breslau^a know better, we can only treat it as a joke. We don't even know Mr Caro by name, though his friendship with Gorchakov leads us to suppose that he knows relatively little of Russia, for Gorchakov would not be on such a footing with people who were *too well* versed in this subject. So let us hope that the order which is still lacking will shortly pop into the buttonhole that is pining for it.

Just now I'm writing a work on Mr Dühring for the *Vorwärts* in Leipzig.¹⁵³ For this purpose I need the review of *Capital* which you sent to Marx in March 1868 and which, if I'm not mistaken, was published by Dühring in a periodical appearing in Hildburghausen.²⁰⁶ Marx simply can't find it. Knowing how conscientious you are in all matters, I presume you have something about it among your notes from that time—the *name*, perhaps, of the periodical and the No. of the volume in which the thing appeared. If you could let me know this, I would order the volume and have it here within a few days. But if you can't, you should, *under no circumstances*, write to Dühring about it, for the slightest—even if indirect—contact with the man and, still more, the very slightest service rendered by him would impair my freedom of criticism in a matter in which I should preserve it to the utmost.

Work on the second volume^b will be started again in a few days. If, by the way, one wishes to correct *all* the inanities about Marx that circulate in learned circles, one would have one's work cut out. Yesterday, for example, a Russian told us about a Russian professor who stubbornly maintained that Marx was now engaged solely in Russian studies and was doing so because firmly convinced *que la commune russe ferait le tour du monde*^c!

^a Polish name: Wrocław. - ^b of *Capital* - ^c that the Russian commune would make its way round the world

The war in the Orient will doubtless really get going soon.²⁰⁷ Never before have the Russians been able to strike under such favourable diplomatic circumstances as now. Militarily speaking, on the other hand, circumstances are less favourable to Russia than in 1828, and financially very unfavourable, since no one will lend her anything. Just now I'm re-reading Moltke's history of the war of 1828-29^a; a very good book although the man could not be frank about political matters.

Thank you for the Schäffle article.

Your
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

117

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 October 1876

My dear Friend,

Enclosed a cutting from *The Pall Mall Gazette*. This extract from your leader (in No. 42 of *Внепедѣ!*^b) is badly translated, even though it was done by Sir etc. Rawlinson. Kovalevsky informed me of it and also sent me the thing. He asked me to lend him No. 42 of your journal, but not even the prettiest girl in France can give more than she's got. I had already sent it to Utin (Liège).

Kovalevsky also told me—you could make use of it in your journal²⁰⁸—that a detestable Russian clique, which purports to represent the leading Russian men of letters, and has announced its venture in these terms to Rawlinson and other English notables, intends to publish a review in London for the purpose of acquainting the English with the true politico-social movement in Russia. Golokhvastov would be editor-in-chief, with other col-

^a [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - ^b See this volume, p. 154.

laborators from that disgusting journal *Гражданин*^a and also, so it is said, Prince Meshchersky.

The Russian government has already given signs of its insolvency by ordering the Bank of Petersburg to announce that it would no longer pay foreign bills of exchange in gold (and/or silver). I had been expecting this, but what passes all understanding is the fact that, for two or three weeks before settling on this 'disagreeable' measure, the aforesaid government had again perpetrated the folly of seeking artificially to maintain the rate of exchange in the London market. This has cost it nearly twenty million roubles; it might just as well have thrown the money into the Thames.

This absurd operation—the artificial maintenance of the rate of exchange at government expense—belongs to the eighteenth century. Today it is only the alchemists of Russia's finances who can go in for such things. Since Nicholas' death these grotesque, periodically repeated, manipulations have cost Russia at least 120 million roubles. But it is typical of a government which still seriously believes in the omnipotence of the State. Other governments do at least know that 'money has no master'.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

First published abridged in *La Revue marxiste*, No. 4, Paris, 1929 and in full, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

118

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE²⁰⁹

IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 1 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

I am writing today to tell you what I was on the point of telling you last Friday^b when you categorically refused to let me intervene in any way.

I am not in a position to lose the sum of £150, still less £200,

^a *Grazhdanin* (Citizen) - ^b 27 October

nor, by the same token, to gamble with it. If I were still in business,²¹⁰ when any loss incurred could be made good in the course of time, that would be a rather different matter. Hence, even if I were on a different footing with Götz, whom I barely know by sight, and even if I didn't find the whole transaction highly unpleasant, in that it can't be carried out without the prior knowledge of Kyllmann, and therefore of Dr Borchardt, I would, under no circumstances, undertake a guarantee of the kind you want.

Even if I were still in business, I obviously couldn't consider gaily staking, for old friendship's sake, the sum of £150 on a business about whose standing I know absolutely nothing. But all the same I could have gone further than I can now when it's no longer possible for me simply to write off a loss of this order. On the other hand, I should be glad to help you so long as it's simply a question of making funds available to you for a stated period without my incurring a risk of this kind.

You had offered my brother-in-law^a a POLICY amounting to £300 as collateral security. I told him that if he was willing to agree to your proposal I would pay him the £150 in the event of your not having paid it at the end of 6 months.^b I could have raised the sum by then, which I was unable to do at that moment, and he would then have held the POLICY as security for myself. But he refused so much as to entertain the thing. Had you then made me exactly the same offer as you made my brother-in-law, I should not, it is true, have been in a position to advance you the £150 immediately, but no doubt something might have been arranged. Now, however, the latest American drawing has brought me a 5/20 bonus, the result being that I am in a position to make available over £150; it is at your disposal for a period of 6 months, provided you give me the POLICY as security. It will in any case be as safe with me as with anyone else, if not safer.

I have told you in all frankness how I see the matter and how far I'm able to go. Maybe you have other proposals to make, in which case I shall be glad to consider them. Just one final word: Whatever we may arrange, let it be arranged strictly between ourselves, with no third party, giving of guarantees, etc.; it's much simpler.

First published in: Marx and Engels, Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Emil Blank - ^b See this volume, p. 161.

119

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 6 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

I have been comparing Grunzig's translation—first sheet—most scrupulously with the original^a and am about to inform him that I *cannot* accept his services.

In fact, to correct it (an *occasional* correction will doubtless be necessary with any translator) would take more time than if I were to translate it myself from start to finish. But I haven't the time for that. I cannot again go through the painful experience I endured in connection with the French translation of *Capital*.¹⁷

I'd be glad to have Kokosky, but he entirely lacks the deftness, the lightness of touch, which is precisely what the translation of this book needs.

I have already taken soundings in another quarter²¹¹ but doubt whether the person in question will have the time. Meanwhile, it would be as well for you to cast round if possible for a professional translator in Leipzig. Since the book in question is not intended purely for working-class readers, it would be foolish to go and look for a translator specifically within a party that is not well endowed with literary talent, i.e. to proceed from the outset on the assumption that the translator *must* be a party man.

From what I hear, B. Becker has found a publisher in Switzerland.^b

Yours sincerely,

K. M.

The *conciliation congress in Berne*—Engels and I wrote and told Liebknecht *the moment* we heard of the Germans' intention to send their delegates to it—is, and has been from the start, nothing but a Bakuninist intrigue.²⁰⁰ What is more, proof of this reached us a few days ago from Portugal.^c More anon.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see this volume, pp. 149-50 and 152). - ^b See this volume, pp. 151-52. - ^c *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

120

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

London, 10 November 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

In communicating to you some *éclaircissements*^a on the last movements of Mr Gladstone, I do so on the express understanding:

1) that until *January* next they be kept secret (this refers of course not to Mr Urquhart);

2) that if made use of in the *January* number of the *Diplomatic Review*, it be done in the form of a correspondence, dated from Rome, Naples or Vienna. Regard to the security of third persons renders these precautions necessary.

Since some time a Russian lady, Madame *Nowikoff*, has established her autumn and winter quarters in London; during the remainder of the year she travels on the continent or sojourns at Moscow. She is the wife—practically divorced, if not legally—of Mr *Nowikoff*, Russian dragoman at Constantinople,^b who is himself the brother of the Russian ambassador at Vienna^c (the latter has, I believe, been recently removed from Vienna to Constantinople).

Excluded in Russia from '*la bonne compagnie*' because of her matrimonial embarrassments, Madame *Nowikoff* plays nevertheless a certain part at Moscow where her saloon is frequented by *Frondeurs*, at the same time that other compatriots suspect her of being a subaltern agent of the Third Division. (*The Third Division* means the secret State police, a Star Chamber on a colossal scale, the main lever of the Russian governmental machine.) A busybody, she intrudes everywhere, on scientific congresses at Brussels, old Catholic meetings in Germany, etc. Once very handsome, she has now reached a certain age between 45 and 50, and pretends only to intellectual charms. Very amiable and adroit, she possesses indeed the qualities which, as the French say, '*distignent la tripoteuse russe*'.^d Still it would be a mistake to range her with the higher order of that species; her mind is of a very superficial cast.

^a explanations - ^b Ivan Novikov - ^c Yevgeny Novikov - ^d are characteristic of the Russian intrigantes

At London Englishmen (professors of science, literary men, politicians), Frenchmen, Slavs and Russians meet in her saloon. One of its principal attractions is the *cavalier servant* of the lady, 'son ami intime', as she calls him—Count Beust, the Austrian ambassador.

Some London papers having met the 'Bulgarian atrocities',¹⁸⁷ ushered in by Mr Schuyler, with the 'Turkestan atrocities',²¹² told by the same Mr Schuyler, Madame Nowikoff (in collusion with General Gorloff, the military attaché to the Russian Embassy at London) addressed a letter to Mr Gladstone, till then a perfect stranger to her—a letter, set off with an enthusiastic eulogy of his chivalrous exploits on behalf of the downtrodden Slavs, but really intended to give him lessons on the Turkestan events and to protest indignantly against the alleged foul slanders of some London prints. In answer to this missive she received a friendly reply, written and signed by Madame Gladstone.

Since then, Mr Gladstone has paid several visits to Madame Nowikoff who improved her opportunities so well that a literary campaign against the shameless revilers of Russian humanitarianism was at once resolved upon.

Two letters, the one by Madame Nowikoff, but anonymous, the other written by Gorloff and *signed with his name* (the which letter Mad. Nowikoff communicated to Mr Gladstone), were to be published in the *Daily News* as forerunners to an article of Mr Gladstone himself (in the *Contemporary Review*), so that he might refer to Gorloff's letter as a '*document justificatif*'. The gist of Gorloff's letter was the denial of General Kaufmann's atrocious order to General Golowatscheff,²¹³ as published by Mr Schuyler. The public denial of the authenticity of that order with *Gorloff's signature* would have derived a certain value from the circumstance that Gorloff occupies a double position; he is an attaché of the Embassy, but depends at the same time on the Russian war ministry, and might therefore have been considered its authorised spokesman.

However, at an interview of Mr Gladstone with Madame Nowikoff, she received, and communicated to him, a letter from Gorloff to the effect, that Schuwaloff, the ambassador, had forbidden him (Gorloff) to sign his letter with his name, as it might compromise the embassy. (Schuwaloff, of course, would not have cared a pin to see a lie publicly signed by Gorloff; but, as the Russian war minister, Miljutin, is the enemy both of Schuwaloff and Kaufmann, and a man not to be trifled with, Schuwaloff stood on his guard.)

Thereupon, by request of Mr Gladstone, Gorloff's letter was amended and abridged, that is to say, its invectives against the English revilers were suppressed, Mr Gladstone considering it more becoming to reserve that part of the business for himself; it was, moreover, agreed that Gorloff's letter should be signed 'A Russian'^a and that of Madame Nowikoff 'Another Russian'.^b As to Mr Gladstone's article for the November number of the *Contemporary Review*,^c he had not only read it in manuscript to Madame Nowikoff; it was in fact but a summary of the lessons taught by the Muscovite Egeria to the English Numa.

In this article (see *Contemporary* pp. 883, 884) Mr Gladstone speaks of Gorloff's letter in the following terms:

'The defence so far as I find it supplied by a letter recently published in the *Daily News*, with the signature of "A Russian", which, as I learn from a friend, has the sanction of General Gorloff, military attaché at London.'

The passage is so worded as to make the public believe that 'A Russian', the writer to the *Daily News*, and General Gorloff are two different persons, the one having written and published the letter, the other sanctioned it after its publication; that Mr Gladstone became first acquainted with the letter of 'A Russian' through the columns of the *Daily News*; that only after having read it in that paper, he 'learned from a friend' that 'Gorloff has sanctioned it'. The most admirable trait is certainly the discreet introduction of Gorloff's name and the hiding of Madame Nowikoff under cover of 'a friend'.

When Madame Nowikoff, borne up by Gorloff's written testimony, had succeeded to impress Mr Gladstone with the conviction, that General Kaufmann's 'authentic' order to Golowatscheff was a myth,²¹⁴ she gave, amidst her Russian friends, rather freely vent to by no means flattering animadversions upon English ignorance and credulity. Having been appointed (some time after the last Polish insurrection,²¹⁵ and in succession to the hangman Muravieff) governor of Wilna,^d Kaufmann contrived to overact even his part, so that General Berg, the commander of Warsaw, addressed a letter to the Czar^e showing the impolicy to continue that man in his office, from which he was indeed at last removed. Such were the despair and the disgust which his

^a 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9521, 27 October 1876. -

^b 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9523, 30 October 1876. -

^c W. E. Gladstone, 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkistan', *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XXVIII, London, June-November 1876. - ^d now Vilnius -

^e Alexander II

ferociously infamous treatment of the Poles had evoked at Wilna, that its inhabitants actually welcomed as a saviour General Potapoff, his successor, one of the most notorious villains in the Russian service. (This same Potapoff was put at the head of the Third Division, when Schuwaloff exchanged this honourable post of spy-in-chief at home for that of Ambassador abroad.)

Muravieff was a Muscovite patriot who, in his merciless execution of the Czar's orders, was convinced to apply the only method sure to save the Empire from dismemberment. Kaufmann, on the contrary, is an intriguer, eager to outdo in atrocity even the common run of Russian generals, in order to make the Muscovites forget his foreign origin, to ingratiate himself with the Czar, and to oust Mr Miljutin from the war ministry which he covets.

Before the publication of the letters in the *Daily News* and Mr Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review*, I had been kept *au courant* of the incidents told in this letter. I had every reason to be convinced of the authentic character of my information, but if I had entertained the least doubt, it must have vanished after I saw in print what I knew beforehand.

Meanwhile the company of Madame Nowikoff has been enriched by a hopeful newcomer, Mr *Mackenzie Wallace*, a young man who, during his five years' residence in Russia, has learned the language of that country and become more or less familiar with its social state. He is now, like a true Briton of the 19th century, on the look out for 'realizing' his acquirements on the best market.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 5, Berlin, 1975

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121

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE²¹⁶
IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 13 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

Since only five payments à £14=£70 have been made on the policy up till now, and it might well be that in the meantime you would find yourself compelled to make use of the money in another way and be unable to raise it on the 21st inst., and since I am actually advancing more than twice the amount already paid on the policy, you will pardon me if I prefer to make the payment myself in this instance, and I await your advice as to *when*. On the other hand, in order to oblige you so far as I can, I do not propose to set off against the £150 the £10 lent to you here, which means that I am advancing you £160 in all, and this at 5%, repayable 1 May '77.

You received here	£10	£160
CHEQUE 10 November 1876	"10	
To Drake & Son	"60	
Payment on policy	"14	94
		<hr/>
Herewith CHEQUE for balance		£ 66

I've got such frightful bronchial catarrh that I have been condemned to stay indoors in dressing-gown, slippers and a state of TEETOTALISM, hence can't go out to get any bank-notes.

[Note at the end of the letter]

LIFE ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND
5 Lombard St., E.C.
DUE 21 NOV. AT LATEST.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

122

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 20 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

Enclosed the first French sheet for Mlle Isolde Kurz for her sample translation; the latter must be *returned to me at the same time as the French original* (for purposes of comparison).¹⁹⁴

It is Lissagaray's opinion—since his book will be out by the beginning of January, whereas the difficulties over the translation will cause a delay—that it would be better after all to publish the German edition by instalments.

Also enclosed the great Guillaume's MISSIVE.²¹⁷ What I find particularly amusing is '*que pensent les socialistes de langue française*'.^a These *socialistes* '*de langue française*' are, of course, wholly embodied in the Reclus brothers (secret co-founders of the Alliance²⁰¹ but otherwise unknown so far as *socialist works* are concerned) and De Paepe, who is Dutch by birth but in other respects Belgian.

I hope you will pull it off at the elections; a demonstration of this kind on the part of the peasants would be significant.²¹⁸

Yours,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a what **the** French-speaking socialists think

123

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 20 November 1876
 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Becker,

We have duly received your circular addressed to the Zurich section²¹⁹ and are likewise of the opinion that the time has come to oppose the Bakuninists' pretensions to form an International off their own bat.²⁰⁰ Whether it is possible to achieve reorganisation on the basis you propose, namely a federation of the big organised national bodies, is, I should say, very doubtful, since legislation in most countries prohibits such associations from corresponding, let alone amalgamating, with associations abroad. But that is a side issue and could easily be got round or altered, once people are fully convinced that the continued existence of each one of those big organisations is of greater importance than its *formal* entry into an international society. As it is, you will encounter in the Germans the same Platonic indifference which, as a *party*, they invariably evinced towards the old International.

My chief purpose in writing to you today is to propose a fresh field of activity for you in this connection. The Portuguese, with whom I still correspond and who are very well organised, complain loudly of the lack of attention shown them by our friends. They say that the German-Swiss, Germans, Austrians, Americans, etc., have not only failed to pass on information to them, but have not even replied to their letters, whereas they have been regularly inundated with parcels, invitations to congresses, felicitations, etc., by the Jurassians, Bakuninist Spaniards, Italians and Belgians, so that the Portuguese workers have come to regard these as the only people who still have any interest left either in the International or the Portuguese movement. As you will realise, they must be stout fellows indeed who nonetheless don't let themselves be side-tracked, and that such is the case will be apparent to you from the following letter which they sent to the Bakuninist Congress in Berne:

'We have been invited by the Federation of Cádiz to send representatives to the Berne Congress and have since then read, in the *Bulletin jurassienne*, the circular convening that Congress and setting forth its agenda. Not having received this invitation until very late on, the Portuguese socialists are unable to send any

delegates; nevertheless, their Federal Council has resolved that we assure you of our *moral* solidarity with socialist workers all over the world, and state that we never have called that solidarity in question, nor ever shall let it be called in question; *accordingly, the express compact of solidarity which you propose to conclude seems to us a formality that could well be dispensed with.*

'Subscribing as we do most ardently to the unification of all proletarians, we send you our fraternal greetings. Long live the International Working Men's Association!'

Well, I shall write and tell these people about your plan and also send them one of your circulars, although it's doubtful whether they understand German. But you would be well advised to get in touch with them immediately. You can write to them in French; should they reply in Portuguese, I can translate the answer for you.

You might get the above letter published in the *Tagwacht*, likewise the fact that on 5 January and the following days they are going to hold a congress in Lisbon^a and will present a new party programme for discussion.²²⁰

The address is:

E.C. Azedo Gnecco
Rua do Bemformoso 110, 2^o
Lisbonne, Portugal.

That's where their paper, *O Protesto*, is brought out; it's been going for over a year.

I hope that you will achieve something worthwhile and, if we can lend you a hand by providing addresses, etc., we shall gladly do so. Only you mustn't overburden us. Both of us, Marx and I, have quite specific theoretical work to do, of which, so far as we can now see, no one else would be capable, even if they were willing, and we must make use of the present universal lull to complete it. Yet who knows how soon some event won't suddenly involve us in the practical movement again? All the more reason for us to make use of the brief respite to carry the no less important theoretical side a little bit further.

Apropos. We have paid through Frankel for 12 instalments of the 12 copies of *Stunden der Andacht*^b ordered by Marx and myself; hence we still have to pay for 3×12 instalments à 25 cts.=9 fr. If that is correct, let me know and I'll send you a money order.

The *Vorwärts* will shortly be publishing a critique of Dühring by me.^c They had pestered me dreadfully before I took on this

^a [Notice about the forthcoming congress of Portuguese socialists on 5 January 1877.] *Die Tagwacht* No. 96, 2 December 1876. - ^b J. Ph. Becker, *Neue Stunden der Andacht*. - ^c F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

disagreeable task¹⁵⁵—disagreeable because the man is blind so that the contest is unequal, and yet the chap's colossal arrogance precludes my taking that into account.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

124

ENGELS TO GUSTAV RASCH²²¹

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

[London, end of November 1876]

Dear Mr Rasch,

The Schaible in question always has to go rushing into the breach on Blind's behalf wherever the latter has made things too hot for himself.²²² That's what happened in the 1859 affair. Blind (at the end of May or the beginning of June 1859) had printed in London an anonymous flysheet, *Zur Warnung*,^a in which Karl Vogt was accused of allowing himself to be bribed with Bonapartist money and was denounced as a Bonapartist agent of the press in Germany. There was a request for its dissemination. This flysheet, printed in F. Hollinger's print-shop in London, was reproduced in *Das Volk*, a German paper printed in the same print-shop, from the original type which was still set up. Liebknecht saw the corrected proof, with corrections in Blind's handwriting, in this print-shop, and sent the flysheet to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which reprinted it in June. Thereupon Vogt sued the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* for libel, the latter asked Liebknecht to provide proof; he turned to Blind, who stated that he had played *no part whatever* in the matter. Vogt^b now distorted the matter, making out that Marx was the man behind Liebknecht and had written the flysheet. This now gave rise to a dispute between

^a *A Warning* - ^b Deleted in the original: 'thus winning his law-suit'.

Marx and Blind in the columns of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Using affidavits sworn by the compositor, Vögele,—i.e. legal instruments—Marx proved that the latter and Hollinger had set the type for the flysheet which had been *written in Blind's hand*. Blind persuaded Hollinger to make a false declaration, namely that the flysheet had not been printed in his shop and that Blind had not been the author; in addition, together with Hollinger, he persuaded the compositor Wiehe to make an equally false statement to the effect that, having worked for Hollinger for 11 months, he could corroborate the latter's assertions. Relying on this, Blind declared the statement that he was the author to be a *downright lie*. At this, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* terminated the controversy.^a Marx replied with a printed circular in English, declaring the above statements made by Blind and his witnesses to be a DELIBERATE LIE, and Blind himself to be A DELIBERATE LIAR (London, 4 February 1860).^b Blind remained silent. But on 8 February 1860, the compositor Wiehe swore an affidavit before the stipendiary magistrate at Bow Street which contradicted his earlier statement:

1. he had not been employed by Hollinger for 11 months,
2. he had not been working at Hollinger's at the time the flysheet *Zur Warnung* was published,
3. he had heard from Vögele at the time that he (Vögele) and Hollinger had composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript had been in Blind's handwriting,
4. he himself had subsequently broken the types that were still standing into columns for reprinting in the *Volk*,
5. and had seen Hollinger give Liebknecht the proof-sheet corrected in Blind's hand and heard that, immediately afterwards, Hollinger had expressed his regret at having done so,
6. he had signed his earlier statement under pressure from Hollinger and Blind. Hollinger had promised him *money* while Blind had said he would give proof of his gratitude.^c

Marx had copies of these documents circulated among various circles, and this elicited a reply. On 15 February a statement from Schaible appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*; Schaible sent it (copy) to Marx, who replied¹² saying that this changed nothing, either as regards Blind's obtaining false testimony by underhand means, or

^a For the details see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 125-27). -

^b K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (*ibid.*, pp. 10-11). - ^c Cf. present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 319-20.

as regards Blind's criminal CONSPIRACY with Hollinger to obtain by underhand means Wiehe's signature for the spurious forged document.

Now, as then—Schaible to the rescue!^a

Such are the facts. I know nothing further about the sorry fellow.

One more thing. Should you again do me the honour of referring to our encounter in London, might I request you to refrain in future from suggesting I talked about matters which were never the subject of discussion between us.²²³ As to the self-determination of human beings, I could only have said that, viewed in this general way, it makes no sense to me. As to the autonomy of nations, if I discussed it at all it was to deny the southern Slavs the right to use it as a pretext for lending themselves to Russian expansionist plans, just as I now heartily applaud the drubbing inflicted on the Serbs¹⁷⁶; to the best of my knowledge, however, we never discussed a social republic or the executions in Baden. Again, you have only what were entirely fortuitous circumstances to thank for the fact that, consequent upon your article, Marx did not declare that he had never seen you, and hence could not possibly have conducted these conversations.

I could not reply sooner as someone had borrowed my copy of Marx's *Herr Vogt*, in which the above may be found on pp. 55 et seq.,^b and did not return it until yesterday.

Cordial regards.

Yours,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a Cf. the corresponding passage in Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (libretto by Friedrich Kind), Act II, Scene 6. - ^b See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 111 ff.

125

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET²²⁴

IN LONDON

[London,] 9 December 1876

My dear Sir,

Mr Gladstone's exhibition at yesterday's conference²²⁵ prompts me to communicate—for your and Mr Urquhart's *private* information—a recent exploit of this sensational statesman.

About a week ago he wrote a letter to Madame Nowikoff telling her that the *Morning Post* was sold to the Austrian government and that the Russian government ought, on its part, to buy London newspapers, in order to influence British opinion. Even Mad. Nowikoff found this a rather strange proceeding on the part of an English ex-premier. In the same letter he asserts that his popularity is daily increasing and that he feels sure of soon upsetting the Disraeli cabinet.

Mr Gladstone has evidently lost his senses. From some hints given to me, I believe that Mad. Nowikoff, on her return to Russia, will receive a visit on the part of the secret police and be courteously invited to hand over the letters of Mr Gladstone in her possession. By these letters the Russian government will keep him in bondage.

This communication is strictly *private*; any indiscretion would expose third persons to great danger.

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 5, Berlin, 1975

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126

MARX TO ENGELS²²⁶

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1876

DEAR FRED,

Kovalevsky came to see me yesterday, asked for the Hanssen²²⁷; told him he should have it *tomorrow evening*; at the same time agreed that he and I should call on you that same evening (Tuesday).

I am sending you the Hanssen which, as I did, you will polish off with ease in a couple of hours.

Written about book-binding.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

After the *conference* (St. James)²²⁵ Mr Gladstone entered the gallery where Madame Novikov was sitting, offered her his arm—*pour montrer*^a (or so he said according to Novikov's account) *que l'alliance entre l'Angleterre et la Russie existe déjà*^b—and, with her on his arm, strutted through the vast throng which made way on both sides; he a relatively small, skinny chap, she a veritable dragoon. She remarked to Kovalevsky: *que ces Anglais sont gauches!*^c

Generalissimus Chernyayev had twice asked Novikov by telegraph whether he should also appear at the conference; she had to tell him that Mr Gladstone would be pleased to see him personally but thought a public appearance inexpedient.

At the conference (admission by TICKET) Harrison (who, in his article 'Cross and Crescent' in the *Fortnightly*,^d makes great play with a few HINTS recently picked up from Kovalevsky) told Howell to his face that all the workers present without exception belonged to a paid band well known to him (Harrison).

Unfortunately Charles Darwin also lent his name to the rotten demonstration; Lewes refused to do so.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a to show - ^b that the alliance between England and Russia already exists - ^c How gauche these English are! - ^d *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XX, London, 1 July-1 December 1876.

127

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 16 December 1876

Dear Pauli,

Yesterday I sent you, carriage paid, per CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS and thereon per German Imperial parcel post, a crate addressed to: Dr Pauli, Mannheim (Chemical Works, Rheinau), Germany, containing a PLUM PUDDING for your wife,^a a currant cake baked for you by my wife,^b a book, a small box of handkerchiefs and a small ink-pot for Pumps. As the crate would not hold anything further, we were forced to put a new dress for her into the crate containing the pudding for the Schupps; that's the worst of these crates—one just has to take them as one finds them; they are German toy manufacturers' crates.

Should the small crate fail to turn up by Wednesday^c at the latest, you had better make inquiries at the parcels office in Mannheim; the postal service is responsible for it—that office and CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS are agents one for the other. However, I hope that everything will arrive all right since we sent the things in good enough time for them to arrive *before* the Christmas bustle, which the Imperial postal service admits it can't cope.

Your two letters have arrived and I would thank you belatedly for the information about Schmidt. Similar news from Frankfurt²²⁸: Sonnemann, whom he gave as a reference, doesn't know him either, but one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* knows him as a 'professional lèse-majesté man' and ditto a martyr with intent who later, 'on the strength of his martyrdom, became perhaps a bit of a *schnorrer*' (North German term for a cadger). He wrote to me again, whereupon I drew his attention to the bogus references he had given me¹⁵ and since then have heard nothing more from the elephant on crutches.

I shall see to it that you get the articles¹⁵³ in one form or another as soon as several have come out. Later on they will come out in a separate edition which you will also receive, of course.

During the past four or five days my wife has got very much better for no apparent reason; it's almost miraculous how these

^a Ida Pauli - ^b Lizzie Burns - ^c 20 December

sort of things seem to happen in the case of women between 40 and 50. I only hope it lasts.

The small crate also contains some Christmas evergreen, holly with its ritual red berries, for sticking into the pudding when it's dished up. The holly's right on top, so that the customs men get their fingers pricked.

And now, warmest regards from my wife and myself to you all, and a merry Christmas!

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

128

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS
IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 18 December 1876

Dear Hermann,

I have safely received your two letters of 14 and 17 November, made the appropriate entries and found the statement of the account to be correct, save for an item I had not previously been advised of—payment of 90.68 marks to Emil Blank on 24 January 1876. I presume this is the total of the amounts I owed him for various consignments of wine sent to me through his firm over here. In which case this, too, is in order.

I return herewith the Indian paper; the characters are badly defaced Devanagari or Sanskrit characters,²²⁹ which is why I was only able to read one word; it's a kind of *long-hand*, whereas all I've come across is *printed* characters. It would seem to be a Central Indian dialect, since in the North they mostly use Arabic characters.

True, I have again been allotted another £600 gas shares at par (which show me a profit of about 60-70 per cent) but on the other hand sundry Americans came my way at the last drawing, so that

at the moment I don't need any money other than the interest due to me. Since, however, all my gas companies will be issuing new shares or debentures in the course of this year, it's very nice for me to know that I can call on you at any time for £300-£500; for sometimes the whole amount has to be paid up at once and that means getting hold of money quickly.

Many thanks for your information about Schaaffhausen.^a I had rather suspected that the rumours I had heard were exaggerated; however, Mevissen's resignation from the board might well be a sign that the rats have begun to desert the ship.

I am positive that war is not far off.²⁰⁷ The Russians have got so deeply implicated that they can no longer turn back, and the Turks will, of course, resist any incursion into their territory. Come what may, England will protect Constantinople and the Straits, though we've by no means reached that stage yet, and I'm convinced that the Turks will best cope with the Russians if they are left to fend for themselves. The position between the Danube and the Balkans is one of the strongest in Europe, and as long as no railways or highways are built there, the strength of a Russian army that could be employed and provisioned there, would be limited to a maximum of, say, a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men at the outside. Hence it will probably be a protracted war fought out within the quadrilateral of fortresses Ruschuk, Silistria, Varna, Shumla,^b and this the Turks are better able to withstand than the Russians. All that Bulgaria's so-called autonomy boils down to is the expulsion of the Turks from this strong position and the exposure of Constantinople to a Russian invasion. And the Turks, of course, aren't going to let themselves be bullied into this by any conference.²³⁰ If you'd like to know exactly what obstacles the Russians will encounter there, give yourself a Christmas present in the shape of Moltke's *Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828/29*,^c Berlin 1845.^d It's a very good book which will, at the same time, provide you with the specialised maps you will need for the impending war. This time it will be different from 1828 in that:

1. the Turks have an army,
2. Silistria, Ruschuk, etc., are ringed with modern, detached FORTS,
3. the Turks have, after the English, the most powerful fleet of iron-clads, and are in complete control of the Black Sea,

^a Schaaffhausen Bank Association - ^b Bulgarian names: Ruse, Silistra, Varna, Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). - ^c [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - ^d 1836 in the original

4. the Russian Army is in the throes of reorganisation and hence hardly fit for war.

Love to Emma^a and the children, and the compliments of the season from

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

129

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 21 December 1876
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Becker,

Have received your post card, the *Précurseurs* and two copies of the French address.²³¹ If you could send a few more copies of the same, they would be most welcome (*in French*,—we'd be sending them on to Paris); we shall be glad to pay for them as soon as we know how much, say, 20 copies would cost.

Herewith money order for 15 francs, of which 9 fr. for the amount still outstanding on the *Stunden der Andacht*^b and 6 fr. for two half-year subscriptions to the *Précurseur* for Marx and myself. You can send me *both* the numbers as this saves postage, and I can give Marx his. It's a very good thing that we have a French paper in Switzerland again; the Jurassians are hopelessly addicted to cliquism and calumny, and it will enable us to demonstrate that peace *with them* is an impossibility. I couldn't send you articles regularly because I don't want to tell lies, and all that can be said of the workers' movement here is that it has degenerated into Trades Unionism of the pettiest variety, and the self-styled leaders, not excepting Eccarius, are tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie in order to tout their services as agitators against the alleged Turkish atrocities,¹⁸⁷ and advocate the betrayal of the Balkan

^a Emma Engels - ^b See this volume, p. 174.

peninsula to the Russians in the interests of humanity and freedom.

The fact that De Paepe attended the Berne Congress²⁰⁰ is wholly consistent with his previous attitude. Since the time of the Hague Congress²⁰ he had officially remained with the seceded Belgians,²³² but as leader of the opposition, and is now really doing some good by persuading the Flemings to come out in favour of universal suffrage and factory legislation. This is the first sensible thing that has been done in Belgium. Now the Walloon braggarts will also have to co-operate. But for our people in Germany to have fallen into the Jurassian trap was inexcusable. Bakunist organs everywhere exulted to high heaven when it became known that the Germans would be sending delegates to the Congress.¹⁹² Liebknecht knew exactly what he was doing; in reply to a question as to what we thought of the proffered conciliation and what position we would adopt, I had told him: no position at all¹⁵; the fellows were just the same as they had always been, and if anyone wished to burn his fingers by having any truck with them, let him do so. And then they went and acted in this silly, gullible way, as though they were dealing with the most noble, honest men.

Have you had the New York, or rather Philadelphia, resolutions regarding the dissolution of the General Council²³³? In case you haven't I am sending you a few copies; it might provide you people with fresh grounds for taking the thing in hand.

In Geneva an Italian and French paper is appearing under the aegis of the Terzaghi of whom we drew a character-sketch in our *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*.^a This person is now said to be abusing the Bakuninists. For, having long tolerated him, although he had already been denounced by us as a police spy, they were nevertheless eventually compelled to throw him out as such. He is simply a *mouchard*,^b while his henchman Bastelica is a Bonapartist agent—in Strasbourg he published an invocation to the French workers to restore the Empire.

There's nothing to be done in Italy, Bakuninists everywhere, and in Spain I no longer have any address, but may soon be sent one.

Kindest regards,

Your

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 499-501). - ^b informer

1877

130

MARX TO MAXIM KOVALEVSKY²³⁴
IN MOSCOW

London, 9 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have learned that a Russian lady^a who has rendered the party important services is unable for want of money to find a lawyer in Moscow for her husband.^b I know neither the husband in question, nor whether he is guilty or not. But a consequence of the trial could be exile in Siberia and, since Mrs ... is determined to follow her husband, whom she considers innocent, it is most important that she should at least be provided with the means for his defence. Since Mrs ... has left the management of her fortune to her husband and is wholly uninformed about such matters, only a lawyer could set things right.²³⁵

Mr Taneyev, whom you know and whom I have long esteemed as a devoted friend of the emancipation of the people is, perhaps, the only lawyer in Moscow who would take on so thankless a case. You would greatly oblige me by asking him to concern himself with our friend's exceptionally unfortunate situation.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book VI, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

^a Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya - ^b Ivan Davydovsky

131

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT²³⁶

IN LEIPZIG

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

D'abord,^a a Happy New Year to you and family and all our friends.

Herewith the remainder of the 'Philosophy'^b; I shall at once set to work on the 'Political Economy' and 'Socialism', although there might well be a hiatus after the 'Philosophy'. I wish you had waited until *after* the elections²³⁷; at that time you ought to have been using the space for agitation. Again, I'd be perfectly satisfied if some of my work appeared in two numbers per week, leaving the third free for your other stuff. But should you occasionally give me space in the third number of the week as well, I would naturally not object.

We had already sent Geib £10 via Bracke some time ago, as our contribution to the election fund, and so were unfortunately not in a position to make another one. Hence I couldn't accede to your request to send you something more. Provided you people are not deluding yourselves and the reports in the *Vorwärts* are not exaggerated[...]

If the Turks stand their ground, it will soon be all up with the Russians. General conscription has disorganised the Russian army far more than I had expected,²³⁸ while the Turks have never been in better shape and, what is more, their fleet of ironclads is the best and strongest in the world after the British. If things get cracking—and if they don't there'll be another revolution in Constantinople and then things will really get cracking—it will lend singular actuality (topicality)^c to your motion on the *restoration of Poland*.

[...]to tell the truth. And should they complain of my *tone*, I trust you will not forget to confront them with the *tone* adopted by Mr Dühring vis-à-vis Marx and his other precursors, and more particularly with the fact that I *substantiate*, and in detail at that, whereas Dühring merely calumniates and abuses his precursors.

^a First - ^b F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part I. - ^c The word in parentheses was probably inserted by Liebknecht.

They have asked for it, and they're going to be thoroughly hauled over the coals, you have my word for that.

Your
F. E.

First published in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original and the text in the *Vorwärts*

Published in English for the first time

132

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS
IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Hermann,

Your letter duly received, with the remittance of £300 with which I shall credit you in accordance with the statement. Many thanks for this and also for the current account which I shall take a look at. Your having somewhat increased the amount of your remittance doesn't make any difference. I got it on Saturday evening^a when I had visitors here and, because of the plethora of visiting and PARTIES at this time of year, could not send you an acknowledgement of receipt until today, which you will, I hope, excuse.

I had no idea Hermann and Moritz^b were at university. It will do them no harm at all to study for a year or two and, if they then want to go into the business, the knowledge they have gained will be all the more useful to them; the past two decades have thoroughly demolished the old commercial superstition that in business what is above all required is three years of quill driving, a good hand, the most execrable German, and a notable lack of knowledge. And should they wish to try something else, the whole world will be open to them.

Things may go hopelessly wrong for the Russians. I have always held that the introduction of general conscription²³⁸ would ruin

^a 6 January 1877 - ^b Hermann Friedrich and Rudolf Moritz Engels

the Russian army. But that it would happen so fast and so gloriously was something I didn't expect. Everything's going to pieces, discipline and administration, officers and soldiers, there's a shortage of everything—far more so even than there was during your splendid mobilisation in 1852, for in Russia theft is assuming really grandiose proportions. The more stores and depots there are for mobilisation purposes, the less there is in them, since they merely provide occasion for theft. And, what is more, the Turks have never been in such good shape as they are today; they already have more troops in Bulgaria than the Russians would be able to throw in with their four army corps (144,000 men *on paper*). And those four army corps also comprise all the reserves called up in Poland, who would go over at the first opportunity. The Romanian army is there simply for the purpose of being taken prisoner, and the Serbian peasant militia won't find it so easy to muster any more men, and such as it does muster will have already had quite enough.

I am being summoned to table and it's half past five—time for the post. Love to all from

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

133

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE¹⁶

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Bracke,

Congratulations on the most recent mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany.²³⁷ It has greatly impressed other countries, in particular England, where for years Berlin newspaper correspondents have done all they can to bemuse their British readers concerning the state of our party. But 'MURDER WILL OUT', as John Bull says whenever he goes bankrupt.

Well, now I'd like to know at long last (didn't want to pester you about it during the election campaign) just where I am with Miss Isolde.^a She had sent me the first sample sheet of translation^b; I had replied telling her she was fitted for the work provided she took her time and didn't go at it at full-tilt, and also sending her the four additional sheets.¹² At the same time, however, I also let her have a pretty lengthy catalogue of sins relating to the sample sheet.¹⁹⁴

This would seem to have been something of a shock to the little lady's nerves, for her reply betrayed a certain petulance. Undeterred by this, I wrote again to the effect that I looked upon her as the translator of my choice.¹² Since that time weeks have gone by without sight or sound of her. It is now absolutely essential that the young lady should decide, *oui ou non*,^c and, if the first, that she should actually let me have some work. Perhaps you would be so good as to write and tell her this. Should she have defected, we shall have to try the Scheus,^d although I'd be reluctant (not that it's in any way relevant) to have anything to do with the Scheus. There's no more time to be lost. Should the gracious Isolde decline, she would also have to return me the French sheets she has received.

Would you be so kind as to draw up a contract in duplicate—in accordance with the conditions we have agreed—of which one, with your signature, will be retained by Lissagaray and the other, with his signature, will be returned to you.

Salut.

Yours

K. Marx

First published abridged in: P. Kampffmeyer und Altmann, *Vor dem Sozialistengesetz*, Berlin, 1928 and in full in: K. Marx-F. Engels, *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und andere*, Teil 1, Moskau-Leningrad, 1933

Printed according to the original

^a Isolde Kurz - ^b See this volume, p. 172. - ^c yes or no - ^d Andreas and Heinrich Scheu

134

MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Friend,

To begin with, my best thanks for the medicinal salts and my regret that your first, long letter went astray.

Tomorrow a small parcel of books goes off from here to Madame Wollmann, containing the French edition of *Capital* for your cousin and, for yourself (from the 'child'^a), Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune*.

The muster-roll of the Social-Democratic party in Germany on the occasion of the general elections²³⁷ has rudely alarmed, not only our amiable German philistine, but also *les classes dominantes* in England and France. An English paper comments sourly upon, *inter alia*, the contrast between 'THE MELODRAMATIC FITS AND STARTS OF THE FRENCH AND THE BUSINESSLIKE WAY OF PROCEEDING OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS'.

The increasing extent to which even the ideologists of the German middle classes are being affected by the insidious poison is evident from, amongst other things, a short pamphlet recently published by an old acquaintance of yours, Schäffle, entitled *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*. You ought to order the thing, if only for amusement's sake. It is full of unintentional comedy. For, on the one hand, the little book, as the author himself indicates, is aimed especially at Protestant clergymen who, after all, cannot leave flirtation with socialism entirely to their Catholic rivals. On the other, Mr Schäffle, with a fantasy truly Swabian, paints so pretty a picture of the future socialist millennium as to make it seem the kingdom come of your cosy petty bourgeois, a paradise fit only for the Karl Mayers of this world.

Not only is the weather here unspeakable—close, damp, with a fog in so deep a tinge of yellow that one has, as I do, to keep the gaslight on throughout the morning, but the 'ORIENTAL QUESTION' is rampant. Wherever you go, you're buttonholed by *un* John Bull *quelconque*^b: 'NOW, SIR, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE ORIENTAL QUESTION?' Politeness precludes one from giving the only appropriate answer: 'I THINK, SIR, THAT YOU ARE A DAMNED ASS.'

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b some John Bull or other

Whatever the outcome of the war,²⁰⁷ whether favourable or unfavourable to the Little Father in Petersburg,^a that 'sick man',²³⁹ deafened and confused by the hysterical philanthropic bellowing of the English liberal 'PARTY OF PROFIT AT ANY PRICE', has given the signal for a convulsion which has long been in the making within his own Empire, the ultimate result of which will be to put paid to the whole of old Europe's present status quo.

Please give your dear cousin my warmest regards and apply yourself seriously to the study of the English language, for if the worst comes to the worst, England is still the best place in which to set up medical quarters.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

135

MARX TO WILHELM ALEXANDER FREUND¹⁶

IN Breslau

London, 21 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Friend Freund,^b

My New Year's greetings to you and your dear wife are, unfortunately, belated owing to pressure of work and a sore throat which I caught during my last days in Karlsbad. My fate there was similar to that of Martin Luther's peasant who, given a leg up on one side of his horse, fell off on the other.²⁴⁰

My daughter^c sends her best regards to your wife and yourself. She has, *inter alia*, been guilty of a translation, published by the local Shakespeare Society of which she is a member, of Professor Delius' 'Das epische Element in Shakespeare', a translation which has, however, earned her the highest praise from Mr Delius.²⁴¹ She has requested me to ask you for the name of the Swabian anti-

^a Alexander II - ^b A play on words by Marx: 'Freund'=friend. - ^c Eleanor Marx

Shakespeare professor and the title of his book about which you spoke to us in Karlsbad.²⁴² The matador of the Shakespeare Society here, Mr Furnivall, is determined not to forego enjoyment of that opus.

The 'Oriental Question' (which will end up with a revolution in Russia, whatever the outcome of the war against Turkey²⁰⁷), and the mustering of the Social-Democratic legions at home²³⁷ will perhaps have convinced the German cultural philistine that there are more important things in the world than Richard Wagner's music of the future.¹⁸⁵

With kindest regards to you and your dear wife,

Your most sincere friend,

Karl Marx

Should you happen to see Dr Traube, would you be so good as to give him my kindest regards and remind him that he promised to send me the *titles* of his various publications. This would be of great importance to my friend Engels, who is engaged on a work on natural philosophy^a and intends to give more weight to Traube's achievements than has hitherto been done.²⁴³

First published in *Vorwärts*, Nr. 275, Basel,
16. Juni 1931, Beilage

Printed according to the news-
paper

136

MARX TO FREDERIC HARRISON

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 January 1877

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The bearer of this letter, my nephew, Mr Henry Juta of Cape Town, wants to complete his general studies at the London University, and, at the same time, to become a member of the Inner Temple.²⁴⁴ For the latter purpose he has to sign a paper stating that he is no attorney etc. and his own signature has to be

^a F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

countersigned by two barristers attesting that he is a proper person etc. As the affair is very pressing, I have taken the liberty to direct him to you in the hope that you will be so kind as to instruct the young man how to find his way out of this difficulty.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours sincerely

Karl Marx

Fd. Harrison, Esq.

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in *Neues Deutschland*, Nr. 15, Berlin, 15. Januar 1963

Reproduced from the original

137

MARX TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

[Draft]

London, 23 January 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

On receiving your kind letter of 15 December, I wrote to our friend Hirsch¹² about my obligations, stipulated in the contract, to Mr Lachâtre, the publisher of *Capital*, which do not admit of my agreeing to your project²⁴⁵ without his authorisation. I then wrote to the latter¹² and from day to day vainly awaited his reply. Finally, a few days ago, I sent him a registered letter,¹² the first having doubtless been intercepted—an everyday occurrence in the Prusso-German Empire. Pending Mr Lachâtre's reply, I should further point out that, even should he give his consent, Mr A. Quêt would be quite capable of ordering the confiscation of every 'summary' of *Capital*. Since Mr Lachâtre had been convicted *in absentia* of 'communard' acts and was living abroad as a refugee, the judicial administration of Lachâtre's booksellers was placed by the Broglie ministry in the hands of Mr Quêt who belongs to the dregs of the conservative party and who has done

everything in his power first to hold up the printing of my book and then to prevent its distribution. He would be just the man to play a trick on you, despite the authorisation from Mr Lachâtre vis-à-vis whom I am myself bound by a private contract but who, vis-à-vis Mr Quêt, is entirely powerless, since this sequestrator is his legal trustee.

Under the circumstances I think that the best thing would be to put off for the moment 'a summary' of *Capital*, and in the meantime bring out a short review of it, if necessary in the form of a small pamphlet, which would be all the more useful in that Mr Block (in the *Journal des Économistes*)^a and Mr Laveleye (in the *Revue des deux Mondes*)^b have given the French public utterly false notions of *Capital*. Such a course had also been agreed at the outset by Mr Hirsch and myself.

Please accept my best thanks for your book which you were kind enough to send me and which is distinguished by great stylistic verve and a sound basis.

I trust the incident that has put us in touch with one another will be the starting point of a sustained correspondence.

Yours ever,

K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

138

ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM

IN LEIPZIG

London, 25 January 1877

Dear Ramm,

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is back from Offenbach,²⁴⁶ I am writing to you.

^a M. Block, *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du 'Journal des Économistes'*. - ^b É. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876.

To begin with, it is nearly a fortnight now since I had any of the *Dühring* proof-sheets¹⁵³ (the last, sent back at once, being Art. VI) and I'm afraid that a consignment may have gone astray.

Next, I had requested Liebknecht¹⁵ to send me the Nos. of the *Neue Welt* containing my biography of Wolff²⁴⁷; I received the first 4 numbers, but since then it was only from the mutilated *Neue Welts* used for packing the *Vorwärts* that I saw that the subsequent part had also appeared. Needless to say, I neither kept a copy of the manuscript here, nor did anything about getting hold of the thing, having taken Liebknecht at his word; would you be so good as to see to this before all numbers have been torn to pieces and used up?

As to the by-elections, we over here are very much in the dark. All we know is that Rittinghausen is 'in', as the English say.²⁴⁸ A pity that the Christian-Social chaplain, Laaf, was licked; in the first place, it would have been amusing to watch him steering a middle course through the Reichstag and, in the second, since he was evidently doomed to make an ass of himself, he would have stirred up dissension among the working men at Aachen, thus giving us a chance of introducing the thin end of the wedge.

What is most encouraging about the recent elections is the great progress made in the country, particularly in the big farming districts of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg. Thence it's an easy step to Pomerania and Brandenburg and, once inroads have been made into the schnapps country,^a it will soon be all up with the Prussian monarchy.

Ever your friend,

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a See Engels' article 'Prussian Schnapps in the Reichstag'.

139

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 14 February 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Bracke,

Lissagaray, who is otherwise completely in agreement with your draft contract, is firmly of the opinion that in every case the price (per copy) should be kept to the *minimum* quoted by you.¹⁹⁴

So far as the free copies for himself are concerned, a dozen would amply suffice.

Apropos! Miss Isolde Kurz has written to me, partly to say that she will be sending you the manuscript direct, while the proof-sheets would come to me from you (I have no objection), partly to ask for a further consignment of sheets from the original; the latter have now been sent her by Lissagaray. *But notabene*, Lissagaray has also made all manner of alterations to the *introduction, additions* (very important ones) to the French original, etc., so that *nothing should be printed in Brunswick before Isolde has made corresponding modifications to the initial sheets she has already translated*. Thus, should Isolde's manuscript be already in Brunswick by the time my letter arrives, it should not be printed but returned to her for alteration.

It goes without saying that the German edition will acquire extra value as a result of these alterations and additions made by the author himself.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
K. Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

140

ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 14 February 1877

Dear Mrs Pauli,

I fear that, if all the plans hatched during the winter in Rheinau are to come to fruition, the length of the summer would have to be nine months rather than three. Time will show whether anything can come of the proposal you make in your kind letter, but one major snag is, alas, already evident to me and that is my wife's^a health. So far she has come reasonably well through the winter, and similarly the wear and tear of the Christmas campaign (in which all festivities here in England are concentrated); but I couldn't yet say to what extent I shall be able to mobilise her, come September, for another Munich campaign without her acting as a drag on the mobility of others. During the past six weeks we have again had bad luck of one kind after another with maids and now, at the very time when she ought to be resting, she often has to exert herself beyond her strength. I had foreseen this eventuality and had therefore reserved the right vis-à-vis the Schupps to bring Pumps back at any time. Now things have come to such a pass that she absolutely must relieve my wife of the housekeeping, and since, apart from anything else, I myself cannot very well get away, I shall probably take advantage of an opportunity which presents itself and have her escorted back home around the 1st or, at the latest, the 15th of March. As soon as I know anything definite, which should be within the next few days, I shall let both Pumps and Miss Schupp have further particulars; until then I would ask you to say nothing about the matter to them.

As soon as we have got the house into some sort of order, I intend to take my wife to the seaside for a fortnight or so to help her recover her appetite and prevent her from getting too debilitated.²⁴⁹ You'd have laughed had you seen me making the bed last night and lighting the kitchen fire this morning.

That you found the elections²³⁷ tedious I can well believe, seeing that you are not allowed to vote in them. When we take over the helm, not only will women be given the vote, they will also be

^a Lizzie Burns

elected and make speeches. The latter already applies to the school board here and, last November, I gave all my 7 votes to a lady who, as a result, had more votes than any of the other 7 candidates for election. Incidentally, the ladies who sit on school boards here are notable for the fact that they do very little talking and a great deal of working—as much on average as three men. Or perhaps it's a case of 'new brooms sweeping clean'? However, most of these 'brooms' are pretty ancient.

At all events we shall bear the September project constantly in mind and do all we can to implement it. And now I would beg you to convey my wife's and my own warm regards to Pauli and the children and accept our kindest regards on your own behalf.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

141

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 23 February 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

I wrote to Bignami last week, took out a subscription to the *Plebe*, and wrote to him about the elections.²⁵⁰ Three days ago, before we left,²⁴⁹ I received 3 numbers, and he is going to let me have some that are missing.²⁵¹ My intervention could not have come at a better time.

Plebe, 7 January, reports proceedings at the Assizes against *Bignami*, the *Questore* (chief of police) of Turin (the self-same man who treated Terzaghi to a 'vermouth', see *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*^a), for *embezzlement* (*tout comme chez nous*^b). A policeman,

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b just like at home (a modified phrase from Nolant de Fatouville's comedy *Arlequin, empereur dans la lune*; 'tout comme ici' (just as here) is the stock response made by the people listening to Harlequin's inventions about life on the moon)

one Blandini, stated that, on Bignami's orders, he had carried out a *pro-forma*^a house search *chez* Terzaghi, having also been ordered by Bignami only to remove what Terzaghi should give him. When a warrant went out for Terzaghi's arrest, he had already been notified by another policeman, Premerlani, acting on Bignami's orders; Terzaghi *era un agente segreto di Bignami che gli dava tre lire* (francs) *al giorno*.^b About which the *Plebe* remarked that this showed what use the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*^c were put to.

To which there came a reply from a little Bakuninist sheet, *Il Martello*^d—the name betrays my Cafiero.—Since discussion of the revolting Terzaghi case was not permissible, the little sheet fastened on the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*: so in your case, it said, the *governi non di classe*^e would likewise have *fondi segreti*,^f so in your case, too, everything would remain as before—there follows all the same old anarchist rigmarole *que l'on sait*.^g Having replied to this in due form, the *Plebe* at once proceeded to attack the *Bulletin Jurassien* for having been sent into a rage by four lines in the *Plebe* and acting as though the *Plebe* were enraged although it had simply been *edificata*^h by the *Jurassien*'s insinuation.

Come to that, [said the *Plebe*,] one would have to be exceedingly *ingenuo*ⁱ to take the bait proffered by people who, green with envy, went knocking at door after door to beg for a bit of animosity towards us in return for their calumnies. The hand, which has long been sowing tares and discord, is sufficiently well known for its Loyolan^j machinations to be instantly detectable and *gli onesti non ne facciano tantosto giustizia*.^k

The same No. contains a letter from E. Dörenberg (Drbg. of the *Berliner Freie Presse*) on the elections in Berlin.

No. of 16 February, letter from Brussels, 'Cesar De Paepe' about the recent Flemish agitation for factory laws and general suffrage, ends:

Noi crediamo altresì di arrivare, con questo metodo, più prontamente e più puramente all'emancipazione del proletario, piuttosto che star lì, abbaiano alla luna per degli anni e dei quarti di secolo, e attendendo che mamma Rivoluzione voglia degnarsi di venire a spezzarsi le catene dei lavoratori.^l

^a formal - ^b was a secret agent of Bignami's who gave him three lire a day. - ^c class governments' secret funds - ^d See *La Plebe*, 21 January 1877. - ^e non-class governments - ^f secret funds - ^g we are familiar with - ^h edified - ⁱ ingenuous - ^j from the name of St. Ignatius of Loyola, i.e. Jesuitical - ^k Honest folk won't take very long to size it up. - ^l We likewise believe that we shall, by this means, achieve the emancipation of the proletariat more promptly and more thoroughly than if we were to stand for years and generations baying at the moon and waiting until Mother Revolution should deign to come and break the workers' chains.

It further speaks of old Becker's proclamation²¹⁹ as a *symptom*, and in most amicable terms.

A very delighted letter from Bignami today, in which he says he will print my stuff on the elections, and confirms that the *Federazione dell'alta Italia*,^a which extends from Venice to Turin and will shortly be holding a congress,²⁵² *vuole lottare sul terreno del suffragio universale*.^b The *Plebe* is its official organ.

Thus the stronghold of lawyers, literati and dilettanti in Italy has been breached. And the best part of it is that all the former Alliance men²⁰¹ in Milan, Mauro Gandolfi, etc., of Cuno's time also seem to have gone over. Indeed, a bogus working men's movement could not have survived long in an industrial city like Milan. And Northern Italy is decisive not only strategically, but also to the working men's movement throughout the whole length of the agrarian peninsula.

Thus the world government in Neuchâtel²⁵³ has nothing left that is uncontested except for Spain, and how long will that last?

If these events are to be followed more closely, by the way, it is high time that Mr Demuth took out a subscription to the *Bulletin jurassien*, as agreed. After all, we've got to know what anathemas are being uttered by the Holy See's universal dictator and deputy.^c

Warmest regards to all,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Federation of Northern Italy - ^b intends to fight on the terrain of universal suffrage - ^c James Guillaume

142

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 February 1877

My dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige my wife and myself by coming to dine with us tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. I shall then give you an explanation for my prolonged silence—throat trouble and work which, to some extent despite myself, has been thrust upon me.²⁵⁴

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

143

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 2 March 1877
42 Kings Road

Dear Moor,

I have written to Liebknecht¹⁵ and asked him to send the proof-sheets to me here until further notice; I usually get them by Monday at the latest, but have had none this week and am afraid that, as usual, something's been overlooked.¹⁵⁵ Would you be so good as to go to my house and see if any proofs have arrived there, and forward them to me? Mrs Leeson will show you what parcels of newspapers, etc., have arrived and you'll easily be able to pick them out; she can likewise give you NEWSPAPER WRAPPERS, etc., in which to pack the stuff. Otherwise the fellows are quite capable

of publishing under my name the balderdash they have set up in type.

In some respects I'm glad that Lina^a and Pumps aren't coming until the middle of the month. In the first place, we shall then be home again, as we are thinking of coming back a week on Tuesday^b; secondly, it would give me time to send Lina, in addition to the £15 I sent her in haste (all I happened to have at the time), another £5 against any eventuality, and again make it clear to her (not altogether unnecessarily, perhaps) that she should have an eye to comfortable rather than cheap travel, since all the money I have sent hitherto is, of course, intended only for the journey *here*.

We've had glorious weather here, but today it's misty and damp with occasional rain. How much the climate down here differs from that in London is apparent from the news item in this morning's paper which says that there was an inch and a half of ice on the water in the parks, whereas here the effect of the slight nocturnal frost had already been dissipated by the sun by ten o'clock. For a couple of weeks at the SEASIDE in winter, Brighton is indeed 'a fine place', which is why the more refined what-d'ye-call-'ems pullulate here. But it's a disgrace to London that, after the aquarium here has attained truly scientific rank by its achievements in the breeding of fish and amphibia, anyone could be presumptuous enough to evoke its caricature in Westminster—MUSIC HALL with piscine accompaniment—and with such PUFFING into the bargain!

Best wishes,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Caroline Schöler - ^b 13 March

144

MARX TO ENGELS

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 3 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you the things from Leipzig I found at your house,^a together with the *Plebe*. As to the important declaration by the federation of *Italia alta*^b in which they state that they have always abided by the 'original Rules' of the International,²⁵⁵ and officially disassociate themselves from any actual federative link with the Italian Bakuninist groups,²⁵⁶ you must see that the *Vorwärts* gets this as soon as possible, along with the other very interesting, and to me highly welcome, facts contained in the first letter^c you sent me.²⁵⁷ Otherwise Liebknecht will contrive to make nonsense of this affair too.

I've been very unwell of late, with a chronic cold, catarrh and cough.

ALL RIGHT about Lina.^d

Lavrov, who is going through a damned bad period, has praised your anti-Dühring articles, though one (i.e., he) 'is unaccustomed to such gentleness in Engels' polemics'.

You will be getting a longer missive²⁵⁸ from me some time next Monday'.^e Do *not* regard this as a Dühringian manoeuvre of always making promises one never sticks to—namely doing something.

Kindest regards to Lizzy.

Your

K. Marx

Devil take Hirsch and his Castelnau. The latter has now asked me on behalf of them both to figure as a contributor to a working men's paper which they already have in hand. As if I had the time for that—and Hirsch must surely know that I haven't any! The mere fact of my name appearing, however, would make me needlessly 'responsible'. Because Mr Castelnau himself now admits

^a See previous letter. - ^b Northern Italy - ^c See this volume, pp. 198-200. -

^d Caroline Schöler - ^e 5 March

that, so long as Quêt is in charge, his *abrégé*^a will belong to the Land of Nod, it seems he is going to thrash me in some other way. I have yet to see either him or Hirsch lift so much as a finger on behalf of *Capital*, unlike Laveleye or Block.^b

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

145

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

Brighton, 4 March 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Lessner,

This morning I got a letter from Hoffmann, 9 Hayes Court, Soho, to whom I had already sent two pounds through you. One child died before Christmas, a second on 15 February and on 25 February he lost his wife; he asks me for help, since he has not yet paid off the funeral expenses for the child and doesn't know how he can meet those for his wife, who is to be buried today, and which amount to £4. The letter (of 28 February) remained in London unattended to and hence I couldn't do anything for him in time; moreover today is Sunday when no action can be taken. Will you be so good as to call on the man and see what can be arranged and how things are with him, and if you have a pound or 30s. at your disposal you could, depending on the circumstances, give it to him on my behalf, or else write and tell me straight away what you think of the matter and I can send a Post OFFICE order. Above all make it clear to the man that I didn't get his letter until this morning and was therefore unable to do anything.

I had to bring my wife here so that she could recover somewhat from her debility²⁴⁹ and this she has managed to do; she is much

^a summary (of the first volume of *Capital*). - ^b See this volume, p. 194.

better and I trust she will remain so. We go back on Tuesday week,^a and a day or two after that Pumps will also be returning, accompanied by Miss Lina Schöler.

My wife sends her warm regards to you and yours and also to Nelli, as does

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

146

MARX TO ENGELS⁹⁶

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 5 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

Dühringiana enclosed.²⁵⁸ I found it impossible to read the fellow without belabouring him constantly and at some length.

Now, having thus familiarised myself with him (and the section from Ricardo onwards, which I've not yet read, must contain many exquisite pearls), a task that required patience and a club ready to hand, I shall in future be capable of enjoying him in tranquillity. Once one sees how the laddie's mind works, so that one really gets the hang of his method, he proves to be a fairly entertaining SCRIBBLER. Meanwhile, what with my catarrh and consequent irritability, he has done me yeoman service by providing a secondary 'occupation'.

Your
Moor

Apropos. That most virulent article on Gladstone-Novikova, the sight of which had caused the *Whitehall Review* to quake in its boots, appeared yesterday in *Vanity Fair*, with improvements by

^a 13 March

Barry.²⁵⁹ As we could see, when Collet's son and daughter^a came to visit us yesterday, it has met with Papa Collet's^b disapproval, Gladstone being, after all, an honest though crazy man, and a polemic of this sort 'indecent'.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

147

ENGELS TO MARX⁹⁶

IN LONDON

Brighton, 6 March 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

Very many thanks for the long opus re 'critical history'.²⁵⁸ It is more than I need in order to destroy the fellow utterly in this field too. In fact Lavrov is to some extent right in maintaining that the fellow has been treated too decently hitherto.^c When I now re-read the *Kursus der Nationalökonomie*^d and knowing the fellow and his ways as I now do, so that I no longer need fear some hidden trap amidst the verbiage and can see the pompous *fadaise*^e for what it is, I certainly consider that a little more contempt wouldn't come amiss. The good Lavrov is entitled to his own feelings about it, of course, and in his проповѣды^f can leave out of account the crescendo which the likes of us must always bear in mind when engaged on so protracted a demolition job. When I've finished the 'Philosophy', however, there'll be no further need for him to complain about gentleness, still less when it comes to the 'Political Economy'.

Collet's grave misgivings apropos Gladstone were inevitable.^g These are things that ought not to happen without orders from above. It would have been better to have remained silent until Gladstone was back in office and then left it to Urquhart to issue a

^a Clara Collet - ^b Collet Dobson Collet's - ^c See this volume, p. 203. - ^d E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie...* - ^e twaddle - ^f homilies - ^g See previous letter.

grave warning by way of profound INNUENDOES incomprehensible even to the person concerned. The war against SECRET DIPLOMACY must itself be waged secretly and diplomatically.

I shall make a digest of the Plebeiana²⁵⁷ for Wilhelm.^a The present split in Italy spells disaster for *messieurs les* anarchist dictators. The brief comments in this number of the *Plebe* on the *spiriti ristretti ed anarchici—ed allo stesso tempo mostruosa contraddizione, dittatoriali*^b go to show that Bignami has acquired an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of these people. All the same, Bakunin was more skilful and patient than Mr Guillaume, who is in too much of a hurry in the matter of world government.

What you sent me wasn't a new proof.¹⁵⁵ I've had none as yet. Wilhelm is making a thorough mess of things.

We return tomorrow week.²⁴⁹ Lizzy is noticeably restored, appetite *almost* normal; but here, on this long uninterrupted stretch of beach, the air is really incomparable.

Best wishes,

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

148

MARX TO ENGELS⁹⁶

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 7 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

As I might forget to do so later, I am sending off this contribution in the wake of my last epistle²⁵⁸:

1. The most important point of Hume's view of the influence of an increase in money on the stimulation of industry, a point which shows more clearly than anything else (if, indeed, there had been

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b minds that are narrow and anarchic and at the same time—monstrous contradiction this—dictatorial

any room for DOUBT on this score) that he sees this increase as occurring only in conjunction with a depreciation of precious metals, a point to which Hume reverts on various occasions, as is apparent if only from the excerpt I have sent—is that 'THE PRICE OF LABOUR' rises only in the last resort, after that of all other commodities.^a Now **M. Dühring**^b says not a word about this; indeed, Hume whom he praises so highly, is treated by him in as slovenly and superficial a fashion as all the rest. Besides, assuming he had noticed the thing, which is more than doubtful, he would have seen fit, having regard to the workers, not to praise a theory of this kind but rather TO BURKE THE WHOLE.

2. My own particular way of dealing with the Physiocrats²⁶⁰—i.e. as the first methodical (not, like Petty, etc., merely casual) *exponents of capital* and of the *capitalist mode of production*—was something I did not, of course, wish to put on display just yet. The fact is, IN PLAIN WORDS SAID, that my viewpoint might be taken up and simultaneously debased by charlatans before I had a chance to expound it. Which is why I did not touch on this in the exposé I sent you.

But in dealing with Dühring it might perhaps be fitting to draw attention to the following two passages in *CAPITAL*. I quote them from the *French* edition because they are less vague here than in the German original:

*With reference to the Tableau Économique*²⁶¹:

'La reproduction annuelle est un procès très facile à saisir tant que l'on ne considère que le fonds de la production annuelle, mais tous les éléments de celle-ci doivent passer par le marché. Là les mouvements des capitaux et des revenus se croisent, s'entremêlent et se perdent dans un mouvement général de déplacement—la circulation de la richesse sociale—qui trouble la vue de l'observateur et offre à l'analyse des problèmes très-complicés. C'est le grand mérite des physiocrates d'avoir les premiers essayé de donner, dans leur *tableau économique*, une image de la reproduction annuelle telle qu'elle sort de la circulation. Leur exposition est à beaucoup d'égards plus près de la vérité que celle de leurs successeurs'.^c (258, 259.)

^a D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1779, pp. 303-04. - ^b E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*.... - ^c 'Annual reproduction is a process very easy to comprehend provided one considers only the funds of annual production. But all elements of the latter have to pass through the market. It is there that the movements of capital and revenue meet, intermingle and lose themselves in a general interchange—the circulation of social wealth—which confuses the eye of the beholder and presents problems of great complexity to the

With reference to the definition of 'travail productif'^a:

'Aussi l'économie politique classique a-t-elle toujours, tantôt instinctivement, tantôt consciemment, soutenu que ce qui caractérise le travail productif, c'était de rendre *une plus-value*. Ses définitions du travail productif, changent à mesure qu'elle pousse plus avant son analyse de la plus-value. Les physiocrates, par exemple, déclarent que le travail agricole seul est productif. Et pourquoi? Parce que seul il donne une plus-value qui, pour eux, n'existe que sous la forme de la rente foncière.'^b (p. 219).

'Although the Physiocrats could not penetrate the mystery of surplus value, yet this much was clear to them, viz., that it was "*une richesse indépendante et disponible qu'il*" (the possessor thereof) "*n'a point achetée et qu'il vend*"'^c (Turgot) (p. 554, *Capital*, 2nd German ed.), and that the same could not arise out of **circulation** (i.e., *Capital*, pp. 141-145).

I happened to be at DINNER when the GREAT Barry arrived IN GREAT HURRY with 8 newspapers under his arm.

English newspaper editors are quite extraordinary ANIMALS. The EDITOR of *Vanity Fair* (i.e. the subordinate one; Mr Bowles, the head and PROPRIETOR, a semi-Urquhartite, has gone to Spain with his wife for the benefit of the latter's health) had at length published the article²⁵⁹ from which the Scottish *Morning News* and the London *Whitehall Review* had shied away, ditto the 6 GOVERNMENTAL PAPERS, or rather the CENTRAL PRESS which is in the hands of the Tory Ministry and puts their stuff together for them.

Bon.^d The same *Vanity Fair* MAN has, by way of revenge, now taken fright in his turn at the prospect of reprinting (in the interests of the cause and Mr Barry) the article already printed by those 8 journals, namely the one relating to Gladstone's ARTICLE IN THE *Contemporary Review*.²⁶² Writes, asking Barry what to do in the event of a LIBEL action. I gave Barry—who had providently come already armed with the above-mentioned 8 PAPERS—instructions as

analyst. It is greatly to the credit of the Physiocrats that they should have been the first to attempt to give, in their *tableau économique*, a picture of annual reproduction as it is when it emerges from circulation. In many respects their exposé is closer to the truth than that of their successors.'

^a productive labour - ^b 'Indeed, classical political economy has always, whether instinctively or consciously, maintained that it was in the nature of productive labour to provide *surplus value*. The further it carries its analysis of surplus value, the more its definitions of productive labour change. The Physiocrats, for example, declare agricultural labour alone to be productive. And why? Because it alone provides surplus value which, for them, exists only in the form of rent.'

^c 'independent and disposable wealth which he ... has not bought and which he sells' - ^d Very well.

to what answer he should give. I MUST BE VERY MUCH MISTAKEN IF EVEN THIS HESITATION (WHICH WE SHALL, HOWEVER, OVERCOME) HAS NOT SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE 'SCRUPLES' OF MR COLLET. IT IS, IN FACT, TOO BAD TO TAKE THE SECRET DIPLOMACY BUSINESS OUT OF THEIR HANDS!

By the by, Russian diplomacy has degenerated into pure farce. Mr Ignatiyev's TOUR, whether or not it is initially successful, will still remain, no matter what the circumstances, an even more grotesque and compromising pilgrimage than that of Mr Thiers after the farrago of the 4th of September.²⁶³

From the magnanimous *Gambuzzi* I have received an epilogue, 9 PAGES long, of his own contriving, upon the magnanimous *Fanelli*,^a who has just died. Presumably intended to make me repent of the insulting remarks about *ejusdem*^b Fanelli in the piece concerning the Alliance.^{c 201}

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the
first time

149

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 March 1877

My dear Friend,

A member of the HOUSE OF COMMONS (an Irishman^d) intends to bring a motion—next week—to the effect that the English government should call upon the *Russian* government to introduce the reforms (in Russia), which it declares to be necessary in respect of Turkey. He wants to take advantage of the occasion by speaking of the horrors that are occurring inside Russia. I have

^a C. Gambuzzi, *Sulla tomba di Giuseppe Fanelli*. - ^b the same - ^c See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 497). - ^d Keyes O'Clery

already supplied him with a few details about the measures taken by the Russian government against the refractory Poles of the United Church. Could you make a brief résumé—in French—of judicial and police persecution inside Russia in recent years? Since time is short—I was only informed of the matter today—and something is better than nothing, could you, since these incidents are fresher in your memory than in mine, do this ‘something’? I believe that would be of great service to your suffering compatriots.²⁶⁴

As to Mrs Utin, I can make absolutely nothing of it, but I SHALL CROSS-EXAMINE HER AT THE NEXT INTERVIEW. Had she not, on various occasions and in the presence of my wife and myself, expressed the wish to see you, we should not have breathed a word of it.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

150

MARX TO MRS WOLLMANN

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 19 March 1877
[41 Maitland] Park Road

Dear Mrs Wollmann,

I have delayed replying in order to seek advice on so important matter from one of my friends, a former businessman.^a He returned to London only yesterday, after a long absence.

With the income you mention you can live decently in London, though only, needless to say, on a modest bourgeois basis. In fact London is today probably the *cheapest* capital in Europe, thus offering the advantage that, provided you keep up the usual

^a Frederick Engels

appearances, you can run your house in any way you wish, and that no one, not even the rich, need be unduly sociable. The city's enormous size and population relieve one of many considerations which are more or less obtrusive elsewhere. So far as education is concerned, in all the public schools—and these, even from the financial viewpoint, are the only ones I would recommend—they also have German teachers. In some respects the schools themselves are less adequate than those in Germany, in others they are to be preferred. But in any case, and particularly for a boy who is to prepare himself for the STRUGGLE WITH LIFE, England is a far more useful training school than Germany, that great barracks, servants' hall and nursery.^a

As regards German teachers for private tuition, there is very heavy competition among them, and so the cost of LESSONS is not high.

Here, as in America and on the European Continent, there is a business crisis which in my view has yet to reach its peak. After that point has been reached, we shall enter the most favourable period of all for the launching of new businesses. But the sooner you move to London, the longer and more leisurely will be the time available to your husband to take the preparatory steps.

I need hardly tell you that both my daughters and I welcome your move to this country as an unexpected stroke of luck.

My kindest regards to Fleckles and the dear children,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

Should you wish to leaf through some of *Capital*, it would be best to *start* with the *last* section,^b p. 314. In the scientific exposition the arrangement is prescribed for the author, although some other arrangement might often be more convenient and more appropriate for the reader.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a By nursery (*Kinderstube*) Heine called Germany in his poem 'Zur Beruhigung' (in *Zeitgedichte*). - ^b the eighth section—'Le procès d'accumulation du capital'—of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

151

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 March 1877

My dear Friend,

I have received the article and it is now in the hands of the member of the House of Commons, to whom, by the by, I shall send the rectification.²⁶⁴

Beesly called on me yesterday; I spoke to him about an article by you^a for the *Fortnightly*. He told me he would recommend you to John Morley, the editor-in-chief, but—and this is most disagreeable—it would have to be written in, or translated into, English before being sent to the editor. As to the length of the article, 16 pages is the usual requirement.

Allsop did not give us his latest address; perhaps Le Blanc could get hold of it.

Yesterday I received a letter from St Petersburg with a note advising me that a parcel containing several books had been sent off to me.²⁶⁵ Unfortunately I have still to set eyes on it.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a [P. L. Lavrov,] 'La justice en Russie', *Vanity Fair*, Vol. XVII, 14 April 1877.

152

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 24 March 1877

122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear old Friend,

I am sending you herewith a money-order for 50 fr. and, I think, 20 centimes and would ask you to send me in return *two* copies of the *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mairevolution*^a and, if you can, the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* for 1876. If you can send it through a bookseller, give him the parcel addressed: F. E. care of F. Wohlauser, St. Paul's Buildings, Paternoster Row, London; in which case it will cost very little. Marx and I would like you to use the rest of the money as an additional contribution to the *Précurseur*.

In No. 32 of the *Vorwärts* there is an article of mine, 'From Italy',^b from which you will have seen that the empire of *Messieurs les Bakuninists* is in a truly splendid state of disintegration. The people on the *Plebe* deserve every support and would certainly be glad to make a reciprocal arrangement with the *Précurseur*. The paper's address is *La Plebe*, Via Carlo Alberto No. 1, Milan. The editor is called Enrico Bignami and he has maintained correspondence with me for years, which only became dormant when the Bakuninists' dictatorship was at its fiercest in Italy. Even Mr Malon has defected and he, after all, was one of the first seventeen International Brethren and founders of the Alliance²⁶⁶; one by one they are foreswearing their allegiance to the luckless Guillaume. World government is not exactly everybody's cup of tea and, as for these gentlemen's future congresses, there's every likelihood that the goings-on there will be even wilder than at The Hague.²⁰ Our policy of mercilessly unmasking these people and then letting them rip has been gloriously vindicated. What with Belgium's turning her back on them, the defection of the last remnant in Italy, and the lamentable role they play in Switzerland (the annual shindy in Berne with the obligatory free-for-all), they have nothing left save the minuscule Spanish Alliance which only

^a J. Ph. Becker und Ch. Essellen, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*. - ^b See present edition, Vol. 24.

keeps going because they have virtually no public outlet there and double-dealings are more easily conducted in the dark.

Your little piece in the *Neue Welt* amused me greatly.^a You ought to write a sequel; it's good for the young to be reminded about the earlier movements, otherwise they imagine that they are indebted to no one but themselves.

Your old friend,
F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

153

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

[London, 26 March 1877]

Dear Pauli,

I can't let this curious letter from Pumps go off without saying once again how very grateful my wife^b and I are to you and your wife^c for all the love and kindness you have shown the girl. I hope that when your children are bigger there will at last be an opportunity of squaring the account.

When will you be coming? Schorlemmer swears black and blue that you *have* to visit England before the summer, but that's all we can find out, and yet it would be very nice to know, approximately, when you will be turning up. Your room is ready; if you were to arrive at the end of this week, Schorlemmer could take advantage of the holidays and come too.

We spent three weeks in Brighton,²⁴⁹ which did my wife a power of good; she returned stronger than even after last year's long spell at the seaside and recuperative trip, and she had been remarkably low. If only it lasts until the summer.

^a J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben'. - ^b Lizzie Burns - ^c Ida Pauli

So after all the endless shilly-shallying it now looks as though they are going to come to blows in the Orient after all²⁰⁷ and I shall be delighted if the Russians take a pasting. The Turks are people of a quite peculiar stamp, who cannot be judged by European standards, and their position, complete with fortresses, between the Danube and the Balkans is inferior in strength only to the position Metz-Strasbourg-Mainz-Koblenz. The Russians may yet break many a tooth there.

And now, warm regards to your wife and children and you yourself from my wife and

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

154

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV²⁶⁷

IN LONDON

[London, 27 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

Could you let me have Ignat'yev's Christian name, ditto a few details about his family and the man himself. As regards his political exploits, I am pretty well informed about them.

There has been a fine old mercantile and financial collapse in Moscow.

Yours ever,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi
marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad,
1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

155

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV²⁶⁷

IN LONDON

[London, 29 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

My best thanks for the note which I received yesterday evening. You have no idea of the pusillanimity and shilly-shallying of the 'free' English press. That is the only reason why I am not yet in a position to let you have definite news about the fate of your article.²⁶⁴

Yours ever,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

156

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 11 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your title's a good one, except that, instead of 'text' you should put 'original text' or else just 'original', whichever you please.²⁶⁸

I am returning the first proof-sheet with this note; it will do, because the little madam,^a despite her evident annoyance with myself, has stuck pretty accurately to my corrections. But every now and again she makes mistakes which are a bit too much of a good thing. On p. 14 we read: 'As luck would have it, a vague

^a Isolde Kurz

piece of news burst open the doors.' How can a 'piece of news', and a 'vague' one at that, burst open doors? In French it's '*une vague nouvelle*', which should read: 'a fresh wave' (of people) that is!

Moreover, the translation has gone damned slowly up till now.

Could you send me an approximate list of works which have appeared in Germany during recent years on the commercial and industrial crisis there¹¹⁸?

What your complaint chiefly calls for is a 'good' doctor. But whatever you do, don't treat the thing too lightly. Easy to cure in the early stages, the illness will become malignant if not dealt with in good time.

Engels is very dissatisfied with the way in which the *Vorwärts* is printing his anti-Dühring piece.¹⁵⁵ First they forced him into doing it, and now they pay not the slightest heed to the terms of the contract. At election time,²⁶⁹ when no one did any reading, his articles were simply used to fill up space; next, they print short, disjointed fragments, one fragment one week, another a fortnight or three weeks later, which means that readers (working men in particular) lose the thread. Engels wrote, admonishing Liebknecht.^a He believes that this way of going about things is deliberate, that there's been intimidation by Mr Dühring's handful of supporters. It would be quite natural if the same blockheads who originally made such a song and dance about the 'deathly silencing of the hollow fool' should now wish to silence his critics. It's all very well for Mr Most to talk about the undue length of the articles. His apology for Dühring,¹⁵⁹ luckily for him never published, was very long indeed, and if Mr Most has failed to note that there's much to be learnt from Engels' positive exposés, not only by ordinary workers and even ex-workers like himself, who suppose themselves capable of getting to know everything and pronounce on everything within the shortest possible time, but even by scientifically educated people, then I can only pity him for his lack of judgment.

With kind regards,

Yours,
K. M.

PS. Mlle Kurz translates '*l'expropriation de toutes les denrées de première nécessité*',^b which means expropriation by the government,

^a See next letter. - ^b expropriation of all the prime necessities

or public appropriation, as 'public alienation', which gives completely the wrong sense (p. 16).

Rationnement = being placed on short rations (as in a besieged fortress or on board a vessel when supplies are running out), as 'maintenance of all citizens' (p. 16). She sets down the first word that comes into her head, whether it makes sense or not.

Ditto, p. 16, she translates '*pour faire lever les provinces*', as 'to levy the province'; should read 'to cause the provinces' (not 'province') 'to rise'.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

157

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 11 April 1877]

Dear Liebknecht,

I have today received your letter of the 9th. It's the same old story. First you make all kinds of promises, whereupon exactly quite the opposite happens and then, if I complain, I hear nothing from you for a fortnight and I'm told that you had too much to do and would I kindly spare you my unnecessary objurgations. It IS ADDING INSULT TO INJURY.^a So often has this comedy been played that I refuse to tolerate another performance.

My letter of yesterday, which will be in Leipzig first thing tomorrow morning, will get to you on 13 Friday,¹⁵ and I expect an immediate reply to my questions. My reply to yours will depend on your reply to these, i.e. if by then there is any need at all for a reply from me.

If, by the evening of 17 Tuesday, I have had no reply, or no adequate one, from you, I shall no longer be able to show you any

^a Phaedrus, *Fables* ('The Bald Man and the Fly').

consideration and shall myself see to it that such articles¹⁵⁵ of mine as remain are not mismanaged as hitherto. In which case it might very well happen that, in the course of things, I shall sooner or later find it necessary to air the whole business in public.

Your
E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

158

MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 April 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Please send me the Papers: *The Greek United Church in Russia* just laid before Parliament.

Enclosed for account sent £1, 3, 3.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch*, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1985

Reproduced from the original

159

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 April 1877

My dear Friend,

The agent has just handed me the fee of £2.10/- due to you from *Vanity Fair*; I am sending it by the enclosed POST-OFFICE order.

I am truly astonished by your letter. It was at my request that you took the trouble to write—and promptly at that—not only the article published, but also the manuscript for the Member of Parliament,²⁶⁴ and yet you feel you are under an obligation to me! On the contrary, I am the one under an obligation.

We can discuss the Pio affair²⁷⁰ when you keep your promise and come and see me.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

If they ask at the POST OFFICE for the name of the 'SENDER', you should give my name and address.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

Published in English for the first
time

160

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 April 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

During your last stay at London I spoke with you of *Wróblewski*. He was the most able and gallant general of the Paris Commune, and even at the age of 17^a years, during the time of the Polish insurrection of 1863, the leader of the insurgent Lithuanians most redoubted by the Russians. During his exile in London he has lived in a poor but respectable way by drawing military maps and doing similar work. Though brought up in the usual style of Polish noblemen, he has courageously borne with more hardship than most of the workmen exiles. It would be in the interest of our cause to procure him the means of entering the Turkish

^a Should be: 27.

service now that the war with Russia is at hand,²⁰⁷ and all the more so that he wields great influence over his countrymen.

Myself, Engels and one or two other friends at London are willing to contribute our quota, if you and some of your friends would act in common with us. What he wants are the costs of travel and some money for dress etc. I hope that your health has been going on improving. Mrs Marx (who is rather ailing) and Tussy send their best love to you. As I do not know where to find you, I send this letter at haphazard. Old Leblanc, who will leave London for Paris, is still woefully beset by his marriage-mania.

Yours most devotedly,

Karl Marx

First published in the language of the original (English) in *Économies et Sociétés*, No. 6, Paris, juin 1967, Série S-11

Reproduced from the original

161

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE²⁶

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 21 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

On the sheet enclosed herewith I have again noted down for your benefit the most glaring of Kurz's mistakes.¹⁹⁴

Months ago, when I ceased to correspond with her, I told Miss Kurz¹² that, being so short of time, I could at most only undertake to correct errors of fact such as might be made by any foreigner insufficiently *au fait* with French conditions—but not mere mistakes in translation.

Hence, if she does not proceed more carefully (I shall spare enough time for one or two more proof-sheets), you will have to find an expert corrector and deduct what you pay him from the translator's fee.

You should devise one footnote in which you say once and for all that *all notes*, unless expressly stated otherwise, are Lissagaray's own. By so doing you would save the cost of having to put 'A. d. V.'^a several times on every page.

^a Short for 'Anmerkung des Verfassers'—author's note. -

Your idea of disseminating a portrait of me taken from the caricature provided by Lachâtre²⁷¹ does not appeal to me in the least.^a

It is to be feared that Prussia has concluded a secret treaty with Russia; without such a treaty Russia could not invade Romania.²⁷² The workers' press concerns itself too little with the oriental question, forgetting that the government's politics gamble wantonly with the lives and money of the people.

At all events, public opinion amongst the workers, petty bourgeoisie, etc., should be duly alerted long enough in advance to make things difficult for the Prussian government (in its plans e.g. to get Russia to cede a little bit of Poland or to indemnify itself at Austria's expense), should it attempt to involve Germany in the war *on Russia's behalf* or so much as put pressure on Austria to that end.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
K. M.

ad p. 17, Mandat tacite, the gracious lady translates this as 'silent mandate', which is nonsense; the term 'unspoken' agreements is used in German, to be sure, but never silent ones. But in the same sentence '*démarche de Ferrières*', meaning Jules Favre's journey to Ferrières, where Bismarck was, is translated as '*Ferrière's* demarche', thus changing Ferrières the *place* into a *person*!

ad p. 18, she has omitted the place-name from battle 'of Chevilly'.

ibid. '*Trochu ... lui fit une belle Conférence*'. This she translates 'read him a fine lecture', a literal schoolroom rendering which, however, makes no sense in the German.

ad p. 20, l'Hôtel de Ville she translates as 'town house'; what is meant is the September government which was housed in the 'Hôtel de Ville'.

ibid. *à ce lancé*, another rendering that smacks strongly of the schoolroom: 'at this throw there came a roar from the whole rabble'. What on earth does the German mean—at this throw (which?) there came a roar, etc.? *Lancé* should here be translated as 'virulent cry'.

ibid. '*D'autres tocsins éclatent*' is translated 'new' (why not old?) '*tocsins* were pulled (!)'—What is meant is that more distress was being ventilated. The very word '*éclatent*',^b not to mention the

^a See this volume, p. 227. - ^b break out

whole context, should have shown her what nonsense she was writing.

p. 25 Miss Kurz changed what the text calls the ‘*Cordeliers*’²⁷³ of the old French Revolution into the latter’s non-existent ‘Franciscans’. Not content with that she changes ‘*le prolétariat de la petite bourgeoisie*’—the proletariat of the petty bourgeoisie—into ‘the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie’. Sheer carelessness, this!

ad p. 26, *contre-maîtres* she translates as ‘senior boatswains’, whereas here it means *foremen*, while *chefs d’ateliers* are captains of industry.

ad. p. 30, ‘*Paris capitulait avant le 15 sans l’irritation des patriotes*’.

Kurz translates this as ‘Paris capitulated before the 15th, without exacerbation on the patriots’ part’, which would be correct if the original read:

‘*Paris capitulait etc. sans irritation de la part des patriotes*’ (instead of what it actually says: ‘*sans l’irritation des patriotes*’).

Hence, what is meant is precisely the opposite, namely: ‘Had it not been for the exacerbation of the patriots, Paris would have capitulated before the 15th.’

What is patently at fault here—the sentence is a very simple one—is once again the most unpardonable carelessness.

ad. p. 32, ‘*Jules Favre demandait à Trochu sa démission*’.

Kurz translates this as: ‘Jules Favre demanded *his dismissal* of Trochu.’ Since a man does not *dismiss* himself from office, but is dismissed by his superiors, this sentence could only mean that Jules Favre wished to be dismissed from office by Trochu. In fact, however, Jules Favre demanded his (Trochu’s) *resignation* of Trochu which is, indeed, the literal rendering of ‘*démission*’.

162

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV²⁶⁷

IN LONDON

[London, 21 April 1877]

My dear Friend,

We shall expect you tomorrow (Sunday) for dinner (2 o'clock).
In great haste, and with regards from Mrs Marx,

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

163

ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 21 April 1877

To Mr B. Lindheimer

The last time you came and saw me, I categorically told you that I could not let you have more than the £1 I had advanced you, and you yourself declared that this went without saying. I am all the less prepared to go back on this in that, according to your own story, you could at any time obtain money from your friends in the City, were it not for your reluctance to approach them to this effect. But if the position be viewed in its proper perspective, it cannot possibly be harder for you to approach these friends of yours, who know you and your circumstances and to whom you were recommended, than myself who is as much a stranger to you as you are to me. In any case, I cannot spare you this step,

having already more than enough to do lending an occasional helping hand to party comrades who have no one in the CITY from whom they might obtain advances, and I would ask you politely but unequivocally to regard this as *my final word*.

I am, Sir, etc.

E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

164

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 April 1877
(BIRTHDAY OF SHAKESPEARE)

My dear Friend,

On my daughter Tussy's behalf I am sending you a ticket (for two people) for the STALLS at the *Lyceum Theatre*.²⁷⁴ It is for today's (Monday's) performance. The play is *Richard III*.^a It would be as well if you were to get there a little after seven o'clock.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

^a by Shakespeare

165

ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 24 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

It is hardly likely that you will get the photographic plate from Paris since Lachâtre is in exile and his business has been sequestered by the government; the publishing house is being administered by an arch-reactionary^a who is doing all he can to ruin it.³⁸ For that matter, the portrait is a rotten one and Marx quite unrecognisable²⁷¹; if you like, we can send you a better photograph. I shall be glad to write the biography for you. Tell me how many *Kalender* pages you'd like at most and at least, so that I know how much space I can take up, ditto the delivery date.²⁷⁵

The three stenographic reports received with thanks²⁷⁶; a pity your subject was not a better one; if one is constantly compelled to cite witnesses who provisionally withhold their names, one is in a poor position. But all the same, the purpose has been achieved since a favourable vote in *that* company is, presumably, out of the question.²⁷⁷ Bebel's speech is excellent—lucid, matter-of-fact and to the point.²⁷⁸

I should never have suspected any kind of Dühringian influence had Liebknecht told me the plain truth and promised me redress.^b There was a definite agreement that an article should appear every week¹⁵⁵; when I complained that it was not being adhered to, Liebknecht kept me waiting for ten days or more and during that time, despite his presence in Leipzig, there was no sign of rectification; finally he wrote and told me that I should spare him unnecessary objurgations—that was all, not a word about any future redress. Now, since I had no idea what influence other people might have over the editorial board, the only course open to me was to assume the above and, by means of an ultimatum, compel Liebknecht to keep his promises. I have written and told him he may, if he wishes, show the relevant letters from me to *anyone* he chooses, and hence, so far as I am concerned, they are at your disposal. Over here people are literally overwhelming me

^a Adolphe Quêt - ^b See this volume, pp. 217-20.

with reproaches on the grounds that *I* have allowed the articles to be printed as mere stop-gaps so that no one could follow the thread. And when you consider it is now at least the sixth time that this tale has recurred, that I have been given the finest and most unequivocal promises, only to see, without fail, the very opposite happen, you will realise that in the end one grows sick of it.

So the Russians are in Bucharest.²⁷² I trust the Turks will at once occupy all their Danubian fortresses in the locality facing the Romanian bank and turn them into bridgeheads. In particular Calafat (Vidin), Giurgevo (Rustchuk) and Calarashi (Silistria).^a That would force the Russians to lay siege to these fortresses on *both* banks, i.e. beleaguer them with *twice* the number of troops, thereby losing a great deal of time. But with every soldier the Russians have to leave behind in Romania, it will become easier for the Turks to meet them in the open field and prevent them from taking the fortresses. I likewise trust that Abdul Kerim will, as promised, send 20,000 Circassians to Romania to destroy the railways and do some thorough foraging. All honour to Strousberg for constructing the Romanian railways with such splendid ineptitude that they are already letting the Russians down.

Re trade regulations. Cross, the Home Secretary here, has brought in a BILL whereby all the many and sometimes conflicting laws governing the limitation of working hours are to be brought together within a *single* act²⁷⁹ and thus become enforceable for the first time. I will try and get hold of the thing and send it to you or Liebknecht so that the liberal jackasses may see for once what a Conservative minister has the nerve to do in that line over here.

Time for the post and for a meal. Regards to all our friends.

Yours,
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a Calafat, Giurgevo and Calarashi—the Romanian names of the towns on the left bank of the Danube; Vidin, Rustchuk (Ruse) and Silistria (Silistra)—the Bulgarian names of the towns on the right bank of the Danube.

166

ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER²⁸⁰

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 26 April 1877

To Mr B. Lindheimer

The tales you first told me about your relations and your contacts in the CITY are so completely at variance with everything you now say that I regret I shall be unable in future to place any faith in your words. The fact that your relations are reluctant so much as to entrust you with money for your journey and that your supposed friends in the CITY merely refer you to the German society is even less calculated to inspire me with confidence. I do not know the party members you invoke,^a nor if I did would their general testimony signify much in the face of such facts. Hence I regret that I can do nothing further for you in this matter.

Faithfully

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the draft
Published in English for the first
time

167

ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 3 or 4 May 1877]

It is indeed incomprehensible to me why I, of all people, should be called upon to pay your travelling expenses. You yourself must have known what was the extent of your means and when the time

^a Hoffmann and Immhof

had come to go home, for you came over here on the off chance and not as a working man at that. You let the time go by and then approached me, a total stranger, for help. You did not produce a single document relating either to your character or your position, for a party card does not serve the purpose of vouching for its holder. Your tales about your position and acquaintances blatantly contradict what you were subsequently obliged to tell me. Finally you attempt to force me to receive you at my house by behaviour which compels me to close my doors to you.

If I nevertheless send you a postal order on GOWER STREET OFFICE for the £1 in question, I do so simply with a view to giving you one last chance to prove that you are deserving of better treatment than that which you have hitherto forced me to mete out to you. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Faithfully

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

168

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE
IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 26 May 1877

Dear Bracke,

What Miss Kurz has been awaiting has today gone off from London. In the course of next week she will (save, I think, for the appendix) be getting *everything* in the way of alterations which Lissagaray still has to send her.¹⁹⁴

For the rest I should like to point out that:

1. *La Kurz* should have sent you, *as a matter of course*, anything *in manuscript form she had received from Lissagaray*, along with *her own manuscript*. Considering the masterly way she translates (see just a *few* recent examples overleaf), how can I keep a check on her without Lissagaray's ms.? I am convinced that, because of this, all manner of infelicities have already crept in.

2. She might very well have told herself that Lissagaray requires this ms. for his own second French edition.

All in all, the translation, when not actually wrong, is often unhelpful, philistine and wooden. But this may, perhaps, to some extent correspond to German taste.

With kind regards,

Yours,
K. M.

I should be grateful if you would insist that the said Kurz should, *firstly*, send you (for return to Lissagaray) that part of Lissagaray's ms. she has already translated (you can pass it on to me together with the proofs) and, *secondly*, always enclose with her own manuscript the manuscript she has just translated so that I may compare translation and original. All in all this additional manuscript does not amount to very much.

The passage heavily scored by me on p. 73 should read thus:

'It [the people] looked for this emancipation to the autonomous Commune which, etc., would conduct its administration independently, within the limits required to maintain national unity. Rather than the representative who may, etc., should, etc., it opposed to that monarchical excrescence of society, the "State", which, etc., undermines, etc., represents particular class interests which, etc., the delegation of communes endowed with a life of their own which, etc., was to administer the general national interests.'

Examples

p. 49 'A l'appel de son nom il a voulu répondre' Miss Kurz translates as: 'He wanted to respond to the summons issued to him.' Sheer rubbish! It means: 'He wished to answer when his name was called, etc.'

{ditto 'les yeux ... brillants de foi républicaine'; *foi* does not here mean 'truth'—nor does it ever mean that, save in the sense of 'upon my truth!' (*ma foi*)—but *faith, conviction*, etc. I have left it as it stands since I am generally averse to all such commonplaces in German; so what matter if she puts an X for a U.}

p. 51 'des intrigants bourgeois qui couraient après la députation'. Kurz translates 'who ran after the deputation'. A primary school child could hardly translate worse.

p. 51 'pour statuer en cas de doubles nominations' Kurz translates outrageously 'so as, if need be,' (what's that supposed to mean?) 'to decree double nominations'!!! Should read: 'so as to decide in the case of double nominations'.

p. 54 'une permanence' is translated as 'permanent session' (what the devil is that?). Means 'standing committee'.

p. 59 instead of 'expired bills of exchange' she puts 'expired merchandise' (!!!).

p. 70 *l'intelligence etc. de la bourgeoisie de cette époque* she translates as 'the big bourgeois of this point of time' (!). An epoch is no more a *point* of time than a line is a *point* in space.

p. 75 'C'est que la première note est juste' she translates as: 'The reason was that the first account (!) was correct', should read, that from the start they had struck or hit the right note.

p. 90 'plumitifs'—'quill-pushers' she translates as *legal records!!!*

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

169

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 27 May 1877
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

My obstinate silence must have surprised you. I've had a damned awful week with my eye: the bright sunlight has done it no good. I have been wearing spectacles all day for a week now and given alcohol the sack, but experienced no improvement at all to begin with. Only since yesterday has there been any definite change, inasmuch as I am no longer aware of my eye. When I come up to London²⁴⁹ (Friday^a) I shall definitely put paid to the thing; I'm sick of a condition which prevents me doing anything at all.

The stupid English papers carry tales of the enormous advances made by the Russians in Armenia²⁸¹ of which, so far, there have been very few. But unless the softas in Constantinople soon bestir themselves,²⁸² Muhtar Pasha may wreak considerable havoc.—It's

^a 1 June -

characteristic of the way the war is being conducted on the Danube that the Tsar^a has to put in an appearance before anything is done. For the rest, the administration of the Russian army would actually seem to have been better so far than might have been expected; however, we shall see how things go when the real campaign begins. But the decision lies with Constantinople and is now becoming an urgent necessity.

Monsieur Mac-Mahon, too, seems to have gone off the rails with his *coup de tête*.^{b 283} It is not proving attractive, nor, despite all efforts, will the Bourse really swallow the bait. Moreover his avowed intention of remaining within the bounds of legality is evidence that the results are not consistent with the promises made by Broglie & Co. If the French stand firm this time and vote properly, or at any rate no worse than last time, they may well be quit of this kind of reaction once and for all. The course things are taking shows that this coup does not envisage the use of force and, even if there was a subsequent attempt in that direction, it would probably misfire. A coup d'état cannot, like a bill of exchange, be fixed up at three months' date. Nor, come to that, is Broglie a man of blood, but rather a parliamentary intriguer who will certainly miss the right moment, even if Mac-Mahon's scruples and vacillations had not made this a virtual certainty from the start. *Enfin*,^c the affair is taking an exceedingly favourable course, and if the electors allow the prefects, etc., to treat them like enfranchised cattle on this occasion, they will only be getting their deserts; but it doesn't look as though they will. What luck for that old swine Thiers if Mac-Mahon presents an ultimatum—favourable elections or else I resign! Idiot!

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Alexander II - ^b rash act - ^c In short

170

MARX TO ENGELS

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 31 May 1877

Dear Engels,

I hope that your eyes are better. Madame Lormier, whose eye trouble got worse day by day and became really serious, was sent by Madame Longuet SENIOR a little jar of ointment (said to cost no less than 30 francs), a very small quantity of which completely cured her—*mirabile dictu*^a—within a few days. There is no disputing that FACT. The ointment enjoys considerable repute in France and, by smelling, observing it, etc., you will doubtless discover what the main ingredient is.

So closely do your views on the STATE IN TURKEY agree with my own that I had said literally almost the same thing to Wróblewski.

But the crisis is not far off. Damad Mahmud and Co. who are under the direct influence of Russia, are apparently much inclined to conclude peace with the Russians, one of the terms being, of course (as indeed recommended by *The Times*, in the same number in which that paper raps Mac-Mahon over the knuckles for his anti-constitutionalism^b), *the abolition of the constitution*. Nothing could be more opportune for the Tsar^c; hitherto all that has taken place has been in the nature of a preliminary military parade; Russian victories in Asia Minor²⁸¹ have been overrated and overstated for various reasons (apart from BLOODY IGNORANCE) by the various parties; financial constraint as such is as yet in its infancy; the Caucasian malady is as yet no more than sporadic²⁸⁴; for the present the Tsar might get off with a *succès d'estime*²⁸⁴; and without constitutional constraint, and might in his turn have an important part to play in the occidental crisis, etc., etc. Midhat Pasha, I AM TOLD, DOES EVERYTHING FROM HERE TO PUSH THE MOVEMENT AT CONSTANTINOPLE ON WHICH, IN FACT, THE FATE OF TURKEY (AND THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF RUSSIAN 'DEVELOPMENT') DEPEND.

In France we are beginning to see what I have long in vain been telling Lissagaray (who is now again taking too rosy a view), namely that the really industrial and commercial bourgeoisie is

^a marvellous to say - ^b 'Peace Rumours' and 'The New French Ministry', *The Times*, No. 28956, 31 May 1877. - ^c Alexander II

becoming republican, as indeed events EVEN SINCE THIERS' RÉGIME have clearly shown, and that the '*hommes de combat*'^a do not represent a particular class, but only the *beaux restes*^b of the former parties' PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS. The workers (in Paris) have taken for their watchword *que c'est cette fois l'affaire de Messieurs les bourgeois*.^c Hence they are holding back.

From the enclosed cutting from the *Marseillaise* you will see how Mac-Mahon is being treated by the radical journals. The sagacious *République Française* tells him that the question can be decided only by his resignation; Émile de Girardin threatens him with IMPEACHMENT and, of all the papers, the *Siècle*, the *épicier*^d paper *par excellence*, treats him with the greatest ruthlessness.

Meanwhile the Bonapartists are insistent. Too late in the day to draw the sword (apart from the fact that it's not in Broglie's LINE). But (after the Chamber has been further prorogued) there might be an attempt to institute an *état de siège*^e—illegal, it is true, but covered by the ministers' *responsabilité légale*^f and Mac-Mahon's *irresponsabilité constitutionnelle*.^g²⁸³ Such a course, which is being urged by the Bonapartists at least, might yet give rise to violent clashes. It's a possibility, if an unlikely one.

Collet, as in duty bound, has informed me of Urquhart's death.

My own constitution, while not exceptionally flourishing, is pretty fair compared with what it usually is about this time of year. My wife is getting better.

The weaning of the little chap^h (the Irishwoman is still with us in the meantime) has gone smoothly, but he evinces a dangerous passion for crawling up the stairs instead of round the drawing-room.

Warmest regards from one family to the other.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a fighting men - ^b here 'last remnants' - ^c that this time it's the bourgeoisie's affair - ^d shopkeepers' - ^e state of siege - ^f legal responsibility - ^g constitutional irresponsibility - ^h Jean Longuet

171

ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 25 June 1877

Dear Bracke,

Many thanks for your remittance of £15.1.2. in payment of interest which has been credited to you with thanks.

You should simply transfer the fee of 30 marks²⁸⁵ to your election fund, if only by way of a sop to the man's conscience.

As for the next *Kalender*,^a let us wait a bit before deciding what to do. After all, there's almost a year to go.

The beginning of *Dühring*, 'Political Economy',¹⁵⁵ goes off to Leipzig today. Liebknecht maintains that the congress resolution in no way affects *my* articles. I can only assume the same since the congress is not, after all, empowered to make arbitrary use of my articles or, without my consent, to relieve Liebknecht of the commitment he entered into vis-à-vis myself on the strength of a resolution adopted by last year's congress.²⁸⁶

You really are a martyr to ill-health. One might almost think that Brunswick had a dreadfully unwholesome climate. Gout, rheumatism, measles and an unknown complaint into the bargain—it's truly horrifying! I hope that all will end well.

What a wretched, petty-minded creature that Helmholtz must be so much as to let himself be irritated by the remarks of a Dühring, let alone be irritated to the extent of confronting the Berlin faculty with the alternative: either Dühring goes or I go!²⁸⁷ As though all that Dühring has written, rabidly envious as it is, was of any more consequence to science than a fart! But admittedly Helmholtz, though a quite outstanding experimentalist, is no whit superior to Dühring as a thinker. And then again, a German professorship—particularly in Berlin—is the top of German petty-bourgeois philistinism and provincialism. Where else could a man of, for example, Virchow's scientific repute set his highest sights on—becoming a town councillor!

You will yet be surprised at the kind of stuff the Turks are made of. If only we had in Germany a parliament such as that in

^a *Volks-Kalender*

Constantinople! So long as the mass of the people—in this case the Turkish peasant and even the Turkish middle landowner—remains sound, and sound he is, an oriental polity such as this is capable of withstanding a quite incredible amount of buffeting. Any other nation would have been destroyed by four hundred years of metropolitan corruption, a legacy from the Byzantines; all the Turks need do to be a complete match for Russia is slough off the topmost layer. Treachery, venality on the part of army leaders and commandants of fortresses, the squandering of money destined for the army, defalcation of all kinds, everything that would ruin any other state, is to be found in abundance in Turkey, but not in such abundance as to effect its ruin. The only danger for the Turks lies in the meddling of European diplomats, notably the English who are restraining the Turks from making uninhibited use of their military resources and expect them to put up with the most unheard-of provocation. Thus when, for instance, the Romanians let the Russians into their country,²⁷² the Turks were supposed to regard this as an act of *neutrality* and neither to occupy nor to consolidate the bridgeheads of their fortresses on Wallachian territory^a—not on your life! That would infringe Rumania's neutrality! And the Turks were good-natured enough to comply with this English and Austrian claptrap and thus reduce the defensive qualities of their Danubian fortifications by more than half!

The crossing of the Danube by the Russians at Matshin, which I foretold in conversation with Marx as much as three weeks ago, is an admission of their inability to force a crossing where it would have been of some use, namely *above* the Dobrudja.²⁸⁸ The Russians will have to send at least two or three army corps through the Dobrudja if they want to carry the Chernavoda-Küstend^b positions—how they propose to supply them and how many will reach their destination, I should dearly like to know. This action has been forced upon the Russians by the defeat of the Montenegrins¹⁷⁶ which they could not allow to happen without doing something about it. No doubt the campaign will now get under way, and the Russians are faced with the choice of sending as many troops across the Danube as military necessity demands but they will be unable to feed them, or of sending fewer—no more than they can feed,—whereupon the campaign will soon come to a halt. Nevertheless, the immediate future will probably

^a See this volume, p. 228. - ^b Romanian name: Constanța.

see a rash of Russian victories on the Danube—none of which will be of the least significance.

kindest regards from your
 F. E.

First published in *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*, Nr. 148, 1877

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

172

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 July 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

You would have spared both of us a great deal of unnecessary annoyance had you at once informed me of the simple fact that the supplement would actually be appearing *now*, and that you were going to publish my articles in it.²⁸⁶ From your earlier letters I could only assume that the supplement could not appear before October and had, moreover, already been incorporated into the review^a scheduled to come out at that time; hence I could only assume that, *despite* the resolution, you proposed to print the sequel to the article in the main body of the *Vorwärts*. Hence my many misgivings—all too justified in the event.

I have sent Ramm three articles and am today taking the precaution of writing to him again to say that he can go ahead with their publication in the supplement. A fourth article is finished and I am working on a fifth. Unfortunately there are all manner of lets and hindrances; the day after tomorrow I have to go to Manchester for a few days, and after that, my wife being unwell, to the seaside²⁸⁹ where, however, I shall nevertheless be able to do a few hours' work every day.

As regards Urquhart, we have taken steps to get the material together.²⁹⁰

^a *Die Zukunft*

The round of trials and/or sentencings seems to be getting even merrier over there.²⁹¹ You ought to amend the penal code so that you can spend your nights in jug—or more precisely your prison cot—and be at large during the day.

It seems to us that the *Vorwärts* is taking the business in France a trifle too lightly.²⁹² True, it's no immediate concern of the workers and they know it and say: *à vous maintenant, MM. les bourgeois, faites votre jeu!*^a All the same, it's of the utmost importance to future developments in France that the present lull before the next workers' movement should occur under the régime of a bourgeois republic when Gambetta & Co. would discredit themselves, rather than, as hitherto, under imperial pressure when they would regain their popularity and, on the day of action, assume the leadership again; that the squabbling over *forms of government*, now meaningless in France, should finally cease, and the republic appear for what it is—the classical form of bourgeois rule and simultaneously that of its impending dissolution. Come to that, you'd damned well know it in Germany if reaction were to be victorious in France.²⁹³

So far all has gone well on the Danube. An oriental army like that of the Turks, unfit for use in big strategical operations, could not possibly prevent the Russians from crossing.²⁹⁴ But this is compensated by the fact that an oriental army of this kind is never the victim of its own stupidity. We shall now see how the Russians propose to feed their army in Bulgaria. With every step they advance their difficulties mount up in geometrical progression and the peculiar performance under fire of the *best* they have—the Caucasian army in Armenia—does not augur well for them. Meanwhile Montenegro is being reduced to pulp. I'm particularly glad for G. Rasch's sake.²⁹⁵

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Now it's up to you, Messrs bourgeois, put up your stake!

173

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

We have been installed here since Wednesday,²⁸⁹ but this time, alas, the effect of the sea air has not been as rapid in my wife's case as we hoped; she can't quite get her appetite back. In my case, on the other hand, the aftermath of the excursion to Manchester is already 'out of sight, out of mind'.

The enclosed letter has been forwarded to me along with one from the selfsame Wiede²⁹⁶ (who thus must obviously be someone other than our merry little hunchback^a). Write and tell me what you say to the worthy fellow so that we proceed *unisono*.

The first proof of the 'Political Economy' is already here.²⁹⁷ Sheet 6 of the 'Philosophy', from which 29 lines were omitted, is being reprinted; let's hope there is no further unpleasantness in store.²⁹⁸

I still find the collapse of the Russians in Asia somewhat inexplicable. The Caucasian army has a strength of 8 divisions à 16 battalions, i.e. 128 battalions of the line (apart from riflemen, garrison troops and new formations), but Loris-Melikov is said to have only 40-50 batts in all just now. If we estimate the flying columns near Batum and Bayazid^b at a further 30 batts (certainly too high), there remain 50-60 batts TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR. These must therefore have remained in the Caucasus to cover the lines of communication. If this assumption runs counter to the vainglorious claims originally made by the Russians, that is no reason for rejecting it. ANYHOW the landing at Sukhum-Kaleh—whatever its real and immediate results may have been—would appear fully to have succeeded in achieving the aim of tying up almost half the Caucasian army in the Caucasus proper.²⁹⁹

In Bulgaria the Russians are apparently feeling their way for the time being, an easy enough task thanks to the *purely passive* resistance of the Turks (which has reduced the *Kölnische Zeitung's* Prussian lieutenants to utter despair). At all events they are, it

^a Johannes Wedde - ^b Modern Turkish name: Dogubayazid

seems, preparing to make a rapid thrust through the Balkans, either via Gabrovo-Kazanlyk or via Sofia-Philippopolis.^a If they do so, and the Turkish government refuses to let itself be intimidated thereby, this 'most modern form of warfare' could end in disaster. To maintain three army corps in Thrace and keep them supplied with ammunition, etc., when you have no negotiable lines of communication to your rear, is a feat that may be the undoing of even the great Nikolai Nikolayevich.

The fact of the matter is that a few Europeans are necessary to the Turks. These people think in terms either of attack *alone* or defence *alone*. A combination of the two is beyond them. Like that Turkish major who said to the *Kölnische Zeitung's* lieutenant: You see all those Russians over there on the far side of the Danube?—Dammit, aren't your guns going to fire at them?—*Yok, efendim*, no Sir, but just let the Russians fire at us, and they'll see what sort of an answer we'll give them!—Meanwhile the Russians are setting up their batteries completely at their leisure. Had Silistria been defended *like this* in 1853, it would soon have fallen.³⁰⁰

Kindest regards from family to family,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

174

MARX TO ENGELS³⁰¹

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 18 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

First, as regards *Wiede*, I shall reply to him saying that in my present state of health I am not in a position (which is indeed the case) to interest myself in any periodical as a contributor.²⁹⁶

^a Bulgarian name: Plovdiv

It would certainly be very nice if a really scientific socialist periodical were to appear. This would provide an opportunity for criticism and counter-criticism in which theoretical points could be discussed by us and the total ignorance of professors and university lecturers exposed, thereby simultaneously disabusing the minds of the GENERAL PUBLIC—workers and bourgeois alike. But Wiede's periodical^a cannot be other than SHAM-SCIENTIFIC; those same semi-educated louts and semi-informed literati, who infest the *Neue Welt*, *Vorwärts*, etc., will perforce constitute the bulk of its contributors. In such company ruthlessness—the prime requirement in all criticism—becomes impossible; moreover, constant heed must be paid to comprehensibility, i.e. to presentation for the ignorant. Imagine a chemical periodical in which the reader's ignorance of chemistry is invariably taken for granted. And apart from all that, the way in which those who would perforce be Wiede's contributors have conducted themselves in the Dühring affair calls for the precaution of maintaining as much distance from these gentlemen as political party relations permit.³⁰² Their motto seems to be: Anyone who criticises his adversary by abusing him is a man of sensibility; but he who abuses an adversary by genuinely criticising him is an unworthy individual.

I trust that the Russians' impudent goings-on beyond the Balkans will stir up the Turks against their old regime. The fact that the Russian defeats in European Turkey are leading straight to revolution in Russia has now been made plain even to Lavrov and Lopatin by the outbursts in the Russian press following the FAILURES in Armenia, outbursts which no censorship could have suppressed. The tone of the Petersburg newspapers is more menacing than that of the German press at the time when the siege of Paris was not proceeding as expected.^b

For a few days during the past week and the early part of this one, my insomnia and a correspondingly chaotic condition of the cranial nerves assumed serious dimensions. Yesterday it started to get better again.

With kindest regards from family to family

Your
Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

^a *Die Neue Gesellschaft* - ^b This refers to the siege of Paris by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

175

ENGELS TO MARX⁴⁹

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 19 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I too shall write to Wiede^a saying that, owing to lack of time, I can make no promises, let alone keep them. Unfortunately one cannot give the true, or rather intrinsic, reasons which you so rightly adduce. Besides—what do we know about Mr Wiede's ability to run a scientific review? Or even—on crucial occasions, of which surely there will shortly be more—about his reliability or merely his good will?

Herewith the latest from Wilhelm.^b As regards the manuscript,³⁰³ all I told him in my reply was that I would send the letter to you.¹⁵ While in the *cachot*^{c291} he actually polished off three complete articles which appear in Nos. 80 and 81 of the *Vorwärts*.^d Pitiably prevarication, a splendid example of how he would paraphrase your 'Critique of the Programme', turning it into a glorification of the same. I rebuffed his request for an article on the war, saying I had no wish to compete for space in the *Vorwärts* with the worthy socialists of the future, or to give further cause for clamorous protests that I fill the paper with abstruse stuff of no interest to the bulk of the readers, who evidently prefer fantasy to fact.²⁸⁶

It's only a pity that our people in Germany have such lamentable opponents. If there were, on the bourgeois side, just one competent man with a knowledge of economics, he would soon put these gentlemen in their places and open their eyes to their own confusion. But what can be the upshot of a battle in which the only weapons on either side are commonplaces and philistia drive! As a counterpart in Germany to the learned bourgeois noddle, a new German vulgar socialism is evolving that is a worthy successor to the old 'true socialism' of 1845.³⁰⁴

The Turks will have to hurry if the affair is to turn out satisfactorily. Should they allow the Russians in Bulgaria and on

^a See this volume, p. 241. - ^b Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^c cell - ^d W. Liebknecht, 'Das Ketzergericht in Berlin', *Vorwärts*, No. 80, 11 July 1877; 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen. I-II', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 80 and 81, 11 and 13 July 1877.

the southern slopes of the Balkans to establish a quadrilateral of Russian fortresses,³⁰⁵ the situation might become chronic there, and in that case a thrust towards Constantinople would not be impossible, i.e. one having an eye to the purely *moral* effect as in 1828—or to treachery. And treachery would seem to be quite ON THE CARDS. That treachery there was at Nikopol—otherwise of no great importance *after* the Russian crossing—seems clear to me. Never before have 6,000 Turks, with a ditch and wall in front of them, surrendered without assault—except at Varna in 1828.³⁰⁶ I get quite nervous, what with the newspapers arriving twice a day and bringing news of the Russians' activity and the unfailing inaction of the Turks; it was no worse than this even in 1828 when there was *no* Turkish army at all.

You really ought to go and see Gumpert and get him to give you something for your insomnia; he's still there and the TRIP will do you good. Don't let the thing go too far this time—I imagine you will be going to Karlsbad again in the middle of August, and until then you have a month which you would surely do better to spend in decent health. Things aren't going too well here either.²⁸⁹ Since yesterday, for no apparent reason, Lizzie has been extremely unwell; the magic powers of sea-bathing have failed her for the first time and I'm beginning to get seriously alarmed.

Kindest regards to your wife, Tussy and Lenchen as well as the Louguets and Lafargues and yourself from us all.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

176

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 23 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed *Journal des Débats* is already a bit out of date but is not without interest, notably the LEADER on the oriental war and the

articles from Russia. Also, *Volksfreund*,^a which seems to have become Mr Dühring's monitor. Collet's 'ENGLAND, ENEMY OF TURKEY', etc.

I had intended to pay you a two- or three-day visit in Ramsgate; a trip to see Gumpert would be pointless for I know BY HEART, both from him and from the Karlsbad doctors and professors, everything that medical science *cannot* do in this particular case. Besides, my *insomnie* is somewhat better. But *un homme propose et l'autre dispose*.^b The other, in this instance, being Hirsch who has come to London for the express purpose of spending a week in my company. More about him and what he has told me in the course of this epistle. But *tout d'abord*,^c my plans for the immediate future.

I intend to leave shortly, if possible on 12th August, for *Neuenahr*³⁰⁷ and *not for Karlsbad*, and this for the following reasons:

First, because of the expense: As you know, my wife suffers from serious digestive disturbances and, since I shall in any case be taking Tussy who has had another nasty attack, my wife would take great exception to being left behind. For the three of us plus luggage—if, for the sake of the cure one travels at one's leisure as I have several times done—the journey there and back would alone amount to £70. Moreover I long ago promised Lenchen,^d who is very much run down, to convey her to her home where she cannot live completely gratis. Moreover, the family has all sorts of purchases to make for the trip.

Secondly: In unguarded moments, the Karlsbad doctors have themselves told me that, if one didn't want to visit Karlsbad every year, Neuenahr might be beneficial as an *intermezzo*. Of course, they would rather one always went to Karlsbad. But it might be better even from the viewpoint of hygiene to make a change for once and take less potent waters, for *variatio delectat corpus*.^e Besides, my trouble is not so much my LIVER as the nervous upset occasioned by it. Hence, less potent waters, but of *essentiellement* the same composition.

Furthermore, there is one important matter I have always neglected because of the expense—the after-cure. In view of the greatly reduced travelling expenses and the fact that the house will be shut up (under Withers' care) for the duration of the cure, all

^a *Braunschweiger Volksfreund* - ^b One man proposes, the other disposes. - ^c first of all - ^d Helene Demuth - ^e variety becomes the body (an expression traced back to Euripides' tragedy *Orestes*, 234).

these birds would be killed with one stone by exchanging Karlsbad for Neuenahr.

HENCE q.e.d. I hope you approve.

Now for other matters—first of all Hirsch.

He has turned out very well and has not been wasting his time. I tried him out, amongst other things, on the subject of French statistics and found him to be *à la hauteur*.^a He also gave me some very interesting information about the *almost universal* transformation of French industrial concerns into JOINT STOCK COMPANIES. In the first place, this was facilitated by legislation in the days of the Empire. In the second, the French are not partial to business, preferring whenever possible to live as rentiers. And to which end this form of business is, of course, A GODSEND.

According to Hirsch (and here he may be taking too rosy a view) the officers of the French Army, with the exception of those at the top, are republican. However that may be, it is a FACT and a typical one, that Galliffet (the incident with *la Beaumont*³⁰⁸ really did take place, as Hirsch ascertained, according to further *recherches*^b) offered his services to Mr Gambetta in a letter written in his own hand, and that the self-same Galliffet, after the *préfet* of his garrison town had been dismissed by Broglie, called on the disgraced *préfet*, together with his general staff, to proffer his condolences. If these things occur in a dry tree, etc.^c On the other hand, there is a widespread belief among the non-commissioned officers, largely consisting of new men, that Mac-Mahon got rid of the Chamber²⁸³ because it had put forward a series of proposals intended to improve the lot of non-commissioned officers.

Everything that happens at the Elysée³⁰⁹ daily becomes common knowledge in Paris, for the Bonapartist *tapageurs*^d who frequent the place cannot hold their tongues. Mac-Mahon is exceedingly embittered. The brute, whose first historic words were: *J'y suis, j'y reste*,^{e 310} his second being: *C'est assez*,^f is now uttering his last one. All he says from morn till night is: 'Merde!'^g

Hirsch is furious with the *Vorwärts* over the Dühring business as well as 'Nieder mit der Republik!'.²⁹² He wrote an exceedingly brusque letter to the executive (Geib, etc.)¹¹¹ about both these. He, too, now realises that fusion has degraded the party, both in theory and in practice.

With reference to 'Nieder mit der Republik!', he remarked that the great Hasenclever as a Prussian soldier (probably a reservist or

^a up to the mark - ^b researches - ^c Cf. Luke 23:31 - ^d brawlers - ^e Here I am, here I remain. - ^f That's enough - ^g Shit!

militia man) was at the gates of Paris at the time of the Commune, and hence has no reason to lay down the law in matters of principle.

He maintains that, at the time of the Prussian conflict,³¹¹ Hasenclever was editor of a progressist³¹² paper in Krefeld,^a sold it to an ultra-reactionary, and gravely compromised himself in the course of a lawsuit arising out of the sale. This, as Bracke himself told him, was known to Bracke and Co. when they appointed Hasenclever co-editor with Liebknecht of the *Vorwärts*.¹⁹⁵

Liebknecht, MEANWHILE, *est puni par où il a péché*.^b The Lassallean gang is doing everything it can to harass and humiliate him. For instance, they reproach him with the pittance he is paid by the *Vorwärts*, say his wife (with five children) doesn't need a maid, etc. They have, contrary to all party and journalistic practice, deliberately so organised things that Liebknecht has to go to jug for all articles,²⁹¹ even if written during his absence, thus in fact playing the same role on the *Vorwärts* as the man of straw on a French paper.

Next month Hirsch is leaving Paris for Berlin where he is going to take over the editorship of the lithographed party papers for a month^c and proposes to do so in such a way as to mortify the allied riffraff.

I enclose herewith a letter from the *Zukunft*, in case you have not also received one.³¹³ Send it back to me for answering.

What a nice piece of cunning on the part of 'citizen', 'thinker' and 'socialist of the future' Most. So a second fusion is planned; ourselves, combined with Mr Dühring, for he'll be there without fail; at the same time, our names under the editorship of Most and Co. will mean our swallowing all their infamies in public, and most gratefully at that! In which case I would infinitely sooner have obliged Wiede.²⁹⁶ But I am obliged to Most for having given me the opportunity of tendering my refusal. These fellows imagine they are dealing with 'babes and sucklings'. *Quelle impudence!*^d

I should say that the Russians have grossly miscalculated with their sabre-rattling; and when unsoldierly *coups de tête*^e of this kind don't come off HERE AND THEN, their effect on their own army and the public is highly and miserably compromising, particularly so soon after the EXIT from Armenia.

^a Presumably *Westphälische Volkszeitung*. - ^b is reaping what he has sown (Bible, The Wisdom of Solomon 11:7). - ^c See this volume, pp. 252-53. - ^d What impudence! - ^e brain-waves

Friend Lopatin, it seems, has in the meantime again waxed unpatriotic.

I trust that your wife is feeling better.

Salut to all.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

177

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 24 July 1877

Dear Moor,

Newspapers, etc., received. Very many thanks.

Your plan does at any rate have the advantage of killing quite a lot of birds with one stone; I can only hope that the chief one, your liver, won't suffer accordingly.^a Still, with so many medical authorities in favour, there's not much one can really say against it from that viewpoint either. Who knows whether this time Neuenahr won't do you more good than Karlsbad?³⁰⁷ It's simply a lottery, *espérons le mieux*.^b For essential needs enclosed CHEQUE for £101.3.7—the non-round sum is intentional!

At all events you really ought to come here for a few days and bring Hirsch with you if it can be managed. The change of air will do you good. By the way, I had thought of coming up to London once again for a day before 12 August, but don't let yourself be put off by such uncertainties.

What Hirsch has to say about France is very encouraging, particularly just now, even when one allows for some exaggeration. It's excellent that he should be giving a good account of himself. High time that a few people, at least, gave a good account

^a See previous letter. - ^b We must hope for the best.

of themselves when so many are turning into fools and ragamuffins.

The *Zukunft's* estimable letter returned herewith. One in identical terms has been forwarded to me from London.³¹³

I think my reply will be as follows: firstly, it's impossible to agree to contribute to a scientific periodical with editors that are anonymous and contributors likewise unnamed. Congress resolutions, however unexceptionable they may be in the field of practical agitation, count for nothing in that of science, nor do they suffice to establish a periodical's scientific nature—something that cannot be decreed.³¹⁴ A socialist scientific periodical without a quite definite scientific line is an absurdity and, given the present epidemic in Germany of diverse and indefinite lines, there has so far been no guarantee whatsoever that the line to be adopted will suit us.—Secondly, however, after finishing the Dühring,¹⁵⁵ I shall have to confine myself to my own independent work and shan't therefore have the time. What do you think of it? There's no hurry.

You will see from the enclosed letter from Liebknecht, which I would like to have back so that I can answer it,^a that Mr Dühring 'couldn't tarry till the hour of twelve had struck'^b and has been the cause of his own undoing.²⁸⁷ All this was, of course, the fruit of silly Wilhelm's sagacity, and such is his childish glee that he doesn't even notice how much 'the party' has been discredited as a result. What is one to do with people like these? On top of that the man is still quite proud of his articles on France in which he simply endorses Hasenclever's nonsense.³¹⁵ However we'd better wait and see whether all the jubilation over Dühring's downfall doesn't fizzle out again.

The Russian moves are extremely bold, but what good will they do anyone if the Turks' conduct of the war remains as it has been for the past four weeks? The right course was to march on the Russian flank with a combined force from Shumla and Rustchuk^c and smite it. They now *have* the best pass in the Balkans (the Shipka) which they can easily hold and, according to today's news, the Turks are sending troops from Shumla via Jamboli^d to Rumelia in order to display themselves to the Russians there, instead of transferring the troops from Rumelia—the Adrianople^e garrison excepted—to Shumla and attacking Sistova^f with all

^a See this volume, pp. 256-58. - ^b From 'Kurzweil', a poem included in the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* compiled by A. von Arnim and C. Brentano. - ^c Bulgarian names: Shumen (now Kolarovgrad) and Ruse. - ^d Bulgarian name: Yambol. - ^e Turkish name: Edirne. - ^f Bulgarian name: Svishtov.

available forces. The Turkish leadership *has* clearly allowed itself to be intimidated and has blundered accordingly. Moreover, it has everywhere abandoned the *now ripe* harvest to the Russians who therefore have enough to eat. Abdul Kerim has allowed the Turkish army to run so much to seed that more than 20% are in hospital, while the *Kölnische Zeitung's* Prussian lieutenant says that in Shumla he saw crowds of Turkish officers (not men) drunk on spirits. And all as a result of inaction. It drives one wild to see such a magnificent position and such splendid fighting material go to waste like this. All the same the Russians won't get to Constantinople, nor will they find it so easy to deny even the Turks in the quadrilateral of fortresses³⁰⁵ their supplies of food. Moreover, they have only two months left in which to force a decision and hence, despite all the follies of the Turks, this year's campaign has already as good as failed—were unpredictability not the rule out there! The despatch of British troops will probably be enough to prevent the Sultan^a from concluding a separate peace, and that's what's good about it.

Lizzie is doing better. She went through a serious crisis on Sunday^b and now seems to be gradually recovering.

Best wishes to everyone,

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

178

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁴⁵

IN RAMSGATE

DEAR FRED,

[London,] 25 July 1877

Best thanks for the *billet doux*.^c

Another word about Neuenahr.³⁰⁷ If one keeps going unintermittently to Karlsbad, one is forever staking one's last card. If,

^a Abdul Hamid II - ^b 22 July - ^c love letter (see previous letter)

however, one has recourse to a less potent spa, there will always be a last resort should things take a turn for the worse. And one has to treat one's physique with as much diplomacy as everything else.

Herewith, ditto, an excerpt from Geib's letters to Hirsch. Hirsch regrets not having Liebknecht's letters with him because, he says, we should see from them that Liebknecht has been agitating vigorously against the Dühring clique for months. Liebknecht, it would seem, has to swallow a great deal of trouble which he conceals from us.

What do you think of the workers of the UNITED STATES? This, the first outbreak against the ASSOCIATED CAPITAL oligarchy that has arisen since the CIVIL WAR, will, of course, be suppressed,³¹⁶ but may well provide a point of departure for the constitution of a serious workers' party in the UNITED STATES. There are two favourable circumstances on top of that. The policy of the new President^a will turn the negroes, just as the big expropriations of land (EXACTLY OF THE FERTILE LAND) for the benefit of the RAILWAY, MINING, etc. companies will turn the peasants of the West—whose grumbling is already plainly audible—into militant allies of the workers. So there's a pretty fair storm brewing over there, and the transfer of the centre of the International to the UNITED STATES³¹⁷ may yet, *post festum*,^b be presented with a quite exceptional opportunity.

You will recall that Challemeil (I don't know how the name is spelt) de Lacour^c wrote a caustic, perfectly insulting anti-Mac-Mahon article in the *République Française* in which, *inter alia*, he spoke of the '*blessure opportune*',^d failing which he [Mac-Mahon] would have been relegated to the same *gloire-liste*^e as the Frossards, Faillys, etc. Thereupon notification was given in the official papers that the *République* was to be prosecuted for this libellous article. But it wasn't and, as Hirsch says, for the following reason: the famous Stoffel, mortal enemy of Mac-Mahon who dismissed him from the army and with whom he had a tremendous row during Bazaine's trial,⁴⁷ called on Gambetta and offered, should the trial proceed, to give evidence about Mac-Mahon's EXPLOITS during the battle of Sedan.¹¹³ This soon became known in the Elysée³⁰⁹ and the prosecution was dropped.

Ad vocem^f Broglie. As you know, he had discharged his debts in the first *ordre moral* government³¹⁸ but now once more found himself in difficulties, of which the whole of Paris was aware. He was waiting for the death of a very old and frail relative (stinking

^a Rutherford Birchard Hayes - ^b after the event - ^c Paul Armand Challemeil-Lacour - ^d timely wound - ^e honours list - ^f As to

rich) in Switzerland, a Mrs von Staël (a relative of the famous VIRAGO^a). This person died on 13 March 1877, leaving her whole fortune to a lady and—not a FARTHING to Broglie. Whereupon, like Dolleschall, he said: 'Now it's a question of daily bread. Now I have nothing to count on!'

Your reply to the Berliners^b would be seasonable. The fellows must be made to feel that, if one is long-ENDURING, one is also capable of digging one's heels in.

I shall see whether the TRIP with Hirsch can be arranged.^c Today he is at the Crystal Palace,³¹⁹ which means that I'm unlikely to see him until tomorrow afternoon (since he writes his articles for the *Vossische*,^d etc., in the mornings).

Salut.

Your
Moor

Sample of the 'great perspicacity' of the armchair socialists:

'Not even great perspicacity such as is at the command of Marx is able to solve the task of "reducing use values"' (the idiot forgets that the subject under discussion is 'commodities') 'i.e. vehicles for enjoyment, etc., to their opposite, to amounts of effort, to sacrifices etc.' (The idiot believes that in equalising values I wish to 'reduce' use values to value.) 'That is to substitute a foreign element. The equation of disparate use values is only explicable by the reduction of the same to a common factor of use value.' (Why not simply to—weight?)

Thus *dixit*^e Mr Knies, the critical genius of professorial political economy.^f

Excerpts from letters from Geib to Hirsch.

1. Hamburg, dated 3.6.77

(Concerning the founding of the review^g): 'A comrade, Karl Höchberg, in Berlin' (in Hirsch's view a 'comrade' of the ILLUSTRIOUS Eugen Dühring), 'native of Frankfurt am Main, has undertaken to make the party an annual gift of 10,000 marks for literary purposes. Having thus been made independent, we resolved at Gotha to publish, as from 1 October, not only the *Review*³¹⁴ but also a *Social-Democratic news-letter*—autographed—such as we had privately discussed the previous year at Gotha. You immediately sprang to mind as editor of both papers. The review is to come out twice a month and the news-letter two or three times; six times while the Reichstag is in session, etc.

'Höchberg, who has a degree and is about thirty years old, will help as required with the editing of the *Review*, but will not have any administrative say in it. The editor of both undertakings is to have an annual salary of 3,000 marks... Everyone I have asked so far is agreed that the editing could be entrusted to no better hands than yours.'

^a Anne Louise Germaine de Staël - ^b i.e. to the *Zukunft* editorial board (see previous letter) - ^c to Engels in Ramsgate (see previous letter) - ^d *Vossische Zeitung* - ^e saith - ^f C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*, Part I: 'Das Geld', Berlin, 1873, p. 119. - ^g *Die Zukunft*

2. *Hamburg*, 5.7.77: ...'The review will come out as from 1 October... Höchberg, who will probably approach you direct, will assist you with the editing of the review. This I envisage as follows: You either hand over to him, or make some arrangement with him about, certain departments which he is to administer, such as, e.g., philosophy, history, natural science. New books in this sphere will be discussed by Höchberg... If it transpires that you have to devote your entire attention to the news-letter, it will be easy to make some other arrangement. In this connection I would mention Dr Wiede, who is a keen party member, speaks and writes French, English and Italian, has travelled widely and was himself proposing to publish a socialist review in Zurich.^a When he was here recently I dissuaded him from carrying out his plan, etc.' (but to no effect!)

3. *Hamburg*, 18.7.77.

'...You have definitely accepted so far as the news-letter is concerned' (i.e. Hirsch proposes to try the thing out for a month in August). ...'We have still not settled anything definite in respect of the review. As you have refused, we have latterly been engaged in verbal negotiations here with Höchberg. Here we had to consider the circumstances that the Leipzigers are all, to a man, opposed to the review's editorial board being composed solely of newcomers to the party. Everyone likes Höchberg well enough, but not Wiede. It is feared that a weak editorial board—and an unknown one might ultimately turn out to be weak—in Berlin might easily be led into Dühringian channels, thus sowing the seeds of fatal dissension within the party. Not that I myself take such a gloomy view of it, though in one respect I agree with all the rest, namely that in the first quarter the review must be co-edited and signed—in other words, launched—by a lettered man, a comrade known to the whole party. I believe that you could do this quite well...' (whereupon, however, Hirsch declares that he won't do it).

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

179

ENGELS TO FRANZ WIEDE

IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[Ramsgate, 25 July 1877]

Dear Sir,

Pray excuse me for, etc.

Now, as regards my collaboration on your projected journal,^a I can, unfortunately, promise you nothing definite at the moment.

^a *Die Neue Gesellschaft*

As soon as I have completed my critique of Dühring for the *Vorwärts*,¹⁵⁵ I shall be obliged to concentrate my whole attention on a longer, independent work¹⁶⁹ which I have had in mind for years, one of the obstacles to its completion hitherto—aside from extraneous circumstances—having been my collaboration on socialist organs. When a man has totted up 56 years, he must finally make up his mind to take stock of his time so that something may finally come of his preliminary labours. Should an isolated case occur in which I again deemed it necessary to cast my vote in public, it would depend on the circumstances *where* this should be done, whether in the *Vorwärts* or elsewhere, and in this latter case I should, among all the various ‘scientific journals’ now being projected, be happy, in so far as I can now predict, to turn to yours first. If, therefore, I feel unable to make any firmer promise today, I would beg you to ascribe this solely to the reasons adduced above, and in no way to a want of sympathy for a journal which greatly interests me, to which I wish all prosperity and to which I have already subscribed through my bookseller.

I am, Sir, etc.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

180

ENGELS TO MARX³²⁰

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Just a couple of lines in great haste enclosing letter from W. Liebknecht which might perhaps influence your reply to the *Zukunft*.³²¹ I haven't yet sent a straight answer, but have written to Liebknecht about the oddity of expecting us to entrust our manuscripts to totally anonymous persons because a congress has conferred a scientific character on them.³¹⁴ I further told him that

I would write articles only in exceptional cases and when I myself considered it imperative.^a

Wilhelm himself obviously doesn't know how things stand—otherwise he couldn't have made such a howler about Wiede. A fine way of setting up a scientific journal! Anyhow, it's a good thing there isn't any Dühringianism.

I was delighted by the business of the strike in America.³¹⁶ The way they throw themselves into the movement has no equivalent on this side of the ocean. Only twelve years since slavery was abolished and already the movement has got to such a pitch!

Knies^b is capital. Dühring, too, concerning whom you have again hit the nail on the head. What he ultimately says, in fact,—translated from confusion into economics—is that value is determined by wages.^c

Doubtless one will have to resign oneself to the Russians remaining between the Balkans and the Danube until the autumn. The Turks have allowed a very large proportion of their regular troops to succumb for want of proper provisioning during the fighting in Serbia and Montenegro,¹⁷⁶ and Abdul Kerim has done his best to finish off the rest. I doubt whether Mehemet Ali has more than 50,000 men capable of an offensive; Osman Pasha will have some 25,000 and another 25,000 south of the Balkans; that would seem to be all, the remainder being untrained militia of no use in the field. Provided the Turkish government doesn't now conclude a premature peace, the Russians will not get to Constantinople this year, but probably cross the Danube again in November and, not having yet made any impression on the fortresses which—barring accidents—are therefore likely to continue secure throughout this campaign, they can start from the beginning again in the spring—if at all.

The wretched *Standard* correspondent in Constantinople is, at Layard's behest, disseminating alarmist rumours in order that the English fleet may be imposed on the Turks.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a See this volume, pp. 257-580. - ^b C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*. Part I: 'Das Geld'. -

^c E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie...*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 27. •

181

ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

May I request you to arrange at your convenience for this note^a to reach your husband safely? With any luck you will shortly be relieved of labours of this kind and, I hope, for some considerable time.³²² The wives of our friends in Germany have to play their part in the struggle which their husbands are actively waging, and to play it in a manner which would come as a surprise to our wives here, in the security of England. It's all very well for us here to talk and criticise, when in Germany any thoughtless or ill-considered word may entail imprisonment and the temporary disruption of family life. Fortunately our German women do not allow themselves to be deterred by this and prove by their deeds that the sickly sentimentality of which one hears so much is just a class affliction peculiar to bourgeois women.

With warm regards to you and your children,

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

182

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Liebknecht,

Have received your two letters of 21 and 28. I can only hope that the Dühringian fiasco is over for good and that things won't

^a See next letter.

be patched up again. The fact remains that those party organs which allowed themselves to be misled into according him scientific importance simply because of his harassment by the Prussians (!) have made asses of themselves. And that means all the ones I have seen.²⁸⁷

Vahlteich *certainly* made the remark about Marxians and Dühringians; immediately after the congress it appeared in all the papers that published his speech at the public meeting (where it was perpetrated).³²³ Nor do I think he would repudiate it. The fact that he is now doing time seems to me no reason for making him out to be better than he is.

Élisée Reclus is a mere compiler and nothing more. Since he and his brother^a were *co-founders* of the secret Alliance,²⁰¹ he could, if he would, give you more inside information than you could give him. Whether or not he belongs to your little lot makes no difference at all; politically he is muddle-headed and impotent.

I never said that the *bulk* of your people didn't want real science. I was speaking¹⁵ of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. And there the order of the day is semi-literacy and your ex-worker dolling himself up as a man of letters. If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. The moral and intellectual decline of the party dates from the unification⁷¹ and could have been avoided had a little more caution and intelligence been shown at the time. Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process and the health of the masses is certainly not an adequate reason for injecting them unnecessarily with a disease.

As regards the *Zukunft*, it's lucky that your letter reached me in time to prevent my sending the reply I had already decided to make to the invitation that I should contribute.³²¹ An invitation from *completely anonymous* editors who can proffer no better scientific credentials than a resolution in congress, as though a congress could confer a scientific character upon anything!³¹⁴ What presumption, that we should entrust our manuscripts to completely anonymous people who might very well be the most arrant Dühringians!

You say that Wiede is a co-editor. But as recently as the 20th

^a Michel Élie Reclus

inst.^a he himself invited me to work for a review^b he was proposing to found *in Zurich!*

In short, I am sick of this muddle, this perpetual embarking on hare-brained and over-precipitate schemes. If only because of the necessity of my now finishing off, at long last, my own, lengthier works, I cannot at present enter into any agreements whatsoever. I shall complete the 'Dühring',¹⁵⁵ after which I shall write articles only when I myself consider it to be imperative and, were there to be a journal that was *not* a party organ, I would choose it for preference rather than remain at the mercy of congressional debates.²⁸⁶ When all is said and done, there is no democratic forum for scientific works, and I don't want a repetition of my earlier experience.

You ought to go to Ghent³²⁴ and come on to London from there; we certainly shan't be going to Ghent, otherwise why should we have withdrawn from practical participation at The Hague^{20?} You would be able to reach London quickly and very cheaply via Antwerp, and there'll always be a room ready for you at my house.

I have got to close as the table is being laid.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

183

MARX TO ENGELS⁵²

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 1 August 1877

DEAR FRED,

Herewith letter from Höchberg to Hirsch who went back to Paris on Saturday.^c Kindly return the letter after reading it, as I have got to let Hirsch have it back.

^a A mistake: Wiede wrote to Engels on 10 July 1877. - ^b *Die Neue Gesellschaft* (see this volume, pp. 253-54). - ^c 28 July

Höchberg's letter, I believe, gives a better idea of the man than anything that Liebknecht says (the latter again distinguishing himself by recommending addle-pated Acollas and that *faiseur*^a Lacroix) or might say about him. Höchberg is the first man to buy his way into the party—with the best of intentions as I think—and seek to reshape it in his image. Evidently he has little if any knowledge of the personal standing of party members and writers 'abroad', whom he proposes to gather about him as an 'international' group. He takes *au sérieux*^b the worthy B. Malon who was rejected even by the *Liberté belge*^c as a superficial hack. As regards *Élisée Reclus*, the Protestant pastor's son, he should at least have known that he and his brother Pollux^d are the 'souls' (to use the words of one who formerly inspired our *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*³²⁵) of the Swiss journal *Le Travailleur*³²⁶ (other contributors being Zhukovsky, Lefrançais, Razoua *et tutti quanti*) wherein, if in a more jesuitically refined form than is at the unfortunate Guillaume's command, war without quarter is being waged against the German workers' movement, its leaders in particular (not, of course, that Liebknecht, etc., are *named*) being denounced as people who—do *nothing* at the workers' expense, but rather hamper the movement and sap the strength of the proletariat in mock fighting and parliamentary intrigues. And in gratitude for this, Höchberg proposes to invite his collaboration from Berlin.

That cheery little hunchback Wedde TURNED UP a few days since, only to disappear to Germany again a short while after. He had an urgent mandate from Geib, namely to recruit you and me for the *Zukunft*.³¹³ Much to his chagrin, I made absolutely no secret either of our intention to abstain, or of the reasons for it, and at the same time intimated that, should time and circumstances again permit propagandist activity on our part, we would, as internationals, in no way feel bound by duty or sentiment to associate ourselves with Germany, our beloved fatherland.^f

In Hamburg he had seen Dr Höchberg and ditto Wiede; the latter, he thought, had more than a touch of your Berliner's flippancy and arrogance; the former he liked, though finding him still very much prone to 'modern mythology'. For during the little chap's (Wedde's) first visit to London, I used the expression 'modern mythology' to describe the renewed ascendancy of the

^a humbug - ^b in earnest - ^c Belgian *Liberté* - ^d Michel Élie Reclus (an ironical comparison of Élisée and Élie Reclus with the twin brothers Castor and Pollux. - ^e all the rest - ^f Cf. F. von Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*, Act II, Scene 1.

goddesses of 'Justice, Liberty, Equality', etc., and this made a profound impression on one who had himself done much in the service of these superior beings. Höchberg seemed to him to be tainted with Dühringianism, and he has a sharper nose than Liebknecht.

You will have received the Mehring.^a Today I am also sending you a little anti-Treitschke pamphlet^b which, while most boringly and superficially written, nevertheless has some points of interest.

The main trouble with Turkey is—the old story with all absolute monarchies. The Seraglio party—which is also Russian, just as the parties of *Charles I, Charles II, James II, Louis XVI and Frederick William IV* all sought to keep themselves going by recourse to foreign intrigue—is giving way but is far from being broken. In the first moment of alarm Abdul Kerim and Redif were summoned before a court martial. Mahmud Damad was disgraced, Midhat Pasha invited to return. Scarcely was the first *panique* over when Damad was again at the helm, protecting his trustees and keeping Midhat at arm's length, etc. I am convinced that the Muscovite diplomats are following the moves in Constantinople more attentively than those on either side of the Balkans.

Apropos 'value' in the first^c (most inadequate, even wholly erroneous, but not uninteresting) chapter of his *Теорія колебанія цѣны*^d on 'Value', having passed under review all the epigonic musings of contemporary German, French and English scholastics, Kaufman makes the following, absolutely correct comment^e:

'In our review of the doctrines of value ... we saw that the political economists had certainly grasped the importance of this category.... All the same ... everyone who occupies himself with economic science is familiar with the fact that in figures of speech the importance of value is raised to the extreme, but in actual fact is forgotten as quickly as possible, as soon as there has more or less been some mention of it in the introduction; it is impossible to give *even a single example* where what is said about value is to be found organically linked to what is said about other matters, where what is said about value in the introduction has any influence at all on the subsequent arguments. I refer here, of course, only to the pure category "value", as distinct from *price*.'^f

That is, indeed, the hallmark of all vulgar political economy. Adam Smith began it; his few profound and surprising applica-

^a F. Mehring, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*. - ^b [F. Mehring.] *Herr von Treitschke der Sozialistentöchter und die Endziele des Liberalismus*. - ^c A slip of the pen; should read: 'second'. - ^d *Theory of Price Fluctuation* - ^e Marx gives a free rendering of Kaufman's text; italics by Marx. - ^f [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія колебанія цѣны*, Kharkov, 1867, p. 123.

tions of the theory of value are found in haphazard remarks which have no bearing whatever on his exposés *ex professo*. Ricardo's great transgression which, from the start, made him impossible to swallow, was precisely his attempt to prove the correctness of his theory of value in the light of economic facts which seemed wholly to contradict it.

My good nephews^a yesterday did me the honour of presenting me with the five fat volumes of Bancroft's *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. The book, published by Longmans, came as a godsend to them, since all they had to do was put it down to their old man's^b account at Longmans.

I have had a very nice reply from Dr Wiede to my letter of EXCUSE.^c

As for the *Zukunft*, I shall not answer at all, CONSIDERING THAT AN ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR, SIGNED BY NOBODY, IS FROM ITS VERY NATURE—UNANSWERABLE AND NOT TO BE ANSWERED.

The Irish skirmishing in the HOUSE OF COMMONS is most amusing. Parnell, etc., told Barry that the worst thing was the attitude of Butt who, with an eye to being appointed judge, threatened to resign his position as LEADER. He might, they said, do them a great deal of harm in Ireland. Barry mentioned BUTT'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL,³²⁷ a document they would like to have so as to prove that his inflexibility towards the intransigents was only put on; but where should I find the thing now?

Salut.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

^a Henry and Charles Juta - ^b Johann Carl Juta - ^c See this volume, p. 241.

184

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 1 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

I shall be leaving London at the end of this week or the beginning of next and going to the Continent since my state of health necessitates my taking a cure.³⁰⁷ In the meantime I have been forbidden work of any kind and you will therefore have to look elsewhere for someone to revise the translation of Lissagaray's book,¹⁹⁴ since *without revision* the thing's unprintable. (C. Hirsch might be able to suggest someone to you.)

Needless to say, Lissagaray finds the month's hiatus, during which you have failed to communicate with him, far from edifying and I consider his grievance to be fully justified.

Yours very sincerely,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

185

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 8 August 1877

DEAR FRED,

Still no news from the Longuets, which is all the more awkward in that we are leaving today (this evening).³⁰⁷

Herewith the *Tableau économique*²⁶¹ together with a few marginal notes.³²⁸

It was not possible for me to find Owen's stuff (or for that matter Fourier's *Fausse industrie*) in the attic since everything up

there (it also does duty as Carry's bedroom, and the ladies have arrayed all their trunks there, to be packed with what is indispensable for the journey) is in the utmost confusion.

Ad vocem^a Owen. Sargant's work^b would be easily obtainable; of greater importance and unobtainable is the little pamphlet on PRIVATE MARRIAGES.^c The two stout tomes^d which Jennychen has got were definitely not at her house; I went through everything there; perhaps Longuet took them away with him. If the worst comes to the worst, all Owen's works could probably be obtained from OLD Allsop. MEANWHILE I have found here at home a very important work of Owen's in which he gives a résumé of his entire doctrine. *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*, 1849. I had forgotten all about it. I shall take this to your house today, together with Fourier's *Théorie des quatre mouvements* and *Nouveau Monde industriel*, and Hubbard's piece on Saint-Simon.^e 329

My wife is in a far from satisfactory state of health. I hope Madame Lizzy is improving; with any luck she will soon be able to begin bathing in the sea which has, after all, always helped her hitherto. We all send her our best wishes.

And now, OLD BOY, *au revoir*. The damned Prussians can't stop bickering and the bogus old N.C.O.^f will do his utmost to push Francis Joseph into perpetrating some stupidity. All the latter needs now is a Hungarian revolution.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *République Française* writes that an intrigue of Mahmud Damad's has led to the deposition of the old Sheikh-al-Islam³³⁰ because of his revolutionary opinions, and his replacement by some other jackass.^g He believes that, unless the palace intrigues cease very soon, Constantinople is in for a tumultuous time.

Adio.

Your
Moor³³¹

So much for Quesnay's Tableau!

Sub I a) avances annuelles des fermiers,^h paid out by the same; replaced by product of 5 milliards, of which 2 milliards (a^{IV}),

^a As for - ^b W. L. Sargant, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy*. - ^c Presumably R. Owen. *The Marriage System of the New Moral World*. - ^d Probably [R. Owen,] *The Life of Robert Owen*, Vol. I and *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of The Life of Robert Owen*, Vol. I. A. - ^e G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux*. - ^f William I - ^g Hassan Cheirullah was replaced by Kara Chalil - ^h farmers' annual advances

the replacement *in natura* of the said *avances annuelles*, are spent by the *Classe Productive* (*fermiers* and their *ouvriers*^a) in the course of the following year, i.e. the year beginning with the new harvest.

The *avances primitives*^b of 10 milliards do not figure in the *Tableau*, but are presupposed, just as it is further presupposed that the farmers *have paid* 2 milliards *in money* as rents to *REVENUE* (LANDLORDS, CHURCH AND STATE) before the circulation depicted in the *Tableau* begins. Besides the replacement of the *avances annuelles* of 2 milliards *in natura*, the gross product provides a further 3 milliards of which 2 in *vivres*,^c 1 in *matières premières*^d for industry. These 3 milliards under *a'*, *a''*, *a'''* are *SURPLUS PRODUCE* of which, however, only $\frac{2}{3}$ counts as *NET PRODUCE*, *produit net* or *REVENUE* because $\frac{1}{3}$, (IN FACT, the farmers' profit), forms the interest produced *in natura* for the *avances primitives* of 10 milliards.

Sub III c) avances of the classe stérile^e of 1 milliard consist solely of *raw materials* (see my previous exposition²⁵⁸); expended in the course of the year ending with the last harvest. Are replaced by *industrial goods* (*c'* and *c''*) to the value of 2 milliards; of which 1 milliard = *value of matières premières*, 1 milliard = *value of means of subsistence*, which the *classe stérile* has received as *salaire*^f from the other two classes in return for its labour.

Now for the *mouvement* depicted in the *Tableau*:

1. *b—a'*. LANDLORDS (incl. church, state) buy *vivres* for 1 milliard from *fermiers*; thus $\frac{1}{2}$ the money they paid for RENT OF LAND returns to them.

2. *b—c'—a'''*. LANDLORDS buy industrial goods for 1 milliard from *classe stérile*, the latter, for that same milliard, means of subsistence from *classe productive*; thus, the second half of the money, which it has paid for RENT OF LAND, returns to it.

3. *a—c''*. Farmers buy industrial products for 1 milliard from *classe stérile* (details in previous exposition). The line runs from *a* to *c''* and from *c''* back to *a*, so as to indicate that the greater portion of this expenditure by the farmers is capitalised, i.e. serves to maintain and enrich elements of the *avances annuelles* and *primitives*.

4. *c—a''*. *Classe stérile* buys from *classe productive* raw materials for 1 milliard and thus replaces its *avances* for the coming year, IN FACT, its productive capital. Thus 1 milliard in money flows back to

^a productive class (farmers and their labourers) - ^b original advances - ^c means of subsistence - ^d raw materials - ^e advances of the sterile class - ^f wage

the farmers and they again find themselves in possession of the 2 milliards in money which constitute the nation's *pecule*^a and which they put back into circulation primarily via the LANDLORDS (in payment of rent). The circulation of money *within* each individual class is excluded from the *Tableau*, and rightly so.

Bearing in mind the time of its publication, the whole thing is one of the most brilliant generalisations political economy has ever produced.

The exposé I originally gave you is based on the *Tableau* somewhat modified, with Quesnay's consent, by Abbé Baudeau in *Explication du Tableau économique*. The line a—c" had given rise to misunderstandings. Similarly, in Baudeau's case, the *mouvement* does not start from b (LANDLORDS) but from a' (farmers), inasmuch as payment of monetary rent is not assumed to have been made. This and sundry other details in no way alter the case.

On the whole I think you would be well-advised to use the *Tableau* solely for your own guidance, but to confine yourself *solely to words* when describing the various very simple movements for the *Vorwärts*. If the *Tableau* itself were reproduced, it would be necessary to go into small, inessential details, which would confuse people rather than enlighten them.

First published (without the table) in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *Marx/Engels, Werke*, Bd. 34, Berlin, 1966

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

186

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE
IN BRUNSWICK

London, 8 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your letter received. I leave today.³⁰⁷ You will be getting a letter from me in a few days' time (perhaps even in two) directed to Ems *poste restante*.

^a stock of money

Engels cannot be of service to you³⁸²; he is at a seaside resort and will shortly be moving on, possibly to Jersey or the Isle of Man or elsewhere.³⁸³ Such little time for work as he has at his disposal is, moreover,—under present circumstances—wholly spoken for.

As regards B. Becker, I must say that I *am totally opposed to his being entrusted in any way with Lissagaray's work*.¹⁹⁴ In Paris he abused me and Engels—not to speak of yourself—in no uncertain terms and now in London (where he has been for the past two months) has taken great care to keep out of my sight. His fury—as I had already heard from Paris—was due solely to your publishing Lissagaray's work! His insults and intrigues are a matter of complete indifference to me, but I cannot under any circumstances permit this individual to be mixed up in anything that has to do with Lissagaray.

As for Isolde,^a she seems to know more about extortion than translation.

Yours,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

187

MARX TO MALTMAN BARRY

IN LONDON

[Neuenahr,] 15 August 1877

Dear Barry,

My address is: Dr K. Marx, Hotel Flora, *Neuenahr, Rhenish Prussia*. *Neuenahr* is the name of the village, this watering place not pretending to the dignity even of a market town. It is quite separated from the outer world; no railways within the boundaries of the valley of the Ahr.

I have seen from the *Times*—in the reading room of the

^a Isolde Kurz

Kurhaus^a—that you have published an advertisement relating to action in the oriental affair.³³⁴ Please inform me of the progress you make in that line.

Yours truly,
K. M.

Be so kind as to cash the enclosed cheque for 40£ St. and to forward it to me, in the form of two Twenty Pound Notes (Bank of England Notes, of course), in a *registered* letter, via Ostend, under the *above address*. I write again the name of the village: *Neuenahr* (*Hotel Flora* is the name of the house where I live).

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

188

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁶

IN RAMSGATE

Neuenahr, 17 August 1877
Hotel Flora

DEAR FRED,

I'd have written to you before now, but when the whole person is, over a period of days, subject to conditions of a binding nature—in my case *a posteriori* always the immediate effect of the journey and one which drinking the spa waters only serves to consolidate—the said person is rendered singularly incapable of action. There's nothing much to report from here.³⁰⁷ A veritable idyll; moreover, because the weather is not altogether favourable (although here, despite rain and wind, the air's always admirable), and no doubt also because of the persistent commercial crisis, the number of visitors has dropped from 3,000 to 1,700 or 1,800. Lucky Ahr Valley. No railways as yet; but a survey has already been made for a railway from Remagen to Ahrweiler, and *commencement d'exécution*^b is threatened for next year; however, it is not to run down the Ahr Valley, but will branch off left to Trier.

I have discovered a very good doctor here. Dr Schmitz (a native of Siegen), who has sense enough, despite the beautiful house and

^a spa rooms - ^b commencement of operation

garden he occupies here, to practise medicine in Italy during the winter (from the end of October onwards). He has knocked about the world a lot, including California and Central America. His appearance and MANNERS are very reminiscent of LITTLE Dronke in his heyday.

He has pretty well confirmed what I suspected and wrote and told you from London.^a My liver no longer shows any trace of enlargement; the digestive APPARATUS IS SOMEWHAT DISORDERED, but the actual trouble is of a nervous kind. Today Schmitz again told me that, after a three-week stay here, I should go somewhere higher up, in the Black Forest, and take my fill of mountain and woodland air. *Nous verrons*.^b He recommends the same for my wife who, by the by, is having to take medicine and arrived here at just the right moment, before her trouble got any worse. Tussychen's appetite is improving, which is the best sign with her.

Just where Neuenahr is, the hills are rather too far away from the actual spa, at least for those whom Karlsbad has spoiled.

We are much disturbed at not having had a mortal word about the ADVENTURES of the Longuet family.

How is your wife? Better, I hope; is the weather as capricious where you are? Here, in the Ahr Valley, people are not at all used to this sort of thing.

At the spa rooms here (where, like everywhere else, one takes baths as well as drinking the alkaline tippel) there is a READING ROOM in which are available, not only German and Dutch newspapers, but also *The Times* and *Galignani's Messenger*, *Figaro* and the *Indépendance belge*—more than my requirements, in fact, since I refrain in so far as possible from reading newspapers here. Only, I see to my regret that the Turks are again wasting time—at least in my layman's opinion.

Some wine is drunk here, though it so happens that most of the guests (including myself) are forbidden Walporzheimer and the other red wines of the Ahr.

Schorlemmer had promised to come here; so far, however, I've had no 'intimation' of him, as Richard Wagner puts it.

And now, OLD BOY, with warmest regards from one family to another, I am,

Your

Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

^a See this volume, p. 245. - ^b We shall see.

189

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

[Neuenahr,] 18 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

Let me have the eighth sheet.²⁵⁴

Couldn't you come here for half a day? It's not far from Ems.

As regards B. Becker, he attempted (an attempt I thwarted without his knowledge) to cast suspicion on you in the eyes first of Hirsch and Kaub and to make you out to be a 'money-grubber'. Small wonder that he is now performing the opposite manoeuvre. It would be best not to give the man any indication that one knows him.

Hirsch is an absolutely reliable man and capable of the utmost self-sacrifice; his main weakness—insufficient knowledge of human nature so that people who know how to feign enthusiasm for the cause find it easy to take him in, if not for very long.

Trusting that I shall see you here and that you will make the acquaintance of my wife and daughter^a (the youngest is with me here),

Yours very sincerely,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Eleanor Marx

190

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

Neuenahr, 24 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

I much regret that under the circumstances our meeting is not feasible, since this would mean interrupting your cure, *which is inadvisable*.

I at once started going through the proofs,²⁵⁴ a task that was interrupted by the arrival of my friend Professor Schorlemmer from Manchester who, however, is only staying here for a day or two. A letter to you I began *yesterday* at the same time¹² will also include a few comments of mine and hence I shan't be able to finish it until I have done the proof-reading.

Apropos. I have had a letter from London from my friend Maltman Barry (a Scot). He is a former member of the General Council in London and the most zealous and competent of our British party comrades. He informs me that he is going to the Ghent Congress³²⁴ and would like a *recommendation to delegates from Germany* if any should be coming. Perhaps you would be good enough to write me a note for him to this effect.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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191

ENGELS TO MARX

IN NEUENAHR

Ramsgate, 25 August 1877
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Through Schorlemmer you will already have received news of the Longuets, Lafargues and ourselves¹⁵ either the day before yesterday or yesterday at the latest; since then you will have heard from Jenny direct about the little chap's^a illness which has caused her somewhat excessive alarm; according to a letter from her today, the boy is out of danger, fortunately.

We leave here on Tuesday^b after a seven-week stay²⁸⁹ which has done me a great deal of good but fallen far short of our expectations so far as Lizzie is concerned. WEATHER PERMITTING, I shall probably have to subject her to an even more drastic change of air.³³³

I congratulate you on your liver's restoration to health. You must certainly make for the hills of the Black Forest. I asked Schorlemmer to bring you the map of Baden I used in 1849³³⁵ and trust he has done so. You may find it of use; considering the scale, the high ground in particular is very well drawn.

No doubt you are at last having better weather. We have done splendidly here. When it was raining everywhere else, it was merely overcast here. Two rainy afternoons in seven weeks, and today the first really wet day—and even then with longish breaks—so one can hardly complain of that. The rain, such as it was, fell mostly at night.

The immobility of the Turks may be largely attributed to the want of a train. To enable an army, not merely to fight, but to move about freely, seems to be beyond the ability of all barbarians and semi-barbarians; their army, organised with great difficulty along something approaching modern lines (for fighting), is expected to move about with the APPLIANCES of an old barbarian army. They have introduced modern weapons, but the ammunition pertaining thereto must tag along of its own accord. They organise and concentrate brigades, divisions and army corps in accordance with the rules of modern strategy, but forget that,

^a Jean Longuet - ^b 28 August

unlike a band of janissaries, spahis or nomads, these cannot fend for themselves. This is already evident in the case of the Russians, and even more so in that of the Turks; hence, where armies of this kind are concerned, any calculation will err that ascribes to such military formations the mobility of the Western Europeans.

The blunders now being perpetrated by the Turks are all due to the anxiety which Gurko's advance has aroused in Constantinople.³³⁶ Instead of being ordered to link up immediately—via the passes unoccupied by the Russians—either with Osman or Mehemet Ali, Suleiman is to make an immediate stand against the Russians and provide *immediate* protection for Constantinople. Hence the useless carnage on the Shipka Pass,³³⁷ part of a combined operation which had been agreed with the other two armies and, being as usual unsynchronised, had miscarried. None of this, however, has made any difference, and once again everything will be the same as it was before.

The COLLAPSE of the Russians' military organisation is complete. They admit to losses of 15,000 men during the fighting (in Europe); their losses from sickness must amount to twice that or more. Transport completely BROKEN DOWN. Not one road under construction anywhere. Camp police non-existent. Even without the climate, the filth and the putrefying corpses would be enough to cause mass epidemics. Six Russian army corps, now eight, are in Bulgaria and, as a result of *one* battle, have been thrown back onto the defensive—of the most passive kind. Out of 50 Russian infantry divisions, 16 are on the Danube, 9 in the Caucasus and Asia, at least 5 are moving up, 6 are guarding the Black Sea and Baltic coasts, total 36; there remain 14, of which 2 are indispensable to the Baltic provinces, hence 12 infantry divisions—at most 120,000 men or, counting cavalry and artillery, 150,000 combatants available for all eventualities! And this against the 'sick man',²³⁹! Moreover, owing to a shortage of officers, new formations are either impracticable or worthless. In short, it's worse than during the Crimean War.²² And the same stupidity into the bargain: impelled by rage at the defeat at Plevna³³⁸ they at once set colossal reinforcements in motion, although these will be able to operate for a month at most, during which time they will be useless and hard put to it to keep themselves in grub. And by the end of October at the latest it will be time to turn back—back, proud Cid^a—to the bare larders of Wallachia, not one bridge will remain across the Danube and at the end of May 1878 they will, if

^a J. G. von Herder, *Cid*, Canto 28.

all goes well, begin again exactly where they began at the end of May 1877.³³⁹

Best wishes to you all,

Your
F. E.

By the way, the Turks may take a few more severe beatings before the winter but that's of no consequence provided Constantinople doesn't let this intimidate it.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

192

MARX TO NIKOLAUS DELIUS

IN BONN

Bad Neuenahr,³⁰⁷ 25 August 1877
Hotel Flora

Dear Professor Delius,

My daughter Eleanor, who is with me here taking the waters, had the privilege of translating into English, for the London Shakespeare Society, one of your papers on the epic element in Shakespeare,²⁴¹ and would very much like to make your acquaintance in person. If it would be convenient to you to name a day and time at which we might meet, I should be glad to introduce my daughter to you.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

We shall probably be spending another 8 or 9 days here before, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING, moving on to the Black Forest.

First published (facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

193

ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 September 1877
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

No more than a short note in great haste in reply to your amiable letter of the 28th ult. Liebknecht had said something about coming to London³⁴⁰ from the Ghent Congress³²⁴; on my return from Ramsgate,²⁸⁹ I now find that that Congress is to take place between 9 September (next Sunday) and 17 September (the following Sunday).^a Now, I myself am leaving for Scotland tomorrow with my wife, on the doctor's advice, and shall be there a fortnight,³³³ during which time letters will not as a rule be able to reach me; I intend in any case to be back by Thursday the 20th, or Friday the 21st at the latest so that, even if Liebknecht were to come over on the 18th, he would arrive at most a couple of days before me. Moreover, during this period I shall keep in touch with my house by telegraph so as to ascertain all that is necessary concerning his arrival. The people who look after our house during our absence have been instructed to make him really comfortable when he arrives, his room is ready and waiting for him, and I am sure that my instructions will be complied with. Whether the Marxes will be back here by that time, I cannot quite say, but from the last news I got, I am inclined to think they will, as they had left Neuenahr and said nothing more about going to stay in the Black Forest, as originally intended.³⁰⁷ Perhaps you know more about it through Mrs Marx than we do over here. At all events, Liebknecht can obtain the latest news about this when he is in Ghent by dropping a line to Mad. Lafargue (Marx's second daughter), 225 Camden Road, N. W., London. Should neither Marx nor I be here when Liebknecht arrives, he can find entertainment, not only at the Lafargues', but also at the house of Marx's eldest daughter, Mad. Longuet, 30 Leighton Grove, Leighton Road, Kentish Town, N. W., or look up our old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square. At the moment the Longuets are also away—at the seaside resort of Yarmouth—and

^a A slip of the pen: 16 September was a Sunday.

will be back at any rate by the middle of September, though I can't say what day.

I do indeed share your view that Liebknecht spends too much time *sitting down*²⁹¹; it may be as well not to make a fuss about such things, but that doesn't mean one should accustom oneself to a sedentary way of life. Whether you can wean him away from service in the front line (or rather the avant-garde) is, I should say, somewhat doubtful; anyone who has spent so many years in that service derives too much pleasure from it; however, by long practice he will soon reach the stage of eluding the toils of the penal system. Doubtless, however, you could wish nothing better than that Liebknecht should not continue to spend in prison such time as he is not on duty and all such time as he is not in prison either in the Reichstag or on his travels.

My wife most cordially reciprocates your amiable sentiments.
With warmest regards,

Yours,
F. Engels

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is with you, might I request you to be so kind as to convey the contents of this letter to him.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

194

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁵²

IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 September 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

Unfortunately it is not till now, on my return from the Continent (whither I had been sent by the doctors),³⁰⁷ that I have found your letter. Hence my answer may perhaps arrive much too late. As for the rest, *Pater peccavi*^a! But the damned *insomnia*

^a Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:18).

which has afflicted me this year has made me tremendously remiss about writing, since I have simply had to devote all my more tolerable moments to work.

Should *Weydemeyer* not have had *Kapital und Arbeit* printed yet, I would look it over as the original was full of the most appalling printing errors.³⁴¹ You have absolutely no idea of the treatment meted out to me by the party, i.e. the Chemnitzers (AS REPRESENTED BY Vahlteich). Only at Liebknecht's insistence, and also because Chemnitz had represented the thing as extremely urgent, did I undertake the work before leaving for Karlsbad, despite the highly disordered state of my nerves. And in view of the many asinities perpetrated by Most (now happily ensconced with Mr Dühring; a conceited laddie who, when he reads something, *no matter what*, instantly converts it into material for publication) and the small amount of space prescribed, this was no trifle. VERY WELL! Months went by without any news, I made enquiries¹² to which Vahlteich 'coolly' replied, saying the thing was only being set up in such fleeting moments as were left to the *party* printing office after setting up the Chemnitzers' philistine advertisements! Never before have I encountered such cool effrontery! This meant that the printing took almost a year! And when the opusculum did at last appear, it was swarming with printing errors which distorted the sense!

To avoid losing time it might perhaps be better if you were to go ahead with the printing in the way you suggested, and I was to correct for the second edition what had been printed (which would be far easier).

I and Engels will amend the *Communist Manifesto* straight away and then let you have it.¹⁴⁸

Ad vocem^a *Capital and Douai*:

Firstly: Has *Douai* got a *publisher*?

Secondly: The French edition¹⁷ consumed so much of my time that I myself shall not again collaborate *in any way* on a translation. You must know whether *Douai* knows enough *English* to do the thing *on his own*. If so, he has my full authorisation and my blessing.³⁴² In which case, however:

Thirdly: He must without fail, when translating, compare the 2nd German edition with the *French edition* in which I have included a good deal of new matter and greatly improved my presentation of much else. There are two things I shall be sending you *in the course of this week*:

^a Re

1. *A copy of the French edition for Douai.*

2. *A list of places where the French edition shouldn't be compared with the German, but the French text be used as the only basis.*

In Naples Mr *Uriele Cavagnari* is preparing the *Italian* edition of *Capital* (from the French edition); he is having the book printed at his own expense and is going to sell it at cost price. Good man!³⁴³

What you write about the Germans in no way surprises me. It's exactly like that over here. That's why Engels and I have disassociated ourselves from the whole bunch (as has Lessner). The only exception is a German working man with whom I am on friendly terms and whose name momentarily escapes me (Weyer,^a I think); he has a seat on the LONDON TRADES' UNION COUNCIL and was responsible for the only sensible resolution—that working men should elect only working men to represent them in the HOUSE OF COMMONS—at the SHAMEFUL TRADES' UNION CONGRESS in Leicester,³⁴⁴ at which the bourgeois played patron, among their number Mr *Th. Brassey*, the great swindler and millionaire, son of the notorious railway Brassey who 'contracted for' Europe and Asia.

The *Ghent Congress*,³²⁴ whatever else it left to be desired, at least had the advantage that Guillaume and Co. were totally abandoned by their former allies. It was only with difficulty that the Flemish workers were restrained from lambasting the great Guillaume. That bombastic chatterbox De Paepe, and with him Brismée, insulted them; Mr John Hales ditto. The latter placed himself under the command of—*Barry* whom I had induced to go, partly as a member of Congress (as whose delegate, I don't know), partly as correspondent for the *Standard* (London).³⁴⁵ I for my part do not wish ever again to become personally involved with Jung and Hales, but their second defection is useful so far as the Jurassians are concerned. Barry is my FACTOTUM here; he also kept an eye on the *Times* reporters (which newspaper has sacked Mr *Eccarius*). But more especially it was through him that, for months on end, I sustained *incognito* a cross-fire against that Russomane Gladstone in London's FASHIONABLE PRESS (*Vanity Fair* and *Whitehall Review*), as also in the English, Scottish and Irish provincial press, unmasking his underhand dealings with the Russian spy Novikova, the Russian Embassy in London, etc.; it was through him, too, that I exerted influence on English parliamentarians in the Commons and the Lords, who would throw up their hands in horror if they

^a Adam Weiler

knew that it was the RED TERROR DOCTOR, as they call me, who had been their *souffleur* during the oriental crisis.

That crisis marks a *new turning-point* in European history. Russia—and I have studied her affairs from original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible to only very few, but procured for me by friends in Petersburg),—has long been on the verge of an upheaval; all the elements are to hand. The gallant Turks have advanced the explosion by many years through the blows they have dealt not only to the Russian army and Russian finances, but also personally to the *dynasty in command* of the army (Tsar,^a heir-apparent^b and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin, *secundum artem*,^c with some constitutional tomfoolery, *et puis il y aura un beau tapage*.^d Unless Mother Nature is exceptionally unkind, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The silly nonsense in which the Russian students are indulging is merely a symptom, and of no value in itself. But symptom it is. All strata of Russian society are economically, morally and intellectually in a state of complete disintegration.

This time the revolution will begin in the East, hitherto the impregnable bastion and reserve army of counter-revolution.

It was with pleasure that Mr Bismarck watched the drubbing, but more than that it was not to be. Russia, if too much weakened, could not again keep Austria in check as she had done during the Franco-Prussian War! And, should revolution actually result there, what would become of the Hohenzollern dynasty's last safeguard?

Just now everything depends on the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) lying doggo. Rioting is the last thing that is wanted there at the moment! Bismarck would immediately step in, and Russian chauvinism would again rally round the Tsar. On the other hand, were the Poles to bide their time until Moscow and Petersburg are in flames and Bismarck were then to step in as saviour, Prussia would meet—her Mexico^{346!}

Again and again I have dinned this into such Poles as I am in contact with and as have any influence over their compatriots.

The *French crisis*³⁴⁷ is an altogether secondary affair compared with the oriental one. Yet one can only hope that the bourgeois republic wins, for otherwise we shall have the same old game all over again, and no nation can afford to repeat the same stupidities too often.

^a Alexander II - ^b Prince Alexander Alexandrovich (future Emperor Alexander III) - ^c by the rules of the game - ^d and then there'll be a fine how-do-you-do.

With warmest regards from myself and my wife,

Your
Karl Marx

Postscript

The Genevan notary, Wessel, has informed me of the business of *Lingenau's* will.³⁴⁸

We (i.e. the executors) shall have to appoint a proxy in America, and you would be the only suitable person. What we need to know above all, however, is how the matter stands in America and whether the will can be implemented without endless court proceedings. You would oblige me if you could make inquiries about this and let me know.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

195

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 5 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

At the end of this month (31 October) I shall have to make payments of approx. £380 and should therefore be pleased if you would send me the corresponding amount pretty soon. Might I add that I should be grateful if it could be so arranged that the remittance is made payable here *before* the 31st (incl. the three days of grace, hence nominally payable on the 27th inst. at the latest), since I should otherwise be unable, local banking practice being what it is, to avail myself of it on the 31st and, for anyone not in business, discounting is always troublesome and sometimes, even, well nigh impossible unless one gets various other people moving; and I should imagine that the Barmen Bankers' Association can make payment three days after date or sight as readily as ten.

I've loafed about a great deal this summer, seven weeks at the seaside²⁸⁹ and then a fortnight in Scotland,³³³ but it has actually done me a tremendous amount of good.

No doubt you will now admit that I was right in my assessment of the Turks' power of resistance and the weakness of the Russians in attack.^a Next year the Turks will be twice as strong because they will be able to train their men during the winter. Should the Russians *not* move their army across the Danube for the winter, and this I can scarcely believe, they may be in for a surprise. Ice floes on the Danube, for instance, have scant respect for pontoon bridges, even if they do belong to the Emperor of Russia. Still, come what may, Russia will have her Constitution before the end of 1878 and, with it, the second edition of the French Revolution of 1789-94.

The man who has largely prevented the Turks from playing an altogether different kind of game with the Russians is the Sultan's^b brother-in-law, Mahmud Damad Pasha, friend of Ignatiyev and for years in the latter's pay. Should you ever hear that he has been overthrown, you may rest assured that the vigour with which the war is conducted will be of a completely different order. He is also the man who brought about Mehemet Ali's recall.

Love to Emma,^c the children, and all brothers and sisters,

Your
Friedrich

First published abridged in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

196

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1877

Dear Kugelmann,

I am writing in great haste (I have a chemist from Mannheim^d and a university lecturer from Munich staying with me) to inform

^a See this volume, pp. 187-88. - ^b Abdul Hamid II's - ^c Emma Engels - ^d Probably Philipp Pauli

you as requested that I have received your letter and that, if I have the time and am able to do so, I shall gladly supply Mr Ecker with information as soon as I know more precisely what he wants of me.³⁴⁹ I doubt if I can be of much help to him, for a perfect working man's dwelling, which on the one hand meets all the sanitary, etc., requirements and on the other won't cost the working man too much, is, as you know, like a triangular square.

We are getting on pretty well here; Marx has been at Neuenahr,³⁰⁷ for the moment his liver is back to normal, his nerves are better, hence also his nights and, but for his being such a prey to colds, there would be little to complain of. I myself am very well; loafed about a lot during the summer, on top of which there have been numerous visitors, but I think I shall be able to get back to work next week.

Best wishes,

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

197

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 13 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

It will be quite all right if the sum is made payable to me here in the manner described, but on the **30th**.^a It must go through my bank, you see, and won't be credited there until the relevant cheque has actually been received by the CLEARING HOUSE in the afternoon; but by then the bank will be closed and I shan't be able to make use of it until the following day. Would you also be good enough to advise me *which* banker in Barmen is placing the money at my disposal, so that I can establish my identity;

^a See this volume, p. 279.

otherwise, if one no longer represents a firm, one frequently runs into difficulties in a case like this.

The collapse of the Russian army's organisations, command, staff, ammunition supply, rations, clothing, camp administration, etc., becomes daily ever more complete, a mighty debacle entailing the sacrifice of some 100,000 men. During the last fortnight in September and the first week in October the Russians are said to have lost 15,000 *dead* (i.e. those who *died* of wounds and sickness) and, since the beginning of the war, 47,000 dead alone. If they stay before Plevna³⁵⁰ and on the Lom for another three weeks, it could be that the entire army will disintegrate.

Best wishes.

Your
Friedrich

There has in fact been a bit of frost here too, but the geraniums are still flowering a little outside. In Scotland, however, the entire harvest is done for; on 20 September, near Edinburgh, I noticed that the corn was still quite green.³³³

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

198

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁵²

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 19 October 1877

Dear Sorge,

At the same time as this letter, I am sending you the enclosed manuscript for *Douai*, in case he is doing the translation of *Capital*.^a The manuscript contains, besides a few alterations to the German text, indications as to where the latter is to be replaced by the *French edition*.¹⁷ In the copy of the French edition intended for

^a See this volume, pp. 276-77.

Douai, also despatched to your address today, the above-mentioned passages in the manuscript are marked. I found the work much more time-consuming than I had thought, added to which I had a nasty bout of influenza and have not quite got over it yet.

In case of publication,³⁴² Douai must say in the foreword that, besides the 2nd German edition, he has used the French edition which came out later and was revised by me, but BY NO MEANS that *this American edition has been authorised by the writer*. Were he to do so, English booksellers would at once set about pirating it in England, and would be *legally* entitled to do so. Although I am happy to concede translation rights *all over* Europe, wherever there is a COPYRIGHT [agreement] with England, this certainly does not apply to England, that land of Mammon. London booksellers have already made several attempts, frustrated by me, to contrive an English edition without my consent and hence also without payment. I, however, am quite determined that these gentlemen shall not enrich themselves at my expense, be it by a penny.

Just at the moment Engels' time is taken up in all kinds of ways, first by work for the *Vorwärts*,¹⁵⁵ secondly by a flood of philistine visitors from Germany, thirdly by his own 'influenza', and fourthly by his wife's illness. This is why we have been unable to tackle the *Manifesto* together to date.¹⁴⁸

In Germany a corrupt spirit is asserting itself in our party, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and 'workers'). The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to further compromise with other waverers; in Berlin (via *Most*) with Dühring and his 'admirers', not to mention a whole swarm of immature undergraduates and over-wise graduates who want to give socialism a 'higher, idealistic' orientation, i.e. substitute for the materialist basis (which calls for serious, objective study if one is to operate thereon) a modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality and *Fraternité*. Dr Höchberg, the gentleman who edits the *Zukunft*, is a representative of this tendency and has 'bought his way' into the party—no doubt with the 'noblest' of intentions, but I don't give a fig for 'intentions'. Seldom has anything more pitiful than his programme for the *Zukunft* been ushered into the world with more 'modest pretensions'.

The workers themselves, when like Mr Most and Co. they give up working and become *literati by profession*, invariably wreak 'theoretical' havoc and are always ready to consort with addle-heads of the supposedly 'learned' caste. In particular, what we had been at such pains to eject from the German workers' heads

decades ago, thereby ensuring their theoretical (and hence also practical) ascendancy over the French and English,—namely *Utopian* socialism, the play of the imagination on the future structure of society,—is once again rampant and in a far more ineffectual form, not only as compared with the great French and English Utopians, but with—Weitling. It stands to reason that Utopianism which bore within itself the seeds of critical and materialist socialism, *before* the advent of the latter, can now, *post festum*, only seem silly, stale and thoroughly reactionary.

Latterly the governing principle of the *Vorwärts* would seem to have been to accept manuscripts—‘*copie*’, as the French say—regardless of its provenance. To take a few of the recent numbers,—first we find a chap unacquainted with the rudiments of economics providing grotesque *revelations* about the ‘laws’ governing crises.³⁵¹ All he reveals is his own inner ‘collapse’. And then we actually get a pert lad from Berlin being allowed to publish, at the ‘sovereign people’s’ expense, an endless series of articles containing his unedifying thoughts on England and the most egregious Pan-Slav poppycock³⁵²!

Satis superque!^a

Your

Karl Marx

Apropos. Some (a few) years since, a kind of Blue Book (whether official or not, I don’t know) came out on the conditions of the MINERS in Pennsylvania³⁵³ who are known to be in a state of altogether feudal dependence on their MONEY LORDS (I believe the thing came out after a bloody encounter³⁵⁴). It is of the utmost importance that I should have that publication and, if you can get hold of it for me, I will send you what it costs; if not, you might be able to let me have the title, in which case I should apply to Harney (in Boston).

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a Enough is as good as a feast!

199

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 23 October 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your news is bad but was readily predictable. I have already suggested on a number of occasions that you should kick out the gracious Isolde.^a However much corrected, her product remains an abortion.²⁵⁴ Add to that the waste of time, waste of money, etc. There can be no legal objection to that person's being 'kicked out' since she does not, and is unable to, perform what she contractually undertook to do. *Blos* had at one time proffered his services (unfortunately not until after Isolde).¹⁹⁴

The review, *Zukunft*, is by no means satisfactory, its main endeavour being to substitute ideological catch-phrases such as 'justice', etc., for materialist knowledge. Its programme is wretched! Promises, what's more, to peddle phantasms of the future structure of society. This, the first result of a bourgeois^b buying his way into the party, is not a happy one—as might have been predicted.

The *Vorwärts*, too, is publishing a mass of immature, stereotyped essays by aspiring and presumptuous striplings.^c I shouldn't have thought the proletariat's money was intended to provide a dumping-ground for such exercises.

I trust your health is improving. I myself have been suffering from influenza for several weeks,—most disruptive of work.

Yours,
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first
time

^a Isolde Kurz - ^b Karl Höchberg - ^c See also previous letter.

200

MARX TO SIBYLLE HESS³⁵⁵

IN PARIS

London, 25 October 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Hess,

Very many thanks from myself as well as from Engels for the two copies we have been sent of the 'dynamic theory of matter'.^a

We are both of the opinion that the work of our late friend has *very considerable scientific merit* and does credit to our party. So, quite apart from our personal relations with an ally of many years' standing, we would regard it as our duty to explain the significance of his work and to do all we could for its sales.

Are the two parts announced in Hess' foreword also available in manuscript?³⁵⁶

You will not take it amiss if I enclose herewith the price of the two copies, the point being, not so much your personal expense, as the cost of the undertaking.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

I shall write to Petersburg and New York on the subject of the work.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
 Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

^a by Moses Hess

201

MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT⁹⁶

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 3 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

My best thanks for the packages.

Your offer to arrange for other material to be sent to me from France, Italy, Switzerland, etc. is exceedingly welcome, although I feel reluctant to make undue claims on you. I don't at all mind waiting, by the by, nor will this in any way hold up my work, for I am applying myself to various parts of the book in turn. In fact, *privatim*, I began by writing *Capital* in a sequence (starting with the 3rd, historical section³⁵⁷) quite the reverse of that in which it was presented to the public, saving only that the first volume—the last I tackled—was got ready for the press straight away, whereas the two others remained in the rough form which all research originally assumes.

I enclose a photograph herewith, because the copy of the French edition¹⁷ that goes off to you at the same time as this letter only contains a very far from flattering likeness done from a London photograph by a Parisian artist.

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the
first time

202

MARX TO WILHELM BLOS³⁵⁸

IN HAMBURG

London, 10 November 1877

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Blos,

I was delighted to hear from you [*Dir*]^a again at last (that '*Dir*' slipped naturally from my pen. So do drop the '*Sie*'^b in future). I had long since proposed that the abominable Isolde^c be dismissed, and fulminated against her in vain.

Whenever, in '*la Place*', the word *place* is written with a capital P, it always means the *Place Vendôme*, that being the seat of the commander of the National Guard; in Paris at the time he was the equivalent of what we call 'town-major'.

As regards the '*suppression de l'État*',^d an expression which Lissagaray himself will be altering in the 2nd French edition,^e the sense is no different from that expounded in my pamphlet on the 'Civil War' in France.^f In short, you can translate it 'abolition (or suppression) of the class state'.

I 'bear no ill-will' (as Heine says)^g and nor for that matter does Engels.³⁵⁹ Neither of us cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity, nor did I ever reply to them, save with an occasional snub. When Engels and I first joined the secret communist society, we did so only on condition that anything conducive to a superstitious belief in authority be eliminated from the Rules.³⁶⁰ (Lassalle subsequently operated in the reverse direction.)

But events such as occurred at the last party congress²⁸⁶—they are being well and truly exploited by enemies of the party abroad—have in any case made it necessary for us to be circumspect in our relations with 'party members in Germany'.

Apart from that, my state of health compels me to devote to the

^a The familiar form of address in German: '*Dir*'—'Thee'. - ^b you (as opposed to '*Du*') - ^c Isolde Kurz - ^d suppression of the state - ^e [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. - ^f K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^g H. Heine, *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, 'Ich grolle nicht...'

completion of my book^a the time allotted to me for work by my doctor; and Engels, who is working on several longer books, is still sending contributions to the *Vorwärts*.¹⁵⁵

It would amuse me to hear more from time to time about my 'combinations with Father Beckx'.³⁶¹

Engels will be writing to you shortly.

With warm regards from my wife and my daughter Eleanor.

Totus tuus,^b

Karl Marx

First published in *Der wahre Jacob*,
Nr. 565(6), Berlin, 17. März 1908

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the
first time

203

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London], 20 November [1877]

Unless I have the RECEIPT by tomorrow morning, I shall feel compelled to go to the CENTRAL OFFICE here and inform them of everything that has taken place.³⁶²

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

^a *Capital* - ^b Ever yours

204

MARX TO SIBYLLE HESS³⁵⁵

IN PARIS

London, 29 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Hess,

Both I and Engels have been absent from London for some considerable time and, after returning, I necessarily had first to read our late friend's book,³⁵⁶ before being in a position to write to you.

Engels and I thank you very much for sending the same. In so far as we have any influence, we shall endeavour to disseminate it. It contains some brilliant notions but unfortunately—no doubt because Hess could not put the finishing touches to it—there are quite a number of dubious points that lend themselves to attack by professional natural scientists.

Wishing you the best of success, I remain

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in *Vorwärts*, Nr. 67,
Basel, 9. Februar 1930, Beilage

Printed according to the original

205

ENGELS TO MARX³⁶³

IN LONDON

[London, end of 1877-beginning of 1878]
Saturday morning

Dear Moor,

I have gone and got me two swollen ankles and shall be unable to wear boots for a couple of days. I shall drive to the bank forthwith to collect some money and, if you care to come this evening, you will find what you require.

Tussy is quite right; Maskelyne should be read either after or at the *same time* as Wallace, for the details about people in Maskelyne, all of which cannot possibly be remembered, acquire interest only through the intimate knowledge of these various persons displayed by Wallace. So be so kind as to return it when you come so that I shall be able to appreciate Wallace in all his FOOLERY.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4,
Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

1878

206

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP
IN LONDON

[London,] 1 January 1878

My dear Friend,

I hope one good thing the new year will do—act beneficently upon your health.

My best thanks for the Owen addresses and proclamations.^a

The Trafalgar Square meeting of Friday last was much more important than the newspaper reports would make it appear.³⁶⁴ There was a gathering of at least 15,000-20,000 people. The Russian party, as represented by the Honourable Bradlaugh, Hales, Mottershead, Osborne, etc., was forced, after a tremendous hand to hand fight, to evacuate the place with torn dresses, swollen eyes and broken noses. A dozen wounded were delivered to the next hospital. John Bull came out as a true bull and not as a lamb. The Turkish party was in overwhelming majority. *Entre nous*, I had somewhat my hand in getting up this demonstration, as, in point of fact, I have since many, many months acted through some British workmen and *ci-devant*^b workmen upon the very diversified layers of the Pro-Turkishers. But, of course, if I had made the least public move, the whole thing would have been spoilt. In such *national* affairs no foreigner must appear. If he thinks it his duty to do something, he must do so *secretly*, behind the scenes, by a few natives upon whose discretion he can rely. One day I shall tell you [about] the very strange relations into which I have thus entered with British Grandees who would get into a white rage if they had the least suspicion under whose advice they were acting.

^a See this volume, pp. 262-63. - ^b former

I have received letters and prints from Russia.³⁶⁵ The misery now prevailing there is truly shocking. Save the governmental dependents and the by no means strong fraction of Pan-Slavists, discontent is universal. They had hoped peace would be at once concluded after the fall of Plevna.³⁵⁰

As to Turkey, the great danger for her is Mahmud Damad who alone is responsible for the failure of the first campaign. This fact is known at Constantinople, and I wonder whether some fanatical Softas¹⁵⁶ will not have the good sense to 'extinguish' that scoundrel. As Hobbes said: The equality of men is proved by this ... that the smallest man, the weakest man, can in one way or other kill the tallest, the biggest one.^a

Apart from all incidents of war, with the help of that model administration the Russians owe, the winter in Bulgaria will decimate their army. Already all their pontoon-bridges, save that of Zimnicea³⁶⁶ (which also will *not stand* the repeated attacks of the Danube ice), are swept away, and, by the by, they will be cut off from Wallachia.

In France the Dufaure cabinet will not last long. The discovery of the military conspiracy will kill it.³⁶⁷

The whole family send you their new year wishes and you know that they come from the heart.

Yours most devotedly,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in Japanese, in *Keizai Gakuronshu*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Tokyo, 1969

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207

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 11 January 1878

Dear Old Man,

Avant tout,^b a Happy New Year to you, and may it bring you less in the way of troubles and burdens than the previous one!

^a Marx is rendering a passage from Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*. - ^b First of all

The package eventually arrived a few days ago.^a My best thanks. I have not quite finished looking through the *Bulletin jurassien*; I find it interesting to follow the decline of that gang and its ultimate relegation to the back of the stage as a result of our electoral victories of 10 January 1877.²³⁷ Let them now scheme and snarl to their heart's content; they've gone to pot and there they will remain.³⁶⁸

You will be receiving from the post office a money order for 50 frs which you should regard as our contribution to the *Précurseur*. In accordance with the new regulations, I have to retain over here the receipt they gave me; the money order, or so they tell me, will be sent to you from Basle.

We are pretty well. Marx is notably better as compared with former years; his wife is not quite up to the mark, but the doctor^b promises a complete cure; I myself cannot complain.

Things seem to be going very well indeed for you people in Switzerland; the formation of a workers' party is a great step forward³⁶⁹ and, even if the programme isn't nearly radical enough for the taste of *Messieurs les Bakounistes*, it doesn't matter a damn. A party that has the political means to take a direct part in the struggle, and the prospect of soon being able to throw a not inconsiderable weight into the scales, as is the case in Switzerland, has better things to do than to force each individual collaborator to accept its ultimate aims as dogma. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the programme, but it was modelled on the garrulous programme concocted in Germany at the time of the unification.¹²¹

In Germany, too, big mistakes were made, in particular as regards the attitude adopted—in a spirit altogether Bakunist—towards the French crisis.²⁹² And yet on this occasion we again saw how far ahead of us France has come in matters of practice. Lousy though the solution may have so far proved to be, it is nevertheless the first time that anything has been achieved there without a violent upheaval³⁶⁷—and violence there, so soon after the bloodbath of 1871, could only lead to the revival of repression and of Bonapartism. But as it is, there is every prospect that the workers will very shortly gain freedom of the press, the right of association and assembly and whatever else is requisite for organisation and struggle, and that is all they need to begin with. They are in a position to discover where they stand theoretically, as is most necessary, and at last, when the opportunity presents

^a See this volume, p. 214. - ^b George Allen

itself, to enter the revolution as a tightly knit party and with a definite programme. And then again, the debonapartisation and republicanisation of the peasants, which is now in full swing, is another tremendous gain. And, lastly, the decisive point was reached because the *common soldier declared he would not fight*—the collapse of militarism has begun from within and may soon find a sequel in Germany, especially if present policy should make it necessary to lead the army into the field in support of the Russians.

Another big mistake in Germany is to have allowed students and other ignorant 'scholars', in the guise of scientific representatives of the party, to flood the world at large with vast quantities of the most arrant nonsense. However, this is a childish ailment which has to be got over, and it is precisely in order to hasten it on that I made such a thorough example of Dühring.^a

That apart, things are going quite splendidly there as well and, if they now really get cracking with their anti-Russian agitation, it might prove very effective.

Apropos, Buffenoir, whom the *Vorwärts* is presently making such a fuss of,³⁷⁰ is a somewhat ambiguous individual; in the first place, he's a clericalist, in the second he has recently eulogised Gambetta in effusive poetical verse and has no standing whatever amongst the workers of Paris. Another instance of Liebknecht's getting himself into a mess.

I hope the peace terms proposed by the Russians will be such that the war will go on. Not having any bridges over the Danube, their army is cut off and might starve miserably if the weather stays bad. And an undecided war, or fresh defeats, would undoubtedly give rise to revolution in Petersburg. Initially started by the court and constitutional, in other words 1789 preceding 1793.³⁷¹ Just let a national assembly convene in Petersburg, and the whole of Europe will assume a different aspect.

Your old friend

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

208

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT³⁷²

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 February 1878³⁷³

... We are most decidedly espousing the Turkish cause and for 2 reasons:

1. because we have studied the *Turkish peasant*—i.e. the mass of the Turkish people—and in this way have come to see him as indubitably one of the *ablest and most moral representatives of the peasantry in Europe*;

2. because the *defeat of the Russians* would have greatly *expedited social revolution in Russia*, of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and *hence radical change throughout Europe*.

Things took a different course. Why? In consequence of *England's and Austria's treachery*.

England—I mean the English government—came, for example, to the rescue of the Serbs when they had been beaten¹⁷⁶; by misrepresenting the facts, she caused the Turks to suspend hostilities in the erroneous belief that the Russians had *proffered an armistice* (through England) *of which the first condition was the aforesaid suspension. It was this alone that enabled the Russians to win their final spate of victories.*³⁷⁴ Otherwise their armies would have been decimated by hunger and cold; only the opening up of the way to Rumelia where supplies were to be had (i.e. taken) and where, furthermore, the climate was milder, permitted them to escape from the mousetrap in Bulgaria, cram-full with soldiers, and pour their hordes into the south. Disraeli was (and still is) hamstrung in his own cabinet by the Marquis of Salisbury, Russian agent and confidant of Ignatiyev, by the Grand Cophta³⁷⁵ OF COMMONPLACE—EARL OF DERBY—and by the EARL OF CARNARVON, who has since resigned.

Austria prevented the Turks from enjoying the fruits of their victories in Montenegro, etc.³⁷⁶

Finally—and this is one of the main reasons for their ultimate defeat—the *Turks failed to stir up revolution* in Constantinople, thus allowing that incarnation of the old Seraglio régime—*Mahmud Damad*—brother-in-law to the Sultan,^a to remain the real power behind the war—exactly the same thing as *actually*

^a Abdul Hamid II

entrusting the Russian cabinet with the conduct of the war against itself. The systematic paralysing and compromising of the Turkish army by this laddie can be demonstrated down to the smallest detail. Come to that, everyone in Constantinople is aware of it and this *increases* the *historical guilt* of the *Turks*. A people incapable of resolute revolutionary action at moments of intense crisis such as this is doomed. The Russian government knew what Damad was worth to them; it *brought more strategy and tactics to bear on keeping Midhat Pasha away* from Constantinople and Damad at the helm than on the capture of Plevna.³⁵⁰

The man behind the Russian victory was, of course, *Bismarck*. He was responsible for the *Alliance of the Three Emperors*¹⁴³ whereby *Austria* was kept quiet. Even after the fall of Plevna all *Austria* would have had to do was marshal 100,000 men—and the Russians would have been compelled quietly to withdraw or to content themselves with the paltriest of spoils. From the start, *Austria's abdication* gave the Russian party in England the upper hand, France (as a result of the post-Sedan catastrophe—catastrophe *after* Sedan¹¹³—engineered by the then premier, Mr Gladstone) having ceased to exist in English eyes as a continental military power.

The consequence will simply be *the dissolution of Austria*, which is inevitable if the Russian peace terms be accepted³⁷⁷ and this means that Turkey (at least in Europe) will continue to exist in name only. Turkey was *Austria's barrier against Russia* and her retinue of Slavs. So presumably at the first appropriate moment there'll be a call for 'Bohemia'.

But Prussia *qua* Prussia—i.e. as specifically opposed to Germany—also has interests of a different kind: Prussia as such *is her dynasty*, she has *come to be* and is what she is on Russia's 'warranty'. The defeat of Russia, revolution in Russia, would ring Prussia's death-knell.

For otherwise, after the great victory over France, after Prussia had become the leading military power in Europe, we may presume that not even Mr von Bismarck would have assigned her the same position vis-à-vis Russia as she had occupied in 1815 as a supernumerary on the political stage of Europe.

Finally, to panjandrums such as Bismarck, Moltke, etc., the prospect of personal eminence held out by the *succession of European wars now beginning* ... is by no means a matter of indifference.

It goes without saying that Prussia must, as occasion arises, demand 'compensation' for the *Russian victories* which *she* alone

made possible. This is already plainly evident from the behaviour of the Russians vis-à-vis the Romanian government which had gone to the *rescue* of those same Russians at Plevna before Muscovite reinforcements arrived. Karl von Hohenzollern is now to demonstrate his gratitude by handing back the part of Bessarabia ceded by the Russians after the Crimean War.³⁷⁸ That this will not be permitted out of hand by Berlin, Petersburg is aware, and is prepared to make HANDSOME compensation.

But there are other aspects to all this. *Turkey* and *Austria* were the last bulwarks of the old European political order that was patched up again in 1815; with *their* downfall it will suffer total collapse. This debacle—which will take the form of a series of ('localised' and ultimately 'general') wars—will precipitate the *social crisis*—and with it the *decline* of all these sabre-rattling SHAM POWERS.

First published in: W. Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage...*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1878

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

Published in English in full for the first time

209

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[Extract]

[London,] 4 February 1878

You are mistaken, if you believe that Disraeli is in my opinion a great man. He was always a self-seeker, and such people, whatever their natural gifts, are always deficient. But, *dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes*, etc.^a!

You are still more mistaken, if you consider *Lord Commonplace*^b as a small man or an adversary easily to be borne down! He is, on the contrary, the mightiest man in the British Empire. On the one hand, the *oldest nobility* man, on the other the *intellectual* incarnation of the great middle-class. *Business is business*—this is the only serious part of your bourgeois: everything else is

^a *Dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois*—In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed is King. - ^b The Earl of Derby (see also this volume, p. 296).

show—and must, consequently, be got rid of by *mild talk*, conventional utterances, inane twaddle. What a power, therefore, the Lord of Commonplace! If an Earl of Derby did not exist, the decaying nobility and the upstart brokers ought to have invented him...³⁷⁹

Turkey and Austria were the last props of the *old State System of Europe*... It will go now altogether to the wall, expiring in a succession of wars, which will precipitate the *Social Crisis* and engulf all the so-called *Powers*, those sham-powers, victors and vanquished—to make room for a European Social Revolution.

One way or another our enemies are digging their own graves!

First published, in the language of the original (English), in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and C^o*, London, 1966

Reproduced from the catalogue

210

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT⁵²

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 11 February 1878³⁷³

At least something worthwhile has been achieved by the Russians; they have exploded England's 'great Liberal Party' and rendered it incapable of governing for some time to come, while the Tory Party has gone to the trouble of officially bringing about its own demise through the medium of those traitors Derby and Salisbury (the latter being the real pro-Russian force within the Cabinet).^a

The English working class had gradually become ever more demoralised as a result of the period of corruption after 1848, and had finally reached the stage of being no more than an appendage of the great Liberal Party, i.e. of its *oppressors*, the capitalists. Its direction had passed completely into the hands of the venal TRADES UNION leaders and professional agitators. In the wake of the Gladstones, Brights, Mundellas, Morleys, and the whole gang of factory owners, etc., these laddies ranted and roared *in majorem gloriam*^b of that emancipator of the nations, the Tsar,^c while never

^a See this volume, p. 296. - ^b to the greater glory - ^c Alexander II

raising a finger on behalf of their own brethren in South Wales, condemned by the mine-owners to death by starvation.³⁸⁰ The wretches! And to crown it all in worthy fashion, during the recent divisions in the House of Commons (on 7 and 8 February, when most of the chief dignitaries of the 'great Liberal Party'—Forster, Lowe, Harcourt, Goschen, Hartington and even (on 7 February) the great John Bright himself—left their army in the lurch and made off during the *division* so as not to compromise themselves unduly by voting³⁸¹), the *only labour representatives* in the House of Commons and they, *horribile dictu*,^a *direct representatives of the miners, and themselves miners* born and bred, namely *Burt* and the pitiful *Macdonald*, voted with those pro-Tsar enthusiasts, the rump of the 'great Liberal Party'!

But the rapid unfolding of Russia's plans suddenly broke the spell, disrupting the 'mechanical agitation' (of whose mechanism five pound notes were the mainspring); at this moment it would have been '*physically dangerous*' for Mottershead, Howell, John Hales, Shipton, Osborne and all the rest of the crew to make their voices heard at a public workers' meeting; even their 'CORNER and TICKET MEETINGS' are forcibly disbanded and broken up by the populace.

But it will take your ponderous 'Anglo-Saxon' too long to wake up—in time, at any rate, for the next events...

Russian diplomacy is very far from sharing the fatuous 'Christian' prejudices against the 'Crescent'. Turkey, reduced in Europe to Constantinople and a small part of Rumelia, but with a compact hinterland in Asia Minor, Arabia, etc., is to be shackled to Russia by means of an offensive and defensive alliance.

During the last campaign the 120,000 *Poles* in the Russian army rendered sterling service³⁸²; now the Poles are to be joined by *Turks*—and the *Russians* will have under *their flag* the two bravest races of Europe, who have to avenge themselves on Europe for their humiliation—not a bad idea!

In 1829 Prussia—but at that time she was still no more than the biggest of Europe's small states and the self-confessed protégée of Russia³⁸³—acted just as she is doing now.

The desperate situation in which the Russian army found itself after Diebitsch had led it over the Balkans (*July 1829*) has been well described by *Moltke*.^b Only diplomacy could have saved it.

The second campaign was on the point of turning out as badly

^a horrible to say - ^b [H. K. B.] von Moltke. *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.*

as the first³⁸⁴—and then *finis Russiae*—it would be all up with Russia. That is why *Nicholas*, the Tsar, went to Berlin on 10 June 1829, allegedly in order to attend the *wedding* of *Prince William of Prussia* (the present German emperor). He asked Frederick William III (he ‘of the conqueror’s crown^a) to prevail upon the Porte to send him plenipotentiaries so as to open peace negotiations. At that time Diebitsch had not yet crossed the Balkans, the greater part of his army being pinned down outside Silistria and Shumla.^b In concert with Nicholas, Frederick William III officially ordered Baron *Müffling* to Constantinople as envoy extraordinary, the intention being, however, that he should act as *Russia’s* agent there. Müffling was of pure Russian stock, as he himself relates in *Aus meinem Leben*: he had drafted the Russian campaign plan in 1827 and indeed insisted that Diebitsch should march over the Balkans *coûte que coûte* (whatever the cost), while he, as peace mediator, conducted intrigues in Constantinople. He himself says that the Sultan,^c *alarmed* by such a march, would appeal to him as a friend.^d

Under the pretext of assuring the peace of Europe, he succeeded in getting France and England to eat out of his hand—in particular the latter country, by exerting influence through the Russophil English ambassador, Robert Gordon, on the latter’s brother, the *EARL OF Aberdeen*, and through him on *Wellington*—who was later bitterly to rue it.

After Diebitsch had crossed the Balkans, he was gratified to receive a letter from Reshid Pasha dated 25 July (1829) inviting him to open the peace negotiations. *On that same day*, Müffling had his first discussion with Reis Effendi (Turkish Minister of the Exterior)^e whom he intimidated by the vehemence of his address (*à la Prince Reuss*^f); he also invoked Gordon, etc. The Sultan gave way to the pressure of the Prussian ambassador (who was supported by Gordon, the English, and *Guilleminot*, the French ambassador, both of whom had been briefed by Müffling) and accepted the following 5 peace terms: 1. Integrity of the Ottoman Empire; 2. retention of the former treaties between the Porte and Russia; 3. adherence of the Porte to the Treaty of London (concluded 6 July 1827) between France, England and Russia for

^a In the original ‘im Siegerkranz’. ‘Heil dir im Siegerkranz’—the initial words of the Prussian National Anthem written by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher on the basis of Heinrich Harries’ poem *Lied für den dänischen Unterihan*. - ^b Bulgarian names: Silistra and Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). - ^c Mahmud II - ^d F. C. F. Müffling, *Aus meinem Leben*, Berlin, 1851, p. 303. - ^e Pertev Reis Effendi - ^f Heinrich VII of Reuss

the regulation of Greek affairs³⁸⁵; 4. firm undertakings as regards the freedom of shipping in the Black Sea; 5. further negotiations between Turkish and Russian *chargés d'affaires* relating to indemnification and any other claim either party might make.

On 28 August Sadek Effendi^a and Abdul Kader Bey, the two Turkish plenipotentiaries, accompanied by *Küster* (*attaché at the Prussian Embassy* in Constantinople), arrived at Adrianople^b where the Russians had set up their general headquarters about a week previously. Diebitsch opened negotiations on 1 September without waiting for the arrival of the *Russian plenipotentiaries* (Alexei Orlov and Pahlen), who had got no further than Burgas.

But while negotiations were in progress, Diebitsch's troops continued their advance on Constantinople. Insolent and overbearing (*despite* or rather *because of* the rottenness of his position), he gave the Turkish plenipotentiaries a *week's deadline* by which to assent to the following points:

The fortresses of Braila, Giurgevo^c and Calafat to be razed and the places themselves to be incorporated into Wallachia. Anapa and Poti, on the Black Sea, to be ceded to Russia; also the Pashalik of Akhaltsikhe; reparations amounting to 700,000 'purses' (some 120 million francs), payment to be guaranteed by handing over Silistria and the Danubian principalities^d as a pledge to Russia. Indemnification of Russian merchants to the tune of some 15 million francs for losses sustained, payable on three appointed dates after each of which the Russian army would withdraw, first to the foot of the Balkans, then to the north of those mountains and, finally, across the Danube.

The Porte objected to these terms which were so greatly at variance with the Tsar's^e assurances of moderation. The new Prussian ambassador Royer (Müffling had absconded on 5 September, after completing his fell assignment—he, the 'friend to the Porte' and the angel of peace), in company with General Guilleminot, Müffling's dupe, and Sir Robert Gordon, *supported the protests of the Porte*, for insolence such as this ran counter to the agreement and was *even* too much for him 'of the conqueror's crown'. Diebitsch knew that militarily speaking he was in a tight corner and made bogus concessions: in the public peace treaty, the article concerning the *amount of war reparations* would be withdrawn; the first instalment of the indemnification of Russian merchants was reduced for, *as the Turkish envoys said*: 'The most

^a Mehmed Sadek - ^b Turkish name: Edirne. - ^c Romanian name: Giurgiu. - ^d Moldavia and Wallachia - ^e Nicholas I

ignorant must know that the Porte could not pay.' Peace was finally concluded on 5 September.³⁸⁶

Great sensation in Europe, great indignation in England; Wellington fumed; even Aberdeen drew attention in a despatch to the danger lurking in every single clause of the treaty, and endeavoured to bring about a general alliance whereby *all the great powers* (including Russia) *would guarantee peace in the Orient*. Austria was willing; but *Prussia frustrated the project*, and saved Russia from the dangers a European congress would present to her. (*France*, where Charles X was preparing his coup d'état, entered into a *secret* understanding with *Russia*; a secret treaty was also concluded, whereby France was *to receive the Rhine Provinces*.^a

Under these circumstances there was no need for Nesselrode to beat about the bush; he sent an insolent and contemptuous despatch to the English Cabinet, i.e. a despatch addressed to Count Lieven (the Russian ambassador) in London.

This is what Prussia did at the time and has now done again on a grander scale. Fine Hohenstaufens—these Hohenzollerns! Statesmanship presented no difficulties to Bismarck in the Austrian and French affair; against Austria, he had Bonaparte's protection and the Italians, and against France, the whole of Europe. Moreover, the goal to which he aspired had been determined by the circumstances, which had paved the way to its attainment.

Now that circumstances have become more complex, he is a genius no longer.^b

First published in: W. Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage...*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1878

Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English in full for the first time

^a See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 146. - ^b In Liebknecht's pamphlet, there follows a passage of which it has not been established whether it is part of Marx's letter or is by Liebknecht himself. It reads: 'Inside Russia the situation is confused. The gentle Alexander intends to build a *penal establishment* in *Novaya Zemlya* to which *political offenders* will be banished, and that means *la mort sans phrase*—death, pure and simple. It would be a good thing if peace were to reign for the next year or two. In particular this would be conducive to internal decay in Russia. The government's first move there (following the example of Prussia after 1815) would be to persecute *pan-Slav agitators*.³⁸⁷ In so far as it was necessary, they have been exploited; the day of reckoning will come when the turmoil of war has ceased.'

211

MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT³⁸⁸

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 29 March 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have, though somewhat belatedly, obtained *Volume IV (Industrieactien)* of the SALING, to which you so kindly drew my attention. I did not wish to reply to your letter until I had at length had time to run through the thing, and have found it *very useful*.

I have tried, without success, to obtain *via* the booksellers the second volume of *Glagau*^a (it has probably been banned), and also *Rudolph Meyer's* book^b on account of which he has been prosecuted. Since the said Meyer has cited me in court as a competent witness to the 'scholarship' of his work he ought, if only for decency's sake, to have sent it me to look at.

Finally, I have one more thing to ask of you, namely to be so kind, provided it is not too time-consuming, as to let me have a list of the *names* of *Perrot's* published writings on the subject of joint-stock companies, etc.^c

From Petersburg Mr *Kaufman* has sent me (*Russian* text) his bulky tome on the *Theory and Practice of Banks*,^d likewise his *History of the Bank of England* etc.^e So far I have only read the *first*-named. Written in a 'high-falutin' style, with considerable self-important pretensions to absolute 'scholarship', it is an *enthusiastic apology* for the economy of *Gründung*¹¹⁸ and swindling. Yet such writings are most beneficial, for the apology, in so far as it has any real content, and all unbeknown to its author, ends up by demonstrating for good or ill, and contrary to the moralising philistine, the correlation between the necessary product of the present system of production itself and what your philistine condemns as 'abuse', 'malpractice', etc.

I used to subscribe to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but do so no longer because of its 'Swiss' standpoint which alone can account

^a O. Glagau, *Der Börsen- und Gründungs-Schwindel in Deutschland*. - ^b R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*. - ^c F. PERROT, *Der Bank-, Börsen- und Actienschwindel*. - ^d [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія и практика банкового дѣла* - ^e И. И. Кауфманъ, *Исторія банкового дѣла въ Великобританіи и Ирландіи*.

for its lunatic flights of fancy on the subject of the oriental imbroglio. But now a friend of mine in Germany^a is persecuting me by occasionally sending me what he believes to be an interesting issue of the paper. From what little (but nevertheless still 'over-much') that has thus come my way, it seems to me that a *marked change* is occurring in the line taken by the paper. Is this the case, or is it not? Has Mr Sonnemann shifted further to the 'right'?

I trust that you are having better weather than we are. Since my return from Germany in mid-September³⁰⁷ I have suffered from a permanent cough, etc.

With kindest regards I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

212

MARX TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV³⁸⁹

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 March 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Smirnov,

I take it that you are still editor of the *Впередь!*,^b and therefore that this note will find you at the address I have selected.

Party friends in Paris have asked me for information about two agitators within our societies in Paris, namely a '*Prince Kropotkin*' and a lady, one '*Kulishova*', a particular friend of Costa's.

Do you, perhaps, know anything about these individuals from the political aspect?

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *International Review for Social History*, Vol. III, Leiden, 1938

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Presumably Carl Hirsch. - ^b *Vpered!* (Forward!)

213

ENGELS TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

London, 3 April 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Hirsch,

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note^a to Lopatin? We don't know whether the old address we have for him still holds good.^b It has to do with an article for Bracke's *Kalender* on the condemned Russians.³⁹⁰—The *Égalité* hasn't been arriving for some time past; I hope nothing has happened to it. With the suspension of the *Bulletin jurassien*^c for want of money, the Bakuninists' swaggering has come to an inglorious end. It's encouraging to see the movement growing so powerful that it can sweep aside every one of these rubbishy factions without undue difficulty. As soon as I have a complete set of them here I shall send you some articles of mine on the movement in 1877,^d which have appeared in the New York *Labor Standard*. As regards Dühring, I've all but finished now. No doubt you will shortly see something more about his 'socialism' in the *Vorwärts*.^e This worthy man has cost me an atrocious amount of time, but unfortunately there was no [alternative], it being a case of all or nothing. Precious chaps, these anarchists! That great enemy of the state, Adhémar Schwitzguébel, Guillaume's right-hand man, who would rather chop off his own hand than place a voting-paper in a ballot box, is an officer *dans l'armée fédérale*!^f as the *Bulletin jurassien* itself declares. Kindest regards to all our friends, especially Kaub and Mesa.

Yours very sincerely,

F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a See next letter. - ^b From February 1878 Lopatin stayed in Montreux. - ^c *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* - ^d F. Engels, *The Workingmen of Europe in 1877*. - ^e F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III. - ^f in the federal army

214

ENGELS TO HERMANN LOPATIN³⁹¹

IN PARIS

[London, 3 April 1878]

... My warmest regards to Lavrov. I was glad to see that his excellent article in the last issue of *Впередь!*^a had been translated for the *Vorwärts*; it will not be without effect.³⁹² Unfortunately my eye is in rather a delicate condition, which prevents my reading Russian; Russian characters always hurt my eye; let's hope it doesn't persist...

First published, in Russian, in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Printed according to Lopatin's letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

215

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN EXMOUTH (DEVON)

[Postcard]

[London,] 28 April 1878

My dear and honoured Friend,

Mrs Marx is continually changing, sometimes up, then again down. As soon as the weather becomes more congenial, she must, of course, leave London.

Meanwhile we all hope to enjoy soon the pleasure to see you here.

I have received a whole lot of latest 'Russian' publications from Petersburg.³⁶⁵ They bear witness to a great internal commotion.

^a *Vperyod!* (Forward!)

Bismarck seems to break rapidly down, bodily and otherwise.

Yours most devotedly,
K. M.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*,
Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968

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216

ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE⁹⁶

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 30 April 1878

Dear Bracke,

Herewith Lissagaray's receipt for the *300 marks* which he has changed into £15 at a loss of approx. 6 marks against gold at par, doubtless so that he should not have to acknowledge Bismarck's currency reform.³⁹³

I think that in taking the view you do of the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly³⁹⁴ you may be looking a bit too far ahead. Aside from the enormous increase of power that would accrue to Prussian dominion, on the one hand through total financial independence of any control, on the other through direct command of two new armies, that of railway officials and that of tobacco sellers, and the consequent power to confer appointments and engage in corruption—aside from all that, it must not be forgotten that nowadays any transfer of industrial and commercial functions to the state may, depending on the circumstances, have a twofold purport and a twofold effect: one reactionary, a step back into the Middle Ages, one progressive, a step forward towards communism.^a We in Germany, however, have only just crept out of the Middle Ages and are only this moment engaged in entering modern bourgeois society through the medium of large-scale industry and the crash.³⁹⁵ In our case, what needs to be developed to the highest possible degree is precisely that *bourgeois* economic régime which concentrates capitals and accentuates contradictions,

^a Cf. F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III, Ch. II (present edition, Vol. 25, p. 265).

notably in the north-east. To my mind the economic dissolution of feudal conditions east of the Elbe is, for us, the most essential step forward, along with the dissolution throughout Germany of small businesses in industry and the crafts and their replacement with large-scale industry. And, after all, the only good thing about a tobacco monopoly is that, at one stroke, it would change one of the most infamous cottage industries into large-scale industry. On the other hand, the state tobacco workers would also at once become subject to exceptional laws and, still worse, deprived of the liberty to associate or strike. In our case the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly are not of necessity state industries—the railways not *yet*, at any rate, whereas in England they are only just coming to be so; posts and telegraphs, on the other hand, *are*. And by way of compensation for all the disadvantages those two new state monopolies would bring us, we'd simply get a handy new expression to use in agitation. For a state monopoly that is set up simply for reasons of money and power, not out of compelling and intrinsic necessity, wouldn't even provide us with a proper argument. And the process of setting up a tobacco monopoly and abolishing the cottage tobacco industry would, what's more, take at least as long as Bismarckism can possibly hope to survive. Again, you may be sure that the Prussian state would both debase the *quality* of tobacco and raise the price to such an extent that the adherents of free competition would gleefully point to this discrediting of state communism, and the people would be forced to agree with them. The whole thing is an ignorant fancy of Bismarck's altogether worthy of his plan of 1863 to annex Poland and Germanise her within three years.

Had I known that the Party of Progress³¹² had for years been proposing [the abolition of] tax exemption for the military, I should have advised you against bringing the motion in question. To my mind, our function is to support *bourgeois* demands only when the bourgeois parties fail to do what they damned well ought to; but judging by your own speech, this does not appear to have been quite the case. I merely mention this on account of Richter's reply.³⁹⁶ Naturally I don't dispute for one moment that our airing of the question may have great advantages as regards propaganda, though I can't, needless to say, give an unqualified verdict from here.

I've now finished Mr Dühring, fortunately, apart from the revision of the final articles,^a and trust I shall have no more of his

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part III.

esteemed company while on this earth. What a conceited ignoramus! If the rest isn't printed quickly, it won't be my fault.

Kind regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

An excerpt from this letter was first published in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920; first published in full, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

217

MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 26 JUNE 1878

Dear Hirsch,

I cannot lay hands here on Bucher's reply in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*.^a The *Frankfurter*^b is said to have reprinted it.³⁹⁷

Kindly send it to me *by return*.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^b *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*

218

MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 13 July 1878

Dear Friend,

Having had no word whatsoever from Germany, I should particularly like to know whether you got the letter.¹² I wrote you immediately on receipt of yours.

I don't even get newspapers if they are addressed to me in my name.

If you have not received my letter, perhaps you would be good enough to write in future (without further particulars as to the addressee) to Edwin Willis, Esq., 40 Maitland Park Crescent, London, N. W.

Yours truly,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

219

MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 15 July 1878

Dear Friend,

I got your letter on the very day I had already sent you a brief note^a by a roundabout route.

In your last letter but one (of 30 June), you asked me *nothing* save whether some of the comments in the German press on my first epistle to *The Daily News*^b had reached me. Answer: no.

^a See previous letter. - ^b K. Marx, F. Engels, *Herr Bucher*. -

I would not dream of dedicating a 'book' to Mr Bucher. He owes me an answer to my '30' lines.^a I have neither the time nor any reason to supply the '3,000' lines he deems necessary in place of his own.³⁹⁸ This fable is the progeny of the London correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, he, so far as I am aware, being Dr Elard Biscamp, a notorious blackguard.³⁹⁹ This time, however, his bad joke has come off.

The state of my health bids me go to Karlsbad. But Mr Bismarck, who was so urgently bidden to go to Kissingen, doesn't want me to.²⁹ Что дѣлать? (*que faire?*^b), as the Russians say.⁴⁰⁰ Look round for a makeshift in the shape of a British seaside resort not as yet under the aegis of the new Holy Alliance's¹⁴³ saviours of society. My wife is seriously ill and will probably have to go to Karlsbad; it seems unlikely that her ex-ladyship, the ex-Baroness von Westphalen, will be regarded as contraband.

I trust your trip will do you good. Should you spend any length of time in one place, you might write to me from there. I shall probably have an article of mine in English (not yet printed)^c to send you which, however, will have absolutely nothing to do with the good 'FATHERLAND', AS THE ENGLISH CALL IT.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

220

ENGELS TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 July 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Smirnov,

Yesterday I sent you a copy of my anti-Dühring pamphlet⁴⁰¹ which I trust you have received.

^a K. Marx, 'Reply to Bucher's "Declaration"'. - ^b what is to be done? - ^c K. Marx, 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working Men's Association'.

I also wished to send copies both to Lopatin and to Lavrov, but I do not know whether Lopatin is still in Switzerland, nor the present address of either of them in Paris. If you could tell me to what addresses I should send the pamphlets, I should be most obliged to you.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published, in the language of the original (French), in *International Review for Social History*, Vol. III, Leiden, 1938

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

221

ENGELS TO OSCAR SCHMIDT

IN STRASBOURG

[Draft]

[London, 19 July 1878]

Dear Sir,

In yesterday's no. of *Nature* I see an announcement of a lecture to be given by you at the natural scientists' conference in Kassel 'on the relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy'.⁴⁰²

That the advocates of Darwinism in Germany would not be able to evade the necessity of adopting a position vis-à-vis the socialist world outlook was something socialists had foreseen long before Mr Virchow so amiably tipped the wink.⁴⁰³ Whatever that position may turn out to be, it can only contribute to the clarification of the situation and of men's minds. On the other hand, it is desirable from both points of view that this should be done in full awareness of the facts.

By way of making a contribution of my own, I am taking the liberty of sending you by post a copy of my work *Herr Eugen Dühring's etc.*, which has just come out.⁴⁰¹ In it, I have endeavoured to give, among other things, an outline of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin's theory in particular. The passages relating to Darwinism are marked.

With your permission, I shall in due course and from my own standpoint subject your lecture to the kind of ruthless criticism which alone does justice to free science and which any man of science must welcome, even when applied to himself.⁴⁰⁴

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

222

ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 30 July 1878

Dear Pauli,

Let us hope our people will today do their duty, as we are entitled to expect after all that has happened.⁴⁰⁵ Since Bismarck has perpetrated the colossal bloomer of trying to exploit all that shooting business to topple the liberals, and is now using the socialists simply as a pretext,⁴⁰⁶ it is with even greater pleasure that we can observe the champions of law and order squabbling amongst themselves. I cannot comprehend Bismarck; his 'nerves' must have gone completely to pieces, together with what little intelligence he still had. *Passe encore*^a that he should fail to see that what his Bonapartist game effectually boils down to is the alternate playing off of the workers against the bourgeois and of the bourgeois against the workers, thus doing both in the eye. But it's plain madness for *him* to want to overthrow the liberals, those 'we are but dogs'⁴⁰⁷ yes-men who will go on licking the boot that kicks them up the backside in return for a bare minimum of cajolery—those liberals who are his only protection against the out-and-out feudal-orthodox-reactionary court—and thus to deliver himself up irrevocably to the reactionaries, the very people he has betrayed and persecuted and by whom he is mortally detested. And he calls himself a 'statesman'! And proposes to bring about the downfall of the socialists by means of a policy that

^a It's not so bad

can benefit no one save the socialists! Were the worthy fellow in our pay, he could not work better on our behalf. What is more, he actually postpones the sitting of the Reichstag until the last moment, simply in order that the anti-socialist battue may have time to peter out, the bourgeois to become ashamed of his abject role of denouncer, and the parties of law and order to fall so thoroughly foul of each other as to lose all hope of sorting themselves out again. And while socialism is having its roots so lavishly manured *at the base*, it is supposedly being killed off by the pruning of a few of its topmost shoots in September! No, dear Bismarck, *cacatum non est pictum*.^a

Thanks for the newspaper. Three-quarters of all the hullabaloo is sheer fabrication on the part of the *Londoner Journal* (Dr Juch, an old good-for-nothing wastrel of the most disreputable kind, and Schweitzer, book-printer, who received a drubbing during the Crown Prince^b demonstration but was too much of a coward to complain!); what is more, this paper is *intent* on being purchased by the reptile fund⁴⁰⁸ which, however, already possesses a paper here in the shape of the *Hermann* and takes the view *non bis in idem*.^c The truth of the matter is that, in two associations over here, a few louts of German origin, likewise most disreputable, are kicking up a great row so that they may, apropos the business of the shootings in Berlin, cut a dash as representatives here of the workers of all countries. The seductive prospect of having a rôle to play has misled little Ehrhart of Mannheim into consorting with this gang. For the third time now in approximately four years they have proclaimed themselves the international central council of the proletariat.^d Should this shouting and scribbling go beyond a certain point, we shall be obliged to unmask these gentry in public so that people shan't think we are at the back of this balderdash—something it is wholly in the interests of reaction to disseminate.

The prospect of a trip to Germany this year would seem to be poor, even if politics were not becoming ever more obstructive. I shall be glad if I can get my wife to the nearest seaside town for a couple of weeks; hitherto it wasn't even to be thought of. Last week she scarcely ever left her bed. The thing is *exceedingly grave* and might turn out very badly. Mrs Marx, too, is unwell with liver and stomach trouble, and has been told by the leading specialist here that, while there's no getting rid of it altogether, it might be made bearable. We don't yet know what spa he will prescribe.

^a Cacking isn't painting. - ^b Frederick III - ^c not to pay twice for the same thing - ^d See this volume, pp. 364-65.

Marx is comparatively well for this time of year. His eldest daughter has had another baby, a boy.⁴⁰⁹ Congratulations from us all on your 'No. 8'.⁴¹⁰ So if Mrs Marx isn't sent to the Continent, you are unlikely to have any visitors from over here this year.

Pumps is as lazy about writing as ever, if not more so. But in other respects the school in Manchester has done her a lot of good.⁴¹¹

Kindest regards from us all to you, your wife^a and the children.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

223

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 10 August 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

I hope you have received the copy of my anti-Dühring⁴⁰¹ which I sent off to you yesterday. I should have sent it earlier had I known your present address. I wrote to Smirnov,^b 4 Lower Charles St., and then to Lopatin,¹⁵ 6 rue Linné, to ask for it, but neither has replied. Could you let me know where I should send Lopatin's copy? We find his silence somewhat disturbing, for an earlier letter,^c sent to him at the same address, was forwarded to him to Switzerland where, or so he wrote and told me, he intended to stay only until the month of June; and since then *Havaro*^d reports his having been *arrested in Russia*.⁴¹² Although the news is not without chronological snags, his silence makes us anxious.

As you will have seen, the German Darwinians have, in response to Virchow's appeal,⁴⁰³ come out unequivocally against socialism.

^a Ida Pauli - ^b See this volume, pp. 312-13. - ^c *Ibid.*, p. 307. - ^d *Nachalo* (The Beginning)

Haeckel, whose pamphlet I have just received, limits himself to speaking in general terms about the 'crazy doctrines of socialism',^a but Mr Oscar Schmidt of Strasbourg is going to flatten us *con amore*^b at the natural scientists' conference^c in Kassel.⁴⁰² It's a waste of effort. If reaction in Germany gets the bit between its teeth, its first victims, after the socialists, will be the Darwinians. Anyway, whatever happens to them, I shall take it upon myself to reply to these gentlemen.⁴⁰⁴ And in any case, we have every reason to be satisfied with that event as, indeed, with events in general. Mr Bismarck who, for 7 years, has been working for us as if he was in our pay, now appears incapable of moderating his offers to speed up the advent of socialism. *Après moi le déluge*⁴¹³ does not suffice him; he insists upon having that deluge in his own lifetime—let his will be done. I am only afraid that he will do his work too well and that the deluge will arrive before its appointed time.

Yours sincerely,

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

224

MARX TO GEORGE RIVERS⁴¹⁴

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 August 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The London Correspondent of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*^d indulged in the bad joke that I had written a book *Herr Bucher*^e; thereupon the false rumour spread through Germany, and the

^a E. Haeckel, *Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre*, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 3-4. Engels quotes from Haeckel in German. - ^b lovingly - ^c In the original: 'Naturforscherversammlung'. - ^d Elard Biscamp - ^e See this volume, p. 312.

Prussian Police did its utmost to confirm it by domiciliary visits at the shops of several booksellers intended to catch copies of *Herr Bucher*. Thus, you see, *Herr Bucher* is a hoax.

You will oblige me by sending me catalogues, if there be suit, of your American and secondhand books.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

225

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 September 1878

Dear Sorge,

With a view to restoring my HEALTH I am leaving today for Malvern where I shall spend three weeks.⁴¹⁵ (*Address*: Dr K. Marx, Malvernbury, Great Malvern, Worcester.) My wife has already been there some weeks and is seriously unwell; my little grandson^a has been through a bad illness—and all this TROUBLE is the explanation for my not having written before.

As to Douai, I am entirely of your opinion; do not give him *Capital*.^b

My best thanks for your efforts over the Philadelphia PAPERS⁴¹⁶ and Weydemeyer's *Extract*.⁴¹⁷

The copies have safely reached Engels and myself; it's no go so far as England is concerned, if only on account of the host of printer's errors; also, the translation has certain shortcomings which render it unsuitable for this country. However, I intend (on my return) to arrange for a somewhat AMENDED EDITION of it for London, but in such a way that I shall write a short foreword

^a Jean Longuet - ^b See this volume, pp. 276-77.

while the book itself will appear under Weydemeyer's name. I.e. if that meets with your approval.

Mr Bismarck is working nicely on our behalf.

Salut.

Your faithful friend,

Karl Marx

I hope I shall soon hear better news of your health. My wife asks me to send you her warm regards.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

226

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 September 1878
Half past one in the morning

Dear Lessner,

My poor wife^a has just been released by death from her long sufferings.

I cannot send you the wine. However, you can have it fetched at any time.

Your

F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Lizzie Burns

227

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 12 September 1878

Dear Rudolf,

At half past one this morning my wife,^a to whom I had been legally married the previous evening, died peacefully after a long illness.

I anticipate a number of additional expenses and, as my bank balance is somewhat low, you would oblige me by promptly sending me a remittance of about £200 at your earliest convenience.

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

228

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET⁴¹⁸

IN MALVERN

[Postcard]

[London, 16 September 1878]

My dear Child,

I hope that the better news of Johnny^b continues. You must let us have bulletins every day, and always the strict truth. The little chap is the apple of my eye. Above all, he must be spared undue exertion, hence not too much movement (passive or active) OUT OF

^a Lizzie Burns - ^b Jean Longuet

HIS HOME. If he makes good progress, as I hope, it might be better not to leave until Saturday (instead of Friday^a). For one additional day's rest and recuperation is of great importance in his case.

Today Engels took himself off to Hampton⁴¹⁹ with Madame Renshaw and Pumps who has already put on quite the air, not to say BEHAVIOUR, of a '*princesse régnante*',^b along with the 5 GUINEA mourning gown; this last, however, has only served to increase her ill-conceived 'glee'. Tussy will be sending you further details of these peculiar goings-on.

According to the news sent by Liebknecht, Bismarck's Bill⁴²⁰ will be rejected out of hand or else passed with modifications that will draw its sting.

MY BEST LOVE TO YOU AND YOUR MAMA. Puppy,^c the good little fellow, is much improved.

Your
Moor

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original

229

MARX TO ENGELS
IN LITTLEHAMPTON⁴¹⁹

[London,] 17 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

I am writing this letter before going to your house (it is still very early); should I find a letter for you there, I shall send it under separate cover.

The news from Malvern is much better so that it won't be necessary for me to go there; but for safety's sake the doctor is now calling regularly every day; I had already suggested as much to my wife so as to prevent their constantly flying into needless

^a 20 September (see this volume, p. 332). - ^b reigning princess - ^c Probably Henry Longuet.

PANICS on the one hand and neglecting necessary precautions on the other; but she and above all Jennychen foolishly objected, not wishing, as they said, to add 'needlessly' to the already enormous doctors' BILLS in Malvern. Now they realise that I was right. I had similarly prescribed a regular drive at the best time of day, whenever the child's^a condition permitted. This, too, has now been endorsed by the doctor. These drives are Jennychen's only recreation and, for my wife—whose cure has been seriously impaired by the continual TROUBLES with the child—the only means of combatting these influences which are so detrimental to her health. So long as I remained there,⁴¹⁵ I saw to it that this was done.

Mr Eulenburg (*vide* PAPERS OF TO-DAY)⁴²¹ will not, for his part, be carrying any coals to Newcastle.^b Anything more pitiful than the EXTRACT—quintessence—of his SPEECH I have yet to see. Stolberg, too, is good. The purpose of the exceptional law⁴²⁰ is to deprive the Social-Democratic movement of every vestige of legality. *Probatum est.*^c *Mettre hors la loi*^d has, from time immemorial, been an infallible means of making anti-government movements 'illegal', and protecting the government from the law—*la légalité nous tue.*⁴²² Reichensperger represents the Rhenish bourgeois of the Centre.⁴²³ Bamberger adheres faithfully to 'We are but dogs!'.⁴⁰⁷

Bebel has clearly made an impression.⁴²⁴ (See *Daily News* OF TO-DAY.)

It's a good beginning.

According to various English newspapers our friend Kovalevsky has been shot in Odessa; they spell his name thus—Kowalsky. The FAT BOY, who came to see me on Sunday,^e told me a very choice anecdote. Before his departure, sundry 'diplomatic' aspirants amongst his Moscow students had to sit an examination. They included a number of laddies much older than himself, notably Montenegrins, who were being given an academic training at the expense of the RUSSIAN ASIATIC (DIPLOMATIC) DEPARTMENT. These laddies are distinguished by their DENSENESS and advanced age, as once the country bumpkins at our grammar school in Trier, who were preparing to enter the seminary (Catholic) and most of them drawing stipends.

Although marks (for university examinations) in Russia run from 0 to 5, Kovalevsky awarded only two lots of marks—4 for

^a Jean Longuet's - ^b A punning reference to the name Eulenburg, 'Eulen'=owls, and 'to take owls to Athens', the equivalent of carrying coals to Newcastle. - ^c It has been proved. - ^d To put outside the law - ^e 15 September

those who knew nothing at all and 5 for those who knew something. During the last examinations he was approached by one of his students, a long, lanky Montenegrin of 32, who said: 'You must award me a 5; I know that I don't know anything, but on the other hand I know that, if I get "another" 4, the ASIATIC DEPARTMENT will send me packing back to Montenegro; so that's why you must award me a 5.' Needless to say, he failed his examination with flying colours, since Kovalevsky—as, indeed, he had told him—could see NO NECESSITY for his continued residence in Moscow.

The oddest part of it is—or so Kovalevsky says—that all these laddies from Montenegro become imbued while in Moscow with a fanatical hatred of the Russians. They naively told him as much themselves, the alleged reason being that 'the Russians IN GENERAL, and Russian students in particular, tell us we're barbarians and blockheads and treat us as such'. Hence the Russian government achieves precisely the opposite of what it intended with its 'benefactions'.

What used to be a private joke of ours, namely that it's the Russian socialists who commit the 'atrocities' for which the 'law-abiding' German Social-Democrats are to be put *hors la loi*, has been adduced in all seriousness by the fatuous Stolberg.⁴²⁵ Only he forgot to add that, alongside those 'atrocities', there exists in Russia a 'state of law' which is the ideal if unattainable goal aimed at by that squireen Bismarck's bill.

The fact that the Russians, with the support of Prussia and Austria, are yet again seeking 'European mediation' is a highly significant symptom.

Adio. I trust that you are recovering in Littlehampton from your recent shock. Love from Tussy and Lenchen.

Your
Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

230

MARX TO JENNY MARX²⁶

IN MALVERN

[London,] 17 September 1878

Dear Jenny,

As arranged on my departure,⁴¹⁵ herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £3. If, in view of the change in circumstances, it shouldn't be enough, let me know immediately.

After my return I suffered from a very severe headache; however, that has got better since I received a reassuring letter about Johnny from dear Jennychen; and your good news today—still continuing, I trust—was balm to me.

I shall not say very much about the goings-on at No. 122 Regent's Park Road, since Tussy is YOUR REGULAR CHRONICLER in that sphere and I mustn't skim off the cream. But I can't resist telling you about one episode which, in its originality, is reminiscent at one and the same time of Balzac and Paul de Kock. When Tussy, Mrs Renshaw and Pumps (she has now been KNIGHTED; Engels will be calling her Pumpsia from now on) were sorting out the dead woman's odds and ends, Mrs Renshaw found, amongst other things, a small packet of letters (ABOUT EIGHT, SIX OF WHICH WERE FROM MEMBERS OF THE MARX FAMILY, TWO FROM WILLIAMS—RAMSGATE) and made as if to hand them to Mr Chitty, who was present at the operation. * 'No,' said he, 'burn them! I need not see her letters. I know she was unable to deceive me.'* Could Figaro (I mean the real one of Beaumarchais) have *trouvé cela*^a? As Mrs Renshaw remarked later to Tussy: * 'Of course, as he had to write her letters, and to read to her the letters she received, he might feel quite sure that these letters contained no secrets for him—but they might do so, for her.'*

Together with this letter I am today sending you *The Daily News* and *The Standard*, on account of the telegrams about the German Reichstag.⁴²¹ Bebel WAS EVIDENTLY THE ONLY SPEAKER IMPOSING⁴²⁴; the government spokesmen—Stolberg and Eulenburg—deplorable beyond words; Bamberger true to his motto 'We are but dogs!'⁴⁰⁷;

^a thought that up (an allusion to Figaro's words from Beaumarchais' *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act V, Scene 8: 'Ah, Figaro, pends-toi; tu n'as pas deviné celui-là!')

Reichensperger—the Rhenish bourgeois under the thumb of the Catholic Party of the Centre.⁴²³ Even lickspittle Reuter doesn't think this first performance much of a success!

I hope that you and Jennychen will get a little better during this week; keep on going for drives, *ensemble*,^a WIND, WEATHER AND THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD^b PERMITTING; should this not be possible for once, *you yourself* should never miss a drive; but I hope the little lad WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE and hence, too, his sorely tried mama. Best wishes to Jennychen and a kiss for Johnny.

Adio.

Your
Moor

First published, in the language of the original (German), in *Annali*, an. I, Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

231

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Littlehampton,⁴¹⁹ 18 September 1878
Selborne Cottage

Dear Moor,

As usual I did not express myself clearly. Since I couldn't expect you to go over daily and forward me my letters, I sent the people at home a few addressed envelopes so that they might forward me the letters every two or three days. What I had meant to ask you to do was to make sure, during the first few days, that the letter concerning money I was expecting wasn't left lying around for a number of days, and that the general business of sending stuff became a regular routine; also to take an occasional look at the newspapers and other papers that had arrived (and were, according to my instructions, to remain there) in case they should include anything that called for attention. I hope we now understand one another.

^a together - ^b Jean Longuet

This morning's *Standard* contains a good article full of well-merited contempt on the subject of the law and the debate.⁴²⁶ I am sending it to Leipzig.⁴²⁷ The debate is deplorable enough as far as the law-and-order men are concerned. Bismarck, totally incapable of refuting the facts adduced against him by Bebel,⁴²⁴ has recourse to the pitiful subterfuge of saying that he sympathised with the Social-Democrats until they began extolling the Commune—he, who himself patted the Commune on the back for copying Prussia's municipal statutes! And then he reviles as a band of robbers a party represented in the Reichstag, and the call to order is rejected!

I am sending you a *Kölnische Zeitung*.^a First there is a demand for *Russian laws* for the *Germans*, and then the Petersburg correspondent says that since in *Russia those same Russian laws* have proved ineffective, the only remedy lies in a constitution, popular representation, freedom of the press, etc.! The stupid paper failed to notice this, as no doubt did our people too, alas. The *last part* of the piece from Moscow is also interesting. Mark the things and send them to Leipzig (Ramm—Hermann—Färberstraße 12^{1b}); they might notice it after all and make use of it.

Russia's numerous and forceful moves in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, etc., would seem to be intended on the one hand TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS, WHERE SOMETHING MAY BE EXPECTED TO TURN UP AT ANY MOMENT and, on the other, to deceive public opinion at home. But who knows what may yet come of it? Bismarck may soon be so placed that his only recourse will be to seek another war with France, thus sparking off a European war of East versus West, in the course of which no one is more likely to go under than he. At all events, the Turkish war has shown how rotten the whole of Europe is, and that the eruption is closer than we might have expected. No matter what happens, it will turn out to our advantage.

I was delighted to hear that the little boy^c is better, which means that with any luck the perpetual alarms are now a thing of the past.

Here it has been raining incessantly since yesterday evening. This little place consists of two parts—the VILLAGE and harbour on the River Arne, and the BEACH 500 paces to the south-east, some 150 houses on a dune, where one might well imagine oneself in Holland. SANDS as lovely and firm as at Ostend.

^a No. 249 of 7 September 1878 - ^b the address of the *Vorwärts* editorial board - ^c Jean Longuet

I may spend a couple of hours in London at the end of this week; if so I shall, if possible, let you know.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

232

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LITTLEHAMPTON⁴¹⁹

[London,] 18 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

ALL RIGHT.

Herewith a letter from Kaub, which please be good enough to return as I have not yet answered it. Hirsch has behaved like a fool during his stay in Paris and seems to be intent on achieving martyrdom. Incidentally, the goings-on in Paris patently show how right you were to warn me against making a pilgrimage to that city.

A fine republic, to let itself be ordered about by Messrs Bismarck and Stieber! Last night Barry came to see me. The Lausanne congress did not take place, as he learnt while still in Paris where he therefore remained. It was simply as REPORTERS that Hirsch and he went to the meeting, but the latter had already been dispersed, and those attending it taken into custody; Hirsch was not arrested until later that night, in his own house.⁴²⁸ The next day the IRREPRESSIBLE Barry presented himself at the police headquarters (with the moral support of documents showing him to be correspondent of *The Standard* and a contributor to *The Whitehall Review*). There he saw a subordinate official to whom he applied for permission to see 'his friends', Hirsch and Guesde. At this he was given the addresses of the two police officers who had arrested Hirsch and Guesde. Both were outraged by the cheek of this ENGLISH *bifstek*, and ended up by pushing him out of the office.

Barry, undismayed, returned to the police headquarters where he managed to penetrate as far as the great Gigot. After exchanging a few words with big Barry, this 'POLITE' policeman asserted that he didn't speak enough English or Barry sufficient French; so rang for an interpreter. Substance of the conversation: that what Barry said about Hirsch's non-participation should be told to the examining magistrate, not the Prefect of Police; that the arrest was 'legal', etc. At which Barry: IT MIGHT BE LEGAL IN FRANCE FOR OUGHT HE KNEW, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE SO IN ENGLAND. At which Gigot, with solemn pathos: *Les étrangers qui viennent chez nous, etc., doivent se soumettre aux lois de la Ré-pu-bli-que frrrançaise.*^a Whereat THE BRAZEN Barry, SHAKING HIS HAT, rejoined: '*Vive la République!*' This last exclamation brought the blood to Gigot's face, and he gave Barry to understand that he had no wish to exchange political ideas with him, etc. This time, however, Barry was merely bowed politely out of the room.

He has—vis-à-vis myself—put the lid on what was, on that occasion, amusing effrontery on his part. For he told me that he was going to spend another week at Hastings with his family and now I would doubtless have the time to get together for him material for articles (in *The Nineteenth Century*). He might well, in making this fresh onslaught, have fared worse than in the dens of the two French police officers.

Once again, Levy's paper^b has shown itself to be the most shameless in London. In today's leading article he tells his readers that Reichensperger, speaking for the 'Centre',⁴²³ came out *in favour of the Bill*⁴²⁰ (for such was the interpretation put by Levy on the news sent him by his reptile⁴⁰⁸ correspondent in Berlin), and Bismarck's majority was assured. By the by, even Levy, whatever his admiration for the GREAT CHANCELLOR, must needs confess that the great man HAD RATHER THE WORSE of it in his verbal encounter with the 'brilliant' Bebel.⁴²⁴

The only one of Utin's pamphlets I have yet looked at is that by *Adolph Samter (Die Reform des Geldwesens)*; the following is a SAMPLE of how he quotes (he often quotes me, but paraphrases more often still; all the pamphlet boils down to is the silly notion of introducing, in place of the *bank note*, a '*commodity note*', something which had, to all intents and purposes, been introduced in 1848 with the Prussian government's *loan bank notes*). I say: 'Although gold and silver are *not* by Nature money, money *is* by Nature gold

^a Foreigners who visit our country, etc., must submit to the laws of the Frrrench Re-pu-blic. - ^b *The Daily Telegraph*

and silver, etc.’^a; he, citing the correct page number, gives as a quotation: ‘Gold and silver *is* by its nature money. *Marx*, etc.’^b The art of reading would appear to be increasingly on the wane among the ‘educated’ estates in Germany. In the case of the said Samter, the nonsensical and ungrammatical quotation doesn’t even conceal an evil intent. Thus he gives as a quotation from Petty, ‘Labour is the father, nature the mother of *material* wealth’, because when speaking of ‘material’ wealth, I said that in this case Petty’s words were appropriate, etc.⁴²⁹

Apropos. Our FAT BOY, Kovalevsky, came across Ralston again in Switzerland and was immediately asked whether he knew the Russian socialist who had described him (Ralston) in the feuilleton of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* as a HUMBUG, COWARD, etc. (The article was written by my wife^c). Kovalevsky, though he had some inkling of its provenance, answered truthfully that he knew of no such Russian. However, since that time Ralston (with whom he is again saddled over here) has become far less confiding. (The article in the above-mentioned feuilleton referred to a nasty piece of twaddle Ralston wrote on the subject of ‘RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE’.^d)

Yesterday Mr Montefiore jun. came to see me; is going to Berlin; and, in a manner altogether typical of a young English man of letters, especially in London, said to Tussy: ‘If only the Prussians would do me the kindness of arresting me for a day or two! What splendid material it would provide for an article in a review or a LETTER TO *The Times*!’

I went to your house and have sent off to you the letter I found there.

Adio.

Your
Moor

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Ch. II (present edition, Vol. 35). - ^b A. Samter, *Die Reform des Geldwesens*, Berlin, 1869, p. 62. - ^c [J. Marx,] ‘Vom Londoner Theater’, *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, 25 May 1877. - ^d W.R. S. Ralston, ‘Russian Revolutionary Literature’, *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I. No. 3, May 1877.

233

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Littlehampton,⁴¹⁹] 19 September 1878
Selborne Cottage

Dear Moor,

Letter *re* money received. I immediately telegraphed and wrote to N. Cohen & Co., telling them to pay the money into my bank. But since it was made payable as of *yesterday*, it is quite possible that they delivered the cheque to my house yesterday, or sent it through the post. Would you be so kind as to go and ask about it at my house? If nothing has been handed in or arrived at 122 Regent's Park Road,^a then all will be in order and the bank will probably send the advice to me here tomorrow, as I asked them to do.

In haste, TO CATCH FIRST POST.

Your
F. E.First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

234

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Littlehampton,⁴¹⁹ 21 September 1878

Dear Moor,

I return Kaub's letter herewith. Hirsch would appear to have taken literally Mesa's assurance that, as a German, he would be

^a Engels' London address

invulnerable in Paris. Now he's likely to pay for it with a spell in jug, for they'll remand him in custody for as long as they can.⁴²⁸

Barry's adventures really are killing.^a

I, too, saw Levy's brilliant article^b at a pub where I went to shelter from the rain. The paper^c is worthy of the man.

It is high time there was a change in Constantinople, otherwise the numerous provincial insurrections will bring about a state of affairs conducive to the collapse of European Turkey—i.e. exactly what Bismarck and the Russians want so as to fish in troubled waters and not implement the Treaty of Berlin.⁴³⁰ Midhat's return to Crete and a bold coup on his part could give a different turn to things. If the present state of affairs continues, the Russians will stay there and the renewed prospects of plunder this will give them might also stem the natural course of things inside Russia itself.

We are just off to spend a couple of hours in Brighton.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

235

MARX TO ENGELS⁴³¹

IN LITTLEHAMPTON⁴¹⁹

[London,] 24 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

Herewith a scrawl from Liebknecht⁴³²; I opened the letter because I thought it might contain news of the party which would perhaps call for immediate action on our part.

I should be grateful if you would send back Lavrov's letter by return; it arrived today and has not yet been answered. The only

^a See this volume, pp. 327-28. - ^b Ibid., p. 328. - ^c *The Daily Telegraph*

interesting thing about it is the passage relating to Wróblewski,—probably correct, as it is in keeping with his temperament as *homme d'action*^a and is, moreover, *plus ou moins*^b confirmed by his silence where we are concerned.

After the opening of the Reichstag, I received the Bill submitted to the same by the government, together with the preamble⁴²⁰; yesterday, from the same quarter (Bracke) I likewise received the stenographic report of the Reichstag sittings of 16 and 17 September.^c One has little conception—even at this stage—either of the AVERAGE Prussian minister's stupidity and his master's^d 'ingenuity', or of the nastiness of his hangers-on, the representatives of the true-blue German bourgeoisie—until one sees before one the stenographic report of this, its most recent manifestation. I am to some extent occupied in making extracts from it for the English press, but I'm not yet sure whether it's quite what I want for *The Daily News*.⁴³³

The Russians' ploy in Afghanistan,⁴³⁴ like the INCIDENTS in Turkey—all this is of little interest to me now except in so far as it provides *argumentum ad hominem*^e in regard to European statecraft. I am, besides, convinced that nothing Russia, and Prussia INTO THE BARGAIN, can now do on the international stage can have other than pernicious consequences for their régime, nor can it delay the latter's downfall, but only expedite its violent end.

My wife, Jennychen and Johnny arrived here safe and sound on Friday^f afternoon and the whole company took up quarters with us until yesterday evening when Jennychen removed, lock, stock and barrel, to Leighton Grove^g so as to be there to receive Longuet. But the big man won't be arriving till this evening. The child is much better and, miraculously enough, Jennychen also recovered somewhat during the last few days of her stay in Malvern.

Yesterday old Petzler called in with a letter from a parson^h who edits a magazine, also DABBLES IN SOCIALISM and wants SOME INFORMATION from me.⁴³⁵ Meanwhile Bismarck has again succeeded in placing socialism *à l'ordre du jour*ⁱ so that even *la haute politique*^j is in consequence *plus ou moins* lost from view.

^a man of action - ^b more or less - ^c *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. I. Session 1878, Vol. I, Berlin, 1878, pp. 29-91. - ^d Bismarck's - ^e argument based on facts - ^f 20 September - ^g the street in London where the Longuets lived - ^h Moritz Kaufmann - ⁱ on the agenda - ^j high politics

Hoping that Mother Nature is assisting your recovery, and with love from Tussy, Jennychen and my wife.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

236

MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN⁴³⁵

IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

[London, 3 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.]

Dear Sir,

Mr Petzler told me you had written an article on my book *The Capital* and my life, to be reprinted together with other articles of yours, and that you desired me or Engels to correct any errors on your part.^a I can of course not decide how far this is feasible before having got a copy of [the] said article.

The best history of the Commune is *Lissagaray's: Histoire de la Commune*. Its first edition, however, is exhausted and no second one yet published. The address of Lissagaray is: 35 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.; he may perhaps be able to procure you a copy of his work.

En attendant,^b I forward you the 'Address' on the Commune written by me immediately after its downfall on behalf of the General Council of the International.^c

I shall also send you—if you do not yet possess it—by post a recent publication of my friend Engels: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's*

^a See this volume, p. 332. - ^b In the meantime - ^c K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

Umwälzung der Wissenschaft, which is very important for a true appreciation of German Socialism.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

M. Kaufmann, Esq.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

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237

MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN⁴⁸⁵

IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

London, 10 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have confined myself to point out in the proof-sheets one or two mistakes. To enter on the more important mis-statements, I had neither the leisure, nor would it have suited your purpose.

Proof-sheet b.

I have struck out: 'one of whom was the youthful Lassalle'. He was never a collaborator of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, though he first entered at that time into personal relations with me.

I have added 'the *Russian*' translation of the *Capital*, because it is exactly in Russia that the younger University Professors have openly adopted and defended my theory.⁴³⁶

Proof-sheet d.

I have struck out 'and formerly one of its members'. *Mehring* was never a member of the German Social-Democratic Party; the fact is that, by denouncing to *Liebknecht* some operations of the manager of the reptile funds,⁴⁰⁸ he tried to become a member. Soon after, having been publicly branded with infamy by a judgment of the Frankfurt tribunal, on the occasion of his action for defamation against Herr Sonnemann (the proprietor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*),⁴³⁷ he boldly accepted his position as a literary

scamp. Even the most conservative amongst the honest adversaries of German Social Democracy would be rather startled to find such a man styled: 'the historian of Social Democracy'. Of course, he enjoys the esteem of Mr Bamberger who, as a refugee in Paris, after the downfall of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany (he had acted during that revolution the part of a spouting demagogue), got his practical training at the hands of the Second Empire financiers, enriched himself by his participation in the Mexico loan swindle,⁴³⁸ etc., returned to Germany after the Prussian victory and became one of the leading spirits of the German '*Börsen- und Gründungsswindelperiode*'.^a It is not exactly Mr Albert Grant at London (and he is of the Bamberger stamp, and, curiously to say, native of the same town—Mayence) one would address himself to for information and criticism of the Owenite movement f.i.

How far you were happy in considering Mr Howell's article (in *The Nineteenth Century*) as a 'historical source', you may see from the sheet I forward with these lines.⁴³⁹

I shall forward you to-morrow Mr Engels' book.^b

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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Published in English for the first time

238

ENGELS TO HERMANN ARNOLDT

IN KÖNIGSBERG

[Draft]

[London,] 21 October 1878

In reply to your esteemed letter of the 18th, I shall gladly take temporary charge of the documents concerned.⁴⁴⁰ Having no fire-proof safe, however, I cannot, of course, accept responsibility in the matter of fire or theft, and should be obliged if you would *expressly* acknowledge this fact in your *accompanying letter*. Other

^a 'stock-exchange speculation during the *Gründerjahre*' (a play on the title of Glagau's work *Der Börsen- und Gründungs-Swindel in Deutschland*). - ^b F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

aspects can be dealt with in our subsequent correspondence. I shall preserve the papers concerned as carefully as those of a similar nature belonging to myself.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

239

MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

London, 4 November 1878

Dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige me by seeing if you could safely convey the enclosed letter to *Mrs Liebknecht's* address, *11 Braustrasse, Leipzig*. It concerns the 'stomach problem' for Lieb-knecht's family, but I don't trust the German post.⁴⁴¹

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

240

MARX TO ALFRED TALANDIER⁴⁴²

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, about 10 November 1878]

I have undertaken to write to you regarding the letter attacking Mr Barry in the *Marseillaise* of 6 October.⁴⁴³

When the *Marseillaise* of 6 October eventually and quite by chance—which I can prove—fell into MR Barry's hands, he at once wrote a reply in *English* which he requested me to translate into French for him. For several days I postponed doing as he had asked—why, you will understand when you have read my letter. MR Barry could not divulge all the facts

1) without compromising Hirsch, whose fate has not yet been decided^a;

2) without compromising Hirsch's brother-in-law^b who is still living in Paris;

3) without citing me and thus probably getting me involved in a public dispute with you;

4) without attacking certain individuals who figure in your letter;

5) without exposing the bad faith of the *Marseillaise*.

In my opinion, it is not an 'opportune' moment to arouse the mirth of the reactionaries by squabbling in this way. On the other hand, MR Barry is fully entitled to defend himself. And there we have the dilemma. The only hope of diverting him from his purpose seemed to me to be Mr Hirsch's arrival in London (which he had given me to expect in the event of his being expelled from France). Then, by the publication of a few lines in the *Marseillaise*, compromising no one, he could have satisfied MR Barry. Unfortunately, there has been no sign of life from him since his expulsion. At length MR Barry lost all patience and, since he perfectly understood my objections to the publication of his reply (which would have appeared, if needs be, in a Swiss newspaper), we agreed

1) that he would leave his reply in my hands for the time being and

2) that I would endeavour to settle the matter by writing to you. I now come to the nub of the matter.

Facts

1) The *Social-Democratic Club* (which was a section of the *International* while that organisation existed), 6 Rose Street, Soho, consists of two sections, one German, the other English. The former elected Mr Ehrhart as [its] representative at the congress, the latter MR Barry. It having been noised about London that the congress,

^a See this volume, p. 327. - ^b Karl Kaub

banned by the police, would be held in Lausanne, the mandates were sent to the office of the Lausanne congress.⁴²⁸

Here is a copy of MR Barry's credential, the original of which has been entrusted to me:

**Social-Democratic Working Men's Club*, 6 Rose Street, Soho Square.

English Section. London, August 31, 1878.

'Citizens, The bearer of this Credential—Citizen Maltman Barry—is the representative of the English Section of the Social-Democratic Club of London.

'To the Bureau Socialist Congress. Lausanne, Switzerland.

'Fr. Kitz, Secretary, English Section, Social-Democratic Club.'*

Again, after MR Barry's return, he was called on, in a letter from the secretary Kitz, to account to the club for the execution of his mandate. This letter is also in my possession.

It is thus completely proven that MR Barry was the mandatory of a Social-Democratic (working-class) society and not, as you have disseminated, somewhat 'lightly', of the 'international police'.

2) You further say that, in his letter to the *Marseillaise*,^a Barry complains 'of not having been arrested by the French police', to which you add: 'Citizen Hirsch does not, for his part, complain of not having been arrested, etc.', so giving the public to understand that you were speaking in Hirsch's name. But, in a letter to me dated 14 October, Citizen Hirsch describes your letter as 'infamous' and says he had not been told of it until after his release. You forget, by the way, that Barry was not the only English delegate to the congress, there having been at least a dozen, not one of whom was arrested by the French police. The *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Socialist Party (now suppressed), evidently grasped the point of that passage in Barry's letter when it remarked that 'the French government was perfectly prepared to please Mr Bismarck by arresting Hirsch, etc., but did not dare take complaisance so far as to lay hands on *Englishmen*'.^b For that matter, Mr Barry, still acting in concert with Hirsch's brother-in-law, expressed his opinion fairly and squarely to Mr Gigot and, since the latter had minutes taken of that discussion, you are in a position to inform yourself from official sources as to the close relationship between Mr Barry and the French police.

But I forget that, for the greater glory of 'those who govern us', you seem intent on suggesting that the French police is not a member, but the dupe of 'the international police'. The powers-that-be of the Republic thought otherwise, excusing themselves

^a M. Barry, 'Les socialistes et le gouvernement', *La Marseillaise*, No. 198, 2 October 1878. - ^b 'Die Verhaftungen in Paris', *Vorwärts*, No. 109, 15 September, 1878.

vis-à-vis Hirsch's brother-in-law by insinuating that 'those who govern us' should show some consideration for 'neighbouring powers'.

3) Now, what are the grave facts which authorised you to become '*the disseminator of so terrible an accusation*', namely that Mr Barry 'owed his appointment as delegate to those men' (the men, that is to say, of the international police)?

They are founded on nothing, i.e. on futile tittle-tattle which a highly suspect private individual by the name of *Schumann* retailed to you in secret, without Mr Barry's knowledge.^a

Let us revert for a moment to *Schumann*. After his return to London, he had nothing more urgent to do [than] announce the happy news of his release to *The Standard*, a 'Tory and Bonapartist newspaper'. Then this same individual, wholly unknown to me up till then, gained entry to my house on a false pretext. As I was hauling him over the coals for the tittle-tattle repeated in your letter, he replied: 'But Mr Talandier did wrong; I told him expressly that all I was retailing was mere hearsay, that I personally knew nothing about Barry, etc.'^b

Of his own accord he asked me for Barry's address, in order that he might be able to apologise to him. In fact he did nothing of the kind but, on the contrary, confided to a refugee, of whose connections with myself he knew nothing, that in an interview with him Marx had affirmed that he had also denounced Barry as a spy. This would seem to render superfluous any further discussion of the *honourableness* of your client and guarantee. Since then I have received some particulars about him which will find their way to Copenhagen.

In your letter you ask: 'How did Mr Maltman Barry ... come to write to the *Marseillaise*?' Very simply, if you please. Mr Barry, to whom I had given a letter of recommendation to Hirsch, was taken by the latter to the *Marseillaise* and presented to Mr Maret. After his return to London, Mr Barry sent a *letter in English* to Hirsch's brother-in-law, who was supposed to decide when the

^a The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: 'And you find it strange that Mr Barry did not reply publicly to the accusations secretly directed against him? -

^b The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'As for me, I know very well whence all this tittle-tattle about Mr Barry comes. It is spread by some intriguers from the so-called *INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEAGUE*⁴⁴⁴ which is actually neither "international" nor a "*LABOUR LEAGUE*". They have a grudge against Barry because at the *International Congress at The Hague* (1872)²⁰ he shared the opinion of the vast majority of the General Council against these gentlemen, etc.'

time was ripe for its insertion in the *Marseillaise*. The said brother-in-law, thinking it might be of service to Hirsch, translated the letter into French and handed it *in person* to the editorial department of the *Marseillaise*. Hence, by publishing your denunciation without any comment whatsoever, that paper perpetrated a gross impropriety, which can only be explained by your letter to Mr Henri Maret, published in the same issue of the paper.^a This is especially improper when it is taken into consideration that you are a friend and correspondent of Mr Bradlaugh⁴⁴⁵ who is a personal enemy of Mr Barry and of the late *International*.

4) Another complaint weighing on Mr Schumann's tender conscience and mentioned by you, is Mr Barry's alleged activity in Paris as 'correspondent ... of *The Standard*, an English Tory and ... *Bonapartist* newspaper'.

To call *The Standard* a 'Bonapartist' newspaper is a joke. So long as Louis Bonaparte remained a useful ally, exploitable by England, he was cosseted by *The Standard*, but not in such a disgusting manner as by *The Times*, nor so naively as by Messrs Bright and Cobden, then the leaders of the English radicals, and *The Standard* never sold itself to him as did the liberal newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. Today—and still in the English interest—*The Standard*, along with almost the whole of the English press, has changed, where French affairs are concerned, into a partisan of the 'moderate', if not 'opportunist' republic.⁴⁴⁶

All that remains, then, is the epithet 'Tory'. Kindly note that the said Tory newspaper never ceases to attack the new Holy Alliance¹⁴³ and its chief, Mr *Bismarck*, whereas *The Times* acts as his *semi-official* organ, as he himself declared in the German Reichstag. Well, now, Mr Eccarius—one of the delegates of the so-called *INTERNATIONAL LABOUR UNION*, to which Schumann and Mr Bradlaugh belong, acted as *Times* correspondent at the Paris Congress. So why should Mr Barry not have done likewise for *The Standard*? You have lived long enough in England to know that the English working class has no newspaper at its disposal and is therefore compelled, on the occasion of working men's congresses, etc., to look for publicity to the papers of its masters, whether Whig or Tory, and that in neither case is it expected to accept responsibility for the opinions of either. You have lived long enough in England not to seek to attach labels, borrowed from the vocabulary of the French parties, to English political relations. For

^a *La Marseillaise*, No. 202, 6 October 1878.

otherwise, I feel sure, you would never have accepted the post of English government official.

5) The circumstances being what they were, this would only have been considered reprehensible had you—like that great republican Karcher, correspondent of the *République française*—dedicated a book to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.^a

Finally, I come to the last item in your accusation against Mr Barry. In the first place, it seems that he committed an unpardonable offence in having acted in a manner contrary to the views of *L'Homme libre* and of Mr Bradlaugh on the Eastern Question. It has to be admitted that, if this places a man under suspicion of being affiliated to the international police, then the great majority of socialists in all the countries of Europe and in the United States would have to share the ill-fortune of Mr Barry.

7)^b And now I come to the last item in your philippic. And very grave indeed it is—Mr Barry allowed a week to go by before deigning to reply to one of the scurrilous articles published by Mr Bradlaugh in *The National Reformer*⁴⁴⁷! ... But there are attenuating circumstances.^c

8) Mr Barry was the less concerned about Mr Bradlaugh's articles dated 22 and 29 August in that, as early as *13 July*, he had published in *The Spectator* an article under his own name in which he explained at some length the line of conduct adopted by him during the dispute among the English parties provoked by the Eastern War. He took care to 'disseminate' that article by getting it reprinted in the form of a flysheet.

It was for the compatriots of Mr Barry to decide between the latter and Mr Bradlaugh for—be it noted—the articles in *The*

^a T. Karcher, *Les écrivains militaires de la France*. - ^b There is no point 6 in Marx's draft. - ^c The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'First of all, rightly or wrongly, *The National Reformer* exercises no influence on English public opinion. Again, Mr Barry was a member of the General Council of the International when the latter publicly denounced Mr Bradlaugh as a "Bonapartist": his connections (in London) with Plon-Plon earned him widespread notoriety; as to his intimacy with the "PETTY COAT" diplomacy of the Bonapartist party (in London),⁴⁴⁸ Citizen Leblanc can enlighten you; finally his interviews with Bonapartists in Paris were described by me at the time in a London paper,⁴⁴⁹ a time when Longuet, Serrailier, etc., and other French refugees were publicly condemning the man who dared to reprint the infamous comments in the Bonapartist and gutter press upon the expatriate Communards; when he was publicly dressed down even by men such as Hales, Jung, etc., who now keep company with him in the so-called "INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEAGUE", for his attacks on the International. Remembering all this, Mr Barry could well afford to ignore Bradlaugh's scurrilous articles in *The National Reformer*.'

National Reformer of 22 and 29 August were nothing more than a 'rehash'. And decide his 'compatriots' did—on the 22nd of July. On that day there was a big public meeting (in London), convened by the *Social-Democratic Club*, to uphold the cause of the German Socialist Party vis-à-vis Bismarck; all the newspapers published verbatim accounts of it and did not conceal from the public that the chairman, elected chairman of that meeting was—MR *Maltman Barry*.

9) I will not touch on the attitudes adopted by the various parties during the Eastern War. If all those who failed to follow the line set by MR Bradlaugh, not to say *L'Homme libre*, have incurred the suspicion of being affiliated to one kind of police or another, I very much fear that the vast majority of socialists in Europe and the United States will find themselves tarred with the same brush as MR Barry. But we should be perfectly capable of calling in question the competence of a tribunal which seems to us, at any rate, to be an abettor of the new Holy Alliance. On top of everything else, MR Barry had one particular reason for overlooking MR Bradlaugh's impertinence, namely the resolution passed in 1871 by the members of the majority on the former *General Council of the International* (to which MR Barry belonged) to ignore MR Bradlaugh until such time as he had *refuted* the public denunciations by that Council in respect of 1) the intimate relations between the editor of *The National Reformer* and Plon-Plon and other Bonapartists, both male and female; 2) the lies he published about *the International*; 3) the calumnies directed against the Communards in London, deriving from the muddied waters of the Bonapartist and gutter press.

At all events, you now know that there is no substance whatever in your letter attacking MR Barry. All that is wanted of you is a declaration in the *Marseillaise*, stating in a few lines that, after having received the required information, you withdraw your denunciation.

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

241

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON³²⁰IN ST PETERSBURG⁴⁵⁰

London, 15 November 1878

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I received this morning your letter, dated October, 28th.

I did not receive the letter you allude to; it may have been intercepted by the German post or been lost; the Prussian postmasters having so much been interfered with on the part of Government, that many letters 'vanished', nobody knows whither, even by mere blundering. In point of fact, the last letter I had the honour to get from you, is dated—*7th May 1877*.^a

The interruption of my own correspondence to you was simply the result of warnings I had received (since the latter date), on the part of friends residing in Russia, to suspend letter-writing to them, as it might, despite the innocent contents of the letters, bring them into trouble.

In regard to the second edition of *Capital*, I beg to remark⁴⁵¹:

1) I wish that the *divisions into chapters*—and the same holds good for the *subdivisions*—be made according to the French edition.

2) That the translator compare always carefully the second German edition with the French one, since the latter contains many important changes and additions (though, it is true, I was also sometimes obliged—principally in the first chapter—to '*aplatir*'^b the matter in its French version).

3) *Some changes* I consider useful—I shall try to get [them] ready for you at all events *within 8 days*, so that I may despatch them Saturday next (to-day is Friday).^c

So soon as the *second volume* of the *Capital*⁶² will go in print—but this will hardly be before the end of 1879—you shall get the manuscript in the way demanded.

I have received some publications from Petersburg, for which my best thanks.³⁶⁵ Of the polemics of *Tschischerin* and other people against me, I have seen nothing, save what you sent me in 1877 (one article of Sieber, and the other, I think, of Michailoff,^d both in the *Fatherlandish Annals*,^e in reply to that queer would-be

^a Presumably a reference to Danielson's letter of 7 March 1877. - ^b simplify
- ^c See this volume, p. 346. - ^d Nikolai Mikhailovsky - ^e *Отечественныя Записки*.

Encyclopedist—Mr Joukowski). Prof. Kowalewskiy, who is here, told me that there had been a rather lively polemics on the *Capital*.⁴⁵²

[The]^a English crisis which I predicted on p. 351 of the French edition, note—has at last come to a head during the past few weeks. Some of my friends—theoreticians and businessmen—had asked me to omit that note because they thought it unfounded. So convinced were they that the crises in the north and south of America and those in Germany and Austria were bound, as it were, to ‘cancel out’ the English crisis.

The first country in which business will describe an *ascending* line is the *United States* of North America. Only this improvement will there set in under conditions altogether altered—for the worse. The people will try in vain to get rid of the monopolising power and the (as far as the *immediate happiness* of the masses is concerned) baneful influence of the great *compagnies* swaying industry, commerce, property in land, railroads, finance—at an always accelerated rate since the outbreak of the Civil War.⁴⁵³ The best Yankee writers are loud in proclaiming the stubborn fact that, if the Anti-Slavery war has broken the chains of the black, it has on the other hand enslaved the white producers.⁴⁵⁴

The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the United States, and, above all, during the period of 1873 (since the crash in September) until 1878—the period of chronic crisis. Transformations—which to be elaborated did require in England centuries—were here realised in a few years. But the observer must look not to the older States on the Atlantic, but to the newer ones (*Ohio* is a striking example) and the newest (*California* f.i.).

The imbeciles in Europe who fancy that theoreticians like myself and others are at the root of the evil, might learn a wholesome lesson by reading the *official* Yankee reports.

You would much oblige me by some information which you as a banker must possess—on the present state of Russian finance.

Yours very truly,

A. W.^b

First published, in Russian, in *Minuzhiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the
first time

^a The passage from here to the words ‘Only this improvement’ was written in French in the English original. - ^b A. Williams (Marx’ pseudonym).

242

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN LIVERPOOL

[Copy]

[London,] 19 November 1878

My dear Dronke,

I wrote to you in the beginning of this month¹⁵ to inform you that I had been legally advised that the policy you deposited with me as security^a was no security whatever unless assigned to me by Mrs Dronke, and that therefore I had instructed my solicitors to draw up a form accordingly.

On the 10th I informed you¹⁵ that this form had been handed to Messrs Whitley and Maddock, solicitors, 6 Water St., Liverpool, and requested you to call and examine it.

I have not had a reply from you to either of these communications, and am now informed that up to the 17th at least you had not called at Messrs Whitley and Maddock.

As none of my letters have been returned to me by the post, I must conclude that they have reached you. However to make matters sure, I have requested Messrs Whitley and Maddock to have this letter delivered at your house. It is needless for me to repeat that unless the above documents are signed and in my hands on the morning of the 23th inst. at latest, I shall decline paying the payment then due.

Your truly
F. E.

London, 19 November 1878

To E. Dronke
The assignment of Policy

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

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^a See this volume, pp. 165, 171.

243

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG ⁴⁵⁰

London, 28 November 1878

* My dear Sir,

I have received the three books with best thanks.^a I was prepared, by some Russian friends, to expect, on the part of Mr Tshitscherin, a very feeble production, but my expectations have been surpassed. He is evidently unacquainted with the very elements of Political Economy and fancies that, by being edited under his name, the trivialities of the Bastiat school become transformed into original and self-evident truths.

Last week I was prevented from looking at the *Capital*. I have now done so, and find that—save the changes which the translator must make by comparing the second German edition with the French one—only a very few alterations are necessary, the which you will find later on in this letter.

*The two first sections** ('Commodities and Money' and 'The Transformation of Money into Capital') *are to be translated exclusively from the *German text*. There, *p. 86,* line 5 from bottom* READ: 'And, as a matter of fact, the value of each single yard is but the materialised form of a part of the social labour expended on the whole number of yards.'⁴⁵⁵

In Chapter XVI of the French edition (not contained in Chapter XIV of the German edition) the added passage on J. St. Mill, *p. 222, column II, line 12 from bottom, should read*: 'I always assume, he says, the actual state of affairs which predominates wherever workers and capitalists are distinct classes, etc.!'^{b 456}

The following two sentences, viz.: 'It is a strange optical illusion to see everywhere a state of affairs which as yet exists as an exception in this world of ours! But to continue'—* are to be *struck out*, and the following sentence is to be read thus: *

'Mr Mill would like to think there is no absolute necessity that such should be the case—even in an economic system where workers and capitalists are distinct classes.'⁴⁵⁷

^a *Сборникъ государственнѣхъ знаній*, vols V and VI, 1878, containing В. N. Chicherin's articles 'Нѣмецкіе социалисты: I. Лассаль' and 'Нѣмецкіе социалисты: II. Карлъ Марксъ', and А. Чупров's book *Желѣзнодорожное хозяйство*, Vol. II. -

^b Here and below Marx quotes from the French edition of *Capital* in French.

The crisis and ensuing work stoppages, the closure of factories and bankruptcies *proceed boisterously in the industrial counties, but here at London, in order not to frighten the general public, the newspapers do their best to hush these unpleasant but stubborn 'incidents'. One reading only the London money articles gets indeed but very scanty information.

Yours most sincerely,

A. Williams*^a

First published abridged, in Russian, in *Minuvshiy god*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908 and in full, in German, in *Die Briefe von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels an Danielson*, Leipzig, 1929

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

244

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN LIVERPOOL

[Draft]

London, 29 November 1878

My dear Dronke,

I hear from Messrs Whitley and Maddock that you informed them of your intention not to have the assignment of the Policy executed.^b Moreover I have not had a word of reply or explanation from yourself. Under these circumstances I can only again repeat, that the Policy belongs to Mrs Dronke and that you had no right whatever to dispose of it. It is therefore no security for me unless assigned by her in the form prescribed by law. Unless this is done, I shall know how to qualify the transaction, and of course shall not pay any premium to keep it in existence.

Yours truly

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

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^a Marx's pseudonym - ^b See this volume, p. 345.

245

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 12 December 1878
 122 *Regent's Park Road*, N. W.

Dear Old Man,

We are all most sorry to hear that things are going so badly with you and, so that you may at least have some help straight away, I have taken out a money order for you for £2 sterling on which, according to the information here, you will be paid 50 frs 40 over there. I have been told to retain the order *here*, as an order will be sent you by the Swiss post office in *Basle*, so unless this is done at once, you must complain. I shall see if I can get hold of some more money for you very shortly.

It will, if my own experience is anything to go by, be virtually impossible to obtain any agencies for you here. Having been out of business for almost ten years, I have seen all my commercial connections gradually die a natural death; when a man no longer has anything to haggle over, you see, he's no longer of any interest to those gentlemen. However, I shall see if there's anyone I might be able to sound out, although I can't for the time being hold out any prospects for you.

As for the *Précurseur*, by the way, if the paper doesn't pay for itself I wouldn't, if I were you, expend a single *sou* on it.⁴⁵⁸ I cannot see why you should sacrifice yourself for the benefit of the Genevan workers and their local Genevan politics. If they want a paper, let them pay for it themselves. It's enough in all conscience that you should have to bear the brunt of the worry and the work. Considering all the sacrifices you have made, you really do have the right to call these people together and tell them that you can't go on paying, and that if they want to keep the paper going they must provide the resources themselves.

Today the news has reached us by telegraph that the Federal Council proposes to suppress the magnanimous Guillaume's *Avant-garde*.^a I don't know whether it will really happen, but if for one reason or another the last Bakuninist organ were to

^a '(From Our Own Correspondent. The Socialist Movement. Berne, Dec. 11)', *The Times*, No. 29436, 12 December 1878.

disappear, and the Genevans proved unwilling to provide the resources, the *Précurseur* could all the more readily succumb.

Borkheim is still at Hastings, on the coast, confined to bed with the left side of his body paralysed and will recover, if at all, only very slowly. In other respects he seems cheerful enough, and writes from time to time.

Luckily the Prussians have now also placed a ban on my *Dühring*.^a Henceforth nothing may be sold in Germany that is directed against bogus socialist rowdies. Thus *every* anti-Bakuninist publication by Greulich.^b myself, etc., has been banned. In Bismarck's estimation, anarchist and Dühringian cliquishness should lessen our people's cohesion and bring about what he most ardently desires—an attempted coup that would enable him to *shoot*. Despite all this, our workers in Germany are behaving altogether admirably, and I hope that they will bring the entire Prussian empire to rack and ruin. This much, however, Mr Bismarck will have achieved: When the set-to begins in Russia—and it won't be long now—things will also be pretty well *au point* in Germany.

With warmest regards from Marx and his wife, and hoping to hear better news of you soon,

from your old friend,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. - ^b H. Greulich, *Der Staat vom sozialdemokratischen Standpunkte aus. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Anarchisten*.

1879

246

MARX TO HUGO HELLER⁴⁵⁹

[IN OXFORD]

[Extract]

[London,] 29 January 1879

Dear Friend,

... You would oblige me by copying for me verbatim the passage in Busch [OR Buret?]^a in which I am taxed with the bad taste of having preserved the life of the Champagne phiz...⁴⁶⁰

First published, in the language of the original (German), in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and C^o*, London, 1963

Printed according to the catalogue
Published in English for the first time

247

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 30 January 1879

Dear Old Man,

It hardly needed a postcard from you for me to bestir myself on your behalf.⁴⁶¹ From a friend in Manchester^b I have received one pound to be used for victims of the Anti-Socialist Law.⁴⁶² I could not put it to better use than by passing it on to you, and I have

^a The words in square brackets were added by the compiler of the catalogue presumably because the name was illegible in the original. - ^b Probably Carl Schorlemmer.

also added a second, for which you should get a remittance of 50 frs 40 from Basle and get it, probably, the day after you receive this letter. I have retained the receipt. Anything more that can be done later on, will be done.

As to agencies, there's nothing doing.^a Business here is absolutely rotten, and no one wants to take any chances.

So far as the *Précurseur* is concerned, I would, if I were you, tell the people in Geneva once and for all that I was not in a position to *pay out anything whatever* in respect of the paper. It is a crying shame. Not only do you take upon yourself all the worry and the work, getting nothing in return, but on top of that you are expected to cough up the expenses. But the Genevans have always been like that. Ever since Calvin and his predestination,⁴⁶³ they have regarded themselves as the chosen people and expected everything to fall into their laps. It was thus in the case of the *Égalité*, when Utin had to supply both the work and the cash. It was thus in the case of the great building workers' strike, when the International had to provide the cash,⁴⁶⁴ but knocked in vain at the Genevans' doors when there were strikes elsewhere.

We were much tickled by the news that, like Achilles, the great Guillaume has withdrawn sulking into his tent.⁴⁶⁵ This was bound to happen. The anarchists weren't worthy of the name until anarchy broke out in their own midst. Still, Guillaume was at least the great Bakunin's successor—but that an upstart like Brousse should propose to turn the world upside down—why, it's positively ludicrous.

Over here Most is publishing a little sheet, the *Freiheit*, for the communist Workers' Society⁵⁵; so far it has sold well.⁴⁶⁶ We wish it all prosperity but otherwise, of course, have nothing to do with it, nor are we in any way responsible for its contents.

In Germany, by the way, things are going rapidly downhill. A walloping for the Reichstag⁴⁶⁷—such is the latest and best [piece of news]. Only let it carry on like this, with more and more taxes on top, and the good Bismarck will yet be surprised by his petty bourgeois, who are going to the devil fast enough as it is. Apart from the unavoidable suffering it will bring down upon individuals, nothing could be of greater advantage to us on the whole than what is now happening. Any harm Bismarck could do *us*, he has already done; what he is now doing affects our opponents, the petty bourgeois men of Progress,³¹² and, with time, will also affect the liberal big bourgeoisie.

^a See this volume, p. 348.

So let him keep it up! And aside from this, affairs in Russia are going ahead splendidly, and that's the main thing. If there's an explosion there, then William,^a too, might as well pack his bags.

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

248

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 1 March 1879

Dear Liebknecht,

We have again tried to come to an arrangement with *The Whitehall Review* through Barry, if only in regard to the Reichstag reports, but the jackass insisted on the articles being signed; so we had to give him a flat refusal and let him go. The negotiations lasted a pretty long time and, until matters had reached the stage of *oui ou non*,^b there was, of course, nothing we could tell you.

The election in Breslau⁴⁶⁸ has made a splendid impression here too. Still more, however, the speed with which Bismarck is ruining himself. He really is coming 'one cropper after another'⁴⁶⁹—going *de chute en chute*. He has now lost virtually all of his apologists in the English press—even *The Times*, which was very deeply involved with him, is trying to extricate itself.⁴⁷⁰ Now that he's become a protectionist, the English, of course, are all the more reluctant to have anything further to do with him. Even in Germany, come to that, a reversion to the protectionist system would be downright reactionary. Still, it's excellent that Monsieur Bismarck should again be drifting towards dissolution.⁴⁶⁷ Only let him drive the German philistines really wild and even they will lose patience in the end, particularly if their pockets are affected.

^a William I - ^b yes or no

And as for the MUDDLE Bismarck is making in the field of foreign policy, that is altogether beyond compare.

Most's little paper^a seems to be making good progress—he turns up from time to time, but not often, and we cannot, of course, accept any responsibility at all for its contents. But we wish it success, of course, as we do anything that is moving in the right direction, however imperfect its methods may be.

Your
F.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

249

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON⁴⁷¹

IN ST PETERSBURG⁴⁵⁰

London, 10 April 1879

My dear Sir,

When I received your letter of February (and at the same time the valuable prints, which have come to my hands like the others you mention⁴⁷²) my wife had fallen so ill that the doctors doubted whether she was likely to survive the attack, and meanwhile my own state of health underwent some serious shocks. (In point of fact, since, consequent upon the state of things in Germany and Austria, I was precluded from paying my annual visit to Karlsbad,^b I have never enjoyed a comparative state of ease.) Under these circumstances which have only improved a very short time since, I could not study the papers sent me. In the meantime I had sent you a letter¹² by a German on the way to St Petersburg, limiting myself to an acknowledgement of your letter and recommending the bearer, but, to my great astonishment, he reappeared yesterday here and told me that, consequent upon some incidents, he had not got farther than Berlin and renounced altogether visiting Petersburg.

^a *Freiheit* - ^b See this volume, p. 312.

And now, *primo*, I am obliged to tell you (*cela est tout à fait confidentiel*^a) that I have been informed from Germany, my second volume^b *could not be published* so long as the present régime was maintained in its present severity. This news, considering the status quo, did not surprise me, and, I must confess, was far from annoying me—for these reasons⁴⁷³:

Firstly: I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past, and this—quite apart from other modifying circumstances—is easily accounted for by the fact that never before the *English crisis was preceded* by tremendous and now already 5 years lasting crisis in *the Unites States, South America, Germany, Austria, etc.*

It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can ‘consume’ them ‘productively’, I mean ‘*theoretically*’.

One of the singular aspects of the present state is this: There have, as you know, been crashes of banks in Scotland and in some of the English counties, principally the Western (of Cornwall and Wales) ones. Still the real *centre of the money-market*—not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world—*London* has till now been little affected. On the contrary, save a few exceptions, the immense joint-stock bank companies, like the Bank of England, have as yet only *profited* of the general prostration. And what this prostration is, you may judge from the utter despair of the English commercial and industrial philistine of seeing ever better times again! I have not seen the like, I have never witnessed a similar moral dislocation although I was in London in 1857 and 1866⁴⁷⁴!

There is no doubt, one of the circumstances favourable to the London money-market is the state of the *Bank of France*, which, since the recent development of the intercourse between the two countries, has become a *succursale*^c to the Bank of England. The Bank of France keeps an immense amount of bullion, the convertibility of its banknotes being not yet re-established, and at the signal of any perturbation of the London stock-exchange French money flows in to buy securities momentarily depreciated. If, during last autumn, the French money had been suddenly withdrawn, the Bank of England would certainly have had refuge

^a this is in strict confidence - ^b of *Capital* - ^c branch

to its last remedy *in extremis*, the *suspension of the Bank Act*,⁴⁷⁵ and in that case we would have had the monetary crash.

On the other hand, the quiet way in which the *restauration* of cash payments was effected in the United States, has removed all strain from that corner upon the resources of the Bank of England. But what till now mainly contributed to prevent an explosion within the London money-market, is the apparently quiet state of the banks of *Lancashire* and the other industrial districts (saving the mining districts of the West), though it is sure and ascertained, that these banks have not only invested great part of their resources in discounting of bills of, and advances upon, unprofitable transactions of the manufacturers, but have, as f.i. at Oldham, sunk a great part of their capital in the foundation of new fabrics. At the same time stocks, mainly of cotton produce, are daily accumulating not only in Asia (India principally) whither they are sent on consignment, but at Manchester, etc., etc. How this state of things could pass away without a general crash among the manufacturers, and, consequently, among the local banks, reacting directly upon the London money-market—is difficult to foresee.

Meanwhile strikes and disturbance are general.

I remark *en passant* that during the past year—so bad for all other business—the *railways* have been flourishing, but this was only due to extraordinary circumstances, like the Paris exhibition,⁴⁷⁶ etc. In truth, the railways keep up an appearance of prosperity, by accumulating debts, increasing from day to day their *capital account*.

However the course of this crisis may develop itself—although most important to observe in its details for the student of capitalistic production and the professional *théoricien*—it will pass over, like its predecessors, and initiate a new ‘industrial cycle’ with all its diversified phases of prosperity, etc.

But under the cover of this ‘apparently’ solid English society, there lurks another crisis—the *agricultural* one which will work great and serious changes in its social structure. I shall recur to this subject on another occasion.^a It would lead me too far at present.

Secondly: The bulk of materials I have received not only from *Russia*, but from the *United States*, etc., make it pleasant for me to have a ‘pretext’ of continuing my studies, instead of winding them up finally for the public.

^a See Marx’ letter to Danielson of 12 December 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46).

Thirdly: My medical adviser^a has warned me to shorten considerably my 'working-day' if I were not desirous to relapse into the state of 1874 and the following years where I got giddy and unable to proceed after a few hours of serious application.

In regard to your most remarkable letter I shall confine myself to a few observations.

The railways sprang first up as the '*couronnement de l'oeuvre*'^b in those countries where *modern industry was most developed*, England, United States, Belgium, France, etc. I call them the '*couronnement de l'oeuvre*' not only in the sense, that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) the *means of communication* adequate to the modern means of production, but also in so far as they were the basis of immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all *other sorts* of joint-stock companies, to commence by banking companies. They gave in one word an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual *indebtedness*, the capitalistic form of 'international' brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading states of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic *superstructure* in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development, and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states, except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the public Exchequer. In the United States they received as a present a great part of the public land, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines, but many miles of land along both sides [of] the lines, covered with forests, etc. They became so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course lands so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport.

The system inaugurated in France by Louis Philippe, of handing over the railways to a small band of financial aristocrats, endowing

^a George Allen - ^b consummation of business

them with long terms of possession, guaranteeing the interest out of the public pocket, etc., etc., was pushed to the utmost limit by Louis Bonaparte whose régime, in fact, was essentially based upon the traffic in railway concessions, to some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals, etc.

But in Austria, and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally, the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of Foreign Commerce, but this commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the governments on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while, on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special *sort of produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitability for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption *in loco*. Thus f.i. in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but, at the same time, the agricultural population was driven away. All these changes [were] very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude by this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way, for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple*^a) of its paper-money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper-money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the Civil War⁴⁵³) of an unprecedented rapid industrial development,

^a common people

agricultural progress, etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the *façade* of the social edifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satire upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present much overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they lag still behind in the extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses.

Apropos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on credit and banking?

Mr Kaufman was so kind as to send me his book on 'theory and practice of banking',^a but I was rather astonished that my former intelligent critic in the Petersburg *Messenger de l'Europe*⁴⁷⁷ had converted himself into a sort of Pindar of modern Stock-Exchange swindling. Besides, considered merely—and I expect generally nothing else of books of this kind—from *Fachstandpunkt*,^b it is far from original in its details. The best part in it is the polemics against paper-money.

It is said that certain foreign bankers with whom a certain government desired to contract new loans, have asked as a guarantee—a constitution. I am far from believing this, because their modern method of doing the business was, till now at least, and could be, very indifferent as to forms of government.

Yours truly,

A. Williams^c

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvschiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія и практика банкового дѣла*. - ^b the point of view of an expert - ^c Marx's pseudonym

250

MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 May 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I enclose the letter from Mr Reichenbach intended for yourself⁴⁷⁸; at the same time I am sending you issue 10^a per BOOK-POST.

I shall be pleased to make your personal acquaintance, having made sundry vain attempts to acquaint myself with your *Politische Gründer*.^b If you are not already otherwise engaged, you will find me at home tomorrow at any time between 10 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant

Karl Marx

To R. Meyer, Esq.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

251

ENGELS TO J. GUGENHEIM

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 16 June 1879

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letter of 29 May and regret that under present circumstances I cannot comply with

^a Marx is presumably referring to the tenth instalment of the French edition of his *Capital*. - ^b R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*.

the wish expressed in the same that I deliver a lecture to your Society.⁴⁷⁹

The organ of that Society, the *Freiheit*, has thought fit publicly to attack the attitude of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag.⁴⁸⁰ Now even though statements have been made in the Reichstag by certain of our members which I, too, regard as inept (and about which I have not hesitated to express my views privately and in an appropriate place),⁴⁸¹ I can in no way declare myself in agreement with the kind of criticism chosen by the *Freiheit* and still less with its having felt obliged to pursue *this* kind of criticism *in public*.

You will understand that if I were willing to deliver a lecture to the Society under these circumstances, this would inevitably give rise to the view in Germany and elsewhere that I condoned the attitude adopted by the *Freiheit*.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

252

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN⁴⁸²

IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[London,] 17 June [1879]

In reply to your esteemed note of the 13th, which did not reach me until yesterday, I regret to inform you that I am not in a position to give you the name of a person capable of producing the articles you desire in a really competent manner.⁴⁸³

For a number of years the English workers' movement has been going round and round bootlessly in a confined circle of STRIKES for wages and the reduction of working hours—not, mark you, as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim. Both on principle and statutorily the TRADES UNIONS actually exclude any political action and hence participation in any general activity on the part of the working class as a class. Politically the workers are divided into Conservatives and Liberal-

Radicals, into supporters of a Disraeli (Beaconsfield) administration and supporters of a Gladstone administration. So one can speak of a workers' movement here only to the extent that STRIKES take place which, victorious or otherwise, do not advance the movement by one single step. In my view only harm can come of inflating STRIKES such as these into struggles of world-historical importance (as does e.g. the *Freiheit* here), STRIKES which were, moreover, as often as not deliberately engineered by the capitalists in the late years of depression so as to have an excuse for closing down their factories, STRIKES in which the working class makes no progress whatsoever. No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here, and hence I don't believe you will miss much if, for the time being, you don't get any reports on the doings of the TRADES UNIONS here.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

253

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[Draft]

London, 26 June 1879
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry you didn't tell me from the start that in making your inquiry you had *my* reporting in mind^a; had you done so, you would have received a definite answer straight away.

When, after being much pressed to do so, I decided to tackle the tedious Mr Dühring, I told Liebknecht that this was positively the last time I would allow journalistic activities to interfere with my more substantial work⁴⁸⁴ unless political events made this absolutely imperative—something I alone must decide.^b During the nine years I have spent here in London, I have learnt that it's

^a See previous letter. - ^b Cf. this volume, pp. 257-58.

no good trying to complete more substantial works while simultaneously engaging in practical agitation. I grow no younger with the passage of time and must at long last restrict myself to definite tasks if I am to get anything done at all. I wrote and told Mr Wiede as much when he founded the *Neue Gesellschaft*.^a

As for Mr Höchberg, you are mistaken if you think that I feel any 'antipathy' towards him. When Mr Höchberg founded the *Zukunft*, we got invitations to contribute signed 'the Editorial Board'.³¹³ Unless I am much mistaken, Mr Höchberg was not even known to us by name at that time, and it goes without saying that we paid no attention to anonymous communications of this kind. Soon after, Mr Höchberg made known his programme of the *Zukunft*,^b according to which socialism was to arise out of the concept of 'justice'. Such a programme directly excluded from the outset all those who ultimately regarded socialism, not as the logical outcome of any idea or principle such as justice, etc., but as the ideal product of a material-economic process, of the social process of production at a given stage. Thus Mr Höchberg had himself precluded all possibility of our collaborating with him. But aside from the above programme, nothing has come to my notice on the strength of which I could form any authentic idea of Mr Höchberg's philosophical views. Not that all this is in any way a reason for feeling any 'antipathy' towards him, or prejudice against a literary venture for which he is responsible. On the contrary, I adopt the same attitude towards it as I do towards any other prospective socialist publication until I know what's going to be in it—one of sympathy and expectation.

But that is all by the way—the fact of the matter is that I must restrain myself from contributing to journals if I mean to finish work that really ought to be of greater importance to the movement as a whole than an article or two in periodicals. And, as you can see, I have for several years observed this rule impartially vis-à-vis all-comers.

I am also interested to see from your letter that people over here have led you to believe that I, and presumably Marx as well, am 'in complete agreement' with the policy of the *Freiheit*. Precisely the reverse is true. We have not seen Mr Most since he began his attacks on the Social-Democratic deputies.⁴⁸⁰ Nor was he able to learn what we thought of this until the middle of the

^a See this volume, pp. 253-54. - ^b *Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue. Prospect*. See also Höchberg's leading article, 'Der Socialismus und die Wissenschaft', published in 1877 in the first issue of the *Zukunft*.

month when I replied to an invitation from the secretary^a of the Workers' Society⁵⁵ to go and lecture there.^b I refused outright because it could only lead people in Germany, etc., to conclude that I agreed with the kind of polemic the *Freiheit* is conducting, and publicly at that, against the Social-Democratic deputies; little though I may approve of certain statements in the Reichstag, this is by no means the case.

As we have heard much the same thing from another quarter, we would be glad to be in a position that would enable us to scotch these misrepresentations once and for all. The simplest way of doing this would be for you, if you would be so kind, to let us have a copy of the relevant passages from letters so that we may know precisely *what* has been said about us and conduct ourselves accordingly. Your allusions could, of course, be only of a general nature, but for that very reason it is all the more desirable that we should have some definite information so that we can act upon it direct. After almost forty years, revolutionary tittle-tattle is something that has ceased to surprise us.

Should Mr Most fall into the hands of the anarchists, or even of Russians of Tkachov's stamp, it would at most spell his own undoing. These chaps will fall victim to the anarchy they have themselves created. Which is not to say that it mightn't be quite a good thing to knock them on the head every now and again.

Unless one or two of the works you mention are still to be had at the booksellers, I would not be able to get hold of copies for you; I myself no longer possess a copy of some of them and have tried in vain to get them second-hand.

As regards the French movement, besides our contacts with party members over here, we also maintain direct relations with Paris nor, for that matter, were the links we established at the time of the International ever broken at all. Thus, for instance, only quite recently we received a new socialist paper appearing in Oporto, *O operario*.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a J. Gugenheim - ^b See this volume, pp. 359-60.

254

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER⁴⁸⁵

IN GENEVA

London, 1 July 1879

Dear Old Man,

The new half year has brought me in some money and I therefore hasten to notify you that I have sent off a money order to you for £4 sterling=100 francs 80 centimes; you will doubtless get it straight after receipt of this letter. I hope it will be enough to relieve your chronic ill-luck, if only for a short spell. I wish we could do more than just offer you an occasional helping hand, but as you know, recent events have led to heavier demands from all sides.

Liebknecht's unseasonable mildness in the Reichstag⁴⁸⁶ has, understandably enough, created a most disagreeable impression in the Latin countries of Europe, as it has among Germans everywhere. Indeed, we immediately wrote and told him as much.⁴⁸¹ Agitation of the old, easy-going, lackadaisical sort, interspersed with an occasional 6 weeks-6 months in quod, is a thing of the past where Germany is concerned. No matter how the present state of affairs comes to an end, the new movement is starting off on a more or less revolutionary basis and hence its character must be far more resolute than in the first period of the movement, now concluded. Either the maxim about the peaceable attainment of the goal will no longer be necessary, or else no one will continue to take it seriously. By making that maxim impossible and giving a revolutionary cast to the movement, Bismarck has done us a tremendous service which more than outweighs the bit of harm caused by interference with agitation.

On the other hand, the aforementioned tame speech in the Reichstag has meant that big-mouthed revolutionary charlatans have again begun to raise their heads, and are trying to disorganise the party by cliquism and intrigue. At the hub of these machinations is our local Workers' Society⁵⁵ which still harbours braggarts of '49 vintage, *à la* Weber, Neustadt an der Hardt and family. After the revival of the movement in Germany, the people over here had lost such significance as they may still have possessed in the years 1840-62; now they see an opportunity of pushing their way to the top. Even in recent years young Weber,

one Kaufmann and others have constituted themselves the central committee of the European-American working men's movement on at least six occasions, but have always been obstinately ignored by the irreverent world. Now they intend to force it through and have discovered an ally in Most. The *Freiheit* is shouting for revolution by fire and sword which, for the worthy Most, is, of course, a quite unprecedented pleasure in which he could never before have allowed himself to indulge. Moreover, it has grossly exaggerated the goings-on in the Reichstag and made them a pretext for disrupting the party and forming a new one. This is to exploit the present exigency and enforced silence in Germany for the benefit of a few nitwits whose ambition is notably disproportionate to their capabilities—and if, as we have heard, Most has let it be known that he has our support, then he is lying. Since he embarked on this role he's kept well out of sight. *Au fond*,^a it's as well that he should unmask himself like this, thus ruining any prospects he might subsequently have in Germany; he is not without talent, but horribly vain, undisciplined and ambitious, and so it's better that he should go and put his foot in it. Come to that, the *Freiheit* won't, presumably, survive much longer, and then all this will quietly relapse into oblivion.

With most cordial regards from Marx and

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

255

MARX TO CARLO CAFIERO⁴⁸⁷

IN NAPLES

[Draft]

London, 29 July 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

My sincerest thanks for the two copies of your work⁴⁸⁸! Some time ago I received two similar works, one written in Serbian, the

^a Really

other in English (published in the United States),³⁴¹ but both of them err in that, by seeking to provide a succinct and popular résumé of *Capital*, they also devote themselves in too pedantic a manner to the scientific *form* of the argument. Thus it seems to me that they more or less lose sight of their principal object, which is to make an impression on the public for whom these résumés are intended. And it is here that your work is vastly superior!

As to the concept of the *thing*, I believe I am not mistaken when I find an apparent gap in the views set out in your preface, which is that there is no proof that the *material conditions* indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production.^a

Moreover, I share your opinion—if I have interpreted your preface aright—that one ought not to overload the minds of the people one is proposing to educate. There is nothing to prevent your making, at the right moment, a further attempt aimed at placing greater emphasis on this materialist basis of *Capital*.

Once again many thanks.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in *La Vie ouvrière*,
No. 57, Paris, 5 février 1912

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the
first time

256

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL⁴⁸⁹

IN LEIPZIG

[Copy]

London, 4 August 1879

Dear Bebel,

Since I last wrote on 25 July^{b15} Hirsch has informed us of his correspondence with Bernstein and Liebknecht about the new

^a In the original, the following passage is deleted: 'and the class struggle which finally leads to a social revolution. What distinguishes critical and revolutionary socialism from its predecessors is, in my opinion, precisely this materialist basis. It shows that at a certain stage of historical development the animal inevitably transforms into a man'. - ^b In the manuscript of the draft: 'which I trust you received (it was *registered*)'.

paper.⁴⁹⁰ To judge by this, matters would appear to be materially different from what your letter had entitled us to assume.

Since Hirsch's altogether justifiable inquiries as to what arrangements had been made and who would be running the paper, on the one hand financially, on the other administratively, met with no other reply from Liebknecht save: 'the party plus Höchberg',⁴⁹¹ and the reiterated assurance that everything was in order—we could only assume, even then, that the paper would be financed by Höchberg and that the 'we' to whom, according to E. Bernstein's letter, 'the production and supervision' would be entrusted,⁴⁹² would, once again, be Höchberg and his secretary Bernstein.^a

From Bernstein's second letter to Hirsch just received, it transpires that such is indeed the case.⁴⁹³

You will not, I presume, fail to perceive that the errors against which I warned in my last [letter] will now almost inevitably form an intrinsic part of the paper. Höchberg has shown himself to be exceedingly muddle-headed in matters of theory and, in practice, impelled by an irresistible urge to fraternise with all and sundry who profess to be, not merely socialist, but also and even simply *social*. He showed his true colours in the *Zukunft*, discrediting the party both as regards theory and in practice.

What the party needs above all is a *political* organ. And really Höchberg is at best a wholly unpolitical man, not even a social *democrat*, but a social *philanthropist*. Nor, according to Bernstein's letter, is the paper *to be in the least political*, but socialist on principle, which, in such hands, necessarily means social-fantastic, a new edition of the *Zukunft*. A paper of this kind would represent the party only if the latter were willing to degrade itself and become a mere appendage to Höchberg and his armchair socialist friends. If the party leaders were really to try and bring the proletariat under the leadership of Höchberg and his ambiguous friends, the workers would be unlikely to go along with them;

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'That C. Hirsch cannot assume the editorship in these circumstances without quite *specific* guarantees of his independence vis-à-vis his superior on the financial side, goes without saying. I doubt very much whether *sufficient* guarantees of this kind could be given, and regard it as fairly certain that the negotiations with C. Hirsch will come to nothing. But even were they to succeed, it is virtually certain that Hirsch's position would ultimately become untenable through his being controlled by two superiors of whom one, who provides the finances, is not a social democrat but a social philanthropist, and the other, as Liebknecht admits, "would himself like to be editor".'

dissension and disorganisation would inevitably result; but Most and the ranters over here would experience their greatest triumph.

In these circumstances, which were quite unknown to us when I wrote my last letter, we believe that Hirsch is absolutely right in refusing to have anything to do with the matter. The same applies to Marx and myself. Our consent regarding contributions was given in respect of a genuine party organ and hence was applicable only to such—not, however, to a private organ of Mr Höchberg's masquerading as a party organ. To that we would in no circumstances contribute.^a Marx and I therefore specifically ask that you should kindly ensure we are not named as contributors.

First published in *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, Heft 23, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the copy checked against the manuscript of the draft

Published in English for the first time

257

MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 August 1879

Dear Mr Meyer,

I am today sending you your *Gründer*^b PER BOOK-POST.

My departure⁴⁹⁴ was held up as a result of Longuet's having fallen ill: he is feared to have gastric fever, and we shall probably hear today what the verdict is. If the thing's serious I shall have to abandon the trip to Jersey (which I wanted to visit because the place is new to my companion—my youngest daughter^c) and go to a seaside resort near London. I shall be going to one of these in

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We shall continue to correspond with C. Hirsch and shall see what can be done if he accepts the editorship. As circumstances are now, he is, of all possible editors, the only one in whom we would have sufficient confidence.' - ^b R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*. - ^c Eleanor Marx

any case, even after my return from Jersey, along with Madame Lafargue and my grandson,^a and look forward to your visiting me there.

Should anything unforeseen happen to precipitate your departure, perhaps you would be so kind as to return the volumes of periodicals (the Leipzig and Paris ones), at the same time letting me know (all letters will be forwarded to me from my house) whether the January issue (1879) of the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften* was followed by a second.

With best wishes for your future, and cordial regards from my wife and my daughter, Eleanor,

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in *Die Rote Fahne*,
Nr. 294, Berlin, 14. Dezember 1928,
Beilage

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

258

MARX TO ENGELS⁴⁹⁵

IN LONDON

St Aubin's, 14 August 1879
Trafalgar Hotel

Dear FRED,

I am sending this note to your London address since—to go by your letter to my wife¹⁵—there is no knowing that you will still belong to the population of Eastbourne after today.⁴⁹⁶

Herewith letter from Hirsch to me,⁴⁹⁷ ditto letter from Louise Jutta to Pumps.

Our crossing from Southampton to Jersey⁴⁹⁴ was made altogether too watery by a tremendous downpour of rain; we arrived dripping wet at St Hélier where it was also 'pouring' hard. Since then the weather, after occasional vacillations and transitions and set-backs, has been very good. The farmers in Jersey thought

^a Jean Longuet

the end of the world was at hand; they maintain that they've never had such a bad spring and summer. Tomorrow we are moving to the *Hôtel de l'Europe, St Hélier*. We are leaving our present lodgings in St Aubin's because Tussy and I cannot stand the monotonous daily fare of lamb or MUTTON in consequence of which I have, during the past few days, become an involuntary VEGETARIAN. We could find nowhere else to stay—we spent a great deal of time hunting round—in these parts. When we arrived in Jersey, it was still comparatively empty, but as time went on there was immigration on a massive scale, notably of FRENCHIES. When we made inquiries at the *Hôtel de l'Europe* this morning, it so happened, fortunately for us, that 60 French people were just getting ready to leave, whereas on the other hand the STEAMERS laden with fresh human scum had not yet come in.

On leaving London from Waterloo Station, we met Harney, who was seeing his wife off to Jersey. Luckily she already had a first class TICKET, whereas we were travelling second. On the BOAT we met again. Like us, she is not prone to SEA SICKNESS, but was in other respects unwell. On landing we again went our different ways, but she gave us the address of her brother with whom she is staying. Since then, we have paid a short visit of 'condolence'. The woman is utterly IMPRACTICABLE. Although a native of Jersey, she can provide no information other than what may be found in the GUIDE. A good woman, but not JUST THE PERSON for such as are travelling for recreation. I have been at long last sleeping properly here, only I have not quite shaken off a cold caught as a result of the abominable weather. But in this mild climate it will no doubt soon disappear of its own accord. Tussy ALL RIGHT.

Two Derbyshire farmers, father and son, were until recently our companions at table in the Trafalgar Hôtel. The day before yesterday they went on a sailing trip to St Malo and, having 'been to France' for the first time in their lives, returned with an immoderately inflated opinion of themselves. The father even felt half-inclined to go with his son on a TRIP TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, but thought it would be 'too hot' there. 'BY NO MEANS,' said his son, who is the BOOK-LEARNED man of the TWO, 'BY NO MEANS, THERE IT IS NOW—WINTER!' I was likewise informed by the old man (who is, by the by, in his prime and A SHARP FELLOW, WITH THE TRUE BUSINESS EYE) that St Malo was situated on the south-west coast of France. On the other hand, both are well-versed in the sphere of agriculture and other FARMERS' QUESTIONS.

Tussy finds that bathing presents no difficulties worth mentioning, and has so far been bathing alternately in St Brelade's Bay

and St Hélier's Bay, and now alternately in the latter and St Clement's Bay.

From my wife's letter, I see that Schorlemeyer was ill when he arrived; I hope to have better news of him soon.

Since my arrival here I haven't looked at any newspapers, have read nothing at all save Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, FIRST VOLUME. It was hard enough work, getting through the first volume; the second I shall save up for better times. They ARE UNCONNECTED TALES in which Irish peasant life is portrayed now from this angle now from that—hence not suitable for consumption all at one go. For that very reason it's a book one ought to buy and own in order to regale oneself *à fur et mesure*,^a now with one dish, now with another. Carleton is neither a good stylist nor a good compiler, but his originality consists in the fidelity of his descriptions. As the son of an Irish peasant, he knows his subject better than any Levers or Lovers.

With kindest regards from Tussy and self to all of you

Your
Moor

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

259

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET⁴⁹⁸

IN RAMSGATE

St Hélier, 19 August 1879
Hôtel de l'Europe

My dear beloved Jennychen,

Long live the little citizen of the world!⁴⁹⁹ *Il faut peupler le monde de garçons d'autant plus que la statistique anglaise montre un excès de filles.*^b I'm glad that the catastrophe has proceeded auspiciously so far, though unfortunately under somewhat difficult circumstances. The ARRANGEMENT made by Mamma strikes me as being *far from

^a by degrees - ^b It's as well to stock the world with boys, particularly since statistics in England show a surplus of girls.

the most convenient. At all events, Tussy and myself leave to-morrow for London and then I shall be very soon *at your side*⁵⁰⁰ and everything will be quietly settled. Here the rainy time—otherwise so unknown to this delicious island—has again set in, so that we had already commenced discussing our departure, the whole aspect of our sojourn here having changed with the climatic and meteorologic changes.

The Hôtel de l'Europe is excellent and one day we must go here together, *toute la famille*.

I can hardly expect to-morrow morning when the boat will start from here to Southampton. I feel so anxious with you and little Johnny.

In the meantime my best compliments to Mamma and Longuet.* Just don't fret or worry, my child, everything will turn out all right.

Your trusty
OLD NICK^a

You must excuse the brevity of this note, the reason being that the letter has to be posted at once.

First published, in the languages of the original (German, French and English), in *Annali*, an. I, Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original

260

ENGELS TO MARX

IN ST HÉLIER⁴⁹⁴

Eastbourne,⁴⁹⁶ 20 August 1879
53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I return herewith the letters from Hirsch,⁴⁹⁷ ditto one from Liebknecht which I have just answered.⁵⁰¹ I've drawn his attention to his strange contradictions, viz.: 'you wrote to Hirsch saying that the paper was backed by "the party+Höchberg"', which must

^a jocular name for Marx

surely mean, if Höchberg is in any way a plus, his purse, for in other respects he's a negative quantity. You now write and tell me that Höchberg hasn't contributed a penny. Maybe somebody can make sense of that, I GIVE IT UP.' Also that it was absurd to say that Hirsch had 'misinterpreted' Bernstein's letter⁴⁹² 'in an even sillier way', since that letter admitted of no misinterpretation at all, Bernstein having plainly made himself out therein to be the effective head of the editorial board. Naturally, I went on, Liebknecht believed that he had arranged everything for the best, but Hirsch was entitled to see for himself and Liebknecht was preventing him from doing so by withholding the relevant material; so if Hirsch were to refuse, it would be Liebknecht's fault. 'As for ourselves, this much is certain: If Hirsch does not accept, we shall have to consider very carefully what we should do; we certainly shan't take the bait without knowing who in fact "The Party" is that is backing the paper.'⁴⁹⁰ For it was precisely now, I told him, when all the rotten and conceited elements were able to push themselves to the fore without let or hindrance, that the time had at last come to abandon a policy of dissimulation and conciliation and even, if necessary, to be undeterred by a few rows and rumpuses. A party that would sooner let itself be hoodwinked by any and every blockhead, rather than summon up the courage to disavow him in public, might as well pack up. E.g. Kayser.⁵⁰²

The Lafargues have been here since Monday^a and are staying until the day after tomorrow; we shall see if we can keep Laura here a few days longer. She brought us news that Jenny's catastrophe had gone off all right in Ramsgate,⁴⁹⁹ as probably everyone, apart from herself and Longuet, had predicted. Otherwise everything there seems to be going on as well as can be expected.

Since yesterday the weather has been very uncertain, which isn't particularly good for Jollymeier; he had pretty well recovered, fever gone, appetite restored, little pain, but there's now been some kind of check and his improvement is no longer so rapid, though so far he's not actually any worse. Today we had the regatta, on which occasion some rain is *de rigueur*.^b As you are further to the south-west and nearer the Atlantic, I'm afraid you are getting it worse and more at first hand.

Also enclosed an embarrassed letter from Bernstein which I have *not* yet answered. It would be best if you kept everything

^a 18 August - ^b inevitable

until further notice; there's no hurry about Bernstein and the noble *Jahrbuch* can remain quietly in London until I arrive.⁵⁰³

From Schorlemmer's point of view, it's a good thing that we stayed here and, indeed, shall be staying here at any rate until the 28th; what happens then will depend on his condition and, of course, the weather. If possible, a few days in the Isle of Wight and places nearby.

Old Ruge, in the youthful guise of a NIGGER^a SERENADER, has been trotting round the pier today selling programmes for a fireworks' display.

Lafargue and Laura send their love and join us in hoping that you are all still keeping well. Best wishes from Pumps and me to Tussy and you.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

261

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE⁵⁰⁰

Eastbourne, 25 August 1879
53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I hope you got my letter^b sent to the Hôtel de l'Europe, St Hélier, together with an enclosure from Liebknecht to me and a letter (returned) from Hirsch to you.

In the meantime Hirsch has been arrested in Paris and after two days in detention he was compelled to leave the country. He is in London, staying with Lessner.⁵⁰⁴ Yesterday I got from him a whole parcel of correspondence to do with the newspaper affair⁴⁹⁰; very interesting. In my view he has acted quite correctly. (He knew my

^a See p. XXVIII of the Preface. - ^b See previous letter.

address, as I had sent him a few excerpts, omitting anything offensive, from the letter of Liebknecht's I passed on to you.)⁵⁰⁵

I've just received 1. a letter from Höchberg in Scheveningen and 2. one from Bebel,⁵⁰⁶ the purpose of both being to induce us to contribute. There's no hurry about a reply as Vollmar, the editor taken on in place of Hirsch, won't be out of jug for another three weeks! A really excellent prelude, this.

I'd send you the whole bag of tricks if I was sure of your address. According to your wife it is 62 Plains of Waterloo, while Laura maintains it's 71. As soon as I know for certain where you are, I'll send you the lot. What an unholy muddle these people have again got themselves into. Liebknecht, Bebel, Viereck, Höchberg, Schramm, Bernstein, they all of them write something different and there's nothing but confusion and contradiction. So all we can do is wait, and at least there'll be no need for us to be disturbed by this business during our holiday.

I wrote at once to Hirsch¹⁵ and told him I'd be back in London next Thursday.^a

You will in the meantime have heard from the Lafargues that they have been here. Unfortunately the weather wasn't up to much.

How's Jenny getting on? As well as could be expected, according to the last news I got from your wife. I hope this is still the case. Give her my love and congratulate her on her strapping boy.^b Your re-found ability to sleep will, I trust, continue, thereby removing the chief obstacle that prevents you feeling really fit. Let's hope the Ramsgate weather will suit your wife too. Jollymeier is much better, but the changeable weather is a sharp reminder to him that something is still slightly amiss between muscles and joints. Pumps is ALL RIGHT; as usual sea-bathing is doing me a power of good; I think I'm getting properly fat.

If you don't write tomorrow, then better [write] to London. The postal facilities here are antediluvian; a letter posted on Wednesday would not arrive until after our departure.

Best wishes to all of you, and see to it that Jenny doesn't take it upon herself to return home too soon. How long are you staying there?

Your
F. E.

^a 28 August - ^b new-born son, Edgar Longuet

Do you have Kovalevsky's London address, or can I get it from Tussy?

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

262

MARX TO ENGELS⁵⁰⁷

IN EASTBOURNE⁴⁹⁶

Ramsgate, 25 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear FRED,

My letter from Jersey¹² and yours from Eastbourne^a have evidently crossed.

Last Wednesday,^b the very day after we had heard by telegraph of the catastrophe at Ramsgate,⁴⁹⁹ we left for London first thing in the morning. For Tussy's sake I was sorry to cut short her stay in Jersey but knew that, for various reasons, my presence had become necessary in Ramsgate. I arrived there on Thursday amidst thunder, lightning and torrents of rain. On Friday it was fine, on Saturday IT RAINED DOGS AND CATS from morn till night, fine again yesterday, outlook uncertain today. Place is full of Jews and fleas.

The main thing is that Jennychen has got safely through the 9 critical days and, CONSIDERING THE CIRCUMSTANCES, is reasonably well. For the time being she is feeding the baby herself; most desirable that she should go on being able to do so. My wife is making slow progress but is better nonetheless.

My head's not quite ALL RIGHT yet. Yesterday, *by way of a test*, I glanced at certain mathematical notebooks I had brought with me, but very soon had to abandon the premature JOB which was done only as a—TEST.

I have not taken and am not taking sea baths, but only warm sea baths; for in consequence of the frightful weather when we

^a See this volume, pp. 372-74. - ^b 20 August

arrived in Jersey, my throat trouble got worse and was compounded by a sudden toothache, neither being quite gone yet, although much alleviated, and only reminding me by an occasional twinge that they are still lurking in the background.

Hirsch is in London^a; he had left his visiting card at my house, but I had no time to look him up (he's staying with Lessner) because of my abrupt departure from London. The enclosed letter from Kaub will inform you of the very odd circumstances attending Hirsch's renewed expulsion from Paris.

I hope that there has been an improvement in Schollymeyer's condition. Kindest regards to him and Pumps to whom in addition Johnny asks to be specially recommended.

Have you read Allman's—or whatever he's called—inaugural speech?⁵⁰⁸ It's something I would have been capable of myself, although NO MAN OF SCIENCE.

Adio, OLD BOY.

Your
Moor

Wright, the head of the Massachusetts LABOR STATISTICS BUREAU, has sent me the complete set of REPORTS FROM 1874 to 1879 (so doesn't know about Harney's earlier consignments), together with the compendium of the Massachusetts Census, and has, at the same time, written to say THAT 'HE SHALL BE PLEASED, IN FUTURE, TO SEND YOU OUR PUBLICATIONS AS SOON AS ISSUED'.

Such '*politesses*' come to us only from Russia and the UNITED STATES.

Dana, my old patron, CALLED LAST FRIDAY^b AT Maitland Park, Tussy SENT ME HIS CARD.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

^a See this volume, p. 374. - ^b 22 August

263

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE⁵⁰⁰Eastbourne,⁴⁹⁶ 26 August 1879

Dear Moor,

Have at last got your letter^a and, with it, your exact address which I needed if I was to send you all the rubbish *ad vocem*^b party organ.⁴⁹⁰ Since, for Hirsch's sake, I couldn't put off replying to Höchberg, I wrote him the enclosed note,^c which is unlikely to gratify him.

As you will see from Bebel's letter it contains exactly the same arguments as Liebknecht used in his last letter.⁵⁰¹ From this it may be deduced that Liebknecht *has not shown him my last letter*.⁵⁰⁹ although *expressly instructed* by me to do so. I now intend, as soon as you have sent the stuff back to London, 1. to *instruct* Bebel to make sure that letter is shown to him, so that he may see that all this palaver has already been answered, 2. to set out side by side for his benefit all the contradictions contained in the various letters written to C. Hirsch, so that he may see what a beastly mess they've gone and made of things again with their free and easy ways. If this is put to him properly, Bebel is, I think, just the man to take advantage of it. I shall, of course, first submit the letter to you for approval, likewise to Hirsch, *cujus res agitur*.^d

We were all very glad to hear that Jenny is doing well. I altogether agree that, if at all possible, she should go on feeding the child herself,⁴⁹⁹ give up the School¹⁷⁷ and thus at last rid herself of the BOTHER with NURSES and SERVANTS, the root of that trouble being after all her constant and enforced absence from home. As for you and your wife, you must stay at the seaside for just as long as you possibly can. You both have a lot of leeway to make up and ought not to come back until your head and her digestive organs have again condescended to function pretty well normally. It's not as though there's any hurry now and, besides, the weather is gradually becoming, if not brilliant and settled, at any rate more changeable in a nicer way than of late. It seems much the same where you are as it is here. Jollymeier would be ALL RIGHT if he could have a week of constant sunshine.

I hope, when I again see Tussy, to find her in an improved state

^a See previous letter. - ^b re - ^c See next letter. - ^d who is the interested person

of health as a result of sea bathing. If you'd only written and told us, she could have come over here on Saturday^a and gone on bathing until the day after tomorrow! In the event, it wasn't till Sunday morning that I learned from the Lafargues that you were in Ramsgate and not where she was at all.

By the way, my three weeks at the seaside have nothing like satisfied me, I'm chewing over all manner of plans for the time when Jollymeier, whom London will probably suit better than the sea, is once again fit to travel. Do you think it would be a good idea if, in about 14 to 18 days' time and WEATHER PERMITTING, we three were to shake off the Eternal-Feminine^b for once and go and play at being BACHELORS somewhere or other for a week or two?

Warmest regards from all of us to all of you.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

264

ENGELS TO KARL HÖCHBERG

IN SCHEVENINGEN⁵¹⁰

Eastbourne, 26 August 1879

Dear Mr Höchberg,

As I do not know how long you will be staying in Scheveningen, I hasten to advise you in reply that you have been misled in regard to the information allegedly given us by C. Hirsch. He did not assure us that the new newspaper^c was to be 'your private property', or that it was to 'adopt a moderate attitude'.⁵¹¹ Our view of the affair is based, not upon Hirsch's assurances, but upon our

^a 23 August - ^b From the final couplet of Goethe's *Faust*: 'The Eternal-Feminine entices us on'. - ^c *Der Sozialdemokrat*

appraisal of all the relevant correspondence conducted between Leipzig and Zurich on the one hand and C. Hirsch on the other. I must refrain from going into the whole comedy of errors these letters represent, and in which nobody has been more blameless than Hirsch. In my view his conduct in the whole affair has been perfectly rational, frank and honourable. Hence I must wholeheartedly approve of his decision to refuse the editorship on the terms mooted which have not yet even been settled between the interested parties in Leipzig and Zurich, and at this juncture my only concern is to deflect from him a reproach he does not deserve.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels

Back in London as from day after tomorrow.⁴⁹⁶

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

265

MARX TO ENGELS

IN EASTBOURNE⁴⁹⁶

Ramsgate, 27 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Our letters keep crossing. No doubt you will have had mine (posted last Monday^a); yours—of 25 August^b—together with enclosures safely received.

I am only writing a line or two, as my wife is having to go somewhere near the post office, so you will get this acknowledgment of your letter before you leave.

I enclose for the *amusement* of yourself, Jollymeyer and Pumps, a letter from Tussy to my wife. PLEASE RETURN IT AT ONCE AFTER PERUSAL.

^a See this volume, pp. 376-77. - ^b *Ibid.*, pp. 374-76.

Jennychen is doing well⁴⁹⁹; is not allowed to leave her room until next Monday and will then have to spend *at least another week* with us,⁵⁰⁰ as Longuet is going back to London earlier.

The weather has been deteriorating from day to day, but it's always tolerable for an hour or two and the SEA BREEZE is beneficial, showers notwithstanding. It is Liebknecht himself who deserves the 'jackass' label he is seeking, with his habitual loutish courtesies, to pin on Hirsch—something he always does when 'caught' *in flagrante*.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
Moor

Kovalevsky's address: 42 Gower Street.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

266

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 28 August 1879

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed letter from Master Most, forwarded by Tussy,⁵¹² has just arrived. You must let me know by return what sort of answer you consider suitable. What Most wants is obviously something which he for his part might 'misuse'; on the other hand what Mr Lübeck does is inspired by Mr Bernstein.^a

A beautiful morning today; whether the weather will hold for the rest of the day is another matter.

Salut.

Your
Moor

^a See this volume, p. 411.

PLEASE RETURN THE MOST LETTER.

Yesterday evening, after the rain had stopped, we took Johnny^a down to the beach. *Some people said: 'That little boy looks like a prince.' Johnny turned fiercely round and retorted: 'I look like a little Jollymeyer!'

From a letter received from the house Lafargue I see that the other Meyer^b—not the Jollymeyer—had another scene at Lafargues. Poor fellow!*

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

267

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 3 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Engels,

Meyer (R.) wrote^c and announced his intention of visiting me, while at the same time saying, on the other hand, that I was to let him know, i.e. telegraph him, 'DO NOT COME', should I be otherwise engaged. FIRSTLY, therefore, I telegraphed him in the 'negative', secondly, however, proceeded to write him a letter¹² *to this effect, that in consequence of Mrs Marx's bad health my whole time is taken up 'presently'*. I am telling you this in order that you may know how things stand, should he raise the matter with you. In fact my wife is IMPROVING only very slowly and hence BY NO MEANS ANXIOUS to SEE MEYER HERE.

Jennychen had her first outing today, a fifteen minute walk⁴⁹⁹;
SHE PROGRESSES FAVOURABLY.

Your
Moor

How is Jolly getting on?

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a Jean Longuet - ^b Rudolph Meyer - ^c on 29 August 1879

268

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 8 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

I am sorry to hear that you are still in the clutches of misfortune and it's not within my power to extricate you from them altogether. In the meantime I have been able to place two pounds at your disposal, and have also received a third from a friend,^a who is both a chemist and a communist of the first water; I have just taken out a money order for you in respect of these three pounds, *vulgo* 75 fr. 60, and hope it will be paid you without delay. It goes without saying, of course, that you need feel absolutely no embarrassment where I am concerned; anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure, and it's disgraceful we shouldn't have reached the stage of ensuring our veterans a carefree existence.

The *Freiheit* is unlikely to survive until the new year, unless it derives a new importance from the stupidities of its opponents. It is intended to set up an official party organ in Zurich⁴⁹⁰ and to entrust its management—under the ultimate control of the Leipzigers—to Germans in Zurich of whom it cannot be said that they inspire me with confidence. At any rate, in the *Jahrbuch* for social science edited by Höchberg, one of their number, there are some rather extraordinary things: the party was wrong in making itself out to be a *workers'* party, brought the Anti-Socialist Law⁴⁶² upon itself by *otiose attacks* on the *bourgeoisie*, what was wanted wasn't revolution, but *slow, peaceful development*, etc.⁵¹³ This cowardly twaddle, needless to say, is all of it grist to Most's mill, and he is all agog to exploit it, as you will see from recent numbers of the *Freiheit*.⁵¹⁴ We had been invited by Leipzig to contribute to the new organ^b and had, indeed, consented; but since learning who is to be immediately responsible,^c we have again cried off, nor, after this *Jahrbuch*, can there be any intercourse whatever with men who are trying surreptitiously to introduce such twaddle and such toadyism into the party—with Höchberg and Co. The Leipzigers will discover soon enough what

^a Carl Schorlemmer - ^b *Der Sozialdemokrat* - ^c See this volume, pp. 367-68.

kind of allies they have landed themselves with. All in all, it's just about time we took a stand against the philanthropic big and petty bourgeois, the students and professors who are forcing their way into the German party and seeking to water down the proletariat's class struggle against its oppressors till it becomes an institution for universal fraternisation, and this at a moment when the bourgeois, with whom we are supposed to fraternise, have outlawed us, destroyed our presses, disrupted our meetings and delivered us up *sans phrase*^a to the caprices of the police. The German workers are hardly likely to join in such a campaign.

Our people in Russia have scored a signal victory—they have disrupted the Russo-Prussian alliance.^b If they hadn't, by their ruthless action, put the fear of God into the Russian government, it would probably have succeeded in overcoming the internal discontent felt by the aristocracy and middle classes over the English ban on the entry of troops into the open city of Constantinople⁵¹⁵ and the ensuing diplomatic defeat in Berlin.⁴³⁰ But as it was, blame for those defeats had to be shifted onto another country, onto Prussia. Though uncle and nephew may have temporarily patched things up at Alexandrovo,⁵¹⁶ the breach is now beyond repair. And, unless there's a catastrophe in Russia very soon, there will be war between Russia and Prussia, a war predicted by the General Council as the inevitable consequence of the French war while this last was still in progress, and which was avoided only with the utmost difficulty in 1873.⁵¹⁷

Well, keep your pecker up, and drop us a line again soon—a proper letter, since in a mere postcard you can't really get things off your chest.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a without more ado - ^b See also this volume, p. 387.

269

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 9 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear FRED,

Various INCIDENTS have meant that money is visibly running out, whereas I wish to spend another week here,⁵⁰⁰ despite the weather which, since Sunday evening, has been very uncertain.

You will hear more about our sojourn here, which has done me, in particular, a great deal of good, from the Lafargues.

Enclosed a letter from Sorge. Since I haven't got Becker's address with me, and you are corresponding with him anyhow, PLEASE write and tell him to send me the form for the *power of attorney*.^a

How are things with Jollymeyer?

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4,
Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

270

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE⁵⁰⁰

London, 9 September 1879

Dear Moor,

Herewith something from Liebknecht, together with enclosures, in which there would appear to be little that is new, which is why I have been in no hurry to send them. For obvious reasons I have

^a See this volume, pp. 392-93.

told Hirsch nothing about all this stuff, it being better to avoid unnecessary rows.

Höchberg has written to Hirsch from Scheveningen, virtually asking him to invite him over here and assure him of a good reception, to which Hirsch hasn't deigned to reply. On receiving a further postcard from Höchberg, Hirsch sent him a ditto, saying you weren't back yet and he himself, Hirsch, was likewise about to leave for the coast. So we probably shan't be bothered by the man.

Meanwhile it might be a good thing if you were to return the documents to me. I really ought to reply to Bebel at long last⁵⁰⁶ 1. on account of Hirsch, who would like to see his personal business clarified vis-à-vis Bebel and is getting a bit impatient and 2. because by good fortune the *Jahrbuch* Kovalevsky brought you will enable us quite simply to give the chaps definite reasons why it's absolutely impossible for us to contribute to an organ in which Höchberg has any say at all. The articles concerned are:

1. 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' by * * * (Höchberg and, probably, Bernstein and Lübeck),⁵¹³
2. Critiques by C. L. (Lübeck), notably of Cohn's '*Was ist Sozialismus*,'^a concluding part,
3. Report from Germany No. 1 by M. Sch. (Max Schlesinger in Breslau).^b

Höchberg declares outright that the Germans made a mistake when they turned the socialist movement into a mere *workers'* movement and, by *unnecessarily provoking* the bourgeois, drew down upon themselves the Anti-Socialist Law⁴⁶²! The movement ought, he says, to be placed under the direction of bourgeois and educated elements, its character to be wholly that of peaceable reform, etc. You can imagine with what *gusto* Most embraces these lamentable propositions, and once again makes himself out to be the genuine representative of the German movement.⁵¹⁴

Enfin,^c I believe—and no doubt you will share my opinion—that, after this business, we would be well-advised to establish our standpoint—vis-à-vis the Leipzigers, at least. If the new party

^a See Lübeck's reviews of the following books: C. F. W. Walther, *Kommunismus und Sozialismus*, St. Louis, 1878; G. Cohn, *Was ist Sozialismus?*, Berlin, 1878; J. B. Meyer, *Fichte, Lassalle und der Sozialismus*, Berlin, 1878; C. Frantz, *Der Föderalismus als leitendes Prinzip für die soziale, staatliche und internationale Organisation*, Mainz, 1879. In: *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - ^b M. Sch[lesinger], 'Bericht über den Fortgang der sozialistischen Bewegung: Deutsches Reich, I'. In: *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - ^c In short

organ plays the same tune as Höchberg, we might be compelled to do so publicly as well.^a

If you will let me have the things (I've still got one copy of the *Jahrbuch* here), I will draft a letter to Bebel and send it to you; needless to say, there's no need for you to interrupt your holiday on account of this trifle. But something has got to be done soon, otherwise Hirsch will again start writing private letters to all and sundry, thus lending the affair much too exclusively a personal character.

Ever since Russian diplomacy has had to allow events inside Russia dictate its goals, everything's been going wrong for it. At the very time when nihilists and pan-Slavs are so thoroughly demolishing its German alliance^b that any apparent patching-up can at most be short-lived, at this same time, its agents in Afghanistan are driving England—in the event of war with Germany—into the arms of Bismarck. Bismarck, I am sure, is doing everything he can to bring about war with Russia. In concert with Austria and England, he could risk it all right: England would ensure Denmark's neutrality, probably Italy's and maybe even that of France. But it would be better if things were to come rapidly to a head in Russia, and the prospect of war be eliminated by an internal upheaval. The position is beginning to favour Bismarck too much. A simultaneous war against Russia and France would become a struggle for national survival and the resulting outburst of chauvinism would put paid to our movement for years to come. And on top of that, the odds would be greatly in Bismarck's favour the moment England acceded: a long, hard fight, but at 3:2 the eventual outcome would be much as in the Seven Years' War.⁵¹⁸

Sam Moore writes to say that the sale of the *ESTATE* has so far been going very well, most of it having been sold for 39-40 times the amount of the gross rent; nothing remains unsold but the moors and woods which they assess at £11,600, including stocks of timber, and think they can hang on to until business improves in Sheffield, when they might succeed in getting a better price.

What has become of the Lafargues? Since Pumps went to see them a week ago on Friday^c we've neither heard nor seen anything of Paul.

Jollymeier is still tinkering away at his rheumatism which refuses to budge. Gumpert advised him to go to Buxton and yesterday he said that, unless it gets better soon, he would go there at the end

^a See this volume, pp. 394-408. - ^b *Ibid.*, p. 384. - ^c 5 September

of the week. He, Pumps and I send you all our cordial regards and trust that life at the seaside is doing you good. What are your plans about coming back⁵⁰⁰? Put it off as long as you possibly can; what with the changeable weather, I know what will happen once you're back here—nowt as anyone could wish for.^a

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

271

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 10 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Yesterday I got a note from Kovalevsky saying he had had a letter from Russia which necessitated his immediate return to the land of his birth. He didn't send me the *Jahrbuch*.^b

Laura spent a week with us, and Paul a few days every now and again; the day before yesterday he returned with her to London. Laura, by the by, had let Pumptia know she was leaving.

My wife is still making very slow progress; I have got much better.⁵⁰⁰ The air down here suits me extraordinarily well. Besides, I was kept in *mouvement perpétuel*^c by Laura.

Herewith the letters received from you today. (The others will go off at the same time, but under separate cover.) Liebknecht has no discernment. The letters prove what they are intended to refute, namely our original view that the business was bungled in Leipzig, whereas the men in Zurich proceeded in accordance with the terms prescribed for them.⁴⁹⁰ Incidentally, their HORROR at the attack made by the otherwise so innocuous *Laterne* on that scoundrel Kayser⁵¹⁹ shows more clearly than anything else what is the calibre of these chaps. Schramm, though a sound man in other

^a Engels used a dialectal expression here: *es is nix zu wolle*. - ^b See this volume, p. 386. - ^c perpetual motion

respects, has always been a philistine. The Leipzigers for their part are already so 'parliamentarily minded' that they regard criticism of one member of their Reichstag coterie as a *crime de lèse majesté*.

I altogether agree with your view that no further time should be lost in stating our views, *forcibly* and *ruthlessly*, as to the *Jahrbuch* bunkum,⁵¹³ i.e. *pro nunc*^a 'presenting' it to the Leipzigers in black and white. Should they proceed to go ahead with their 'party organ' in this way, we shall have to disavow them *publicly*. In such matters, the line has to be drawn somewhere.

I haven't replied to Most,^b nor shall I do so; as soon as I'm in London I shall write, inviting him to turn up in person. You ought to be present at the meeting.

The most typical thing about Bismarck is the way in which he came to be at odds with Russia. He wanted Gorchakov removed and Shuvalov put in his place. Since this miscarried, the obvious conclusion was—*voilà l'ennemi!*^c And you may be pretty sure that Bucher did not fail to exacerbate his master's irritation. *On retourne toujours à son premier amour.*^d From the point of view of our movement and of Europe generally, nothing could be more injurious than the implementation of Bismarck's plan. So long as old William^e is alive, this won't be so easy; it might always happen that Bismarck himself falls victim to the reaction he sparked off with the Anti-Socialist Law.⁴⁶² *En attendant,*^f the black cloud⁵²⁰ in the east is already doing him a service; once again he is the 'man they need' and the liberals now feel it to be their 'patriotic' duty to kiss his arse. Not only will the iron military budget be renewed at the next sitting of the Reichstag; it might be 'perpetuated', as William originally wished. The secret of Russian diplomacy's success ABROAD WAS THE DEATHLY SILENCE OF RUSSIA AT HOME, the spell being broken by the movement in that country. Its final victory was the Treaty of Paris of 1856.⁵²¹ Since then, nothing but blunders.

I HOPE POOR SCHOLLYMEYER'S HEALTH WILL IMPROVE. MY BEST WISHES FOR HIM.

Your
Moor

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a for the time being - ^b See this volume, p. 381. - ^c That's the enemy! - ^d One always returns to one's first love (somewhat paraphrased words of a romance from Isouard's opera—libretto by Ch. G. Étienne—*Joconde*, Act III, Scene 1). - ^e William I - ^f Meanwhile

272

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE⁵⁰⁰

London, 11 September 1879

Dear Moor,

Letters received.^a Yesterday Hirsch called at my house where he also encountered the Lafargues and Henry Juta; he is going to bring me the stuff I had returned to him earlier on, and then I shall set to work forthwith.^b

Laura and Paul, i.e. notably the latter, said they would be coming again next Sunday evening.^c Much though we appreciate this, it is a matter that calls for careful consideration on account of Tussy. Since our return, she has been dining with us on Sundays and I shall, needless to say, invite her for next Sunday as well. As Paul had said the Longuets would be returning this week, I had thought of going to see Jenny tomorrow or the day after and asking her to help me out of this quandary by taking over Tussy for the *evening*. But on leaving, Laura said that Jenny wouldn't be back till *Saturday*, and so I have no other recourse than to contrive things in this way. If it's feasible, let me know at once; if not, some other way out must be found. The Lafargues never arrive *before 7 o'clock*.

Kindest regards. For three days now Jollymeier has been much better—Buxton probably not necessary.^d

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4,
Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a See this volume, p. 388. - ^b *Ibid.*, p. 389. - ^c 14 September - ^d See this volume, pp. 387-88.

273

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 11 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Letter and enclosure^a received with many thanks.

The Longuet family will be 'making' for London, as Lessner puts it, on Saturday (next).^b So far all has gone well with Jennychen, although she still has a bit of asthma, but she proposes—obstinately, *à la Lupus*^c—to combine feeding her child^d with teaching.¹⁷⁷

Yesterday, to my intense surprise, *Meyer*^e suddenly materialised in front of me on the SANDS. To my relief, he immediately explained that he had taken lodgings for the day in *Margate* whither he would be returning in a few hours' time, and that all he wanted was to inquire about 'madame's'^f health, etc. I did the honours of the place for a while and then handed him over to Longuet so that he might speed him on his way. He—Meyer—is going to Edinburgh for the TRADES UNION CONGRESS.⁵²² I'm glad this 'crisis' was so short-lived. The good fellow's tendency towards Ramsgate has been IRREPRESSIBLE. He told Longuet, by the by, that his liver had got much worse so that he could no longer 'take' the accustomed amount of 'spirits' without their going to his head. An attempt, no doubt, to gloss over his recent ACCIDENTS at Maitland Park, etc.

The weather here is partly good and partly bad, the latter having a tendency to predominate.

Your
Moor

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4,
Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a Marx is referring to a cheque (see next letter). - ^b 13 September - ^c Like Wilhelm Wolff - ^d Edgar Longuet - ^e Rudolph Meyer - ^f Jenny Marx

274

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 14 September 1879⁵²³

Dear FRED,

Tell Tussy that she is invited to 2 o'clock dinner *at Jenny's* on Sunday and to a display of Edgar 'Marcel' Longuet who was today registered a British citizen at Ramsgate.

For Jennychen and suite leave for London tomorrow; ditto Helene^a to give her SUPPORT.

CHEQUE encashable Monday.

I have discovered another letter from Hirsch to myself which belongs in the dossier^b of the case; I enclose it.

Salut.

Your
Moor

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4,
Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

275

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 15 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

I trust you got my last letter^c and the money order for 75 frs by post.

Sorge writes saying that he has written to you, too, about the necessity of renewing the power of attorney in respect of Lingenau's will, since Geib's death might otherwise put the lawyers

^a Helene Demuth - ^b Marx is referring to the correspondence over the publication of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*. - ^c See this volume, pp. 383-84.

of the contending party into the position of being able to declare the old power of attorney invalid and thus bring about new delays.⁵⁴⁸

Marx, who is still at the seaside⁵⁰⁰ and has apparently made a wonderful recovery, has just written telling me to ask you to send him the form for the power of attorney^a so that he can attend to the same. Would you therefore be so good as to do this as soon as possible. If it involves you in any expense, write and tell me at once what it amounts to and I will send you the money. The sooner this is done the better. The power of attorney should, of course, be exactly the same as before, only omitting Geib's name, or else mentioning him as deceased.

The business of the German party organ in Zurich⁴⁹⁰ is becoming more and more of a lark. The Zurich editorial committee which, under the general management of the Leipzigers, is to supervise and censor the paper, consists of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein. But now, in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, published in Zurich by Höchberg, Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein have printed an article 'Rückblick auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'⁵¹³ in which all three are revealed to be common or garden bourgeois and pacific philanthropists; they accuse the party of having been too exclusively a 'workers' party', and of having provoked the hatred of the bourgeoisie, and claim that leadership of the movement should be entrusted to 'educated' bourgeois of their own stamp. That's really going a bit too far.

Luckily Höchberg dropped in on me unexpectedly the day before yesterday, whereupon I gave him a piece of my mind. The unfortunate lad—not a bad chap, *au fond*,^b but alarmingly naive—came down to earth with a bang when I pointed out to him that we couldn't think of lowering the proletarian flag which we had held aloft for nigh on 40 years, still less join in the general petty-bourgeois fraternisation fantasies against which we had been fighting, again for nigh on 40 years. In short, now he at last knows where he stands with us and also why, whatever the Leipzigers may say or do, we can't march shoulder to shoulder with people of his ilk.

We shall likewise supply Bebel with a quite categorical statement as to our standpoint vis-à-vis these allies of the German party,^c and then wait and see what they will do. If the party organ adopts the standpoint of the said bourgeois article, we shall publicly declare

^a Ibid., p. 385. - ^b at bottom - ^c See next letter.

our opposition to it. However, they're unlikely to let things go so far.

Write soon, then.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,

F. Engels

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

276

MARX and ENGELS
TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT,
WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS⁵²⁴

(CIRCULAR LETTER)⁵²⁵

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 17-18 September 1879]

Dear Bebel,

The delay in replying to your letter of 20^a August has been due, on the one hand, to Marx's prolonged absence⁵⁰⁰ and, on the other, to a number of incidents: first, the arrival of the 'Richter' *Jahrbuch*,⁵¹³ secondly that of Höchberg himself.^b

I can only conclude that Liebknecht did not show you the last letter I wrote him, although I specifically instructed him to do so. Otherwise you would certainly not have adduced the same reasons as had been put forward by Liebknecht, and to which I had already *replied* in the aforesaid letter.⁵⁰⁹

Let us now run through the individual points with which we are concerned here.

I. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARL HIRSCH

Liebknecht asked Hirsch whether he would undertake to edit the party organ that was about to be founded in Zurich. Hirsch sought information as to the financing of the paper: what funds

^a The original erroneously has: '29'. - ^b See this volume, p. 393.

were available and who was providing them? Firstly, so as to know whether the paper might not peter out within a few months. Secondly, to ascertain who held the purse-strings, thus having the final say as to the paper's stance. Liebknecht's reply, telling Hirsch that 'everything is in order; you will be getting further information from Zurich' (Liebknecht to Hirsch, 28 July), didn't arrive.⁵²⁶ But what did reach Hirsch from Zurich was a letter from Bernstein (24 July) in which Bernstein informed him that 'We are being entrusted with the production and *supervision* (of the paper)'. A discussion had taken place 'between Viereck, Singer and *ourselves*' during which it was suggested

'that your position might be rendered somewhat difficult by the differences of opinion which you, as a *Laterne* man, have had with individual comrades, though I myself do not consider this objection carries much weight'.

Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch answered by return on 26 July, enquiring about the paper's material circumstances. Which comrades had undertaken to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long?—The question of the editor's salary didn't enter into this at all; Hirsch merely wanted to know whether 'means have been secured to ensure the paper's continued existence for at least a year'.

On 31 July, Bernstein replied, saying that any deficit there might be would be covered by voluntary contributions of which *some* (!) had already been subscribed. Hirsch's remarks about the stance he thought the paper should adopt, of which more below, elicited deprecating remarks and *injunctives*:

'It is all the more necessary for the *supervisory committee* to insist on it in that it, in turn, is subject to control, i.e. is responsible. On these points, therefore, you must come to an understanding with the supervisory committee.'

They asked him to reply by return preferably by telegraph.

Hence, instead of getting a reply to his justified questions, Hirsch was informed that he was to be editor under a *supervisory* committee based in Zurich, with views differing very materially from his own and members of whose names he wasn't even informed!

Hirsch, quite justifiably outraged by this treatment, chose rather to come to an understanding with the Leipzigers. His letter of 2 August to Liebknecht must be known to you, since Hirsch *expressly demanded* that it be shown to you and Viereck. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zurich, inasmuch as the latter is to put its comments to the editor in writing and these may be referred for decision to the controlling committee in Leipzig.⁵²⁷

In the meantime Liebknecht had written to Hirsch on 28 July:

'Of course finance is available for the undertaking, seeing that it is backed by the entire party+(INCLUSIVE) Höchberg. But I'm not concerned with the details.'

Nor does Liebknecht's next letter contain anything about the financing—only an assurance that the Zurich committee is not an editorial committee, but is only to be entrusted with *administration* and the financial side. As late as 14 August, Liebknecht wrote to me along the same lines, and asked that we persuade Hirsch to accept. You yourself, as late as 20 August were still so little acquainted with the actual circumstances that you wrote to me saying:

'He' (Höchberg) 'has no more say in the editing of the paper than *any other well-known member of the party*.'

Finally, Hirsch received a letter from Viereck, dated 11 August, containing the admission that

'the 3 men domiciled in Zurich are to, *qua editorial committee*, apply themselves to founding the paper and, subject to the agreement of the three Leipzigers, select an editor ... *so far as I recall*, the resolutions that were sent them also asserted that the (Zurich) founding committee mentioned under 2., was to assume *both political* and financial responsibility towards the party.... From this state of affairs it follows, or so it seems to me, that ... there can be no question of anyone assuming the editorship without the concurrence of the 3 men domiciled in Zurich and entrusted with the founding by the party'.

Here as last was *something* definite, at least, for Hirsch to go on, if only in regard to the position of the editor vis-à-vis the Zurichers. They were an *editorial* committee; they were also *politically* responsible; without their concurrence no one could assume the editorship. In short, Hirsch was simply instructed to come to an understanding with 3 men in Zurich whose names had still not been disclosed to him.

But to make the confusion worse, Liebknecht added a postscript to Viereck's letter:

'Singer from Berlin was here just now and *informed* us that the supervisory committee in Zurich is *not*, as Viereck imagines, an *editorial* committee, but essentially an administrative committee which is financially responsible to the party, i.e. to ourselves, for the paper; of course, its members also have the right and the duty to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty of which, by the way, *every* member is possessed); they are *not* empowered to place you under their *guardianship*.'

The Zurich trio and one member of the Leipzig committee—the *only one*^a present at the discussions—insist that Hirsch is to be

^a Louis Viereck

subject to official direction by Zurich, while another Leipzig member^a contests this outright. And yet Hirsch is to make up his mind before these gentlemen are agreed amongst themselves! The fact that Hirsch was entitled to acquaint himself with the resolutions they had adopted and which embodied the conditions with which he was expected to comply, was entirely overlooked, the more so since it never seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers that they *themselves* should become properly acquainted with those resolutions. How, otherwise, can the above-mentioned inconsistency be accounted for?

If the Leipzigers were unable to agree upon the powers vested in the Zurich people, the latter harboured no doubts on this score.

Schramm to Hirsch, 14 August:

'Had you not written at one time that in a similar case' (as that of Kayser),^b 'you would do just as you had done before, thus holding out the prospect of a similar *modus operandi*.⁵¹⁹ we would not be wasting words on the subject. As it is, however, and in view of that statement of yours, we must reserve the right to have the casting vote as to what articles the new paper should take.'

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch was alleged to have said this was dated 26 July, *long* after the conference in Zurich at which the Zurich trio's powers were laid down. But so much were those in Zurich already revelling in the sense of their own bureaucratic authority that, in reply to this subsequent letter of Hirsch's, they were already laying claim to new powers, namely the *decision* as to what articles should be included. The editorial committee was already a *censorship* committee.

Not until Höchberg arrived in Paris did Hirsch learn from him the *names* of the members of the two committees.⁵²⁸

If, then, discussions with Hirsch broke down, what was the cause?

1. The obstinate refusal, on the part of both Leipzig and Zurich, to give him any hard and fast information about the paper's financial basis and hence the likelihood of keeping it afloat, if only for a year. Not until he was over here did he learn from me (following your communication to me⁵⁰⁶) how much had been subscribed. Hence, the only conclusion it was really possible to draw from previous communications (the party+Höchberg) was either that the paper was already being largely financed by Höchberg or that it would soon be entirely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter eventuality is still far from being excluded. The sum of—if I read it right—800 marks is *precisely*

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b See this volume, pp. 398-400.

the same (40 pounds sterling) as had to be contributed by the local association, *Freiheit*,⁵²⁹ during the *first half year*.

2. Liebknecht's repeated assurances, which have since proved totally erroneous, that Zurich was to have no official control whatever over the editorship, and the resulting comedy of errors;

3. The certainty finally established that not only were the Zurich people to control the editing, they were actually to censor it, and that the only role that would redound upon him, Hirsch, would be that of the man of straw.

His refusal at that juncture is something we cannot but approve. The Leipzig committee, or so we hear from Höchberg,⁵³⁰ has received reinforcements in the shape of two more who do not live in the place^a and hence that committee can intervene quickly only if the three Leipzigers are agreed. As a result, the real centre of gravity has altogether shifted to Zurich, and Hirsch or, for that matter, any true revolutionary and proletarian-minded editor, would not have been able to work with the people there for any length of time. More about this later.

II. THE PROPOSED STANCE OF THE PAPER

As early as 24 July Bernstein had informed Hirsch that the differences he, as a *Laterne* man, had had with individual comrades would render his position more difficult.

Hirsch replied^b that in his view the paper's stance would in general have to be the same as that of the *Laterne*, i.e. such as to avoid prosecution in Switzerland and not cause undue alarm in Germany. He inquired who those comrades might be and continued:

'I know of only one and can promise you that in a similar case of *undisciplined conduct* I should deal with him in exactly the same way.'

Whereupon Bernstein, conscious of his newly acquired dignity as official censor, replied:

'Now as regards the paper's stance, it is the view of the supervisory committee that the *Laterne* should not serve as a model; in our view the paper should be less taken up with political radicalism, but rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle. Instances such as the attack upon Kayser, which was frowned on by all comrades without exception' (!), 'must under all circumstances be avoided.'^c

And so on and so forth. Liebknecht called the attack on Kayser 'a bloomer', and so dangerous did it seem to Schramm that he immediately imposed censorship on Hirsch.^d

^a Ignaz Auer and Karl Grillenberger - ^b On 26 July 1879. - ^c Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of 31 July 1879. - ^d See this volume, p. 397.

Hirsch again wrote to Höchberg, saying that a case such as that of Kayser

'could not occur should an official party organ exist, whose lucid expositions and friendly hints *could* not be so presumptuously brushed aside by a deputy'.

Viereck also wrote, saying that what was required of the new paper was that it adopt a

'dispassionate attitude and, in so far as possible, bury the hatchet'; it ought not to be an 'enlarged version of the *Latene*' and 'the most Bernstein can be reproached with is that he holds views that are too moderate, if reproach it be at a time when we cannot, after all, crowd on sail'.

Well, now, what is this Kayser case, this unpardonable crime Hirsch is supposed to have committed? In the Reichstag, Kayser spoke in favour of and voted for protective tariffs, the only one of the Social-Democratic deputies to do so. Hirsch accused him of having infringed party discipline, in that Kayser

1. voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded by the party programme^a;

2. voted Bismarck funds, thus infringing the first and fundamental rule of our party tactics: not a farthing for this government.

Hirsch is undeniably right on both counts. And, after Kayser had spurned, on the one hand, the party programme to which the deputies, by their resolution in congress, had in effect been solemnly pledged and, on the other hand, the most imperative and all-important rule of party tactics, after he had voted Bismarck funds, *out of gratitude for the Anti-Socialist Law*,⁴⁶² Hirsch was again perfectly justified in our opinion in handling him as roughly as he did.

We have never understood how it was that this attack upon Kayser could have aroused such a furore in Germany. I am now told by Höchberg that it was the 'faction' which gave Kayser *permission* to act as he did, and Kayser is held to be covered by that permission.

If such is the case, then it is really too bad. In the first place, Hirsch could have known no more than the rest of the world about this secret resolution.^b Then, again, the discredit incurred by

^a See 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, 28 May 1875. - ^b Deleted in the manuscript: 'Even admitting that two or three other Social-Democratic deputies (for it is unlikely that any more were there) had allowed themselves to be misled into permitting Kayser to recite his inanities in front of all and sundry, and vote Bismarck funds, it was their duty publicly to assume responsibility for this and then wait and see what Hirsch would say.'

the party, for which previously Kayser alone could have been blamed, is all the greater for this affair, as is Hirsch's merit in having brought to light in public and for all the world to see Kayser's preposterous phraseology and his even more preposterous vote, thus saving the honour of the party. Or has German Social-Democracy indeed been infected with the parliamentary disease, believing that, with the popular vote, the Holy Ghost is poured upon those elected, that meetings of the faction are transformed into infallible councils and factional resolutions into sacrosanct dogma?

Admittedly, a bloomer has been made—not by Hirsch, however, but by the deputies who gave Kayser the protection of their resolution. And if those upon whom, above all others, it is incumbent to see that party discipline is maintained, themselves so glaringly infringe that party discipline by a resolution of this kind, then so much the worse. But it is even worse still if they have the audacity to believe that it was not Kayser, by his speech and vote, or the other deputies by their resolution, who infringed party discipline, but Hirsch, inasmuch as he attacked Kayser despite that resolution about which, moreover, he knew nothing.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the policy the party had adopted towards the question of protective tariffs was as muddled and vacillating as it has always been in regard to virtually all economic questions—e.g. imperial railways⁵⁸¹—when they have become a practical issue. The reason for this is that the party organs, notably the *Vorwärts*, rather than subject such questions to a thorough discussion, have preferred to apply themselves to the construction of the future social order. When, *subsequent* to the Anti-Socialist Law, the question of protective tariffs suddenly became a live issue, views on the subject diverged, assuming a wide variety of nuances, and there was absolutely no one to hand possessing the qualification that would have enabled him to form a lucid and accurate opinion, namely a knowledge of conditions in German industry and the latter's position in the world market. Again, as was bound to happen, protectionist tendencies cropped up here and there amongst the electorate; tendencies which, it was felt, ought also to be taken into consideration. The only possible way out of the confusion would have been to take a purely political view of the question (as was done in the *Laterne*), but this was not pursued with any determination. Thus it was inevitable that in this debate, the party acted for the first time in a hesitant, uncertain and muddled way and ended up by thoroughly discrediting itself through the person of and in company with Kayser.

The attack on Kayser is now being used as a pretext to admonish Hirsch, in tones ranging through the whole gamut, to the effect that the new paper must on no account repeat the excesses of the *Laterne*, must be less taken up with political radicalism and rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle and dispassionate. And this from Viereck no less than from Bernstein who, precisely because he is too moderate, appears to the former to be the right man, seeing that just now we cannot, after all, crowd on sail.

But why go abroad at all, unless one intends to crowd on sail? Abroad, there's nothing to prevent this being done. In Switzerland there are no German press, combination and penal laws. Hence, not only can one say things there, which could not, even before the Anti-Socialist Law, be said at home because of the ordinary German laws, but one is actually *duty-bound* to do so. For here one is under the eyes, not of Germany alone, but of Europe and it is one's duty, insofar as the *Swiss* laws allow, openly to proclaim for Europe's benefit the methods and aims of the German party. Anyone in Switzerland seeking to abide by the *German* laws would only prove that he is deserving of those German laws and that he has, in effect, nothing to say save what he was allowed to say in Germany before the Exceptional Law. Nor should any account be taken of the possibility that the editors might be temporarily deprived of the chance to return to Germany. Anyone who is not prepared to run that risk is not fit to occupy so exposed and honourable a post.

More. If the German party was ostracised by the Exceptional Law, this was precisely *because* it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, it renders thanks to Bismarck by abandoning its role as the only serious opposition party, by behaving in a nice, docile manner and adopting a dispassionate stance when kicked, it only proves that it deserved to be kicked. Of all the German émigré papers that have appeared abroad since 1830, the *Laterne* is undoubtedly one of the most moderate. If, however, even the *Laterne* was too insolent—then the new organ could not but compromise the party in the eyes of sympathisers in non-German countries.

III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE ZURICH TRIO

In the meantime we have received Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, containing an article, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung

in Deutschland',^a which, as Höchberg himself informed me, was actually written by the three members of the Zurich committee.^b Here we have their authentic critique of the movement up till now, and hence their authentic programme for the new paper's stance insofar as this is dependent on them.

At the very start we read:

'The movement, regarded by Lassalle as an eminently political one, to which he sought to rally not only the workers but all honest democrats, and *in the van of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with a true love of mankind*, was trivialised under the chairmanship of J. B. von Schweitzer into a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests*.'^c

I shall not inquire whether and to what extent this is historically true. The specific charge against Schweitzer is that Schweitzer *trivialised* Lassalleanism, here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests—*trivialised* it by *emphasising* its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.^d He is further charged with having 'repudiated bourgeois democracy'.^e But has bourgeois democracy any business to be in the Social-Democratic Party at all? If it consists of 'honest men', it surely cannot wish to join, and if it

^a See this volume, p. 394. - ^b Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm - ^c *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, p. 84. - ^d These two sentences were substituted by the authors for the following passage deleted in the manuscript: 'Schweitzer was a great blackguard, but very talented intellectually. His particular merit consisted in his having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state aid... Whatever wrong he may have done out of corrupt motives and however much, too, he may have clung to the Lassallean panacea of state aid in order to preserve his domination, he nevertheless had the merit of having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism, of having broadened the party's economic horizons and thus paved the way for its subsequent merger with the German party as a whole. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, that pivot of all revolutionary socialism, had already been advocated by Lassalle. If Schweitzer stressed this point even more strongly it was, at any rate, a step forward so far as the cause was concerned, however much of a pretext he may thus have afforded dangerous individuals for calling his dictatorship in question. It may rightly be said that he turned Lassalleanism into a *one-sided* struggle of the *industrial* workers to promote their own interests. But one-sided only in the sense that, for reasons that were politically corrupt, he wished to have nothing to do with the farm workers' struggle to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the big landowners. It is not that with which he is reproached here; rather the 'trivialisation' consists in his emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.' - ^e *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, p. 84.

nevertheless wishes to join, this can only be for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

The Lassallean party 'chose to present itself in a *most one-sided* manner as a *workers' party*'.^a The gentlemen who wrote those words are themselves members of a party which presents itself in the most one-sided manner as a workers' party, and now hold office in the same. Here we have a complete incompatibility. If they think as they write, they ought to leave the party or at least resign from office. If they don't, it is tantamount to admitting that they intend to use their official position to combat the party's proletarian character. Hence the party is betraying itself if it allows them to remain in office.

Thus, in the view of these gentlemen the Social-Democratic Party ought *not* to be a one-sided workers' party but a many-sided party of 'all men imbued with a true love of mankind'. This it is to prove, above all, by divesting itself of crude proletarian passions and applying itself, under the direction of educated philanthropic bourgeois, 'to the formation of good taste' and 'the acquisition of good manners' (p. 85). After which the 'seedy appearance' of some of the leaders would give way to a respectable 'bourgeois appearance'.^b (As though the outwardly seedy appearance of those referred to here were not the least that could be held against them!) After which, too,

'there will be an *influx of supporters* from the ranks of the *educated and propertied* classes. *These*, however, must first be won over if the ... agitation engaged in is to have *perceptible results...*'. German socialism has laid 'too much stress on winning over the *masses*, thus omitting to prosecute vigorous' (!) 'propaganda amongst the so-called upper strata of society'. For 'the party still lacks men who are fit to represent it in the *Reichstag*'. It is, however, 'desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and the opportunity to become thoroughly conversant with the relevant material. Only rarely and in exceptional cases do ... the simple working man and small master craftsman have sufficient leisure for the purpose'.^c

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short, the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts. In order to do so it must place itself under the direction of 'educated and propertied' bourgeois who alone have 'the time and the opportunity' to become conversant with what is good for the workers. And, secondly, the bourgeois are not to be combatted—not on your life—but *won over* by vigorous propaganda.

If, however, you wish to win over the upper strata of society, or

^a Ibid., p. 85. - ^b Ibid., p. 86. - ^c Ibid., pp. 87-89.

at least their well-intentioned elements, you mustn't frighten them—not on your life. And here the Zurich trio believe they have made a reassuring discovery:

'Now, at the very time it is oppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law, the party is showing that it *does not wish* to pursue the path of forcible, bloody revolution, but rather is determined ... to tread the path of legality, i.e. of *reform*.'^a

If, therefore, the 5-600,000 Social-Democratic voters, $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total electorate—and dispersed, what is more, over the length and breadth of the country—have sense enough not to beat their heads against a wall and attempt a 'bloody revolution' with the odds at one to ten, this is supposed to prove that they will, for all time, continue to *deny* themselves all chance of exploiting some violent upheaval abroad, a sudden wave of revolutionary fervour engendered thereby, or even a people's *victory* won in a clash arising therefrom! Should Berlin ever be so uneducated as to stage another 18 March,⁵³² it would behove the Social-Democrats not to take part in the fighting as 'louts besotted with barricades' (p. 88) but rather to 'tread the path of legality', to placate, to clear away the barricades and, if necessary, march with the glorious army against the one-sided, crude, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen insist that that's not what they meant, then what did they mean?

But there's better in store.

'Hence, the more calm, sober and considered it' (the Party) 'shows itself to be in its criticism of existing circumstances and its proposals to change the same, the less likelihood is there of a repetition of the present successful move' (introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law) 'by means of which conscious reaction has scared the bourgeoisie out of their wits by holding up the red spectre' (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety, it is to be shown clearly and convincingly that the red spectre really is just a spectre and doesn't exist. But what is the secret of the red spectre, if not the bourgeoisie's fear of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between itself and the proletariat, fear of the unavoidable outcome of the modern class struggle? Just abolish the class struggle, and the bourgeoisie and 'all independent persons' will 'not hesitate to go hand in hand with the proletarians'!^b In which case the ones to be hoodwinked would be those self-same proletarians.

Let the party, therefore, prove, by its humble and subdued demeanour, that it has renounced once and for all the 'impro-

^a *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 87-88. - ^b *Ibid.*, p. 88.

prieties and excesses'^a which gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily undertakes to remain wholly within the bounds of the Anti-Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will, no doubt, oblige by rescinding what would then be a redundant law!

'Let no one misunderstand us'; we don't want 'to relinquish our party and our programme,^b but in our opinion we shall have enough to do for years to come if we concentrate our whole strength, our entire energies, on the attainment of certain immediate objectives which must in any case be won before there can be any thought of realising more ambitious aspirations.'^c

Then, too, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers, who 'are now scared off ... by ambitious demands',^d will join us *en masse*.

The programme is not to be *relinquished*, but merely *postponed*—for some unspecified period. They accept it—not for themselves in their own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom for their children and their children's children. Meanwhile they devote their 'whole strength and energies' to all sorts of trifles, tinkering away at the capitalist social order so that at least something should appear to be done without at the same time alarming the bourgeoisie. Here I can only commend that communist, Miquel, who gives proof of his unshakable belief in the inevitable downfall of capitalist society within the next few hundred years by swindling it for all he's worth, contributing manfully to the crash of 1873,³⁹⁵ and thus *really* doing something towards the collapse of the existing order.⁵³³

Another offence against good manners was the 'exaggerated attacks on the *Gründer*',¹¹⁸ who, after all, were 'only children of their time'; hence 'the vilification of Strousberg and suchlike men ... would have been better omitted'.^e Sadly we are all 'children of our time', and if this be sufficient grounds for excuse, it is no longer permissible to attack anyone, and we for our part would have to desist from all polemic, all struggle; we would calmly submit whenever kicked by our opponents, because we would know in our wisdom that they are 'only children of their time' and cannot act otherwise than they do. Instead of repaying them their kicks with interest, we should rather, it seems, feel sorry for the poor fellows.

Similarly, our support for the Commune had one drawback, at any rate, namely

'that it put off people otherwise well-disposed towards us, and generally increased the *hatred* felt for us *by the bourgeoisie*'. Moreover, the party 'cannot be

^a Ibid., p. 87. - ^b 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands'. -

^c *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, p. 88. - ^d Ibid. - ^e Ibid., p. 95.

wholly exonerated from having brought about the October Law, for it had needlessly exacerbated the *hatred of the bourgeoisie*'.^a

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. As regards clarity, it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all so far as we're concerned, since we are still only too familiar with all these catch-phrases of 1848. There are the voices of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should 'go too far'. Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved. Every historically necessary conflict is reinterpreted as a misunderstanding and every discussion wound up with the assurance: we are, of course, all agreed on the main issue. The men who in 1848 entered the arena as bourgeois democrats might now just as well call themselves Social-Democrats. To the former, the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist order is to the latter, and therefore utterly irrelevant to present political practice; one can conciliate, compromise, philanthropise to one's heart's content. The same thing applies to the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On paper it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated. The Social-Democratic Party *should not* be a workers' party, it should not bring upon itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or, for that matter, of anyone else; above all, it should prosecute vigorous propaganda amongst the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on ambitious goals which are calculated to frighten off the bourgeoisie, and unattainable anyway in our own generation, it should rather devote all its strength and energies to those petty-bourgeois stop-gap reforms which provide new props for the old social order and which might, perhaps, transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, as far as possible, peaceable process of dissolution. These are the same people who keep up an appearance of ceaseless activity, yet not only do nothing themselves but also try to ensure that nothing at all is done save—chin-wagging; the same people whose fear of any kind of action in 1848 and '49 held back the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall; the same people who never see

^a *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 95, 96.

reaction and then are utterly dumbfounded to find themselves at last in a blind alley in which neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizons, and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As for their socialist import, this has already been adequately criticised in the *Manifesto*, Chapter: 'German, or "True" Socialism'. Wherever the class struggle is thrust aside as a distasteful, 'crude' manifestation, the only basis still left to socialism will be a 'true love of mankind' and empty phrases about 'justice'.

It is an inevitable manifestation, and one rooted in the process of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We have already said so clearly in the *Manifesto*. But in this context there are two observations to be made:

Firstly, if these people are to be of use to the proletarian movement, they must introduce genuinely educative elements. However, in the case of the vast majority of German bourgeois converts, this is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* has contributed anything that might have advanced the movement by a single step. Here we find a complete lack of genuinely educative matter, either factual or theoretical. In place of it, attempts to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints which these gentlemen have introduced from the university or elsewhere, and of which each is more muddled than the last thanks to the process of decay taking place in what remains of German philosophy today. Instead of first making a thorough study of the new science, each man chose to adapt it to the viewpoint he had brought with him, not hesitating to produce his own brand of science and straightaway assert his right to teach it. Hence there are, amongst these gentlemen, almost as many viewpoints as there are heads; instead of elucidating anything, they have only made confusion worse—by good fortune, almost exclusively amongst themselves. The party can well dispense with educative elements such as these for whom it is axiomatic to teach what they have not learnt.

Secondly, when people of this kind, from different classes, join the proletarian movement, the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the least remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. These gentlemen, however, as already shown, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In a country as petty-bourgeois as Germany, there is certainly some

justification for such ideas. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If the gentlemen constitute themselves a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party, they are fully within their rights: in that case we could negotiate with them and, according to circumstances, form an alliance with them, etc. But within a workers' party they are an adulterating element. Should there be any reason to tolerate their presence there for a while, it should be our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no say in the party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, would appear to have come. How the party can suffer the authors of this article to remain any longer in their midst seems to us incomprehensible. But should the party leadership actually pass, to a greater or lesser extent, into the hands of such men, then the party will be emasculated no less, and that will put paid to its proletarian grit.

As for ourselves, there is, considering all our antecedents, only one course open to us. For almost 40 years we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself.^a Hence we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes. If the new party organ is to adopt a policy that corresponds to the opinions of these gentlemen, if it is bourgeois and not proletarian, then all we could do—much though we might regret it—would be publicly to declare ourselves opposed to it and abandon the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German party abroad. But we hope it won't come to *that*.

It is intended that this letter should be communicated to all five members of the committee in Germany, and also to Bracke....

Nor have we any objection to its being communicated to the people in Zurich.

First published in *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, XII. Jahrg., Heft 23, Berlin, 15. Juni 1931

Printed according to Engels' manuscript

^a K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14).

277

MARX TO CARL HIRSCH⁵³⁴

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 September 1879

Dear Hirsch,

Arrived in London!⁵⁰⁰

Greetings,

Yours

K. M.

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*,
Bd. 39, Berlin, 1973

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

278

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I have just returned to London after almost two months rustication in the isle of Jersey⁴⁹⁴ and at other sea-side places.⁵⁰⁰ I was forced to do so and suspend all work during that time on medical advice because of nervous derangement. For this reason I was also unable to do justice to the mental food you were so kind as to forward me, but now I feel much reinvigorated and shall set at work with a will.

The book of Kowalewsky I got from himself.⁵³⁵ He is one of my 'scientific' friends who every year comes to London in order to explore the treasures of the British Museum.

You will receive a longer letter so soon as I have disposed of some urgent work accumulated during my absence.

In the meantime, with my best wishes

Yours sincerely

A. Williams^a

First published, in Russian, in *Minuvshiyey* gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

279

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁴¹

IN HOBOKEN

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Friend,

It was not till the day before yesterday that I got back to London after a seven-week stay, first in Jersey and after that in Ramsgate. But I had at least made provision that business matters and *commissions* contained in your letters be immediately attended to by Engels. However, I have not yet had from old Becker^b the form for the power of attorney which you want me to sign, and which Engels asked him to send me.^c As soon as the thing arrives I'll fill it in.³⁴⁸ My LONG RUSTICATION was due to my nervous condition—(complicated by the fact that, because of Bismarck, Karlsbad has been inaccessible to me for the past two years)—which has latterly made all brain work virtually 'unfeasible'. But I'm much better now.

The new edition of Weitling^d hasn't reached me. The only American journal I am sent is the by no means very substantial *Paterson Labor Standard*. The things you sent last, Labor Bureau

^a Marx's pseudonym - ^b Johann Philipp Becker - ^c See this volume, p. 393. - ^d The new edition of Weitling's *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* came out in New York in 1879 under the title *Des seligen Schneiders Weitling Lehre vom Sozialismus und Communismus*.

Statistics of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts, received with thanks (likewise Steward's speech). I am delighted that the CHIEF of the Massachusetts Bureau,^a as he tells me in a letter, should from now on be sending me the PUBLICATIONS direct (also the census) immediately they come out.^b

As for Most and Co., our attitude towards them is a 'passive' one, i.e. we maintain no sort of relations with them, although I do see Most himself from time to time at my own house. To say that Engels and I had made any kind of 'statement' condemning Most or the *Freiheit* is a lie on Mr Lübeck's part. According to a letter Engels received from little Jew Bernstein in Zurich, Most had written to Switzerland and Germany claiming he had our support. To this Engels replied that if Bernstein could adduce any *proof* of this, he would make a public statement refuting these untruths.^c But Bernstein (nephew of the Berlin rabbi Rebenstein, of the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*) was IN FACT unable to adduce an atom of proof. Instead he confided the bogus secret to that jackass Lübeck who, with the usual discretion of SUCH PENNY-A-LINERS, sold it forthwith to the United States.

The issues upon which we differ from Most in no way tally with those of the gentlemen in Zurich, the trio 'Dr Höchberg-Bernstein (his secretary)-and C. A. Schramm'. Our complaint against Most is not that his *Freiheit* is *too revolutionary*; our complaint is that it has *no revolutionary content*, but merely indulges in *revolutionary jargon*. Again, our complaint is not that he *criticises the party leaders in Germany*, but, in the first place, that he *kicks up a row in public* instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, i.e. *by letter*; in the second, however, that he merely used this as a pretext to make himself look important and to disseminate the *silly secret conspiracy-mongering* of Messrs *Weber JUNIOR*^d and *Kaufmann*. Long before his arrival these laddies had felt it was their vocation to take the 'general working men's movement' under their august wing and, in their numerous attempts to realise this 'gracious' venture, had gone plotting and scheming all over the place. The good John Most, a man of the most childish vanity, actually believes that, because the self-same Most is no longer domiciled in Germany but in London, the whole world has been turned upside down. The man's not without talent, but he kills what he has by writing so profusely. Moreover, he has no

^a Carroll Davidson Wright - ^b See this volume, p. 377. - ^c *Ibid.*, pp. 362-63. -

^d *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65.

esprit de suite.^a With every change of wind he turns now this way, now that, like a weathercock.

However, things might well come to such a pass that Engels and I would feel compelled to issue a 'public statement' against the Leipzigers and their allies in Zurich.

This is how matters stand. Bebel wrote telling us that they intended to found a party organ in Zurich^b and asked that we lend our names to it as contributors. Hirsch was named as putative editor. Whereupon *we accepted* and I wrote to Hirsch¹² (then in Paris, from which he has since been expelled for the second time⁵⁰⁴), telling him to accept the editorship since he alone could give us the guarantee that the kind of graduate, undergraduate, etc., rabble and armchair socialist riff-raff who had filled the columns of the *Zukunft*, etc., and were already invading those of the *Vorwärts*, were fended off and the party line rigorously adhered to. But now it transpired that Hirsch had unearthed a hornets' nest in Zurich. The five men, *Dr Höchberg* (who used his money to buy his way into the party, a cousin of Sonnemann's, the sentimental drooler), little Jew *Bernstein*, his secretary, *C. A. Schramm*, philistine, if a well-meaning one, and Leipzig's emissary, *Viereck* (also a philistine lout, natural son of the German Emperor^c) and a Berlin businessman, *Singer* (petty bourgeois, paunch, called on me a few months ago); these five men constituted themselves—by supreme authority of the Leipzigers—a constituent committee and appointed an *administrative committee* in Zurich, also responsible for *supervising the editorial side* and consisting of the trio . . . (Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm) which was to decide in the first instance, but must defer to a court of the last instance composed of Bebel, Liebknecht and a few other German leaders. Well, what Hirsch wanted to know first was *whom the money* was coming from; Liebknecht wrote, saying from the 'party+Dr Höchberg'; Hirsch deducted the rhetorical flourish and reduced this quite correctly to 'Höchberg'. Secondly, Hirsch did not wish to subordinate himself to the trifolium Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm, in which he was the more justified for having received from Bernstein, in reply to a letter asking for information, a bureaucratic dressing down,⁴⁹³ condemning his *Laterne* for—*mirabile dictu*^d—being ultrarevolutionary, etc. After protracted correspondence, in which Liebknecht played a by no means brilliant role, Hirsch withdrew; Engels wrote

^a sense of logic. - ^b *Der Sozialdemokrat* - ^c William I - ^d wonderful to relate

to Bebel saying that *we*, too, would withdraw,^a just as, from the very start, we had refused to contribute to the *Zukunft* (Höchberg)³¹³ and the *Neue Gesellschaft* (Wiede).²⁹⁶ These laddies, nonentities in theory and nincompoops in practice, are seeking to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have rehashed in accordance with academic formulae) and of the Social-Democratic Party in particular, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to provide them, out of their confused and superficial knowledge, with 'educative elements' and, above all, to make the party 'respectable' in the eyes of the philistines. They are poor *counter-revolutionary* windbags. WELL. The weekly organ is now appearing (or is to appear) in Zurich, under their supervision and the general supervision of the Leipzigers. (Editor, Vollmar.)

In the meantime Höchberg^b came over here to rope us in. He found only Engels who, in a critical discussion of the *Jahrbuch* Höchberg had brought out (under the pseudonym Dr L. Richter), showed him how deep was the gulf between him and us. (Have a look at the *lamentable* concoction: the article signed with 3* is the triumvirate Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm.⁵¹³) (But the good John Most also figures therein, in the sycophantic article about that quill-pusher Schäffle.^c) Never has anything more discreditable to the party appeared in print. What a lot of good Bismarck did, *not to himself but us*, by imposing silence on Germany and thus giving these laddies a chance of making themselves plainly heard. Höchberg came down to earth with a bang after Engels had given him a piece of his mind; he's a partisan of 'peaceable' development and, in point of fact, expects proletarian emancipation to be achieved solely by 'educated bourgeois', i.e. people like himself. After all, hadn't he been told by Liebknecht that *au fond*^d we were all of us agreed, that everyone in Germany—i.e. all the leaders—shared his view, etc.?

In fact Liebknecht, having made the tremendous blunder of treating with the Lassalleans, flung wide the door to all these demi-men and thus, *malgré lui*,^c paved the way for demoralisation within the party which could be eliminated *only* by the Anti-Socialist Law.⁴⁶²

Now should the 'weekly'—the party organ—in fact *go ahead* along the lines laid down in Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, we shall be compelled to make a public protest against this debauching of party and theory! Engels has written a circular (letter) to Bebel,

^a See this volume, pp. 366-68. - ^b Ibid., p. 393. - ^c See Most's review of Schäffle's book *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers*, Bände III-IV, Tübingen 1878, in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - ^d at bottom - ^c despite himself

etc.^a (just for *private circulation* among the German leaders, of course), in which our point of view is plainly set forth. So the gentlemen are forewarned and, moreover, are well enough acquainted with us to know that this means bend or break! If they wish to compromise themselves, *tant pis*^b! In no circumstances shall we allow them to compromise *us*. To what depths they have already been brought by parliamentarianism will be evident to you from the fact that they impute it a dire crime in Hirsch to have—what?—handled that scoundrel Kayser somewhat roughly in the *Laterne*, on account of his disgraceful speech regarding Bismarck's customs legislation⁵¹⁹! But, or so they now maintain, the party, i.e. the handful of the party's parliamentary representatives, had authorised Kayser to speak as he did. More shame to that handful! But even this is a pitiful evasion. In fact they had been silly enough to allow Kayser to speak for himself and in the name of his constituents; he, however, spoke in the party's name. Be that as it may; they are already so far infected with parliamentary cretinism as to believe themselves *above criticism* and to denounce criticism as a *crime de lèse majesté*!

As regards the *Communist Manifesto*, nothing has so far been done because now Engels, now I, had not enough time.¹⁴⁸ But it must at long last be proceeded with.

I hope that your next letter will bring reassuring news as to the health and prosperity of you and yours. MEANWHILE—my wife sends her most cordial regards—I remain,

Yours very truly,

Karl Marx

John Most wrote and told me about Lübeck's tittle-tattle in the Chicago paper.⁵¹² I didn't reply; but now that I'm in London, I shall ask him to come and see me in person, and shall tell him what I think by word of mouth.

Hirsch has been here since his expulsion from Paris. I haven't seen him yet since he could not, of course, have found me at home while I was away.

I am using a '*registered*' envelope only because I could find no other and yet wanted to avoid any further delay.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a See this volume, pp. 394-408. - ^b so much the worse

280

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 24 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

Your postcard^a received. I have taken out a money order for £1 12s. which should come to 40.20 francs, so that you won't be in a hole if the cost of the power of attorney^b amounts to a bit more. Marx is back,⁵⁰⁰ apparently in the very best of health, so no doubt work on the 2nd volume of *Capital*⁶² can now go briskly ahead.

As regards the progress of negotiations with our people in the land of the philistines, I shall let you have further news in due course.⁴⁹⁰

In haste.

Your old friend,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

281

ENGELS TO MARX⁵³⁶

IN LONDON

[London, after 8 October 1879]

Didn't you send the noble Barry the notes I put into *Fraser*^c? I put them there under Pumps' own eyes and in such a way that they were visible from outside. If not, send them off to him.

Your

F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

^a of 19 September 1879 - ^b See this volume, pp. 392-93. - ^c *Fraser's Magazine*

282

MARX TO BERTHA AUGUSTI¹⁶

IN KOBLENZ

[London,] 25 October 1879

Dear Mrs Bertha,

I have a (tiresome) visitor sitting next to me, but do not wish to miss the opportunity of telling you in all haste how grateful I am to you for the pleasure afforded me by reading your novel in the *Kölnische*.^a Great talent is discernible by all, but the achievement is particularly surprising to one who is aware of the confined and cloistered conditions in which you work. Moreover I would take the liberty of adding that I am a great heretic as far as German novels are concerned, think nothing of them and have been greatly spoiled by the best French, English and Russian novelists. Hence it was also with my habitual mistrust that I embarked on the reading of your *Verhängnisvolles Jahr*.

Wishing you all prosperity,

Most cordially yours,

Karl Marx

First published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Nr. 5, Berlin, 1966

Printed according to the original

283

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL⁴⁸⁵

IN LEIPZIG

London, 14 November 1879⁵³⁷

Dear Bebel,

Many thanks for your communications, as also those of Fritzsche and Liebknecht,⁵³⁸ which have at last enabled us to get a clear idea of the facts.

^a B. Augusti, *Ein verhängnisvolles Jahr*. In: *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nos. 247-302, 6 September-31 October 1879.

That things have not, from the start, been exactly straightforward, however, is evident from earlier letters from Leipzig and the muddles and misunderstandings with Hirsch generally.^a The latter could not have happened if, from the start, the Leipzigers had put paid to Zurich's pretensions to censorship. Had they done so and informed Hirsch of the fact, everything would have been all right. But since they didn't, I can only conclude, after again comparing commissions with omissions, present communications with previous letters from all concerned, that Höchberg wasn't altogether wrong when he told me that Zurich had imposed censorship solely on Hirsch's account, it being unnecessary in the case of Vollmar.

As regards the financing,^b I'm not particularly surprised that you should take matters so lightly. For this is the first time you've had a go at the thing. But Hirsch had already been through this particular mill with the *Laterne* and, as for us, who have so often witnessed such things and even experienced them in person, we can only endorse his request that careful consideration be given to this point. *Freiheit*, despite all subsidies, is left at the end of its third quarter with a deficit of £100=2,000 marks. I have never known a German paper, banned at home, that could have survived without substantial subsidies. Do not allow yourselves to be dazzled by initial successes. The real difficulties involved in smuggling become manifest only with time, and multiply constantly.⁵³⁹

What you say about the attitude of the deputies and of the party leaders generally to the protective tariffs question corroborates every word of my letter.^c It was bad enough, in all conscience, that a party which prides itself on being so superior to the bourgeois in the sphere of economics should, when first put to the test in that sphere, prove just as divided, just as ignorant, as the National Liberals⁵⁴⁰ who could at least plead a genuine clash of bourgeois interests in extenuation of their inglorious collapse. But it was even worse that that split should have been seen to happen, that your attitude should have been wavering and uncertain. Once you

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'If the Zurich trio had no pretensions to censorship, why were those pretensions, which were so loudly and insistently voiced by them, not immediately quashed by Leipzig? Only two things were needed to induce Hirsch to go to Zurich: 1. Information about the true facts of the case, such as we have now had, 2. Notification to the effect that we, the Leipzigers, have written to the Zurichers telling them that they are not to intervene officially in the editorship, and, if they nevertheless do so, you must take no notice; you are responsible to us and to us alone'. - ^b of the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* - ^c See this volume, pp. 400-01.

knew that unity was unattainable, there was only one thing to do—declare the question to be a purely bourgeois question, which indeed it is, and abstain from voting.^a But the worst thing of all was permitting Kayser to make his lamentable speeches and to *vote for the Bill at its first reading*. It was not until *after* that division that Hirsch attacked him,⁵¹⁹ and if Kayser later, at the third reading, voted against the Bill, he only made matters worse, not better.

The resolution in congress is no excuse.⁵⁴¹ If the party proposes to regard as binding all the earlier resolutions made by congress in the easy-going days of peace, it will be placing itself in fetters. The constitutional basis upon which a living party functions must not only be self-created, it must also and at all times be susceptible to change. Inasmuch as the Anti-Socialist Law⁴⁶² makes congresses and hence the amendment of earlier congressional resolutions impossible, it also abolishes the binding force of those resolutions. A party that is deprived of the opportunity of passing binding resolutions can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave.

So much for the formal aspect. However, it is the content of that resolution that really invalidates it. In the first place it is incompatible with the programme in that it admits of voting *indirect taxation*. Secondly it is incompatible with essential party tactics inasmuch as it permits taxation to be voted for the present-day state. Thirdly, however, it implies, translated into plain language:

The congress admits to not being well enough informed about the question of protective tariffs to pass a definite resolution, for or against. Hence it declares itself *incompetent* in this matter, inasmuch as it restricts itself, for the benefit of the dear public, to the enunciation of a few commonplaces, some of them meaningless, some incompatible either with each other or with the party programme, and then proceeds gladly to wash its hands of the whole affair.

And is this declaration of incompetence whereby what was, in peace-time, a purely academic question was swept under the carpet,—is this declaration,^b now that, in time of war, the question

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'to invoke the point in the programme that rejects *all* indirect taxation and the tactics which prohibit voting this government *any* taxes, and to adopt as the sole precept *abstention* from voting'. - ^b In the manuscript of the draft: 'this wretched piece of trash'.

has become a burning one, to be considered as binding upon an entire party until legally invalidated by a new resolution which present circumstances preclude?

This much is certain: whatever the impression made on the deputies by Hirsch's attacks upon Kayser, those attacks reflect the impression made by Kayser's irresponsible action upon Social-Democrats abroad, whether German or non-German. And it is high time it was realised that the reputation of the party has to be kept up, not only within its own confines, but also in the eyes of Europe and America.

And this brings me to the report.⁵⁴² However good it may be at the start and however skilful—in the circumstances—the treatment of the protective tariffs debate, this does not atone for the concessions made to the German philistines in the third part. Why the altogether superfluous passage about 'civil war', why such deference to 'public opinion' which, in Germany, will always be that of the beer-swilling philistine; why, at this point, the total obliteration of the movement's class character? Why give the anarchists that pleasure? And, what is more, all these concessions are utterly useless. The German philistine is cowardice incarnate; he has no respect for anyone who does not inspire fear in him.^a But anyone who tries to curry favour with him he regards as one of his own kind and accords him no more respect than he accords to his own kind, which is to say none at all. And now that the storm of beer-swilling philistine indignation known as public opinion has, as is generally admitted, died down and the burden of taxation has in any case reduced these people to pulp, why go on with this billing and cooing? If only you knew what it sounded like abroad! It's a good thing for a party organ to be managed by men immediately involved in the party and the struggle. But were you to spend only six months abroad, you would feel quite differently about this quite uncalled-for self-abasement of the party deputies before the philistines. The storm that broke over the French socialists after the Commune was, after all, a very different kind of thing from the uproar about Nobiling⁴⁰⁶ in Germany. And how much prouder and more self-confident was the bearing of the French! Where, in their case, may such weaknesses, such kow-towing to opponents, be discerned? They remained silent when they could not speak freely, they let the

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'Bismarck treats him as he deserves, i.e. spurns him, and he therefore idolises Bismarck.'

philistines shout till they could shout no more, they knew their time would surely come, and now it is here.

I can well believe what you say about Höchberg.⁵⁴³ Indeed, I have absolutely no objection to him as a private individual. I also believe that it was only the anti-socialist campaign that made him realise what, in his heart of hearts, he wanted. That what he wanted was bourgeois and not proletarian was something I tried—probably in vain—to make him see.^a But once he had formulated a programme, I must have credited him with more than German philistine weakness had I assumed that he would not try to gain recognition for it. Höchberg before and Höchberg after that article⁵¹³ are, indeed, two different persons.^b

But now, in No. 5 of the *Sozialdemokrat*, I find a contribution from the Lower Elbe^c in which Auer uses my letter as a pretext^d to accuse me—without mentioning my name but leaving small room for doubt—of ‘sowing the seeds of suspicion in regard to the trustiest comrades’, i.e. of *calumniating* them (for otherwise I should be perfectly justified in so doing).^e Not content with that, he falsely attributes to me things as stupid as they are infamous, and which were not contained in my letter at all. Auer, or so it would seem, supposes that *I* want something or other of the party. But as you know, it is not *I* who want anything of the party; on the contrary, it is *the party* that wants something of *me*. As you and Liebknecht know, all I have ever asked of the party is that it should leave me in peace so that I can complete my theoretical works.¹⁶⁹ You know that, for the past sixteen years, I have nevertheless been approached over and over again with the request that I write for party organs, and that I have actually done so, that I have written whole series of articles, entire pamphlets at Liebknecht’s *express behest*—such as *The Housing Question* and *Anti-Dühring*. I won’t go into details about the kindnesses the party has bestowed on me in return—e.g. the agreeable transactions in congress on the subject of *Dühring*.²⁸⁶ Again, you know that Marx and I have voluntarily conducted the defence of the party against its opponents abroad throughout the party’s existence, and that we have never asked anything of the party in return, save that it should not be untrue to itself.

^a See this volume, pp. 393, 413. - ^b The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: ‘at least so far as the party is concerned’. - ^c [I. Auer.] ‘Von der Niederelbe, 23. Oktober’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 5, 2 November 1879. - ^d See this volume, pp. 394-408. - ^e The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: ‘I have no intention of discussing Auer’s attack, as stupid as it is infamous and provoked. I should, however, remark that Auer appears to imagine...’

But if the party asks of me that I should contribute to its new organ,^a it is only to be expected that it should at least ensure that, while negotiations are still in progress, I should not be calumniated as a calumniator in the self-same organ and, what is more, by one^b of its nominal co-proprietors. There is, so far as I am aware, no literary or other code of honour to which this would conform, and I believe that even a reptile⁴⁰⁸ would not stand for such treatment. Hence I must ask you:

1. What satisfaction can you proffer me for this unprovoked and rotten insult?

2. What guarantees can you offer that nothing of the kind will ever happen again?

For the rest, all I want to say about Auer's insinuations is that we over here underestimate neither the difficulties the party has to contend with in Germany, nor the significance of the victories won in the face of them and the hitherto exemplary conduct of the party *masses*. It goes without saying that every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere—more so, indeed, seeing that from the very start the German party developed in accordance with our theoretical propositions. But for that very reason we cannot but be particularly concerned that the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory. Undoubtedly our criticism will be displeasing to some; yet no amount of uncritical praise could, after all, be of such value to the party^c as the presence abroad of a couple of men who, uninfluenced by confusing local conditions and the minutiae of the^d struggle, compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement, and in whom that party may see reflected the impression its actions have made outside Germany.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil III, Stuttgart, 1914

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a *Der Sozialdemokrat* - ^b Ignaz Auer - ^c In the manuscript of the draft: 'and to the party leadership'. - ^d *Ibid.*: 'practical'.

284

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 November 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

I am at last able to send you all the powers of attorney.^a I didn't get the others until the end of the week before last; they arrived when *I was confined to the house* by a most INFAMOUS cold and then, after that, my worthy SOLICITOR contrived to spin out the affair for another week, and only today did I finally receive *my* power of attorney. The account both for these and the first one will be sent to you later. The other 3 (or rather 4) powers of attorney will go off to you at the same time as this letter—but under separate cover.

You will doubtless have got my letter^b in which I told you about the latest goings-on in the bosom of the party. Since then Höchberg and his associates^c in Zurich have been *removed*, at least nominally, from the editorial committee which now sits in Leipzig, while Vollmar functions as editor in Zurich. His paper, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, isn't worth much. But at any rate all our associates worth mentioning, Liebknecht, Bebel, Bracke, etc., have disowned Dr Höchberg's, alias Richter's, *Jahrbuch*,⁵⁴⁴ though as yet only—in private.

You will have seen in the papers that the anti-communist gang, composed of very heterogeneous elements, was finally defeated at the Marseilles Congress.⁵⁴⁵

My wife is still dangerously ill and I myself am not yet completely fit.

With kindest regards from my family.

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

^a See this volume, pp. 392-93. - ^b Ibid., pp. 410-14. - ^c Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm

285

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 24 November 1879

Dear Bebel,

I had good reasons for assuming that Auer was alluding to myself.^a The date proves nothing. He *expressly excludes* Most. So go and *ask him yourself whom he meant*; then we shall see what he says. I'm positive that the misunderstanding was *not* on my side.⁵⁴⁶

Höchberg did, to be sure, make the statement in question.^b

I know that you were mostly away while the negotiations with Hirsch were going on and it never occurred to me to hold you personally responsible for what happened.

As regards the question of tariffs, your letter wholly corroborates what I have said.^c If feelings were divided, as was indeed the case, and if it was thought desirable to take those divided feelings into consideration, what was called for was, *of course, abstention, no less*. Otherwise it would have meant taking *one side* only into consideration. But why the protectionist section was more deserving of consideration than the free trade one is difficult to see. You say you cannot adopt a purely negative attitude in Parliament. But since everyone ultimately voted *against* the Bill, their attitude was, after all, purely negative. All I'm saying is, they ought to have known from the start how they intended to conduct themselves; they ought to have acted in conformity with the final vote.

Questions which enable Social-Democratic deputies to abandon a purely negative attitude are very narrowly circumscribed. All are questions which immediately involve the relation of workers to capitalists: factory legislation, the normal working-day, employer's liability, payment in goods, etc. Perhaps also improvements in the purely bourgeois sense such as constitute a positive step forward: standardisation of coins and weights, freedom of movement, extension of personal freedom, etc. You're unlikely to be troubled with these for the time being. In the case of all other economic questions, such as protective tariffs, nationalisation of the railways, assurance companies, etc., Social-Democratic deputies must always uphold the vital principle of consenting to nothing that increases

^a See this volume, p. 420. - ^b Ibid., p. 417. - ^c Ibid., pp. 417-18.

the power of the government vis-à-vis the people. And this is made all the easier in that feelings within the party itself will, of course, invariably be divided in such cases and hence abstention, a negative attitude, is automatically called for.

What you say about Kayser makes the matter even worse. If he speaks in favour of protective tariffs in general, why does he vote against them⁵⁰²? If he intends voting against them why does he speak in favour of them? If, however, he has studied the subject with great diligence, how can he vote for tariffs on iron? Had his studies been worth a penny, he couldn't fail to have discovered that there are *two* ironworks in Germany, the Dortmunder Union and the Königs- und Laurahütte, *either* of which is capable of *meeting the entire domestic demand*; besides these there are many smaller ones; hence that a protective tariff is utter nonsense in this case; that the only remedy in this case is the capture of the foreign market, hence unadulterated free trade or *bankruptcy*; also that the iron-masters themselves can only want a protective tariff if they have formed a *ring*, a conspiracy which imposes *monopoly prices on the domestic market*, so that they are better able to sell off their surplus products abroad at cut prices, *which they are in fact already doing at this moment*. It was in the interests of this ring, this conspiracy of monopolists that Kayser was speaking and, insofar as he voted in favour of tariffs on iron, was also voting, and Hansemann of the Dortmunder Union and Bleichröder of the Königs- und Laurahütte will be laughing in their sleeves at the stupid Social-Democrat who has, for good measure, *studied* the subject *with diligence*!

You must at all costs get hold of Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer in Deutschland*. Without a knowledge of the material assembled here on the swindles, the crash and the political corruption of recent years, it is impossible to form an opinion on present conditions in Germany. How is it that this store of riches was not exploited at the time for the benefit of our press⁵⁴⁷? The book is banned, of course.

The passages in the report⁵⁴² I particularly have in mind are^a 1. those in which so much emphasis is laid on winning over public opinion—to have this factor against you was to be hamstrung; it was a matter of life and death that '*this hatred be turned into sympathy*', etc.—sympathy! from people who just before, during the Terror,⁴⁰⁶ had shown themselves to be dirty blackguards. There was no need to go to such lengths, especially as the Terror

^a See this volume, p. 419.

had *long since ended*;—2. those to the effect that the party, which condemns war in any shape or form (hence also the one which it is *forced* to wage, which it wages notwithstanding) and whose goal is the universal fraternisation of all men (in terms of a slogan the goal of every party, in terms of immediate reality that of none, for not even we wish to fraternise with the bourgeois so long as they wish to remain bourgeois), cannot envisage civil war (hence not even in a case where civil war is the only means to the end). This proposition may also be construed as follows: that a party which condemns bloodshed in any shape or form cannot envisage either blood-letting or the amputation of gangrenous limbs, or scientific vivisection. Why all these empty phrases? I'm not asking that all your language should be 'vigorous', I am not reproaching the Report for saying too little—on the contrary, there is much that would have been better left unsaid. The next part is much better and so Hans Most^a has fortunately overlooked the few passages out of which he could have made capital.

But it was a blunder to insert a solemn announcement in the *Sozialdemokrat* to the effect that Liebknecht had taken the Saxon oath of allegiance. Hans won't let that one pass by,⁵⁴⁸ and his anarchist friends will be sure to embroider on it. Marx and I don't consider the matter itself to be as dangerous as, e.g., Hirsch took it to be in the heat of the moment. You people must know whether '*Paris vaut bien une messe*',^b as Henri IV said when he became a Catholic, thus sparing France a thirty years' war,⁵⁴⁹ and whether the advantages are of a kind to justify such inconsistency and the taking of an oath which, moreover, is the only one which cannot entail a prosecution for perjury. But once it had been taken, nothing ought to have been said about it until *others* had kicked up a fuss; that would have been time enough to go on to the defensive. But for the *Sozialdemokrat*, Hans wouldn't have heard a word about it.

I was delighted at the lambasting you gave the notorious drunkard and wastrel.⁵⁵⁰ We shall see that this is spread about in Paris, though we are stumped for the French words that would convey the foregoing pithy expressions.

We are, by the way, fully aware that it is all very well, as they say, for us here to talk, and that your position is much more difficult than ours.

That the petty bourgeois and peasants should be joining us is, I grant you, a sign of the movement's rapid progress, but it also

^a Johann Most - ^b Paris is really worth a Mass.

constitutes a danger to the movement, once one forgets not only that these people have got to come, but also that they are coming simply *because* they have got to. Their joining us proves that the proletariat really has become the leading class. But since the ideas and ambitions they bring with them are those of the petty bourgeois and the peasant, it must not be forgotten that the proletariat would forfeit its leading historical role were it to make concessions to those ideas and ambitions.

Most cordially yours,
F. Engels

Herewith another loose postscript.^a

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil III, Stuttgart, 1914

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

286

MARX TO ACHILLE LORIA

IN MANTUA

London, 3 December 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For reasons of health I was compelled to absent myself from London for a time. On my return today I found awaiting me your letter of 23 November and your work.^b I hasten to acknowledge receipt and at the same time express my thanks to you.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a The postscript is missing in the manuscript. - ^b A. Loria, *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale*.

287

MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT⁵⁵¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1879

My dear Sir,

Will you come to dinner next Sunday^a at 2 o'clock?

Yours truly

Karl Marx

First published (facsimile) in:
Г. П. Броше, И. С. Ремезов, Л. Декав,
*Письмо Г. П. Броше. Последняя ком-
мунарка 1871 г. Les Anciennes. П. Кропот-
кин. П. А. Лавров, Paris, 1924*

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288

MARX TO CHARLES WALSTONE (WALDSTEIN)⁵⁵²

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 December 1879

Liebes^b Waldhörlein,^c

You will—I hope—be so good as to come and dine with us to-
morrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. There will be a young Russian^d who
is worth studying, being a 'type'. Don't be frightened! He carries
neither daggers nor revolvers nor explosive 'chemicals' about
himself. Besides, your name does not yet figure on the 'black' list.

And now *vale faveque*^e

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

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Published in English for the first
time

^a 14 December - ^b Dear - ^c Walstone's jocular name derived from the German word *Waldhorn* meaning French horn. - ^d Presumably N. Vasiliev. - ^e good-bye and farewell

289

ENGELS TO THOMAS ALLSOP⁵⁵³

IN LIMINGTON

London, 14 December 1879
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I am very sorry indeed to learn that you have been ill and are not yet completely restored to health. I hope your legs will soon be all right again so as to allow you to stir about—I know how you will miss your usual exercise.

We are all pretty well here so far, our patients and half-patients seem to come round gradually.

The man in *The P.M.G.*^a does indeed to some extent divine that there are breakers ahead, but as a true Philistine, he seems unable to distinguish appearances from reality. No doubt the crash in Russia is impending and may break out any time. And no doubt, the collapse of Russian despotism must re-act with immense force upon Germany and Austria. But whether an immediate outbreak there be probable or whether it even have chances of success, is more than I pretend to know. The man is quite right, too, in saying that the system of drilling the whole male population, as is now the rule all over the continent, will end in revolutionising these monster armies *from within*. But this is a process requiring some little time, and as far as Germany goes, it is only lately showing itself. This constant penetration of fresh revolutionary elements into the army, noticed with every new yearly batch of recruits, has been the principal motive for introducing the [*Anti*]-*Socialist law*.⁴⁶² And how little this Socialist Law, with all its terrorism, has effected, has again been shown last Thursday. At the last election in 1878, at Magdeburg, our candidate^b only got $\frac{1}{3}$ of the votes given; now there was a fresh election there, and he^c very near got the full half of the votes, and stands a chance of passing at the second ballot.⁵⁵⁴ The joke of the thing is, that this candidate of ours is a natural son of old William, the emperor, by an actress, Miss Viereck, whilom the old fellow's mistress.

Anyhow, the outbreak in Russia must hasten the movement in Central and Western Europe. The governments of Vienna and Berlin will lose heart when they have no longer that unfailling

^a *The Pall Mall Gazette* - ^b Wilhelm Bracke - ^c Louis Viereck

mainstay of all reaction—the absolute Russian government. And the moral effect of a revolutionary successful movement in Russia upon the masses in Central Europe must be immense.

The worst would be, to us, if Russia, to avoid revolution, launched into foreign war. But so long as they have not the French Alliance, they scarcely venture.

Anyhow, by next spring this Russian crisis, which we think here is the most important one since 1848, must come to a head either one way or another, and I hope you will recover your full strength so as to enjoy the stirring times which are, it appears, still in store for you.

Very faithfully yours

F. Engels

First published in the language of the original (English, facsimile) and in German, in *Neues Deutschland*, Nr. 107, Berlin 19. April 1970

Reproduced from the original

290

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL¹²⁷

IN LEIPZIG

London, 16 December 1879

Dear Bebel,

I find it incomprehensible that Auer should now say he had meant Most amongst others, since in the article he all but specifically excepted him.⁵⁴⁶ But let it rest at that.

In No. 10 of the *Sozialdemokrat* there are 'Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' which unmistakably stem from one or other of the three asterisks.^a Here we read that it can *only be an honour* for Social-Democrats to be compared with belletrists such as Gutzkow and Laube, i.e. with men who, long before '48, had already laid to rest such political character as they still had left, if indeed they ever had any. Again:

'The events of 1848 were bound to come, either *accompanied by all the blessings of peace*, if governments had responded to the demands of the time, or, *alas*—since they did not do so—the only recourse that remained was violent revolution.'⁵⁵⁵

^a Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm

In a paper in which it is possible actually to *deplere* the revolution of 1848 which, for the first time, opened wide the door to Social-Democracy, in such a paper there is no room for us. From this article and from Höchberg's letter, it is plainly evident that the three asterisks claim the right to advocate in the *Sozialdemokrat*—and this on an equal footing with proletarian views—their own petty-bourgeois socialist opinions first clearly enunciated in their *Jahrbuch*.⁵¹³ And, now that things have gone so badly off the rails, I fail to see how you people in Leipzig propose to prevent this without an actual breach. Now as before, you regard these men as party members. We cannot do so. The dividing line created between us and them by the *Jahrbuch* article is distinct and absolute. We cannot even negotiate with these people so long as they claim to belong to the same party as ourselves. The points that have arisen in this case are ones which no longer admit of being discussed in any proletarian party. To subject them to discussion within the party would mean jeopardising the whole of proletarian socialism.

In these circumstances it might, in fact, be better if we did not contribute. We would be constantly protesting and would, after a few weeks, have to give public notice of our resignation, which would do nothing to promote the cause.

We regret very much being unable, at this time of repression, to give you our unqualified support. So long as the party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character, we were prepared to set aside all other considerations. But now that the petty-bourgeois elements you have admitted have come out in their true colours,^a it's a different matter. The moment they are permitted to insinuate their petty-bourgeois ideas piecemeal into the organ of the German party, that organ, by the same token, is closed to us,^b no more nor less.

The matter of the oath⁵⁴⁸ is of very little concern to us. It might have been possible, as you yourself wished, to find some other procedure that would to some extent have eliminated the

^a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'and claim the right within the party to advocate as socialism their petty-bourgeois hesitations and limitations, it's a different matter. A party to which they belong is no place for us, nor can we even treat with such people so long as they do not constitute themselves an independent petty-bourgeois-socialist faction of the party, or so long as they insist that they belong to the same party as ourselves, we cannot even treat with them.' - ^b The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We cannot, and never shall be, able to work hand in hand with petty-bourgeois socialism.'

disagreeable impression, but it's of no great moment.⁵⁵⁶ Discretion shall be observed, as you request.

Malon's journal^a might have a salutary effect, for 1. Malon is not the kind of man to do much damage and 2. his collaborators among the French will see to it that the thing is kept on its proper course. If Höchberg imagines it will provide an arena for his petty bourgeoisie, he'll find that he's thrown his money down the drain.

We were very pleased about the Magdeburg election.⁵⁵⁴ The staunchness of the working-class masses in Germany is admirable. The letters from working men in the *Sozialdemokrat* are the only good things in it.

I return herewith Höchberg's letter. The man's completely hopeless. If we refused to do anything in company with the *Zukunft* people, this was, it seems, out of personal vanity. But a third of these people's names were, and still are, *completely unknown* to us, and approximately another third are notorious petty-bourgeois socialists. And a thing like that called itself a 'scientific' journal! And Höchberg still believes it had an 'enlightening' effect. Testifies to the much vaunted lucidity of his own intellect which, right up to this very day, and despite my every endeavour, has been unable to grasp the difference between petty-bourgeois and proletarian socialism. All differences of opinion are 'misunderstandings'. Exactly as in the case of the democratic wailers⁵⁵⁷ of '48. Or else 'over-hasty' deductions. Of course, since any deduction is over-hasty which deduces a specific meaning from the chatter of these gentry. For they aren't just trying to say *such and such*, but also, as likely as not, the opposite.

Apart from this, world history proceeds on its course untroubled by these philistine advocates of prudence and moderation. In Russia things will surely come to a head within a few months. Either absolutism will be overthrown and then, immediately after the overthrow of that great storehouse of reaction, a new wind will blow across Europe. Or else there will be a European war, and the *present* German party, too, will be submerged in the inevitable struggle of each individual people for its national existence. A war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years. But the new party that must surely emerge from it at last would, in all European

^a *La Revue socialiste*

countries, be freed of a host of hesitations and pettinesses such as presently hamper the movement everywhere.

Most cordially yours,
F. E.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil III, Stuttgart, 1914

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

291

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 19 December 1879

Dear Old Man,

I was supposed to be getting some money yesterday and it had long been understood that you would thereupon at once be sent a remittance. But it came too late for me to draw a money order that same day, and all through the afternoon I kept thinking: A letter's bound to arrive from Philipp this evening! And sure enough, it did arrive. So you've deprived me of the pleasure of giving you an unexpected Christmas treat. Well then, I have drawn a money order for five pounds sterling, against which, according to the rate here, 126 frs should be paid to you over there—as will, no doubt, be done without delay.

Over here we are all so-so; I can't complain, Marx is fitter than last year, although he still isn't really up to the mark. Mrs Marx has long been subject to bouts of indigestion and is seldom entirely well. The second volume^a is making slow progress, nor is it likely to progress any faster until a summer better than the last one enables Marx to recover properly for once.⁶²

Yesterday I wrote and told Bebel^b that we couldn't contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat*. From Höchberg's subsequent letters it emerges that he intends, as a matter of course, to continue advocating in the *Sozialdemokrat* the views expressed in the *Jahrbuch*.⁵¹³ And as

^a of *Capital* - ^b See previous letter.

long as the Leipzigers remain on their present footing with him and his philistine colleagues, I cannot see how they can refuse to allow this. But it also means that we are excluded. Having combatted this same petty-bourgeois socialism ever since the *Manifesto*^a (indeed, since Marx's anti-Proudhon piece^b), we cannot go hand in hand with it at a moment when it is using the Anti-Socialist Law⁴⁶² as a pretext for raising its banner again. And it is better so. We would involve ourselves in an endless debate with these gentry, the *Sozialdemokrat* would become a battleground, and in the end we should after all be forced publicly to announce our resignation. Not that all this would be of use to anyone save the Prussians and the bourgeois, and so we would rather avoid it. But this should not be regarded as a model by other people—those who, unlike us, have not themselves been forced by these particular negotiations to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Höchberg and Co. I see no reason at all why you, for example, should not contribute to the paper.⁵⁵⁸ The articles from German working men are the only things in it that give one any pleasure, and things of yours could only enhance the paper; and since it does exist, a paper that's as good as it's possible to make it is, after all, preferable to one that is merely bad. I say this on the assumption that these people pay you properly, for it would be asking altogether too much of a man in your position that he should, into the bargain, work for nothing. In fact, we're not particularly incensed against the Leipzigers over this business. We saw it coming for years. For Liebknecht cannot resist mediating and making friends left and right, nor is he exactly fussy about what elements have been imported so long as the party gives the appearance of being really strong and having plenty of members and, if possible, funds. And so he'll go on until one day he burns his fingers. When that happens the better men will no doubt revert to the right course.

The *Freiheit* is all sound and fury, quite devoid of content or meaning, and Most, who in other respects is not without talent, has here shown himself incapable of producing a single idea since he uprooted himself from the bedrock of the party. If I've got to have undiluted abuse, then give me the late Karl Heinzen any day; he succeeded in being even more ham-handed.

The powers of attorney have all gone off to New York,^c since when nothing more has been heard. There's no relying on

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^c See this volume, pp. 392-93, 410, 422.

Liebknecht's expectations, of which he always has more than is good for him.

For years Lessner has had nothing much to do with the Society here⁵⁵; he seldom turns up, and then doesn't do anything much except grumble and grouse about the course of things generally.

In Russia matters are going splendidly! They'll soon come to blows there. And when that happens, the bowels of the great men of the German Empire will instantly turn to water—a veritable flux! That will be the next turning point of world history.

You shouldn't allow the poor anarchists to irritate you so.⁵⁵⁹ They, too, are in a truly forlorn state. In the West they have nothing left to do save be anarchical amongst themselves and tear one another's hair out, and in Russia all their murderous deeds achieve—as they have just discovered to their dismay—is pulling the Constitutionals'⁵⁶⁰ chestnuts out of the fire for them!

Regards from Marx and

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

292

ENGELS TO AMÉLIE ENGEL⁵⁶¹

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, around 1879-1880]

Madame,

Many years of experience have impressed upon me the principle that under no circumstances should one give financial aid to strangers.

Moreover I cannot at this moment raise the sum you want. Were I able to do so, I should be under an obligation to use it, as I do *every penny* I can spare, for the relief of our German party comrades who are being persecuted by Bismarck.

Besides, since you have connections that will procure you audiences with princesses, you are unlikely to experience difficulty in extricating yourself from this momentary embarrassment.

Finally, I cannot refrain from mentioning that, while your visit came as a surprise to me, I have since then been equally certain of receiving a request of the kind contained in your letter.

Yours very truly

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

APPENDICES

1

BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF MARX'S LETTERS TO CARL HIRSCH⁵⁶²
IN PARIS

On 31 January 1875 K. Marx sends Hirsch a letter relating to the work *Misère de la Philosophie*^a printed at his expense (1,500 copies) by a Mr Vogler, a publisher in Brussels. In this letter he says also that Vernouillet, who sends him letters, is a very sensible man; finally he asks him how long it is since he saw Freund and Mesa; the last address which he had for Freund was: 53, route de Versailles (Auteuil).

On 10 December 1875 Karl Marx, 41 Maitland Park Road, London, N. W., writes to Hirsch concerning his book *Le Capital*, speaks of Lachâtre in Vevey (Switzerland) and of Kaub.

On 16 February 1876 Karl Marx invites Hirsch to pay a visit to his good friend Lopatin, 25, rue Gay Lussac, and advises him to make his acquaintance.

On 4 May 1876 Karl Marx informs C. Hirsch that a certain Henri Oriol, 177, rue St Denis, an employee at the Lachâtre bookshop, has written to him that the *Rappel* asked him for a review of the work *Le Capital*, and Mr Oriol is asking me, Marx says, for an article about this work, a kind of key which could also serve as an introduction.⁵⁶³

K. Marx also asks for news of Kaub.

^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

On 23 September 1876 K. Marx writes to Hirsch: The day before yesterday I came back from Karlsbad.¹⁷⁸ On my arrival I found a letter from Lavrov relating to the book *Le Capital*, the publication of which is to be banned in France, as he was told by his agent in Paris, Guyot of the Palais Royal.^a He sends greetings from the Kaub family.

On 10 April 1877 Karl Marx asks Hirsch for information about the Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont affair.³⁰⁸ He adds that the *Vorwärts* called Galliffet a 'dog'. He also asks him for the result of the scandalous trial of the 'simpleton' Louis Blanc (sic) against the Russian Panayev.

On 14 May 1877, in a letter to Hirsch, K. Marx speaks of *gens*^b Kaub, hostile to the Tsar, whom he calls a 'Kindernhund',^c child murderer.⁵⁶⁴ But the sentry protects him.

On 1 August 1877 K. Marx writes a socialist letter to Hirsch in which the names of Höchberg, Engels, Elisée Reclus and Arnould figure, and against the Protestant pastors of Germany.

On 20 February 1878 Karl Marx informs Hirsch that he has learnt from Lissagaray that a large number of people, supporters of the F. Pyat Commune, are working again to restore that harlequin Thiers who has done so much harm to the Commune; further on he says: Louis Blanc at least had the courage not to lick the boots of Mr Thiers as J. Favre, Simon, etc., did.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to C. Hirsch's file from the archives of the Paris Prefecture of Police

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a See this volume, p. 153. - ^b here: the family of - ^c thus in the police statement

2

ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

London, 25 October 1875
41 Maitland Park Road

Dear Mr Hirsch,

I enclose herewith a short appreciation, written by my mother, of an English actor Mr Irving. Mama would be pleased if you could arrange for its insertion in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.⁵⁶⁵

If he had enough time, Papa would himself have written an appreciation of Mr Irving in whom we are greatly interested (although we do not know him personally). First, because he is a man of exceptional talent and, secondly, because the entire English press, in consequence of the most wretched intrigues, has set about him, and engineered what can only be described as a plot against him. By getting the *Frankfurter* to print Mama's appreciation, you would be doing us a great service.⁵⁶⁶

I should also like to ask you on behalf of a friend, a Russian lady, if you think it might be possible to have an appreciation of Mr Irving published in the *Journal des Débats*,^a or else in the *Temps* or *Le Siècle*.

I very much hope you will forgive me for bothering you like this, but you have so many contacts with the French and German press, and your influence is so great that you are the only person to whom we could turn. I hope that you will excuse me, and not hold it too much against me.

Papa asks me to say how grateful he is to you for the newspapers you were good enough to send him. He also sends his warm regards, as do we all, to our friend Kaub. Mama thanks you in advance and, as for myself, I remain

Yours ever,

Eleanor Marx

Mama asks me to say that she does not wish her name to *appear* in the *Frankfurter*, but that if you want to say who wrote the appreciation, you may do so 'as between friends'.

First published in the language of the original (French) in *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Bulletin No. 8, Leeds, 1964

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

[London, between 16 and 20 August 1876]

My dear and esteemed Friend,

You really have heaped coals of fire on my head, and having just looked at the date of your first dear letter and even that of the second I must needs cover myself with sackcloth and ashes. I *come* to you with a sincere *Pater peccavi*.^a As soon as I got your first letter I meant to write straight away; then something intervened and I put it off, and to put off letter-writing is the surest way of killing it dead. One only has to start putting it off and a day turns into a week and a week into a month, and as for the speed with which the moons mount up to a year, that is something the gods and we old people are best qualified to know. The older one gets and the worse the times become, the quicker they pass and the faster the hours fly by. That's how it is with me, at any rate. And there must surely be something to be said in favour of old age. After all it's utterly wretched and miserable to be no longer young, and lively and 'sound'; one senses this particularly when, on top of old age, ill-health supervenes, as has recently happened to me, and this is probably the best plea in my favour for having neglected my duty of writing to so old and well-tried a friend. For months I have suffered from such severe headaches, etc., etc., that I often felt dazed and giddy and if only for that reason could not write. A three weeks' stay in Brighton has more or less set me up again. Last Friday^b my husband and my youngest daughter^c left for Karlsbad,¹⁷⁸ both of them unfortunately for reasons of health—or rather ill-health. This exceedingly expensive trip means there can be no question of other excursions or visits to loyal friends near and far, and, greatly though my husband would welcome an opportunity of paying his respects to Mont Blanc and old Becker, he must perforce adhere scrupulously to his cure and eschew any extra trips. Nor shall I myself be able to pack my knapsack this year; and I puff and I blow hot and cold in the diabolical heat. I got a letter from Karlsbad yesterday. After many tribulations they finally arrived at the institute for afflictions of the liver. In

^a Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:21) - ^b 11 August - ^c Eleanor Marx

Nuremberg they spent hours trotting about in search of a bed.^a Nothing to be had, not even in the meanest pothouse. The bakers were holding a convention, while from all directions the trombones and trumpets of the future,¹⁸⁵ the Siegfrieds, Valkyries and *Götterdämmerung*^b heroes were pouring into Nuremberg which they had to leave without having sampled its wares. Then they got on the wrong train and it was only after a truly Don Quixote-like series of to-ings and fro-ings, which continued for 28 hours, that they arrived in the country of springs.

Your news was all of it most interesting, and if I don't reply *en détail* you should put it down to this cruel heat, which must be the scapegoat for a great deal just now. I can't tell you how sorry I am for not having provided you with any material so far.^c It would seem that there's nothing to be done with the manager. I've written to him so often. My husband had a letter from Borkheim not long ago^d in which he says he is in fact a bit better. I think the best and safest course would be for you to approach him personally. He knows best where the things are kept and so can give orders for them to be looked out and sent to you. As for the other books, papers, etc., you want, I shall approach our old friend Lessner about them. Engels and my husband no longer have any connection whatsoever with the old Workers' Society⁵⁵ which is now very very much *run down* and has become a rowdy *society of louts*.

Whatever ingenuity Lessner may have expended hitherto on keeping it together, he is now heartily sick of the thing. But he can be more helpful to you than anyone else, and is an honest, reliable man who in politics has always behaved exceptionally well and honestly. One of the old guard '*qui meurt mais ne se rend pas*'^{e1 567} I shall be visiting our friend Engels in Ramsgate next week^f and therefore want to settle everything with Lessner beforehand so far as I can. I'm positive you had best deal with Borkheim direct. His address is:

S. Borkheim, Esq.
1 Denmark Place,
Hastings

And now, my esteemed friend, goodbye for the present.

This time next year, I trust, we shall all be 'over there', i.e. in

^a See this volume, p. 135. - ^b Wagner's opera - ^c See Engels' letter to Becker of 17 August 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46). - ^d on 1 August 1876 - ^e 'who will die rather than surrender'. - ^f See this volume, p. 141.

our 'beloved fatherland'^a so that we may see all our old comrades again at last. In which case we shall also make a bee-line for Papa Becker. With warmest regards,

Your old friend,
Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
time

4

ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 25 November 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For several weeks past I have been on the point of writing to you—I have actually started a letter on several occasions, but one thing and another always prevents my finishing it.

Just now in particular I have little time, since I am very busy with the election for the 'SCHOOL BOARD'. This committee, which is entrusted with the management of the public schools and with compulsory instruction, is a pretty important one and is chiefly concerned with combatting the so-called 'CHURCH PARTY' which seeks the outright abolition of compulsory instruction. I am working to promote the candidature of a woman—a Mrs Westlake—who, though essentially bourgeois like almost all Englishwomen, is at any rate very much a free thinker and worth more than any of the men who are offering themselves as candidates. I go from house to house canvassing votes and you would never believe the comical things I see and hear. At one house they demanded that we teach 'religion above all'—at another I was informed that 'instruction is the curse of the country, that education will be the ruin of us', etc., etc. All in all it is amusing, but also sad at times, when you call on a workman who tells you that he would like to 'consult his employer' first.

^a Quotation from Max Schneckenburger's poem *Wacht am Rhein*.

We receive the *Révolution*^a every day. What do you make of it? Can it long survive? I have my doubts about it. Tell us what you think.

Next week you will have a visit from Mr Kistemaeckers—the publisher of Lissagaray's book^b—a very good, very honest man. He is going to Paris to introduce the book in Paris and nothing should be said about his visit for fear of alerting the police.

Papa (who for the past few weeks has been very unwell on account of a heavy cold and bronchitis) is very vexed at not having had any news from Paris. As you know, he sent a case of instalments to Paris, hoping to receive in exchange sewn copies of the book—and not only has he received nothing, he hasn't even had any news.⁵⁶⁸ If you know anything about this, please let him know, I beg you, dear Sir.

But I see I have come to the end of my paper. So I shall bid you adieu for today. I told you in my last letter how well my pince-nez suits me—I grow more delighted with it every day.

Many good wishes from everyone here to Kaub, as also to yourself

and

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Marx

First published in the language of the original (French) in *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Bulletin No. 8, Leeds, 1964

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

5

JENNY MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London, 20 or 21 January 1877]

41 Maitland Park Road, Haverstock Hill

My dear Friend,

It's a long, long time since you had news of me or so much as a reminder of my existence; I did not even break my silence when fate struck you yet another terrible blow and you might, with perfect justification, have expected a few words of commiseration

^a *La Révolution française* - ^b [P.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*.

from your friends.⁵⁶⁹ Let me assure you that it was not lack of sympathy that caused me to remain silent. If I failed to write, it was because the tragic news literally bereft me of speech, nor did I wish to impinge on your great sorrow with all the commonplaces of sympathy and condolence. I know only too well how difficult it is and how long it takes to regain one's own balance after losses of this sort; it is then that life comes to our aid, with its little joys and big worries, with all its little, day-to-day drudgeries and petty vexations, and the greater sorrow is deadened by lesser, hourly ills and, without our noticing it, the violence of the pain abates; not that the wound has ever healed, and this is specially so of the mother's heart, but little by little there awakens in one's breast a fresh sensibility, a fresh sensitivity even, to new sorrows and new joys, and thus one goes on and on living, with a sore if ever hopeful heart, until at last it ceases to beat and gives way to eternal peace.

On the whole (though always and everywhere there are clouds) things have gone quite well with us. This year my husband and Tussy (our youngest) were again compelled to visit Karlsbad which had done them so much good on a previous occasion. This time, too, my husband found the treatment most beneficial. But alas, immediately on his return to this damp, foggy country of ours he caught so bad a cold that he has not hitherto been able to rid himself of the really frightful sneezing and coughing which have become almost chronic. Even a minor operation to shorten what is known as the uvula in his throat—it had become relaxed and elongated and was causing a constant excess of phlegm—does not so far seem to have done very much good. Tussy fell seriously ill in Karlsbad and came home pale and emaciated. She is better again now and busy doing various translations from German or French into English. As a member of the Shakespeare Society, she translated a pamphlet by Professor Delius of Bonn on the epic element in Shakespeare,²⁴¹ to the complete satisfaction of all concerned, and Professor Delius wrote her the most flattering letter in which he congratulated himself and the Society on the acquisition of such a 'FELLOW WORKER'. This success will give her the *entrée* to literary circles and magazines where she might be able to find paid work and thus be released from her teaching, which is onerous and takes an undue toll of her health. Lissagaray, to whom she is engaged, has brought out his book on the Commune^a in Brussels. It has turned out really well, seems to be selling well,

^a [P.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*.

and is presently being translated into German^a and English.⁵⁷⁰

As for my husband, he is at this moment DEEPLY IN THE EASTERN QUESTION AND HIGHLY ELATED by the firm, honest bearing of the sons of Mohammed vis-à-vis all the Christian HUMBUGS and hypocritical ATROCITY MONGERS.¹⁸⁷ (As may be gathered from today's telegrams, the Russians—the civilisers according to Gladstone, Bright and all the FREEMEN AND STILLMEN AND MERRYMEN—would seem to be pulling out in real earnest.)

Preoccupied though he is with this great political question, he is no less interested in the victory of the socialists in Germany²³⁷; not that they will be sending so very many more 'men' into parliament, but the number of votes they got everywhere, even in the bureaucratic bigwigs' districts of Berlin, is truly overwhelming and seems to have infuriated the climbers and speculators [*Grün-der*]¹¹⁸ and slave-drivers.

Longuet fell ill this spring of a nervous fever from which he is recovering only very gradually and which has left him still very much on edge and irritable. He is as excitable, vociferous and argumentative as ever, but in his favour be it said that he has given his lessons at King's College regularly and to the satisfaction of his superiors.¹⁷⁷ On 10th May Jenny gave birth to another little boy^b who at first looked very weak, small and ailing. Now he has one little tooth and eats so well that he has become a fine, fat, sturdy lad who is the pride of the whole family. When he drives up in his CARRIAGE AND FOUR, i.e. in the parental PERAMBULATOR, everyone rushes out joyously to meet him in the hope of being the first to pick him up, OLD GRANNY at their head. Jenny continues to suffer from asthma and a persistent cough, but that doesn't prevent her from carrying out her onerous duties at school and at home, nor does it diminish her *embonpoint*^c or the fresh bloom of her rosy cheeks. Lafargue and Laura also live quite close by. Unfortunately their business, printing by the *procédé* Gillot,^d hasn't been doing very well.⁹⁴ Always and everywhere, the competition of big capital stands in their way. In an attempt to overcome it, Lafargue has thrown himself into the breach and works like a NIGGER. Laura has likewise given proof of wondrous energy, courage and extreme application in all spheres, whether at home or elsewhere. Indeed, one might apostrophise Lafargue with 'cobbler stick to your last'. It is a shame he should have deserted old Father Aesculapius.⁵⁷¹ But all the same, prospects of success would seem to have improved somewhat of late. Larger orders are

^a See this volume, p. 189. - ^b Jean Longuet - ^c girth - ^d Gillot process - ^e See p. XXIX of the Preface.

coming in and Lafargue, who always sees everything through rose-tinted spectacles, is now hoping for a big 'job'. Laura has completely recovered her health and looks fresh and blooming and so youthful that she's addressed as 'Miss' by everyone who doesn't know her to be a married woman of nine years' standing.

Our friend Engels is as flourishing as ever. He is always healthy, vigorous, cheerful and in good spirits, and he thoroughly relishes his beer (especially when it's the Viennese variety). I cannot tell you much about our other acquaintances because we see only very few of them now, particularly the French—no Le Moussus, no Serrailliers, above all no Blanquists. WE HAD ENOUGH OF THEM. Wróblewski keeps in touch with the Turkish minister so that he can go to Turkey as soon as war breaks out. He'd have been far better advised to have gone there long since, for poverty and wounds have made his life a very hard one. Should there not be a war he will go under completely here, particularly after the terrible state of excitation he's been in. It will be a pity if he doesn't find something suitable to do. He has a really excellent brain and is a sterling fellow. Of the English working men *à la* Mottershead, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, etc., I would rather say nothing. They are all of them arch-blackguards, corrupt and corruptible, and chasing BY HOOK AND BY CROOK after the HONEST SHILLING. A truly abject lot!^a

But enough for today. My husband has been *awaiting*—so far in vain—the promised *Tribune*^b *articles got together* by Weydemeyer. You would greatly oblige him if you would look into the matter and send them to him.^c He needs them urgently.

And now there's only a small corner left in which to say goodbye and to convey the most cordial wishes, both for your own prosperity and for that of your family, from my husband, my children and, above all, from your old friend

Jenny Marx

[Postscript, written at the head of the first page of the letter]

Lessner is doing fairly well with his LODGING HOUSE; a baby every year—breeding like a rabbit.

First published abridged in *Briefe and Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Cf. this volume, pp. 155-56. - ^b *New-York Daily Tribune* - ^c See this volume, p. 115.

6

ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

London, 8 June 1878^a

Dear Mr Hirsch,

I owe you my excuses for having neglected to reply to your kind letter and trust that you won't take it too much amiss. To begin with, I have been suffering from neuralgia for the past few weeks, as well as from bouts of atrocious toothache—and, if you have ever had toothache, you will understand my lack of inclination to write. Next, I am working just now for several literary societies (CHAUCER SOCIETY, SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY, PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY etc.) at the BRITISH MUSEUM and this work leaves me very little time.^b Finally, I was so ashamed of my idleness that I no longer dared write. Today, however, I have taken my courage in both hands, for Papa has instructed me to drop you a line on his behalf. He is very unwell at the moment and in his present state of health it is *impossible* for him to let you have anything for your journal.^c He has, I think, been working too hard latterly and will be absolutely forced to do nothing for some time. I feel sure you will excuse him and that you will tell this to your colleagues on the *Égalité*.

I must thank you for asking me to collaborate on your journal, but at the moment I cannot—every bit of my day is taken up with work at the MUSEUM.

What do you make of Nobiling?⁴⁰⁶ Do you know anything about the man? The English press is indignant—more so, perhaps, than the German. One can see how delighted they would be to lay everything at the door of socialists of all countries, so as to resume their persecution. They are delighted that Germany is about to have a bit of reaction and terrorism—if only they could treat themselves to a bit of that over here! I fear it will be a bad business for our friends Liebknecht and the others. A little persecution can be beneficial, but not reaction, which suppresses newspapers, MEETINGS—in other words every means of propaganda. As yet we know nothing definite about Nobiling, for one cannot believe the reactionary press. The effect here was overwhelming when news of the second attempt at assassination came through—

^a 1879 in the original - ^b See this volume, p. 446. - ^c *L'Égalité*

nothing but cries of indignation on all sides, cries made more indignant by the fact that the bourgeois are terribly afraid. So if you know anything about Nobiling, write and tell us.

We have seen Mr Zanardelli once or twice. Is he not a little bit of a hothead? I didn't see him long enough to judge, but that is how he struck me.

Lissa[garay] has left for Jersey—before his departure he asked me to send you his best compliments. Papa also sends you a cordial handshake, likewise to Kaub.

Shall we see you soon in London? You really ought to come and spend a few days here.

Yours sincerely,
Eleanor Marx

First published in the language of the original (French) in *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Bulletin No. 8, Leeds, 1964

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

7

JULES GUESDE TO KARL MARX⁵⁷²

IN LONDON

[Excerpt]

Paris, [March-April 1879]
Hôpital Necker, Rue de Sèvres

Very dear Citizen,

I could not be more grateful to you for the sympathy and esteem which you have been kind enough to show me, and I ask you to believe that, for my part, although I find myself in disagreement with you on the subject of the International,⁵⁷³ I have always professed the deepest admiration for the author of the *Communist Manifesto*^a and *Capital*.

In fact this disagreement, I can say it now, would never have arisen—on my part at least—had I known you better.

For everything that you express in your letter coincides with what I think—and *have always thought*.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

If I am a revolutionary, if I believe like you in the need for force to solve the social question in a collectivist or communist way, I am also like you the convinced opponent of movements *à la Cafiero* which—useful though they may be in Russia—do not correspond in France, or in Germany, or in Italy, to any of the demands of the situation. You were able to see this from my campaign in the *Radical* against the Comic Opera insurgents in Benevento.⁵⁷⁴

Like you I am convinced that before thinking of action, one must set up a party, a *conscious* army, by means of active, continuous propaganda.

Finally, like you I do not believe that the simple destruction of what exists will be enough to build what we want, and I think that for a more or less considerable period the impulse, the direction should come from above, from those who are 'better informed'.^a

It is in these conditions that, since my return, I have been busy setting up this 'independent and militant workers' party' which you so rightly declare to be 'of the highest importance' in view of the events which are being prepared.

But for this party to be both 'independent' and 'militant', it is essential that the French proletariat which is to constitute it should be delivered from the dupery of bourgeois Radicalism and that, on the other hand, it should be persuaded that its emancipation can only be achieved through struggle...

If I were not so ill—and so poor—I would announce my next visit to you,⁵⁷⁵ so much would I like to have a long talk with you. But I do not dispose of myself either physically—or pecuniarily. And I must limit myself to sending you all my thanks and assuring you of my complete devotion

To you and to the Revolution

Jules Guesde

First published in full in the language of the original, French, in *Le Combat marxiste*, No. 19, Paris, mai 1935

Printed according to the journal
Translated from the French

^a Here and below Jules Guesde quotes Marx.

8

MARX TO MAXIM KOVALEVSKY⁵⁷⁶

IN MOSCOW

[London, April 1879]

Mr Kareyev's work⁵⁷⁷ is excellent. However, I do not quite share his view of the Physiocrats.²⁶⁰ I take the theory of capital, i.e., of the contemporary structure of society. From Petty to Hume, this theory was developed only piecemeal—a bit here, a bit there—according to the requirements of the period when the author lived. Quesnay was the first to put political economy on its real, i.e., capitalist, basis, and the curious thing is that he did so apparently as a landowner's tenant. Mr Kareyev is definitely wrong in saying that the Physiocrats opposed only one social occupation, namely agriculture, to others, i.e., industry and commerce, but never went, unlike Smith, so far as to oppose social classes to each other. If Mr Kareyev had recalled the main idea of Ricardo's Preface to his famous creation,^a in which he examines three classes of the state (landowners, capitalists, and workers, the latter tilling the soil by their labour), he would have seen that the first invention of the three classes in the economic sphere and their mutual relations could find a place only in the system of agriculture, where Quesnay put it. In addition, a writer should distinguish between what an author really gives and what he gives only in his own imagination. This is true even of philosophical systems; thus, what Spinoza considered the cornerstone of his system and what actually constitutes that cornerstone are two entirely different things. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of Quesnay's adherents, such as Mercier de la Rivière, saw the essence of the whole system in its paraphernalia while the English Physiocrats writing in 1798 were the first to demonstrate—on the basis of Quesnay's concepts and contrary to Adam Smith's—the need to abolish private ownership of land.⁵⁷⁸

First published, in Russian, in the magazine *Byloye*, No. 20, Leningrad, 1922

Printed according to the magazine

Translated from the Russian

^a D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*.

NOTES
AND
INDEXES

NOTES

¹ This letter was published in English for the first time in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—3, 17, 21, 31, 32

² Worried by the report of Marx's illness in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Engels on 13 January 1874 asking him for more information concerning the state of Marx's health.—3

³ Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, took a rest cure at Harrogate between 24 November and 15 December 1873.—3, 17

⁴ In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, the German Social Democrats scored a significant victory. The number of votes cast for them rose from 41,461 in 1871 to 171,351; six deputies (including Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who were serving a prison sentence at the time) were elected, as against two at the 1871 elections. For the first time, three seats went to the General Association of German Workers which polled 180,319 votes.

Alongside the left-wingers, the clerical Party of the Centre (see Note 423) also managed to strengthen its position. Marx referred to its members as the 'ultranontanians'. The latter advocated unlimited authority for the Catholic Church and opposed the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 35) pursued by Bismarck.

Engels learned about the results of the elections from Kugelmann's letter of 13 January 1874.—3, 6, 43

⁵ The *Geneva Congress* of the International Working Men's Association took place between 8 and 13 September 1873. Marx and Engels reversed their original intention to take part in its work, since the mounting reprisals against the working-class movement and financial difficulties precluded its being a truly international assembly. Unable to send their own delegations, nearly all the International's organisations handed over their mandates to the delegates of Romance Switzerland.

When debating the Rules, the majority led by Johann Philipp Becker confirmed the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) to extend the sphere of competence of the General Council, notwithstanding the opposition of the Swiss delegates Henri Perret and Theodore Duval. The congress emphasised the need for the working class to wage a political struggle. New York remained the seat of the General Council.

- The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International Working Men's Association.—4
- 6 The reference is to the address 'Compagnons, notre Association traverse...' issued in Geneva in August 1873 and signed by H. Perret, C. Bernard, T. Duval, M. Josserson, P. Detallancourt, H. Renauld and Laplace. Timed to coincide with the Geneva Congress (see Note 5), it was directed against some of the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) on organisational issues.—4
 - 7 The *Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières* was set up in late 1873-early 1874 by Perret and other members of the Swiss working-class movement. The attempts by the League's founders to involve German and British trade unions in its work having failed, the League ceased to exist.—5
 - 8 On 14 January 1874, the Sheffield trade union congress refused to declare its solidarity with the *Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières* (see Note 7).—6
 - 9 In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, Johann Jacoby failed to obtain a majority vote in any of the constituencies where he had been nominated. At the second ballot held on 27 January, he was elected in the Leipzig Constituency, but refused to take up his seat in protest at the Imperial Constitution. As a result, the Social-Democrats lost one seat in the Reichstag. Jacoby's conduct was criticised by *Der Volksstaat*, 20 February 1874.—7, 9
 - 10 In 1873-74, Engels concentrated on research into German history as he was planning a treatise on the subject. His intention, however, failed to materialise. Judging by the preparatory materials, Engels planned to cover the period right up to 1873 with particular emphasis on the time since the French Revolution. Part of Engels' manuscript, entitled *Varia on Germany*, is to be found in Vol. 23 of the present edition, and a more detailed version, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Russian Edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948.—7
 - 11 This letter from Marx to George Moore, like that of 28 March, dealt with the business of the firm holding a patent for engraving work; the partners were Paul Lafargue, Benjamin Le Moussu and George Moore. In late summer 1873, Lafargue withdrew from the firm and Marx took his place. The firm fell apart in the spring of 1874.—10
 - 12 Marx's letter has not been found.—10, 31, 33, 34, 75, 176, 189, 193, 222, 270, 276, 311, 353, 376, 382, 412
 - 13 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People*, McGraw Hill Book Company, New York, 1977. It appeared in English in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—13, 135
 - 14 Tennyson's poem, written on the occasion of the arrival in Britain of Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna, fiancée of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, was entitled 'A Welcome to Her Royal Highness Maria Alexandrovna, Duchess of Edinburgh, 7 March 1874'; each stanza ended with the word 'Alexandrovna!'.—14
 - 15 Engels' letter has not been found.—14, 15, 24, 38, 66, 130, 132, 134, 159, 180, 184, 195, 201, 219, 243, 257, 271, 316, 345, 369, 375
 - 16 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by

Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—15, 34, 37, 45, 55, 87, 143, 188, 191, 267, 416

- 17 A reference to the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*. An attempt to translate Marx's principal work into French was first made by Charles Keller, a member of the Paris Section of the International. Between October 1869 and April 1870, he translated about 400 pages which he sent to Marx for editing. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, however, Keller was forced to emigrate to Switzerland, where he embraced Bakuninist views, after which Marx terminated co-operation with him.

In December 1871, Paul Lafargue assisted Marx in concluding a contract for the publication of *Capital* with the progressive French journalist and publisher Maurice Lachâtre. The contract was signed on 15 February 1872. Under it, *Capital* was to appear in 44 instalments, one printer's sheet each. The work appeared between 1872 and 1875 in two instalments at a time, but was sold in series of five instalments each, making nine series in all.

The last instalments having come out, the series were stitched together and sold as separate books.

The first volume of *Capital* was translated into French by Joseph Roy. Marx did not think much of the effort and made a vast number of alterations, in fact, revised the book. As he himself said, the authorised French translation had an independent scientific value alongside the German original.

In this edition, the first volume of *Capital* is published in Engels' authorised English translation with the interpolations from the French edition given in the Appendix (see present edition, Vol. 35).—15, 16, 17, 26, 56, 57, 58, 70, 75, 80, 93, 113, 166, 276, 282, 287

- 18 Marx is referring to Rudolph Meyer's book *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, which appeared in Berlin in 1874 in instalments. The second instalment was sent to Marx by Kugelmann on 15 April 1874.—17
- 19 The agricultural labourers' movement for shorter working hours and higher wages in the central and eastern counties of England began in March 1872 with a strike in Warwickshire, where the Agricultural Labourers' Union was set up. In May 1872, the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was formed under Joseph Arch's leadership and by late 1873 its membership had reached about 100,000. By April 1874, the strikers managed to win a pay rise.—18, 29
- 20 The *Hague Congress* (2-7 September 1872) of the International Working Men's Association was the most representative in its history. Present at the congress were 65 delegates from 15 countries. It took stock of the campaign against Bakuninism within the International and mapped out a programme of action suited to the new conditions that had emerged after the Paris Commune. Its main decision was to endorse the London Conference (1871) resolution on the political action of the working class concisely formulated as Art. 7^a of the International's Rules. The congress also reached a number of decisions aimed at consolidating the Association's organisational structure.
- After the congress, the Bakuninists declared their disagreement with its resolutions, causing what amounted to a split in the International. The Hague Congress laid the foundation for future political parties of the working class in various countries.—18, 42, 114, 156, 157, 184, 214, 258, 339
- 21 In May 1874, Alexander II arrived in England to strengthen Russia's contacts with the British government. The stated purpose of the Tsar's visit was to see his daughter Maria Alexandrovna, the Duke of Edinburgh's wife.—18

- ²² The *Crimean War* (1853-56), or the Eastern war, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France, the Kingdom of Piedmont and Turkey for supremacy in the Levant. It ended in Russia's defeat and the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1856. In accordance with this treaty, Russia renounced its claims to the 'protection' of the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea and was forbidden to have military bases and warships there, and recognised the collective protectorate of the great powers over Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia, which remained under the Sultan's sovereignty. Russia also pledged not to erect fortifications on the Åland Islands.—18, 272
- ²³ The international conference involving Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey, held in London in January-March 1871, produced a convention that revoked articles XI, XIII and XIV of the 1856 Paris Treaty. The ban on the presence of Russian and Turkish warships and strongholds in the Black Sea area was lifted.—18
- ²⁴ The Ermen-Engels partnership contract signed on 30 June 1864 for a term of five years, which had made Engels a co-owner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, expired in the summer of 1869.
- The terms of Engels' withdrawal from the business were set forth in the draft agreement drawn up by him on 2 December 1868: '1) Mr Engels retires from business on the 30th June 1869 and engages not to be interested, either directly or indirectly, as principal or assistant, in any similar or competing business either in England or on the Continent for the term of five years after that date. 2) Mr Engels consents that Mr G. Ermen, if he should think proper to do so, continues the firm of Ermen and Engels as long as he is a partner in the concern. 3) Mr G. Ermen pays Mr Engels on 30th June 1869 the sum of £1750, seventeen hundred and fifty Pounds St. 4) Mr Engels to have the right of keeping £5000 in the concern at 5% Interest between 30th June 69 to 30th June 1870. Manchester, December 2nd 1868.'
- On 1 July 1869, Engels left the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels and wholly devoted himself to party, scientific and journalistic pursuits.—19
- ²⁵ The *Court of Chancery* or *Court of Equity*—one of the high courts of England, which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In contrast to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings in the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity.—20
- ²⁶ An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—21, 82, 222, 324
- ²⁷ In the second half of July 1874, Marx took a rest cure in Ryde on the Isle of Wight. Engels was in Ramsgate (Eastbourne) between mid-July and mid-August 1874.—21, 43
- ²⁸ In late July 1874, Brussels was the venue for a conference of European states convened on the initiative of Russia to discuss new rules of warfare. Being unwilling to discuss maritime rights, an issue that Russia intended to raise again, Britain refused to take part.—22

- ²⁹ Bismarck spent July and August 1874 at Bad Kissingen where an assassination attempt was made on him on 13 July. It was organised by the Catholic clergy enraged by the *Kulturkampf* policy he was pursuing (see Note 35). Bismarck was wounded by a shot fired by the artisan Kullmann.—23, 24, 312
- ³⁰ On 20 November 1873, the French National Assembly passed a law on the septennium, which allowed Mac-Mahon to hold the post of president of the republic for seven years (up to 20 November 1880). This signified consolidation of the President's individual power and bolstered the monarchists' position. The monarchist parties' attempts to have the National Assembly dissolved and the monarchy restored made in the summer of 1874 provoked indignation in republican quarters. Fearing an outburst on the part of the republican-minded masses, on 9 July Mac-Mahon issued an address to the Assembly stating that he would use all available means to retain the power granted him for the term of seven years. At the same time, he demanded an early introduction of new laws that would, to all intents and purposes, secure his dictatorship. Specifically, he demanded that the President be given a right to dissolve the Assembly, announce new elections and form the majority in parliament.—23, 24
- ³¹ The *Rurals* (the *Assembly of the Rurals*, the *French Rural Assembly*)—a derogatory nickname of the French National Assembly convened in February 1871 in Bordeaux and made up mostly of provincial landowners, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in the rural constituencies. The majority of the deputies (430 out of 630) were monarchists.—23, 57
- ³² In 1870, the Gladstone government introduced a reform of public education which provided for the opening of secular schools controlled by locally elected school boards (alongside parish schools) at which religious instruction was no longer compulsory. The reform was attacked by the Conservatives. In mid-July 1874, one of them, Lord Sandon, proposed an amendment to the law of 1869 which had established the Endowed Schools Commission. He suggested that the money be henceforth distributed by the Charity Commission, which would have allowed the church to regain the ground it had lost in school education. Sandon's Bill was strongly opposed by the Liberals.—24, 67
- ³³ Pierre Magne, the finance minister in the Mac-Mahon government, tried to eliminate the enormous budget deficit of 1873 (149 million francs), among other things by greatly increasing indirect taxes on all everyday necessities. In July 1874, his proposals were discussed in the French National Assembly. They were opposed by the left-wing deputies, who feared discontent and possible mass protests. After a stormy debate, some of Magne's proposals were rejected, and he was forced to resign.—24
- ³⁴ In July 1874, Padua and Arqua (Italy), Avignon and Vaucluse (France) hosted a festival to mark the quincentenary of the death of Petrarch, the great Italian lyric poet. The choice of venues was not accidental. The 'new man', as Petrarch has been called, spent his last years in Arqua near Padua. In Avignon, the Popes' residence from 1309, he was ordained, which gave him access to the papal court. In Vaucluse near Avignon, Petrarch spent four years (1337-41) in total seclusion, and later repeatedly returned there to work and rest. It was here that he wrote or conceived most of his works.—25
- ³⁵ *Kulturkampf* (struggle for culture)—the name given to a system of measures implemented by the Bismarck government in the 1870s against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre which was closely associated with it (see Note 423). Using the pretext of a campaign for 'secular culture', the Bismarck

- government sought to subjugate the clergy and cripple the Party of the Centre. With this end in view, it passed laws (1871-75) curtailing the rights of the Catholic clergy and abolishing the Catholic Church's right of supervision over the schools. Bismarck used the anti-Catholic campaign to bolster Prussian influence in the Polish lands under Prussian jurisdiction. In the second half of the 1870s and the early 1880s, as the working-class movement began to grow, Bismarck effected a reconciliation with the Catholic Church in an effort to consolidate the forces of reaction, and most of these laws were repealed.—25, 84
- ³⁶ In his letter of 24 June 1874 Lachâtre requested Marx to pass on his proposal to start a joint magazine or newspaper in London to the French émigré journalist Rochefort.—25
- ³⁷ Marx (accompanied by his daughter Eleanor) took a cure at Karlsbad from 19 August to 21 September 1874. Having returned to London on 3 October, he resumed work on the French translation of the first volume of *Capital* and finished editing the last instalments in late January 1875 (see this volume, pp. 55-56).—26
- ³⁸ Under the contract signed by Marx and Maurice Lachâtre in February 1872 (see Note 17), the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* was to appear in instalments. The delay in the publication, which took four years (1872-75), was caused, alongside the circumstances mentioned in this letter, by the growth of political reaction following the Paris Commune. In mid-1875, the French government transferred legal rights over Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris to Adolph Quêt, an official who procrastinated with the printing of the last instalments of *Capital* and did his best to obstruct its dissemination.—26, 153, 227
- ³⁹ Jenny Longuet's health was shaken by the death of her first son, Charles, in late July 1874. On 6 August, Marx took her to Ramsgate, where Engels was on holiday at the time. Marx stayed with them until 9 August. In the second half of August, Engels with his family and Jenny Longuet took a trip to Jersey and returned to London on 5 September.—27, 38
- ⁴⁰ Before leaving for Karlsbad for medical treatment in August 1874, Marx applied for British naturalisation to the Home Office as a precaution against possible reprisals by the Austrian authorities. The application was, however, turned down, ostensibly because Marx had failed to be 'loyal to his own King and Country' (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 564).—28, 29, 35
- ⁴¹ An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*. A Selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—28, 410
- ⁴² Marx is referring to the inaugural congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party illegally held in Neudörf on 5 and 6 April 1874. Present at it were 74 delegates, 10 of them representing Czech workers' organisations that favoured a single Austrian Social-Democratic Party incorporating workers' organisations in the Slav territories. The congress founded the party and elected its leading bodies. The *Dělnické listy* (Workers' Paper) published in Prague in Czech was to become the party's central printed organ alongside the *Gleichheit*.—30
- ⁴³ On 15 August 1874 Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, left for Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) on doctors' recommendations, where he stayed from 19 August to 21 September. On the way back to London, Marx stopped off in

Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg. In Leipzig, where he stayed approximately from 25 to 28 September, he had talks about the state of the German working-class movement with Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Blos, as well as with members of the Leipzig party branch. While in Hamburg on 29 September-1 October, Marx met Social-Democratic leaders.—32, 33, 35, 43, 45, 48, 53, 58, 119

- ⁴⁴ An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children*. Arranged and edited with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—33
- ⁴⁵ In November 1873-March 1874, Russia witnessed mass arrests among the revolutionary-minded intellectuals and students in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and some other cities. The arrests broke up the Narodnik (Populist) group of the so-called Chaikovists (after the name of N. V. Chaikovsky, one of its founders). The members of the group conducted propaganda among the workers, in particular they read extracts from the first volume of *Capital* and published revolutionary literature. They were the first to issue Marx's work *The Civil War in France* in Russian. The majority of those arrested were involved in the 'trial of the 193' in 1877-78, the biggest political trial of the Narodniks in Tsarist Russia.—33
- ⁴⁶ A reference to the abortive attempts by Italian anarchists to launch an uprising in Bologna and Apulia early in the morning of 8 August 1874.—35
- ⁴⁷ The French Marshal Bazaine, who had surrendered the Metz fortress in October 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war, was charged with high treason and sentenced to death in December 1873. Two days later, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In August 1874, after eight months in prison, Bazaine fled to Spain.—35, 251
- ⁴⁸ On 30 August 1874, the Viennese newspaper *Der Sprudel* reported: 'The long-standing leader of the International, Marx, and the head of the Russian Nihilists, the Polish Count Plater, have arrived at Karlsbad for a cure.' The next issue (No. 19, 6 September 1874) stated that Count Plater was associated neither with the Russian Nihilists nor with the International.—37
- ⁴⁹ This letter was published in English for the first time, in an abridged form, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877*. Edited by Fr. J. Raddatz, Boston, Toronto, [1981].—38, 243
- ⁵⁰ Engels is probably referring to José Mesa's letter of 24 August 1874. The latter wrote that despite his enforced move to Paris he still kept in touch with members of the Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association in Madrid, on which Engels could rely, and supplied a number of addresses.—39, 43
- ⁵¹ Engels spent the time between 28 July and 8 November 1857 at seaside resorts, including St Hélier in Jersey, where Marx visited him in early October.—39
- ⁵² An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—40, 122, 258, 275, 282, 299
- ⁵³ Sorge withdrew from the General Council on 12 August 1874 and informed Engels about this on 14 August; his official resignation followed on 25 September.—41

- ⁵⁴ On 7-13 September 1874, a number of organisations that had found themselves outside the International due to their refusal to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) held a congress in Brussels that declared itself the seventh congress of the International Working Men's Association. It was attended by members of anarchist groups from Switzerland, Spain and Belgium, two Lassalleans—members of German workers' organisations in Belgium—and Eccarius, who had been delegated by the breakaway faction of the British Federation. The congress revealed disagreement among the participants, including the anarchists themselves, on the issue of the working class' attitude to the state.—42, 49
- ⁵⁵ The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Society* in London founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the establishment of the Communist League in 1847, the leading role in the Society was assumed by the League's local communities. Marx and Engels were actively involved in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. On 17 September 1850, Marx, Engels and some of their followers left the Society in protest at the domination of the Willich-Schapper group, and rejoined it only in the late 1850s. After the foundation of the International Working Men's Association, the Society with Lessner among its leaders, became its German section in London. The London Educational Society existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.—49, 351, 363, 364, 434, 443
- ⁵⁶ The plan to start a workers' newspaper called the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne failed to materialise at that time.—50
- ⁵⁷ Engels is referring to John Tyndall's inaugural address to the 44th congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which opened in Belfast on 19 August 1874 (the address was published in *Nature*, No. 251, 20 August 1874), and to Henry Huxley's speech 'On the Hypothesis that Animals Are Automats, and Its History' made at the Association's meeting of 24 August (*Nature*, No. 253, 3 September 1874).
Engels used Tyndall's speech in his *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 481).—50
- ⁵⁸ The only passage of this letter by Engels to have survived is the one quoted by Hermann Lopatin in his letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 27 October 1874. Engels wrote this letter in reply to Lopatin's letter of 15 October dealing with Engels' articles *Refugee Literature*. Lavrov was sharply criticised in one of them for his conciliatory attitude towards the Bakuninists (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-21). Lopatin quotes the passage in English and introduces it in the following way: 'Engels himself sent me his short article. In the letters that we exchanged in this connection he assures that he has tried to show restraint and did not wish *exploiter à fond* this issue.'—53
- ⁵⁹ The reference is to the reprint of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11) in *Der Volksstaat* (28 October-18 December 1874) (see also Note 137). It was the first time that Marx was named the author of this work.
The epilogue, written for the *Revelations* and dated 'London, 8 January 1875', was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 10, 27 January 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24). In the first half of 1875, a separate edition of the work (based on the publication in *Der Volksstaat*) appeared in Leipzig.—54, 73
- ⁶⁰ An incorrect explanation of the French term (*Fleurs de lys*, Lilies—the symbol of legitimist monarchy) was given in an editorial footnote to Chapter IV of

Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne printed by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 140, 2 December 1874. After Marx's intervention, the error was set right in the supplement to *Revelations* published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 7, 20 January 1875 (see also present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442).—54

⁶¹ In his letter to Marx of 29 December 1874, Max Oppenheim wrote that he was regularly receiving *The International Gazette* from Berlin. He believed that Marx was the paper's London correspondent.—56

⁶² Following the publication of Part One of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29), Marx wrote a lengthy economic manuscript in 1861-63. It was a second rough draft of *Capital* (the first being the 1857-58 manuscript). In 1863, he definitively decided that the work was to have four books, the first three being theoretical, and the fourth, presenting a historical and critical survey. In August 1863, having completed work on the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx began preparing *Capital* for the press.

This work resulted in a third rough draft of *Capital*—the Economic Manuscript of 1863-65, consisting of three theoretical books. The draft for the fourth book (*Theories of Surplus Value*) formed part of the 1861-63 manuscript. Subsequently, Marx returned to the first book. On Engels' advice, Marx decided it would be the first to be published, and was preparing it for the press throughout 1866 and the first half of 1867. The first German edition of the book appeared in September 1867 as Volume One of *Capital*. Under the plan agreed with the publisher Otto Meissner, the second and third books, analysing the process of circulation of capital and the forms of capitalist process as a whole, were to appear as Volume Two, and the fourth book, dealing with 'the history of economic theories', as the third and final volume of *Capital*.

Marx, however, did not manage to prepare the second and third volumes of *Capital* for the press. After his death, Engels completed the work and published Marx's manuscripts of the second and third books as Volume Two (1885) and Volume Three (1894). Engels also intended to prepare for the press and publish the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book as Volume Four of *Capital* but died before this plan had been carried out. In the present edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, this book of *Capital* has been included in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (vols 30-34), while the first three volumes of *Capital* make up vols 35-37 respectively.—57, 115, 343, 415, 432

⁶³ This excerpt from Marx's letter to Juste Vernouillet is the passage from Marx's original letter quoted by the Munich antique dealer Emil Hirsch in his letter to Dr Pappenheim of 9 September 1899. Marx's letter, according to Hirsch, was dated 'London, 3 February 1875', took up two pages and dealt with the publication of Marx's manuscript by Louis Lahure (probably a reference to the French translation of the first volume of *Capital*; see this volume, Marx's letter to Maurice Lachâtre of 30 January 1875). According to Hirsch the quoted passage was to be found in the concluding part of the letter. Marx's addressee was not mentioned.—57

⁶⁴ On 21 January 1875, the French National Assembly began debating the draft 'law on the organisation of public authority' which formed part of the 1875 Constitution. The fundamental issue—the nature of the state system in France—was to be solved in the debate on the amendments to the Bill held on 29 and 30 January. By the final vote on 30 January the Constitution indirectly recognised the state system as a republic.—57

- ⁶⁵ This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—58
- ⁶⁶ 'What's Going on at Home?'—a section in the *Vperyod!* (Forward!) magazine published by Pyotr Lavrov. It carried reports from Russia.—58
- ⁶⁷ The section 'What's Going on at Home?' in *Vperyod!* (Vol. III, London, 1874) carried an anonymous article from Irkutsk dated February 1874; its actual author was Hermann Lopatin, who described a group of religious dissenters he met in Siberia called 'Not Ours'. They denied the existence of God and opposed government authority, property, family and all existing laws and customs in protest against the existing system in Russia.—58
- ⁶⁸ Marx finally received both books mentioned here. The name of the first appears on his list 'Russisches in my bookstall'.
Marx intended to use the results of his research into the agrarian relations in Russia when putting the finishing touches to the section on ground rent in the second volume of his *Capital* (see Note 62). However, this intention was not fulfilled. After the Russian translation of the first volume of *Capital* appeared in print in 1872, Marx continued his study of Russian economic writings, making copious notes as he went along.—58
- ⁶⁹ Marx wrote this letter on the cover of Tkachov's pamphlet *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels*, Zurich, 1874. Tkachov's work was written in reply to Engels' third article in the *Refugee Literature* series carried by *Der Volksstaat* on 6 and 8 October 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-28). In his letter to Engels of 1 February 1875 Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed that Engels write a refutation to the pamphlet. Marx may have read the pamphlet in February or March and passed it on to Engels with his comments. A short while later, Engels wrote articles IV and V in the *Refugee Literature* series, which were printed by *Der Volksstaat* on 28 March and 2, 16, 18 and 21 April 1875.
This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (present edition, Vol. 24, Note 44).—59
- ⁷⁰ This is a short record of a reply to Hermann Ramm's letter to Engels of 7 February 1875. Ramm wrote that the *Volksstaat* publishers planned to purchase a plot of land to build new premises for the party printing office in Leipzig and requested Engels to help collect the necessary funds. This plan is also mentioned in Engels' letter to August Bebel of 15 October 1875 (see this volume, pp. 123-25).—59
- ⁷¹ At the *Gotha Congress*, which met between 22 and 27 May 1875, the two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers—united to form the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. This put an end to the split in the German working class. The draft programme of the united party, which Marx and Engels subjected to fierce criticism, was adopted by the congress with only insignificant amendments.—59, 69, 97, 257
- ⁷² This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence, London, [1933].—60, 94, 97
- ⁷³ This letter is closely connected with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24). It sets out Marx's and Engels' shared opinion on the merger of the two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers (see Note 75) and the Lassalleans, which was likely to take place in early 1875. The letter was

occasioned by the publication on 7 March 1875 of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany in *Der Volksstaat* (the organ of the Eisenachers) and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (the organ of the Lassalleans). This draft was approved with only minor amendments by the unity congress at Gotha held on 22-27 May 1875 and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

Marx and Engels welcomed the merger of the two parties, but believed that the Eisenachers should have shown greater dedication to principle and refused to make theoretical and political concessions to the Lassalleans.

Engels' letter was first published by Bebel, only 36 years later, in his book *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911.—60

⁷⁴ A reference to one of Ferdinand Lassalle's programme theses providing for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly stressed that what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage.—60

⁷⁵ This refers to the *Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei*, adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* on 14 August 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, subsequently known as the Eisenachers. For the most part the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—60, 70

⁷⁶ The *German People's Party*, founded in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states, which campaigned against Prussian hegemony in Germany and called for a federative German state.—61, 70, 95, 97

⁷⁷ A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

'The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community.
2. Direct legislation by the people with the right to initiate and to reject bills.
3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people.
4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly.
5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.

'The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction.
2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience.—61

⁷⁸ The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted that it was possible to prevent wars by creating the 'United States of Europe'. Its leaders failed to expose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's inaugural congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the

congress in their own right in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of 4 September 1867, present edition, Vol. 42).—61

- ⁷⁹ The so-called iron law of wages was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle in his *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16.—62
- ⁸⁰ Philippe Joseph Buchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, put forward a plan to set up workers' producer associations with the aid of the state.—62
- ⁸¹ Engels is referring to Wilhelm Bracke's work *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag. Ein Wort an den 4. Congreß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei* (1873), which criticised Article 10 of the Eisenach programme. As an immediate target it demanded that the party campaign for 'state promotion of co-operatives and state credit for the free producer associations with democratic guarantees'. Bracke proposed that this provision be replaced by a statement of the need to set up an all-embracing trade union organisations, 'to abolish private ownership of what at present constitutes capital', and to 'attain the international unity of the proletariat'.—62, 97
- ⁸² In March 1872, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for their membership of the International Working Men's Association, their socialist convictions and democratic politics. At another trial, on 6 July 1872, Bebel was sentenced to additional nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his seat in the Reichstag for 'insulting His Imperial Highness William I.'
Liebknecht was released on 15 April 1874, while Bebel was freed only on 1 April 1875.—65
- ⁸³ In his letter to Engels of 25 March 1875, Bracke wrote: 'The programme, submitted for the "unity congress" and signed by Liebknecht and Geib, forces me to write these lines. The adoption of this programme is impossible as far as I am concerned, and Bebel is of the same opinion for his part.' Bracke particularly drew attention to the points of the programme which proclaimed the introduction of producers' co-operative societies with state aid. 'The Lassalleans have evidently made this point a *conditio sine qua non* for unification, and our representatives, Liebknecht and Geib included, have endorsed the same for the sake of unification. In order to "bring about" unification, they have discarded their convictions and given their consent to something of whose wrongness they are convinced... However, since Bebel seems determined to take up the struggle, I would at least feel moved to support him to the best of my abilities. But before that I should like to know what you and Marx think of the affair. Your experience is greater, and your understanding better, than mine.'—66
- ⁸⁴ In a letter to August Bebel (which has not come to light), Engels invited him and Liebknecht to visit London. In his reply of 23 February 1875 Bebel wrote that he was too busy with party matters to make a trip in 1875. He did not visit Marx and Engels in London until 1880.—66
- ⁸⁵ The original of this letter is kept at the Engels family archive in Engelskirchen.—66
- ⁸⁶ This is a covering letter to Marx's *Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, which went down in history as *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24). Marx's letter to Bracke was first published by

Engels, together with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, in 1891 in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Socialist Series*, number one, under the title 'The Socialist Programme. By Karl Marx', The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow [1918]. It appeared in English in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*. In two volumes, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936.—69

- ⁸⁷ A reference to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* which analyses the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany formed as a result of the merger of the Eisenachers and the General Association of German Workers. The work significantly promoted the fundamental theoretical issues of scientific socialism and set an example of uncompromising struggle against opportunism. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written in April-early May 1875, and was intended for the Eisenachers' leaders (see Note 75). Marx's letter to Bracke of 5 May 1875 was in fact an integral part of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see Note 86).

Despite opposition from the opportunist Social-Democratic leaders, Engels had the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* published in 1891, together with his foreword and Marx's letter to Bracke, in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18. As his letter to Kautsky of 23 February 1891 makes clear, he was forced to tone down some of the more outspoken passages and appraisals and to make a number of deletions in Marx's manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 49).—69, 75

- ⁸⁸ Later, Marx and Engels decided against publicly opposing the Gotha Programme, considering such action inexpedient when the merger of the two German working-class organisations was already a *fait accompli*. Their attitude to the united party formed in Gotha was based on the belief that, in the long run, the elimination of the organisational rift in the German working-class movement would be conducive to the struggle of the German proletariat for its emancipation.—69

- ⁸⁹ The original plan was to hold the unity congress in Gotha on 23-25 May 1875, the Lassalleans' congress prior to it, and the Eisenachers' congress on 25-27 May. In reality, the unity congress took place on 22-27 May, and the Eisenachers' and the Lassalleans' congresses were held during it.—70, 94.

- ⁹⁰ Marx is most probably referring to Schramm's letter of 31 March 1875, in which the latter wrote of his intention to contribute a series of popular articles about *Capital* to *Der Volksstaat*. Schramm requested Marx to explain to him some points on the theory of ground rent. Judging from Schramm's letter to Marx of 14 May (see Note 91), Marx actually did so, but his letter, written between 8 and 14 May, has not been found. The following year, Schramm published a book, *Grundzüge der National Oekonomie*. Abth. 1, Leipzig, 1876, a copy of which he probably sent to Marx. This book has been found in Marx's library.—73

- ⁹¹ Replying to Marx, Schramm wrote on 14 May 1875: 'Many thanks for your kind and detailed letter which is particularly valuable to me in view of its explanations of ground rent. As you requested, I am sending you the desired addresses below: the owners, Bamberger and Bernstein, are both known to me personally, and I think I can vouch for their reliability.'

Probably a reference to the Berlin wholesale firm of *Bamberger & Co., Leinen- und Baumwollwaren engros*, Breitestraße 22. It was owned jointly by Jacob Bamberger and Ad. Bernstein.—73

- ⁹² *Annolied* (The Song of Anno)—a poem written by an unknown author in the late 11th century in Middle High German in praise of Anno, Archbishop of Cologne.—74
- ⁹³ In his letters of 29 March and 25 April 1875, E. Glaser de Willebrord asked Marx to contribute to the socialist weekly *La Réforme sociale* he was planning to start in Brussels.—75
- ⁹⁴ After his withdrawal from the engravers' firm in the summer of 1873 (see Note 11), Lafargue bought a photolithographic and etching workshop in the hope of solving his financial problems.—75, 132, 447
- ⁹⁵ This is a draft of Engels' reply to Patrick John Coleman's letter of 19 May 1875. It was written down on the last page of Coleman's letter informing Engels about his intention to go into trading business and requesting him to become security for him.—76
- ⁹⁶ An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—78, 205, 206, 207, 287, 308
- ⁹⁷ *Traube's artificial cells*—inorganic formations representing a model of living cells; they were created by the German chemist and physiologist Moritz Traube by mixing colloidal solutions. He read a paper on his experiments to the 47th Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians in Breslau on 23 September 1874. Marx and Engels thought highly of Traube's discovery.—78
- ⁹⁸ Marx elaborated these ideas in Chapter XXV of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 17). Engels did not include this passage in the English translation of the volume which is to be found in Vol. 35 of the present edition.—78
- ⁹⁹ This is Marx's reply to Juste Vernouillet's letter of 11 July 1875.—79
- ¹⁰⁰ Marx is referring to the delay in the printing and distribution of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see notes 17 and 38). The obstacles put up by the French government in the way of *Capital* are described in Marx's letter to Peter Imandt of 27 September 1875 (this volume, p. 92).—79
- ¹⁰¹ The copyright treaty was signed by the free city of Hamburg and Great Britain on 16 August 1853. Article 2 of the treaty covered translations.—80
- ¹⁰² The *Basle Congress* of the International Working Men's Association was held between 6 and 11 September 1869. Present at it were 78 delegates from eight major European countries. For the first time the International's congress was attended by an American, the delegate of the National Labor Union of the United States, Andrew Carr Cameron.

The congress heard a report written by Marx on the instructions of the General Council and stressing the International's role in leading the strike movement.

The issues of landed property and the right of inheritance figured prominently at the congress. To all intents and purposes the Basle Congress

resolution confirmed that of the Brussels Congress on the abolition of private ownership of land. No decision was taken on the question of abolishing the right of inheritance as the resolution submitted for consideration by the congress failed to win the required number of votes.

There was almost no disagreement on the resolution recommending the workers to set up trade unions in all industries and to form associations on a nationwide scale. Defence of the workers' interests and a campaign to replace the wage labour system by 'associated free labour' were proclaimed the trade unions' main tasks.

The Basle Congress also took a number of decisions directed at consolidating the International's organisation, extending the functions of the General Council and enhancing its role as the leading body of the International Working Men's Association. Paris was chosen as the venue for the next congress, scheduled for 1870.—81

- ¹⁰³ Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between mid-August and 22 September 1875.—82, 91, 94
- ¹⁰⁴ Between 15 August and 11 September 1875, Marx was in Karlsbad for a second time taking treatment. On his way there, he stopped over in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 109). On his way back to London, he spent several days in Prague visiting Max Oppenheim.—82, 86, 89, 90, 92, 94
- ¹⁰⁵ The notion of the 'average man' was elaborated in the works of the Belgian statistician Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet. According to him, the 'average man' was the perfect, 'true type', while individuals were merely its distorted representatives. Marx used the English translation of Quetelet's main work, *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties*, Edinburgh, 1842.—82
- ¹⁰⁶ *Referendar*—a junior official in Germany, usually a lawyer, doing a training course at a court of law or in the civil service.—83
- ¹⁰⁷ 6 August 1875 was a birth centenary of David O'Connell, leader of the Irish national liberation movement.—84
- ¹⁰⁸ The *red International*—a name for the International Working Men's Association that came into use in the 1860s.
The *black International*—a name for the Order of Jesus that became current after the publication in 1873 of N. Steffen's article 'Brief eines Luxemburgers an einem Landsmann. Dritter Brief' in *Die Grenzboten*, No. 42, p. 119.—85
- ¹⁰⁹ The 'Frankfurter Angelegenheiten' column of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 229, 17 August 1875) featured the following note: 'Frankfurt, 17 August. Late last week Mr *Karl Marx* arrived here from London. His friends were pleasantly struck by his healthy looks and high spirits. He was on his way to Karlsbad, where he intended to stay for about four weeks.'
Marx passed through Frankfurt am Main around 13-14 August 1875.—85
- ¹¹⁰ A reference to one of the trials against the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The immediate cause of the reprisals against the newspaper was the publication on 25 March 1875 of an article on *Kulturkampf* and of an article on the reptile fund on 30 March (see notes 35 and 408). The editors were sentenced to imprisonment for their refusal to name the authors of those articles. Leopold Sonnemann, editor-in-chief and publisher, was arrested on 28 August and remained in prison until late September 1875.—85

- ¹¹¹ In line with the decision of the Gotha unity congress of 1875 (see Note 71), the leading bodies of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany were the Executive Committee (Vorstand), Control Commission (Controllkommission) and Committee (Ausschuss). The Executive Committee elected at the Gotha Congress had five members: Hasenclever and Hartmann, the chairmen; Auer and Derossi, the secretaries, and Geib, the treasurer. Thus the Executive came to comprise three Lassalleans (Hasenclever, Hartmann and Derossi) and two Eisenachers (Auer and Geib). The Executive Committee was to be based in Hamburg.—85, 96, 98, 246
- ¹¹² Marx's letters from Karlsbad to his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) have not been found.—87
- ¹¹³ The reference is to the battle of 1 September 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, in which the French army was smashed. The crushing defeat at Sedan speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.—88, 155, 251, 297
- ¹¹⁴ On Marx's and Engels' attitude to the German socialist Gustav Adolph Köttgen, see their 'Letter from the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to G. A. Köttgen' (present edition. Vol. 6, pp. 54-56).—88
- ¹¹⁵ The introduction to Grün's book was published under the heading 'Ueber Weltanschauungen. Präludium zur *Philosophie in der Gegenwart*' in *Die Wage*, Nos. 33-38, 20 August-17 September 1875. The book itself was completed in March 1876 and issued by Otto Wiegand's publishing house (K. Grün, *Die Philosophie in der Gegenwart. Realismus und Idealismus*, Leipzig, 1876). In May 1873, Engels had made a start on one of his principal works, *Dialectics of Nature*.—88
- ¹¹⁶ A reference to the anonymous and undated pamphlet published in Brussels under the title *Quelques mots d'un groupe socialiste révolutionnaire russe à propos de la brochure: Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*. The pamphlet was presumably written by Michal Kasper Turcki. It was spearheaded against Marx's and Engels' work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23).
Lavrov wrote to Engels on 20 September 1875: 'You have probably seen a small pamphlet that Nechayev's anonymous followers have published in Brussels as a response to the pamphlet about the "Alliance". But, of course, neither the group nor its writings are of any value whatsoever.' In late September-early October 1875 Lavrov sent a copy of the pamphlet to Engels.—91
- ¹¹⁷ In a letter to Marx of 25 September 1875, Peter Imandt enclosed an article, 'The International Working Men's Association. By an Internationalist', carried by *The Dundee Advertiser* on that day. 'The enclosure will show you that *The Dundee Advertiser* has a very good friend of yours among its correspondents. I was surprised to see the article this morning, and have no idea where it originates,' he wrote.—92
- ¹¹⁸ Under the terms of the peace treaty signed after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, France paid 5,000-million-franc reparations to Germany, which contributed to the rapid growth of German economy. The period of feverish business activity, which witnessed the mushrooming of

railway, industrial, construction and commercial joint-stock companies, banks and credit and social security companies and was accompanied by large-scale speculation, stock-exchange swindles and machinations, has come to be known as *Gründerjahre* (or the period of *Gründertum*). By 1873 it had resulted in a crash followed by an economic crisis, which lasted well into 1877.—92, 131, 218, 304, 335, 405, 447

- ¹¹⁹ Marx wrote this letter on a postcard. On the side reserved for the address he wrote: 'Mons. P. Lawroff, 3, Evershot Road, Tollington Park, Holloway.'—93, 113
- ¹²⁰ Engels is referring to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany formed at the unity congress in Gotha in May 1875 (see Note 71), whose Executive Committee consisted of three Lassalleans and two Eisenachers (see Note 111).—94
- ¹²¹ The reference is to the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted by the unity congress in Gotha (see Note 71) in May 1875. Marx described it and gave a critical analysis of it in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24), as well as in his letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (see this volume, pp. 69-73). Engels dealt with it in his letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875 (*ibid.*, pp. 60-66).
The programme adopted at the congress ignored Marx's and Engels' comments on some of fundamental points. The point on proletarian internationalism was included at Liebknecht's suggestion.—95, 97, 294
- ¹²² In 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites surrounded the Roman legions in the Caudine Forks near the Roman town of Caudium and drove them under a yoke, which signified the worst possible disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the phrase 'to pass under the Caudine yoke': to be submitted to extreme humiliation.—95, 97
- ¹²³ As is clear from Jose Mesa's letter to Engels of 4 July 1875, Engels had read the text of the Gotha Programme to him during Mesa's stay in London, which he left for Paris in late June. In his letter, Mesa asked Engels for the latest news of his friends in Germany, their merger with the Lassalleans and the Gotha Programme. Mesa intended to pass on the information to his friends in Madrid.—95
- ¹²⁴ In his letter to Engels of 28 June-7 July 1875, Wilhelm Bracke wrote that the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany decided, by the Lassalleans' three votes to the Eisenachers' two, to delete from the list of Party literature printed in its central organs, *Der Volksstaat* and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, two anti-Lassalleian works, namely Wilhelm Bracke's 'Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag' (Brunswick, 1873) and Bernhard Becker's 'Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's' (Brunswick, 1874). Both books had been issued by Wilhelm Bracke's publishing house. On Bracke's resolute demand, this decision by the Executive Committee was revoked.—95, 98
- ¹²⁵ The national German co-operative printing office in Berlin was founded in August 1875. Its board comprised the Lassalleans Wilhelm Hasselmann, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Heinrich Rackow. The Leipzig co-operative printing office had been set up by the Eisenachers in July 1872. After the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462) the Social-Democratic co-operative printing offices were closed down.—96

- ¹²⁶ The next Reichstag elections were held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237).—96, 97
- ¹²⁷ An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—99, 429
- ¹²⁸ The opening part of the letter is missing. At the top of the first extant page there is a note in Bebel's hand: 'Zu Engels' Brief vom 12. Okt. 1875.' This note, as well as the fact that Engels' letter to Bebel of 12 October 1875 was published by the latter in his book *Aus meinem Leben* without the concluding part, suggests that what Engels wrote to Bebel on 12 and 15 October belongs to the same letter. Since, however, there is no direct proof of this, and the middle part of the letter is missing, the two parts bearing different dates are published as independent letters in the present edition.—99
- ¹²⁹ This is probably a reference to the Leipzig co-operative printing office set up by the Eisenachers in 1872. From June 1875, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, in which the majority were the former members of the General Association of German Workers, acted as a supervisory council over the printing office. Cf. this volume, pp. 74 and 118-19.—99
- ¹³⁰ *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 103, 104 and 106, of 8, 10 and 15 September 1875, reprinted the article 'Karl Marx über Strikes und Arbeiter-Koalitionen' from the Viennese *Gleichheit*, the central organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats. This unsigned article was a translation into German of § 5 ('Strikes and Combinations of Workers') from Chapter II of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, with the introduction and conclusion by the author of the article.
- In the 1885 edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Engels supplied the passage from Marx's book mentioned in this letter with the following note: 'That is, the socialists of that time: the Fourierists in France, the Owenites in England' (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 209).—99
- ¹³¹ *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 55, 68, 82, 91 and 92 (1875) carried articles signed 'K-Z' (see also this volume, p. 54).—100
- ¹³² Engels draws a parallel between the period of reforms in Russia following the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and the 'New Era' in Prussia.
- The 'New Era'—the reference is to the 'liberal' course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the 'New Era'. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 (see Note 311) put an end to the 'New Era'.—100
- ¹³³ This letter of Marx's was written on the back of Eleanor Marx's letter to Bernhard Kraus of 20 October 1875.—103
- ¹³⁴ The letters mentioned by Marx and despatched from Karlsbad where he stayed taking a cure from 15 August to 11 September have not been found.—103
- ¹³⁵ In late October-early November 1875, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns took Lizzie's niece Mary Ellen Burns to a boarding house in Heidelberg, where she

- stayed from November 1875 to March 1877. Engels and his wife returned to London on 6 November 1875.—104, 106
- ¹³⁶ Engels' pamphlet *On Social Relations in Russia* (F. Engels, *Soziales aus Russland*, Leipzig, 1875) comprised an introduction and the fifth article from the *Refugee Literature* series (see present edition, Vol. 24). By 'the first article' Engels means the fourth article in the series, directed, like the fifth one, against Pyotr Tkachov's *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels*. This fourth article was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 36 and 37, 28 March and 2 April 1875.—105
- ¹³⁷ The Cologne Communist Trial was held in 1852. It was preceded by arrests of many Communist League leaders and activists in the summer of 1851 and their detention for a period of eighteen months. Marx's work *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* was written between late October and early December 1852. In 1853, two separate editions of the work appeared, one in Basle and the other in Boston. They were not, however, distributed in Germany. In the first half of 1875, a new separate edition appeared in Leipzig, a copy of which Engels probably sent to Pauli.—105
- ¹³⁸ This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—106
- ¹³⁹ In places this letter coincides almost word for word with the item 'Struggle for Life' in Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 583-85).—106
- ¹⁴⁰ In his note dated 24 November 1875, Paul Kersten asked Engels to arrange a meeting with Marx and Engels for himself and his friend.—110
- ¹⁴¹ An extract from this letter pertaining to the liberation of Poland was read by Walery Wróblewski at a meeting held in London on 4 December 1875 to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830 and published on 31 December 1875 by the newspaper *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 24, as part of the article 'Anniversary of the 1830 Polish Uprising'.—111
- ¹⁴² Marx's and Engels' first public speeches on the Polish question were made at the international meeting held in London on 29 November 1847 to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-52).—111
- ¹⁴³ Marx is referring to the so-called alliance of three emperors which came into being at the conference of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian emperors in Berlin in September 1872. It was an attempt to resurrect the reactionary Holy Alliance founded by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1815.—111, 297, 312, 340
- ¹⁴⁴ This is Engels' reply to Lessner's letter of 15 December 1875. The latter wrote that he was told *The Daily News* of 13 December had carried a telegraph communication about Leo Frankel's arrest.
- Frankel was arrested in Vienna on 9 December 1875. As a member of the Paris Commune, he was charged with arson in the city and with shooting hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, Georges Darbois. After two months' imprisonment in Vienna Frankel was transferred to Budapest. Since, for reasons of domestic policy, the French government did not dare to publicly demand Frankel's extradition, he was released on 27 March 1876. He informed Marx of this on 28 March.—112

- 145 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—114, 250
- 146 Marx is expressing a familiar idea voiced in Nikolai Chernyshevsky's review of the Russian edition of Henry Charles Carey's *Letters to the President on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Union and Its Effects, as exhibited in the condition of the People and the State*: 'The course of history is not the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt... Those who are afraid of getting grimy and dirting their boots, should not take up public work' (*Sovremennik*, Vol. 85, Part II: 'Contemporary Review', January 1861, p. 51. In Russian).—114
- 147 In his letter to Marx of 17 March 1876, Sorge asked whether Marx and Engels would be able to come to Philadelphia to take part in the centenary of the USA's foundation.—114
- 148 The reference is to the publication of the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in the United States of America. As a delegate to the Hague Congress of the International in 1872 Sorge had brought with him the English translation of the *Manifesto* made by Hermann Meyer and asked Marx and Engels to look it through. They promised to make the necessary additions and corrections, but an excessive workload prevented them from doing so.—115, 276, 283, 414
- 149 Marx is referring to mounting corruption and large-scale swindles in the USA under President Grant, especially in railway construction.—115
- 150 There is no reliable information on whether Engels visited his wife's niece Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) at Whitsuntide on 4 June 1876.—116
- 151 Between 20 May and 2 June 1876, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns were on holiday in Ramsgate.—117, 124
- 152 Engels received Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 16 May 1876 and Johann Most's letter. Liebknecht wrote: 'A manuscript by Most enclosed, which will show you that the Dühring epidemic has hit even people who are otherwise quite sensible; it needs to be dealt with. Send the manuscript back.'
On Most's manuscript, see Note 159.—117
- 153 This is probably a reference to Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*, Leipzig, 1875. Engels criticised the book in his *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, Part I, 'Philosophy').—118, 162, 180, 195
- 154 Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx* was originally published in Chemnitz in 1873. At Wilhelm Liebknecht's request, in early August 1875 Marx and Engels edited it for the second edition, which appeared in Chemnitz in April 1876. However, Marx and Engels did not consider it an adequate exposition of *Capital* and were able to correct only the major errors. For this reason, Marx demanded that his name should not figure on the title-page of the second edition.—118, 125
- 155 The publication of Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung* and the second edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (1875) made his views very popular in Germany. Among the German Social-Democrats, he acquired such followers as Johann Most, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, and

Eduard Bernstein. Even August Bebel came under his influence for a short time. In view of this, in his letters to Engels of 1 February and 21 April 1875, Liebknecht proposed that the latter use *Der Volksstaat* to criticise Dühring's views.

Engels did so for the first time in the essay 'Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag' carried by *Der Volksstaat* in February 1876 (see present edition, Vol. 24).

Marx agreed with Engels that Dühring's views had to be exposed to serious criticism. Engels interrupted the work on *Dialectics of Nature* which he had begun in May 1873 and made a start on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25). It took him over two years, from May 1876 to July 1878, to complete it. Part I of the book was mainly written between September 1876 and January 1877 and was printed in the *Vorwärts* as a series of articles under the heading *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie* in January-May 1877.

Part II was written in July-August 1877. Marx contributed Chapter X. This part was published under the heading *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie* in the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage* and the supplement to the *Vorwärts* in July-December 1877.

Part III was written mostly between August 1877 and April 1878 and appeared in the *Vorwärts* in May-July 1878 under the title *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung des Sozialismus*.

The book aroused strong resistance on the part of Dühring's followers. At a regular party congress held in Gotha from 27 to 29 May 1877, they tried to prevent the publication of Engels' work in the party's central organ. *Anti-Dühring* appeared in the newspaper with lengthy intervals.

In July 1877, Part I of the book was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet. In July 1878, Parts II and III were also published there as a separate pamphlet. The first complete edition of *Anti-Dühring*, with Engels' preface, appeared at the same time.

In late October 1878, following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany, *Anti-Dühring* was banned along with Engels' other works.—118, 120, 122, 175, 201, 207, 218, 220, 227, 236, 249, 254, 258, 283, 289

- 156 On 22 (10) May 1876, Constantinople witnessed a mass demonstration of the softas, Moslem students of theology and constitutional law. One of their basic demands was the convocation of a representative body to approve the state budget. The Sultan was forced to meet some of the softas' demands. Specifically, he dismissed the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) and the Sheikh ul Islam (head of the Moslem clergy).—118, 123, 293
- 157 In July 1875, a national liberation uprising against Turkish rule flared up in Herzegovina. In August, it spread to Bosnia. It was the starting-point of the Eastern crisis of the 1870s which ultimately led to the war between Serbia and Montenegro on the one hand, and Turkey on the other (see Note 176) and eventually to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 (see Note 207). The war over, Austro-Hungarian troops entered Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Berlin Treaty (see Note 430); the uprising was suppressed.—118
- 158 On 10 May 1876, Jenny, Marx's daughter, gave birth to a son, Jean Laurent Frédéric Longuet, who was called Johnny in the family.—118
- 159 Johann Most's manuscript was a panegyric on Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*, which appeared in 1875. Most's article about Dühring was printed in September-October 1876 in the *Berliner Freie Presse* under the heading 'Ein Philosoph'.—119, 122, 218

- ¹⁶⁰ Marx is probably referring to Dühring's opinion of Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* (see Note 154) made in the second edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 570.—120
- ¹⁶¹ Marx is referring to Engels' work *The Housing Question*; its first and third parts contain criticism of Arthur Mülberger's articles which were reprinted under the general heading 'Die Wohnungsfrage' by *Der Volksstaat* in February-March 1872 from the Austrian workers' paper *Volkswille* (see present edition, Vol. 23).—120
- ¹⁶² On 30 May 1876, a palace revolution overthrew Sultan Abdul Aziz and enthroned his nephew Prince Murad (Murad V) who had a reputation as reformer. On 4 June Abdul Aziz was assassinated.—120
- ¹⁶³ On 6 June 1876, the congress held in Copenhagen re-established the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party which had been originally founded in 1871 as a section of the International and dissolved by the government in 1872. Up to 1884, it was called the Social-Democratic League. The congress approved rules and a programme based on the principles of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 121). Louis Pio was elected chairman, and Paul Geleff the second chairman of the Executive.—121
- ¹⁶⁴ At the House of Commons sitting on 22 May 1876, one of the Irish M.P.s inquired of Prime Minister Disraeli whether the government intended to amnesty the Fenians who were still in prison. Disraeli stated that 15 Fenians remained imprisoned, and that the government had no intention of pardoning them since it regarded them as 'criminals and deserters'. The statement provoked a storm of indignation among the Irish M.P.s.
- The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who had taken their name from the 'Féne', the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s among the Irish immigrants in the USA, and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested a number of Fenian leaders, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa received a life sentence). In 1867, following the abortive attempt at an uprising, hundreds of Irishmen were thrown into prison.
- Marx and Engels, who repeatedly pointed to the weak sides of the Fenian movement, their reliance on conspiracy and sectarian errors, nevertheless had a high regard for its revolutionary character and did their best to encourage it to embark on mass struggle and joint action with the English working class.
- In the 1870s, the Fenian movement declined.—121
- ¹⁶⁵ In his letter of 16 May 1876, Wilhelm Liebknecht warned Engels that he and his friends had reason to suspect Dmitry Richter of espionage. Later the suspicions were proved to be unfounded (see this volume, pp. 155-59).—121, 126, 127
- ¹⁶⁶ The German diplomat Count Harry von Arnim, who had been ambassador to France since 1872, was recalled from Paris in April 1874 for obstructing Bismarck's policies. On his departure, he took with him important documents from the embassy archives. This caused his arrest in Germany in October 1874

and in December he was sentenced to three months in prison by a Berlin court. On 24 June 1875, the Supreme Court (*Kammergericht*) prolonged his term to nine months, but in the meantime Arnim had departed for Switzerland for medical treatment. Since he refused to return to Prussia, a warrant for his arrest was issued on 16 May 1876, no matter what his whereabouts. On 21 May the warrant was carried by the Berlin press and reprinted by other German newspapers in the course of the next few days.—121

- ¹⁶⁷ This is probably a reference to Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik*. Engels made a thorough critical analysis of this work in *Anti-Dühring*, notably in Part 11 entitled 'Political Economy' (see present edition, Vol. 25).—122
- ¹⁶⁸ A reference to the *Berlin Memorandum* of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, to which France and Italy also acceded. It was drawn up on 13 May 1876 by the representatives of the three states: Gorchakov, Andrassy and Bismarck. The Berlin Memorandum, which was addressed to the Turkish government on the occasion of the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Note 157), demanded that a two-month truce be concluded with the insurgents. The Memorandum was to be handed to the Turkish government on 30 May, but the plan was not carried through due to the palace revolution in Constantinople on that same day (see Note 162).—123
- ¹⁶⁹ Engels is referring to *Dialectics of Nature*, which he began in May 1873 and, having written the 'Introduction' and drafted about a hundred notes and fragments, had to interrupt work on it in May 1876 to write *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 155). After *Anti-Dühring* had been completed and published, Engels returned to *Dialectics of Nature* in mid-1878 but had to interrupt it again in order to prepare for the press the manuscripts of the second and third volumes of *Capital* following the death of Marx. *Dialectics of Nature* remained unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 25).—124, 254, 420
- ¹⁷⁰ Darwin's main work, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, appeared in 1859.—124
- ¹⁷¹ Marx wrote on the envelope of this letter: 'Mr. F. A. Sorge, Bez. 101, Hoboken, N. J., via New York (U. States), per next steamer.' The date has been established by the postmark.—124
- ¹⁷² In a letter of 4 April 1876 (see this volume, p. 115), Marx requested Sorge to send him the articles published by the New-York *Tribune* of which he was the author. In his reply of 2 June 1876, Sorge wrote that Kugelmann had asked several months earlier for these articles to be included in Marx's complete works planned by the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner. Sorge had received this information from Livingstone, who kept the articles from the *Tribune* after Hermann Meyer's death. Livingstone refused to send them to Kugelmann without Marx's knowledge.—125
- ¹⁷³ This letter was written on a postcard (the original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier). The date has been established by the postmark.—125
- ¹⁷⁴ Engels is probably referring to his trip to Heidelberg with his wife Lizzie on 24 June 1876 to fetch Mary Ellen Burns, his wife's niece, from her boarding house for a holiday (see also this volume, pp. 115-16).—129
- ¹⁷⁵ Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between 24 July and 1 September 1876. In early August, he and his wife took Mary Ellen Burns back to her boarding

- house as her holidays were over. On 5 August, he returned to Ramsgate.—130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 140
- ¹⁷⁶ In late June 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in support of the popular uprising which had flared up in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1875 (see Note 157). However, the ill-prepared offensive of the Serbian army was halted as soon as early July and, after its defeat had opened up the road to Belgrade for the Turkish troops, Russia categorically demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities against Serbia and Montenegro and an armistice. After a ceasefire lasting six weeks, in February 1877 Turkey and Serbia signed a peace treaty on the terms of *status quo ante*.
- On 31 March 1877, a conference of European powers in London issued a protocol that enjoined Turkey to conclude a peace treaty with Montenegro, cease its arms build-up, etc. Turkey having rejected the Russian ultimatum to comply with the London Protocol, Russia declared war on it on 24 (12) April 1877, and Montenegro became a Russian ally.—130, 140, 177, 237, 255, 296
- ¹⁷⁷ From 1874, Charles Longuet taught French at the King's College in London, and Jenny Longuet—German at Clement Dun's school. In 1880, after the Paris Commune members had been amnestied, Longuet returned to Paris.—132, 378, 391, 447
- ¹⁷⁸ Between 15 August and 15 September 1876, Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor (Tussy), was in Karlsbad taking a cure for the third time. Having completed it, he spent a few days with Max Oppenheim in Prague, and then, after brief visits to Kreuznach and Liège, returned to London on 22 September 1876.—132, 135, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 440, 442
- ¹⁷⁹ Marx gives an account of the resolution passed at the meeting held after Bakunin's funeral on 3 July 1876.
- The anarchist congress (the so-called sixth general congress of the International Working Men's Association) held in Geneva from 1 to 6 September 1873 approved new Rules for the Bakuninist International. Article 3 declared complete autonomy of the federations and sections of the Association.—132
- ¹⁸⁰ Marx and his daughter Eleanor spent a few days in Brighton in March 1873.—132
- ¹⁸¹ Engels is referring to the poem 'Die hochdeutsche Nähdersmädle' included in a selection written in the Palatinate dialect: K. G. Nadler, *Fröhlich Palz, Gott erhalts!*, Frankfurt a.M., 1851, p. 144. Engels used this book in his work *The Frankish Period* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 81-107).—133
- ¹⁸² Engels probably means, above all, the poem 'Herr Christoph Hachstrumpf...' in Nadler's book (see Note 181).—133
- ¹⁸³ In his letter to Engels of 7 August 1876, Lavrov stated that a young man, a Russian socialist residing in Berlin and corresponding with German Social-Democrats and Russian socialists (Grigory Gurevich), had carelessly allowed some letters addressed to him, including letters from Liebknecht, to be opened at the post office, after which they had fallen into the hands of the police. On 6 August, Lavrov received a letter from one Dekhterev in Leipzig, who informed him, allegedly on behalf of the German Social-Democrats, that a

certain Chernyshev had been despatched to Berlin to investigate this matter (see this volume, p. 147).—134

- 184 The Wagner Festival Opera House opened at Bayreuth with a performance of Wagner's tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (see Note 190) on 13-17 August 1876.—135
- 185 'The music of the future'—Richard Wagner's music, whose principles he expounded in his *Zukunftsmusik. Brief an einem französischen Freund* (1861) addressed to Frédéric Villot, keeper of the French museums, and in his book *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*.—137, 192, 443
- 186 This law also known as Prussian Law (*Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore the distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.
- After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815, the Prussian government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was done by introducing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and were repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on 15 April 1848.—140
- 187 In April 1876, a national liberation uprising began in Bulgaria. It was brutally suppressed by Turkish troops in May. The press in many countries expressed its indignation at the 'Turkish atrocities'.—140, 158, 168, 183, 447
- 188 On 12 August 1876, Disraeli was made Earl of Beaconsfield, and from that moment on became leader of the Tories in the House of Lords.—140
- 189 Probably a slip of the pen: Jenny Marx arrived in Ramsgate on Wednesday, 23 August (see this volume, p. 139).—141
- 190 *Der Ring des Nibelungen*—a cycle of four operas by Richard Wagner: *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried* and *Die Götterdämmerung*.—143
- 191 Marx is referring to the report of the second congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876. It was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos 98-102, from 23 August to 1 September in the section 'Kongress der Sozialisten Deutschlands'. This particular reference is to the part of the report featured by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 102 on 1 September. Reporting on the debate with Dühring, its author, Julius Motteler, mistakenly mentioned Marx instead of Engels. Wilhelm Liebknecht rectified the misunderstanding in his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876.—154
- 192 The Berne anarchists sent an invitation to the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in August 1876 to take part in their congress to be convened that October. The anarchists expressed their hope for a 'reconciliation' and co-operation with the German Social-Democrats. However, as Liebknecht wrote to Marx on 9 October, the Gotha Congress turned down the proposal that official representatives be sent to Berne. Julius Vahlteich was present at the anarchist congress as a guest from Germany (see Note 200).—154, 157, 184
- 193 From 1869 onwards, Bakunin and his followers, who had set up their own secret organisation, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 201), within

the International, sought to take over the leadership of the IWMA and to replace its programme with their own. Following the Hague Congress of 1872 (see Note 20), the anarchists openly advocated a split in the International. Beginning in 1873, they endeavoured to unite the socialist organisations of various countries under their supremacy with a view to 'restoring' the International. These attempts suffered a fiasco at the international socialist congress in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324).—155, 247

- ¹⁹⁴ Considering it very important to familiarise workers with the true history of the Paris Commune, Marx became actively involved in the commissioning of a German translation of a book written by one of its members, Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. He requested Wilhelm Bracke, and Engels asked Wilhelm Blos to find somebody to do the job. The sample translation done by Julius Grunzig failed to satisfy Marx, as did that by Isolde Kurz. Although Marx was already overburdened with work, he had to spend a great deal of time and effort editing the translation. In the autumn of 1877, on Marx's and Engels' proposal, Wilhelm Blos was recruited as another editor. Lissagaray's book appeared in German in Brunswick late in 1877.—155, 172, 189, 196, 222, 230, 262, 266, 285
- ¹⁹⁵ The general socialist congress held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876 decided, at its meeting of 23 August, to publish a single organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, *Vorwärts*, that was to replace *Der Volksstaat* and *Der Neue Social-Demokrat*. The congress elected Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Hasenclever editors of the new paper, which was to appear from 1 October.—155
- ¹⁹⁶ Complying with Marx's request, Liebknecht wrote a long article, 'Die Schande Europas', which was carried by the *Vorwärts*, No. 6, 13 October 1876.—155
- ¹⁹⁷ The reference is to the mass electoral reform movement in England in 1865-67. The programme of the movement, led by the Reform League (its leading bodies included members of the General Council of the International), bore the direct influence of Marx's ideas. He favoured an independent position of the English working class in the reform campaign. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to voting rights for householders and tenants, the Reform League, on the insistence of the General Council, demanded manhood suffrage. However, the vacillations of bourgeois radicals and the conciliatory policies of trade union leaders allowed the English bourgeoisie to split the movement and prevent implementation of the measures proposed by the General Council. In the end, in 1867 a reform was introduced that granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and the top strata of workers.—156, 158
- ¹⁹⁸ The German original of the letter has not been found.—157
- ¹⁹⁹ Marx's apprehension had been aroused by the fact that Leo Frankel was not released from Budapest prison until 27 March 1876 (see Note 144), and the Hungarian authorities had a chance to keep him under secret surveillance and intercept his correspondence.—157
- ²⁰⁰ On the proposal of the anarchist Jura Federation, which withdrew from the International since it refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20), a congress of representatives of some workers' and socialist organisations (mostly anarchist and Proudhonist) took place in Berne from 26 to 30 October 1876. Since the International Working Men's Association had officially ceased to exist by decision of the conference held in Philadelphia in

the summer of 1876, one of the issues discussed in Berne was the so-called solidarity pact that, or so the congress organisers hoped, would resurrect the International on the basis of their programme. In this connection, the participants in the Berne congress made an attempt to involve representatives of the German Social-Democrats in its work (see Note 192). A decision on this question was postponed until the next congress. However, the international socialist congress convened in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324) turned down the anarchists' proposals and confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—157, 166, 173, 184

- ²⁰¹ The *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international anarchist organisation which incorporated the secret conspiratorial organisation he had set up earlier in Italy (see Note 266). The Alliance had sections in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and in the south of France. In 1869, it applied to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association for admission. The General Council agreed to admit the sections to the International on condition that the Alliance was disbanded as an independent organisation. Having joined the International, Bakunin to all intents and purposes ignored this decision and incorporated the Alliance into the International under the guise of a Geneva Section (called the 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section'). Marx, Engels and the General Council resolutely opposed the Alliance, exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement which sought to split it and obstruct its independent development. At the Hague Congress of the International (1872), the Bakuninists sustained a shattering blow. Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, were expelled from the International.—157, 172, 200, 210, 257
- ²⁰² In his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876, Leo Frankel wrote that he had heard rumours about the forthcoming unity congress in Switzerland (see Note 200) at which Marx's and Lassalle's followers were to be present, and asked what his attitude to the congress should be.—157
- ²⁰³ This note was written by Engels on Dronke's letter of 13 October 1876, in which Dronke requested Engels to help him obtain a loan of £150 to ease his precarious financial position.—159, 160, 161
- ²⁰⁴ Also extant are a few lines of the letter's rough draft: "... her warm glowing heart was always open for the wrongs and woes of humankind; she felt for the oppressed, the struggling, the lowly. How deep, how bitter must be your sorrow, your solitude and loneliness!..."—159
- ²⁰⁵ In connection with the Vogt affair Marx had four statements printed in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*: 1) 'Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' (No. 300, 27 October 1859); 2) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Board of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*' (supplement to No. 325, 21 November 1859); 3) 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*' (supplement to No. 48, 17 February 1860); and 4) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Boards of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other German Newspapers (supplement to No. 336, 1 December 1860). See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 3, 8-9, 12-13 and 19-20).—162
- ²⁰⁶ Eugen Dühring's review of the first volume of *Capital* was printed in December 1867 by the Hildburghausen monthly *Ergänzungshlätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*, Vol. III, 3rd issue, pp. 182-86. In early January 1868, Kugelmann sent Dühring's review to Marx. Engels used it when working on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25).—162

- ²⁰⁷ Engels' forecast based on an in-depth analysis of European policy in the Levant proved correct. The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 April 1877 and ended in defeat for Turkey. On 3 March 1878, the preliminary San Stefano Treaty (see Note 430) was signed, which granted complete sovereignty to Serbia, Montenegro and Romania.—163, 182, 191, 192, 216, 222
- ²⁰⁸ Part of this letter was published by Lavrov in *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 44 on 1 November 1876.—163
- ²⁰⁹ Engels drafted this letter on the back of Ernst Dronke's letter to him of 31 October 1876, in which Dronke requested him to be his guarantor for the receipt of a £200 loan (see also Note 203).—164
- ²¹⁰ Engels left the Ermen & Engels firm on 30 June 1869.—165
- ²¹¹ Marx is referring to the talks with Wilhelm Blos. On 16 November 1876 Blos accepted Engels' proposal that he translate Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Engels' letter has not been found). However, on 14 November Wilhelm Bracke wrote to Engels that he had already found a translator (Isolde Kurz) (see Note 194).—166
- ²¹² A reference to the Khiva military expedition undertaken by K. P. Kaufmann, Turkestan's Governor-General. In the course of the campaign against the Khiva Khanate launched in March 1873, it was conquered by the Russian army, which ruthlessly exterminated the nomadic Turkmen tribes that put up resistance.—168
- ²¹³ On 18 July 1873, K. P. Kaufmann, Governor-General of Turkestan, gave the order to General Golovachev to exterminate the Turkmen tribe of Jomuds who refused to submit to the conquerors of the Khiva Khanate. The English translation of the order was published by Eugene Schuyler, American Consul in Constantinople, in the book *Turkistan. Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London, 1876.—168
- ²¹⁴ Following the *Daily News* publication of letters that cast doubt on the authenticity of Kaufmann's order to Golovachev, Eugene Schuyler had a letter published in *The Times* on 16 November 1876. The author stated that he had seen the original document and reminded readers that the extracts quoted by the *Rusky mir* magazine (2-14 February 1875) and by *The Times* (6 April 1875) in the report marked 'Hamburg, 25. März' had not been disputed at the time.—169
- ²¹⁵ The reference is to the national insurrection which began in January 1863 in the Polish lands belonging to Tsarist Russia. The insurrection of 1863-64 stemmed from the Poles' efforts to gain national independence and was provoked by oppression on the part of the Tsarist government. The National Committee which led the insurrection advanced a programme of action for Polish independence and put forward demands of an agrarian-democratic character. But the insurgent government showed insufficient resolve and a lack of consistency, not daring to infringe on the privileges of big landowners. This repelled the bulk of the peasantry and was one reason why the insurrection failed.

Grave damage was also done by the hopes of the national movement's Right wing for assistance from the ruling circles of Bonapartist France and from bourgeois-aristocratic Britain, both of which were pursuing self-seeking ends that were entirely alien to Poland's national interests.

The Polish insurrection had been suppressed by the Russian government by the autumn of 1863, but isolated insurgent units fought on until the end of 1864.

The Polish insurrection was vigorously supported by democrats in Russia and Western Europe.—169

- ²¹⁶ Engels wrote this draft letter on the back of Ernst Dronke's letter to him of 12 November 1876. Dronke proposed that he himself should make the payments on the policy he had given Engels as security for the money he had been advanced (see Engels' letter to Dronke of 1 November 1876, this volume, p. 165). Dronke also promised that the annual payments on the policy would be made on 22 November.—171
- ²¹⁷ Marx is referring to James Guillaume's letter which Bracke had forwarded to him enclosed in his own letter to Marx of 14 November 1876.—172
- ²¹⁸ Wilhelm Bracke, who believed that the working class can succeed only through an alliance with the peasantry, was actively engaged in agitation among the latter in the 1870s. At the German Reichstag elections of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), he was nominated at the Brunswick 1st electoral district and was supported by a large number of rural voters. He lost the main elections but won the by-elections in the Glauchau-Meerane district on 22 February.—172
- ²¹⁹ The circular of the Central Committee of the German-language sections to the Zurich section, drawn up by Johann Philipp Becker, was published as pamphlets in German and French in Zurich in October 1876 (see Note 231). It criticised the proposal advanced by the Zurich section of the International to take part in the anarchist congress in Berne scheduled for October of that year (see Note 200).—173, 200
- ²²⁰ The first congress of the Portuguese workers was held in Lisbon from 1 to 4 February 1877. It gave the final shape to the Portuguese Socialist Party founded in 1875, adopted party rules and a programme drawn up along the lines of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 73), and elected a Central Committee. At the request of Azedo Gnecco, made in his letter to Engels of 21 January 1877, in late January Marx and Engels sent a letter of greetings to the congress also signed by Friedrich Lessner, Paul Lafargue and Maltman Barry. The congress received another such letter from the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Engels appraised the work of the congress in his essay 'The Workingmen of Europe in 1877' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 216-17).
- Johann Philipp Becker had a note on the forthcoming congress of the Portuguese socialists published in *Die Tagwacht*, No. 96, 2 December 1876.
- The letter of greetings to the congress signed by Marx, Engels, Lessner, Lafargue and Barry has not been found.—174
- ²²¹ The rough draft was written on the back of Rasch's letter to Engels of 13 November 1876.—175
- ²²² In 1876, a polemic between Gustav Rasch and Karl Heinrich Schaible began in the *Vorwärts*. It was triggered off by Rasch's article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', carried by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 88, 30 July 1876, and Schaible's 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London"', which appeared in the *Vorwärts*, No. 19, 12 November of the same year. On 13 November Rasch wrote to Engels requesting information about relations between Schaible and Blind and the former's behaviour during Marx's campaign against Vogt. Rasch wrote that the notes he wanted from Engels would be used in his reply to Schaible's article.
- Rasch used Engels' reply in the article 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav

- Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London" printed by the *Vorwärts*, No. 5, 12 January 1877. Without mentioning the source, Rasch quoted in full the part of Engels' letter dealing with Blind and Schaible.—175
- 223 Engels is suggesting that in his article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', printed by *Der Volksstaat* on 30 July 1876, Gustav Rasch was prevaricating when he wrote that during his encounter with Marx and Engels in London they discussed 'human rights, the autonomy of nations, the social republic and those executed in Baden'.—177
- 224 The address on the envelope is in Marx's hand: 'C. D. Collet, Esq., Sunny Bank Highgate'.—178
- 225 On 8 December 1876, St James' Hall in London was the venue for the national conference on the Eastern Question. Its chief organisers came from the Liberal Party.—178, 179
- 226 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations, by Saul K. Padover, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, [1977].—179
- 227 Probably a reference to Georg Hanssen's work *Die Gehöferschaften (Erbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier* published in Berlin in 1863 as a separate pamphlet. Engels used this work in *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 150 and 296).—179
- 228 Engels then goes on to retell and quote a letter from one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Eduard Sarny, of 5 September 1876, which was a reply to Engels' inquiry, most probably to Leopold Sonnemann, made on 2 September 1876.—180
- 229 *Devanagari*—the character in which Sanskrit is usually written and printed.—181
- 230 Engels is referring to the Constantinople Conference of Ambassadors of European States that took place between 11 and 23 December 1876. Its participants agreed to demand that Turkey grant autonomy to Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria.—182
- 231 Johann Philipp Becker evidently sent Engels two copies of the circular 'Association Internationale des travailleurs. Réponse du Comité central des sections de langue allemande en Suisse à une lettre de la section de Zurich, concernant le congrès international de la secte des antiautoritaires, du 26 Octobre 1876 à Berne'. Engels received the German edition of the pamphlet containing this circular in October or November 1876 (see Note 219).—183
- 232 On 25 and 26 December 1872, Brussels was the venue for the congress of the International's Belgian Federation, at which the Bakuninists and Proudhonists had the majority. The congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20) and declared its refusal to maintain relations with the General Council in New York. It further decided to accede to the resolutions passed by the international anarchist congress in St Imier (15 September 1872), which had openly declared a split in the International. In a resolution passed on 30 May 1873, the General Council stated that the Belgian Federation had thus placed itself outside the International Working Men's Association.—184
- 233 The resolution to dissolve the General Council and the International Working Men's Association was adopted at the latter's conference held in Philadelphia

- on 15 July 1876. The documents of the conference were published as a pamphlet entitled *Internationale Arbeiter-Association. Verhandlungen der Delegirten-Konferenz zu Philadelphia, 15. Juli 1876*, New York, 1876.—184
- ²³⁴ This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974.—185
- ²³⁵ This letter was written at Nikolai Utin's request and based on information received from him. Referring to the important services rendered to the party by Tomanovskaya, Marx meant her activities as a member of the Russian section of the International and her participation in the Paris Commune.—185
- ²³⁶ The second page of the original letter is missing. The penultimate paragraph of this letter is published according to the text quoted by Wilhelm Liebknecht in an item printed by the *Vorwärts*, No. 8, 19 January 1877, in the section 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht'. He introduced the quotation with the following note: 'A competent person writes to us in a private letter about the present state of the Eastern Question.'—186
- ²³⁷ Regular elections to the German Reichstag were held on 10 January 1877. About half a million votes were cast for the socialist candidates of whom 12 were actually elected (see also Note 248).—186, 188, 190, 192, 197, 294, 447
- ²³⁸ General conscription was introduced in Russia on 1 January 1874.—186, 187
- ²³⁹ A 'sick man'—an expression used by Nicholas I with reference to Turkey in the talks of 9 January 1853 and in subsequent negotiations with George Hamilton Seymour, the British envoy.—191, 272
- ²⁴⁰ In one of his toasts (*Tischreden*) Martin Luther likened the world to a drunken peasant unable to mount a horse (*D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Tischreden*, Weimar, 1912, Bd. I, S. 298).—191
- ²⁴¹ Nikolaus Delius' article 'Die epischen Elemente in Shakespeares Dramen' appeared in 1877 in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. Translated into English by Eleanor Marx, it was included in the transactions of the New Shakespeare Society.—191, 273, 446
- ²⁴² In his reply of 29 July 1877, Freund informed Marx of the book's title: G. Rümelin, *Shakespearestudien*, 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, 1874.—192
- ²⁴³ Marx is referring to M. Traube's principal achievement, the creation of 'artificial cells' (see Note 97).—192
- ²⁴⁴ The *Inner Temple*—one of the Inns of Court in London, four legal societies having exclusive right of admitting persons to practise at bar.—192
- ²⁴⁵ Gabriel Deville intended to prepare for the press and publish in France an exposition of the first volume of *Capital*. But he was able to accomplish this only in 1883, after Marx's death. Deville's book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique* appeared in several editions in Paris in 'La bibliothèque socialiste' series.—193
- ²⁴⁶ In January 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht was in Offenbach where he was nominated for the second ballot to the German Reichstag (see also Note 237).—194
- ²⁴⁷ Engels' work *Wilhelm Wolff* was printed in June–November 1876 in *Die Neue Welt* of which Wilhelm Liebknecht was the editor (see present edition, Vol. 24).—195

- 248 After the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), a second ballot took place in a number of constituencies. As a result, three more Social-Democratic deputies were elected (in addition to the nine who had been successful at the first ballot): August Bebel (later replaced by Wilhelm Bracke), August Kapell and Moritz Rittinghausen.—195
- 249 From about 20 February to 17 March and in the second half of May 1877, Engels stayed in Brighton with his sick wife.—197, 198, 204, 207, 215, 232
- 250 Engels' letter to Enrico Bignami of 13 February dealing with the results of the elections to the German Reichstag of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), was read out at the congress of the Federation of Northern Italy (see Note 252) and then published in *La Plebe*, No. 7, 26 February 1877. See Engels' 'Letter to Enrico Bignami on the German Elections of 1877' (present edition, Vol. 24).—198
- 251 On 20 February Engels received *La Plebe* of 7 and 21 January and 16 February 1877.—198
- 252 The second congress of the International's Federation of Northern Italy was held in Milan on 17 and 18 February 1877. On the significance of the congress, see Engels' article 'From Italy' (present edition, Vol. 24).—200
- 253 Neuchâtel (Switzerland) was the place of residence of James Guillaume who, after Mikhail Bakunin's death in 1876 headed the international anarchist alliance (see also Note 193).—200
- 254 Marx means the editing of the German translation of Prosper Olivier Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*, which occupied him between October 1876 and August 1877 (for details, see Note 194).—201, 269, 270, 285
- 255 The International's Rules were adopted by the Central (General) Council on 1 November 1864 and finally approved by the Geneva Congress on 5 September 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—203
- 256 On 26 February 1877, *La Plebe* published three resolutions passed by the second congress of the Federation of Northern Italy under the heading of 'Congresso Socialista di Milano'. Marx is referring to Resolution III.—203
- 257 Engels used the article 'Congresso Socialista di Milano' carried by *La Plebe* when working on his article 'From Italy' published by the *Vorwärts*, No. 32, 16 March 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24).—203, 207
- 258 Enclosed in Marx's letter to Engels of 5 March 1877 were Marx's 'Randnoten zu Dührings *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*'. The manuscript, which contains a critical analysis of the first three sections of the second edition of Dühring's book, was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X, 'From *Kritische Geschichte*', of Part II of his *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43).—203, 205, 206, 207, 264
- 259 In February and March 1877, Marx provided the English journalist Maltman Barry with advice and materials. Barry was working on essays dealing with Gladstone's foreign policy that were published by several conservative papers. The *Vanity Fair* of 3 March 1877, for example, carried Barry's article 'Mr. Gladstone', and of 10 March its sequel, 'The Great Agitator Unmasked'.—206, 209
- 260 The *Physiocrats*—followers of a trend in the classical bourgeois political economy that arose in France in the mid-18th century. The Physiocrats held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the

economy where value was created. Although they underestimated the role of industry and commerce, the Physiocrats made an important contribution to economic science by shifting the search for the origins of surplus value from circulation to production, thereby laying the basis for the analysis of capitalist production. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they exposed the moribund nature of the feudal economy, thus paving the way ideologically for the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the Physiocrats' views in the *Theories of Surplus Value*, the central section of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 352-76).—208, 452

- ²⁶¹ The *Tableau économique*—François Quesnay's chart of the reproduction and circulation of the total social product—was first published as a short pamphlet in Versailles in 1758. Marx used Quesnay's *Analyse du Tableau économique* (first printed in 1766) contained in Eugène Daire's edition of *Physiocrates. Première partie*, Paris, 1846. Marx made an in-depth study of the *Tableau économique* in the *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40), in Chapter X of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (*ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43), and in *Capital*, Volume Two, Chapter XIX (*ibid.*, Vol. 36).—208, 262
- ²⁶² In his article 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkestan', published in *The Contemporary Review* (Vol. XXVIII) in November 1876, Gladstone described the political line pursued by the Russian government as one 'of marked moderation and prudence'. In his opinion, it presented no threat to British rule in India. Maltman Barry's article 'Mr. Gladstone and Russian Intrigue', written with Marx's assistance and printed by the *Whitehall Review* on 3 February 1877, subjected Gladstone's views to a critical analysis.—209
- ²⁶³ On 4 September 1870, the people of Paris launched an uprising that overthrew the Second Empire and established a republic headed by the bourgeois Government of National Defence. On 12 September 1870, Thiers, its head, left for London whence he intended to travel to St Petersburg and Vienna. The purpose of the tour was to convince the governments of the three countries of the 'loyalty' of the French republican government (see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 311-12).—210
- ²⁶⁴ At Marx's request, Pyotr Lavrov compiled a résumé of judicial and police persecution in Russia, which Marx passed on to the Irish M. P. Keyes O'Clery. The latter used the information in his speeches delivered in the House of Commons on 3 and 14 May 1877 (see *MEGA*₂, Erste Abteilung, Band 25, S. 462).
Pyotr Lavrov also wrote an article in French entitled 'La justice en Russie', which Marx helped to get printed in the British weekly *Vanity Fair* on 14 April 1877.—211, 213, 217, 221
- ²⁶⁵ As is seen from Danielson's letter of 7 (19) March 1877, he sent Marx the following books: A. Vasilchikov, *Landownership and Agriculture in Russia and Other European States*, vols I-II, St. Petersburg, 1876; P. A. Sokolovsky, *Essays in the History of the Village Commune in the North of Russia*, St Petersburg, 1877; V. Ya. Bunyakovsky, *Anthropobiological Researches as They Apply to Russia's Male Population*, St Petersburg, 1874; *Statistical Chronicle of the Russian Empire* and *A Collection of Materials Concerning the Arts in Russia*, issues I-III (all in Russian). See also Note 68.—213

- 266 In 1864, Mikhail Bakunin set up the secret anarchist *Alliance de la démocratie sociale* in Florence. Later, Frenchmen, Poles and others also became its members. The International Brethren formed the kernel of the Alliance, its 'élite'. In 1868, this secret organisation founded the semi-legal Bakunist *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* (see Note 201).—214
- 267 Marx wrote this on a postcard. The address on the back is also in his hand: 'M. P. Lawroff, 21, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road. W'.—216, 217, 225
- 268 In his letter to Marx of 9 April 1877 Wilhelm Bracke wrote the following concerning the publication of the German translation of Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see notes 194 and 211) that was being prepared at the time: 'I have, as you will see, thought up the title myself, but must admit that I don't like it. What I find particularly displeasing is the note that Lissagaray corrected the text beforehand.'—217
- 269 A reference to the campaign that preceded the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see also notes 237, 246 and 248).—218
- 270 Having squandered the money collected for party purposes, Louis Pio and Paul Geleff, leaders of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, secretly left Denmark on 23 March 1877 and settled in the USA (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 219).—221
- 271 A reference to the portrait of Marx in the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 287).—223, 227
- 272 In March 1877, the Romanian government agreed to let Russian troops pass through its territory. On 24 April Russia declared war on Turkey.—223, 228, 237
- 273 *Cordeliers*—members of a political club founded at the time of the French Revolution in Paris in 1790. Officially known as the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, this club got its other name from the old convent of the Franciscan friars called Cordeliers (from the knotted cord worn as a girdle) in which it held its meetings. Among its members were such prominent revolutionaries as Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulin. Initially, the Cordeliers supported Robespierre and later the left-wing revolutionaries, the Hébertists. In 1794 the latter tried to instigate an uprising against Robespierre's followers. The attempt failed, and the club ceased to exist.—224
- 274 The *Lyceum Theatre*—a drama theatre in London.—226
- 275 In Mid-June 1877, Engels wrote a short biography of Marx which was published in the *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95).—227
- 276 Bracke sent Engels the stenographic reports of the German Reichstag sessions of 16, 17 and 18 April 1877 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 3. Legislaturperiode, I. Session 1877, Bd. I, Berlin, 1877, S. 489-594), at which the changes in the trade regulations were discussed.—227
- 277 The Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 discussed Bracke's proposal to reconsider the election of the National Liberal Dr. Weigel from Kassel on the grounds that pressure had been put on the voters. He said, in part: 'The credentials commission stated first of all that rejection had been proposed without any evidence and without supplying the names of the individuals

concerned... I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the persons involved are essentially dependent people, workers, for whom the mere mention of their names in the protest is often sufficient for them to lose their jobs or bring about other unpleasant experiences.'—227

- 278 In the discussion of the Bill on the trade regulations proposed by the Catholic Party of the Centre (see Note 423), Bebel spoke at the Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 in defence of the alternative Social-Democratic Bill which provided for a set of measures aimed to shorten working hours, introduce labour protection, etc. He embarked on a sharp polemic with representatives of the bourgeois parties.—227
- 279 In 1877, the British Home Secretary Richard Assheton Cross introduced a Bill providing for measures to regulate working hours, specifically in the domestic industry and workshops. The Bill limited the working day of adolescents to 10½ hours and supplemented the law of 1874 on restricting child labour. The Bill became law in 1878.—228
- 280 The original of Engels' letter to B. Lindheimer has not been found. The rough draft was written on Lindheimer's letter to Engels of 25 April 1877.—229
- 281 Russia declared war on Turkey on 24 April 1877 (see Notes 207 and 272) and conducted successful operations in the Caucasus.—232, 234
- 282 At that time Engels obviously did not yet know about the softas' demonstration held in front of the premises of the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople on 24 May 1877 (for the softas see Note 156). At the Chamber's session, the softas' delegates voiced their indignation at the surrender of Ardagan by Turkish troops and demanded the immediate resignation of the War Minister Redif-Pasha and a War Council member, Damad Mahmud-Pasha. The Chamber decided to invite all ministers to discuss the necessary military steps. A state of siege was proclaimed in the capital and its environs the next day and numerous arrests were made. There was no change in the nature of hostilities.—232
- 283 The President of the Third Republic Mac-Mahon, who had the support of the Catholic reactionaries, tried to stage a coup d'état in May 1877. In violation of the Constitution, on 17 May he appointed a new administration headed by the monarchist Broglie and disbanded the bourgeois-republican government. On 18 May, the sessions of both chambers of the National Assembly were postponed for a month, and on 25 June the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. New elections were scheduled for 14 October 1877.—233, 235, 246
- 284 A reference to the Adzhars' guerrilla warfare in the rear of the Russian army in the Caucasus, which held back its advance in that theatre of war.—234
- 285 Engels was entitled to a fee for his article 'Karl Marx' written for Bracke's *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 (see Note 275).—236
- 286 At the 29 May sitting of the Gotha Congress of the German Socialist Workers' Party (27-29 May 1877), Dühring's followers demanded that the publication of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* be stopped in the party's central organ. The proposal was made by Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich. August Bebel proposed that Engels' work appear as a separate edition rather than in the *Vorwärts*. Referring to the resolution of the 1876 congress concerning the publication of Engels' articles, Wilhelm Liebknecht suggested that they should be carried either by the scientific supplement to the *Vorwärts* or in the *Zukunft* magazine, or as separate pamphlets. Parts II and III of *Anti-Dühring* appeared in the supplement to the *Vorwärts*.—236, 238, 243, 258, 288, 420

- ²⁸⁷ From 1872, Dühring, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, fiercely attacked university professors including Prof. Helmholtz, and also some aspects of university life. For this, he suffered reprisals at the hands of the reactionary professors and, in July 1877, on the insistence of the faculty of philosophy was deprived of the right to lecture. His followers launched a vigorous protest campaign, and the democratic quarters at large denounced his expulsion.—236, 249, 257
- ²⁸⁸ On 22 (10) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Lower Danube. On the Russian army's crossing of the Middle Danube, see Note 294.—237
- ²⁸⁹ Engels and his sick wife stayed in Ramsgate between 11 July and 28 August 1877.—238, 240, 244, 271, 274, 280
- ²⁹⁰ In a letter of 14 June 1877, Liebknecht asked Engels for a photograph of Urquhart, who had just died, and requested him to write a short biography of the deceased.—238
- ²⁹¹ From 15 June to 15 August 1877 Liebknecht was serving a sentence of two months. In a letter to Engels despatched on 27 June from Leipzig prison, he wrote that as the editor of the *Vorwärts* and an organiser of the Social-Democrats' election campaign in the winter of 1876-77 he had had a multitude of charges brought against him, and this would entail several court trials.—239, 243, 247, 275
- ²⁹² From 10 June 1877 the *Vorwärts* carried a series of articles covering the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the French Chamber of Deputies and Mac-Mahon's attempt to effect a coup d'état (see Note 283). The first of them was an editorial 'Zum jüngsten Staatsstreich des Herrn Mac-Mahon'. The editorial board took a nihilist stand on these events, implying that it was immaterial to the proletariat whether it was campaigning under a bourgeois republic or a monarchy. These views were stated most directly in the editorial 'Nieder mit der Republik!' (Down with the Republic!) featured by the *Vorwärts* on 1 July 1877 and written, most probably, by Wilhelm Hasenclever.—239, 246, 294
- ²⁹³ For the most part, this paragraph coincides with the note printed by the *Vorwärts* on 11 July 1877 in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column, which opened with the words 'We have received a letter *from Paris*' and was supplied with editorial comments.
The note may have been written by Carl Hirsch, who used a passage from Engels' letter to him (which has not been found). The comment on the note was probably written by Hasenclever.—239
- ²⁹⁴ On 27 (15) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Middle Danube in the vicinity of Sistovo (Svištov in Bulgarian).—239
- ²⁹⁵ When staying in London in 1876, the German Social-Democrat Gustav Rasch maintained friendly relations with Prince Nicholas of Montenegro.—239
- ²⁹⁶ In his letters to Marx of 9 July and to Engels of 10 July 1877, Franz Wiede proposed that they contribute to the *Neue Gesellschaft* magazine he was planning to start (the first issue appeared in Zurich in October 1877). In a letter to Engels of 20 July 1877, Wiede asked for a speedy reply to his proposal.—240, 241, 247, 413
- ²⁹⁷ Engels is referring to the proofs of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 155), which appeared in the *Vorwärts* between 27 July and 30 December 1877 as a

series of articles under the general heading 'Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie'.—240

- ²⁹⁸ In July 1877 the first part of *Anti-Dühring* was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet headed 'Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. I. Philosophie'.—240
- ²⁹⁹ A Turkish landing force disembarked in Sukhumi in May 1877 to launch guerrilla operations in the rear of the Russian Caucasian army, but was pushed back in early September 1877.—240
- ³⁰⁰ A reference to the Russian army's siege of Silistria, a Turkish fortress (Bulgarian name: Silistra), in May-June 1854, during the Crimean War of 1853-56.—241
- ³⁰¹ An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. The full English translation of the letter was published for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—241
- ³⁰² Marx is most probably referring to Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich who tried to secure a ban on the continued publication of *Anti-Dühring* at the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 286).—242
- ³⁰³ After the leaders of the Eisenach party had read the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the manuscript was returned to Marx. Planning a pamphlet devoted to the Gotha Programme, Liebknecht asked Engels in a letter of 13 July 1877 for a copy of Marx's manuscript as he did not have one.—243
- ³⁰⁴ 'True socialism'—an ideological trend widespread in Germany in the mid-1840s. The 'true socialists'—Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege and others—indulged in the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood and of pseudo-socialist ideas, and denied the need for political action and a revolution. Marx and Engels criticised this trend of the reactionary German petty bourgeoisie particularly in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5), in the *Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose*, and also in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Vol. 6).—243
- ³⁰⁵ Engels is referring to the establishment of a quadrilateral of Russian fortresses to counterbalance the Turkish one on Bulgarian territory. Rustchuk, Shumla, Silistria and Varna were a stronghold where the main Turkish forces were concentrated at the outset of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—244, 250
- ³⁰⁶ On 15-16 (3-4) July 1877, after a fairly brief storming of the besieged Turkish fortress of Nikopol (southern bank of the Danube), its garrison headed by the commandant surrendered, and the Russian troops had no difficulty seizing the town. Varna had been captured by the Russian army on 11 October (29 September) 1828 during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—244
- ³⁰⁷ Marx, accompanied by his wife and daughter Eleanor, took a course of treatment in Neuenahr (Germany) from 8 August 1877 and returned to London about 27 September.—245, 248, 250, 262, 265, 267, 273, 274, 275, 281, 305
- ³⁰⁸ A reference to the scandal involving General Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont. In all probability, Marx first learned about it from the *Vorwärts*, which on 6 April 1877 carried an item beginning with the words 'The Nemesis

- has grabbed another one by the hair!' in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column. The author went on to say that about two weeks previously, at a ball in Paris, in a fit of jealousy Galliffet had seriously wounded his mistress Mme de Beaumont, President Mac-Mahon's sister-in-law, and had consequently been imprisoned. The Paris papers hushed up the scandal. The *Vorwärts* viewed this unsavoury story, with a hangman of the Paris Commune as its protagonist, as striking proof of the degeneration of bourgeois society. Marx learned the details of the scandal from Carl Hirsch, who arrived in London from Paris about 20 July.—246, 440
- ³⁰⁹ *Palais de l'Élysée*—the residence of the President of the French Republic in Paris.—246, 251
- ³¹⁰ The words 'Here I am, here I remain' are ascribed to Mac-Mahon, who was supposed to have uttered them during the Crimean War, on 8 September 1855, in response to the suggestion that he retreat from the Malakhov Hill which he had seized and which was to be blown up by the Russians on 9 September.—246
- ³¹¹ A reference to the *constitutional conflict* in Prussia that arose in February 1860 over the refusal of the bourgeois majority in the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet to endorse the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to 'maintain the army ready for action', which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber refused to approve military spending and demanded a ministry accountable to the Provincial Diet, the government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. The Bismarck Ministry was formed at the end of September 1862. In October, it again dissolved the Provincial Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie gave in to Bismarck.—247
- ³¹² A reference to the *Party of Progress* formed in June 1861 (its most eminent members were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitsch, Forchenbeck and Hoverbeck). The party's programme included the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage and freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the party split, and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government.—247, 309, 351
- ³¹³ On 20 July 1877 the *Zukunft* editors wrote to Marx and Engels inviting them to contribute to the magazine and referring to the relevant decision of the Gotha Congress to start a scientific review (see Note 314). The letters were signed 'The *Zukunft* editorial board' and gave the forwarding office of the *Berliner Freie Presse*, edited by Johann Most, as its address.—247, 249, 259, 362, 413
- ³¹⁴ At its sitting on 29 May 1877 the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 286) approved August Geib's proposal to have a scientific review published twice monthly in Berlin starting on 1 October. It was decided that a fortnightly theoretical supplement to the *Vorwärts* was to appear up to that date. The first issue of *Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue* came out in Berlin in October; its editor was Karl Höchberg, who worked under the

- penname of R.-F. Seifert. He sought to give the magazine a reformist slant.—249, 252, 254, 257
- ³¹⁵ Engels is referring, above all, to the series of articles by Wilhelm Liebknecht 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen.' I-II, in which he sought to play down the impact made by the article 'Nieder mit der Republik!' that Hasenclever had published in the *Vorwärts* on 1 July 1877 (see Note 292).—249
- ³¹⁶ In 1877, the United States witnessed large-scale workers' action against the industrialists. One of the major events was the railway workers' strike in July 1877 provoked by a 10 per cent wage cut on the three main west-bound railway lines. The strike was suppressed by force.—251, 255
- ³¹⁷ The decision to transfer the seat of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association from London to New York was taken at the Hague Congress of the International in September 1872.—251
- ³¹⁸ A reference to Broglie's first term of office as Chairman of the Council of Ministers from May 1873 to May 1874. Broglie's reactionary ministry declared the establishment of 'moral order' as its goal.—251
- ³¹⁹ The *Crystal Palace*—a structure of metal and glass in London's Hyde Park built for the 1851 Great Exhibition and later used for various displays and shows.—252
- ³²⁰ An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—254, 343
- ³²¹ On 28 July 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht asked Engels and Marx to become contributors to the *Zukunft* (see Note 313). He wrote that the magazine was to be edited by 'bright young men', Höchberg and Wiede, and stressed that the editorial board would work under strict control from the party leadership.—254, 257
- ³²² At that time Wilhelm Liebknecht was serving a sentence in Leipzig prison (see Note 291).—256
- ³²³ A reference to Vahlteich's speech at the anarchist congress in Berne on 27 October 1876. Present at the congress as a guest, he stated: 'We have neither Marxians nor Dühringians among us.' In an attempt to defend him, Liebknecht wrote to Engels on 21 July 1877: 'Vahlteich, certainly, made *no* such statement.'—257
- ³²⁴ The reference is to the international socialist congress in Ghent convened by the Belgian Proudhonists and the Swiss anarchists. They made a fresh attempt to unite all the socialist organisations in Europe on their platform. Present at the congress, which took place between 9 and 16 September 1877, was a group of Marxist delegates, including Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and Leo Frankel, who opposed the anarchists. The majority confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International (1872) on the need to set up national political parties in their own right in line with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—258, 270, 274, 277
- ³²⁵ *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, a newspaper of the German revolutionary proletariat, was published in Cologne during the 1848-49 revolution under the direct guidance of Marx and Engels. Its prospectus was drawn up by Heinrich Bürgers, but his participation in the work of the editorial board was limited: he contributed only one article, and even that was revised by Marx.

In late 1876, Bürgers had his 'Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Freiligrath' published in the *Vossische Zeitung* where he stated that a democratic newspaper in Cologne was initiated by him and Georg Weerth. In the final, fifth, chapter of his 'Erinnerungen' published in the *Vossische Zeitung* (No. 302) he wrote that Marx was the soul of the Communist League's Central Authority (Sunday Supplement, No. 52, 24 December 1876).—259

- ³²⁶ The original mentions an anarchist weekly, *Le Travail*, published in 1873 under the editorship of James Guillaume, its contributors also being the persons named in the letter.—259
- ³²⁷ By the 'Irish skirmishing' in the House of Commons Marx means the speeches of the Irish M.P.s who advocated Home Rule. The Irish national party—the *Irish Home Rule League* led by Isaac Butt—was founded in the early 1870s and, after the 1874 elections, was represented by 60 deputies in the House of Commons. The main point on its programme was Irish self-government to be secured strictly by parliamentary means. In their campaign, the League's deputies made a wide use of obstruction: introduction of numerous amendments, and highly protracted speeches on all kind of subjects. This hampered the settlement of the questions under discussion and delayed debate on the next items on the agenda. An expert in these tactics was Charles Parnell, who turned them into an effective weapon in the struggle for a law on Home Rule.
- At the General Council meeting of 4 January 1870 a letter was read from Isaac Butt who offered his assistance in establishing a union between the English and the Irish workers (see *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 197).—261
- ³²⁸ In a somewhat revised form, Engels included Quesnay's *Tableau économique* and comments on it in *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 229-39).—262
- ³²⁹ Engels used the above-mentioned works by W. L. Sargant, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and N. G. Hubbard when working on Chapter I, Part III of *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 244-54).—263
- ³³⁰ *Sheikh-al-Islam*—title of the head of the Moslem clergy in Turkey (the Ottoman Empire).—263
- ³³¹ In the original here follows Quesnay's *Tableau économique*.—263
- ³³² Bracke wrote to Marx on 5 August 1877: 'After Miss Kurz I shall now compare the translation of the sheets to follow with the French original and, in cases of doubt, consult Liebknecht, Engels or B. Becker.' See also Note 194.—266
- ³³³ Engels was in Ramsgate at the time (see Note 289), and between 5 and 21 September 1877, he and his wife were on holiday in Scotland.—266, 271, 274, 280, 282
- ³³⁴ In 'The War in the East' column, *The Times*, No. 29018 of 11 August 1877, carried an advertisement signed by Maltman Barry and dated 10 August. It related to the meeting scheduled for 13 August and a demonstration in support of Turkey and in protest against Russia's Eastern policies.—267
- ³³⁵ The reference is to Engels' participation in the uprising in South-Western Germany in May-July 1849 during which he fought in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—271

- ³³⁶ In late July 1877, an advance unit of the Russian army led by General Gurko moved through the Balkans towards Adrianople, but was later forced to retreat.—272
- ³³⁷ On 21-26 (9-14) August 1877, bloody battles were fought for the Shipka Pass. The Turkish army's attempt to capture it failed completely. Having sustained enormous losses, Suleiman-Pasha's army was forced to retreat.—272
- ³³⁸ On 30 (18) July 1877, Russian troops made a second unsuccessful attempt to capture Plevna.—272
- ³³⁹ The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 (12) April 1877, and the Russians were preparing to cross the Danube in May. On 11 May (29 April) and the early morning of 26 (14) May, they sank the two largest Turkish vessels and crossed the Danube in late June.—273
- ³⁴⁰ Wilhelm Liebknecht was unable to come to London after the Ghent Congress.—274
- ³⁴¹ A reference to the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* (see Note 154) done by Otto Weydemeyer from the second German edition of the work. It was originally published in the form of eleven extracts from Marx's *Capital* in the American weekly, *The Labor Standard*, between 30 December 1877 and 10 March 1878. In August 1878, the work appeared anonymously as a separate pamphlet.—276, 366
- ³⁴² The planned US edition of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* did not materialise. The first volume of *Capital* appeared in English in London only in 1887. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling with Engels' assistance.—276, 283
- ³⁴³ Uriele Cavagnari failed to complete an Italian edition of the first volume of *Capital*. A concise exposition of the work in Italian was published by Carlo Cafiero in Milan in 1879. The work appeared in full in Turin in 1886.—277
- ³⁴⁴ The tenth annual British Trades' Union Congress took place in Leicester between 18 and 22 September 1877.—277
- ³⁴⁵ On 11, 13, 17 and 18 September 1877, the *Standard*, under the general heading 'The International Working Men's Association', carried detailed accounts (From our own correspondent) of the Ghent Congress. Their author was most probably Maltman Barry.—277
- ³⁴⁶ Marx is referring to the joint invasion of Mexico by France, Britain and Spain in December 1861 with the aim of overthrowing the progressive government of Benito Juárez. However, the heroic resistance put up by the Mexican people forced the invaders to leave the country.—278
- ³⁴⁷ Marx is referring to the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the Chamber of Deputies (see notes 30 and 283).—278
- ³⁴⁸ On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenu, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about \$7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. After his death on 4 August 1877, they tried to have his estate passed on to the party, but Bismarck managed to prevent this by applying diplomatic pressure.—279, 393, 410

- ³⁴⁹ In a letter to Engels of 8 October 1877, Ludwig Kugelmann wrote about Karl Ecker, 'the royal Prussian factory inspector' who wished to study the living conditions of British workers. Kugelmann advised Ecker to read the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and suggested he get in touch with Engels personally.—281
- ³⁵⁰ Engels' information about the losses sustained by the Russian army at Plevna and its 'collapse' and 'disintegration' was grossly exaggerated. There was prolonged fighting for this strategically located fortress from July to November 1877. After three abortive attempts to take Plevna by storm, in which the Russian army lost about 25,000 men, it was decided to resort to a siege, which began in September. On 28 November (10 December) 1877, the totally isolated 50,000-strong garrison tried to break through but, having lost about 6,000 men, surrendered. The fall of Plevna allowed the Russian command to release over 100,000 men for an advance beyond the Balkans.—282, 293, 297
- ³⁵¹ Marx is referring to the article 'Die Folgen des großen Krachs' printed anonymously by the *Vorwärts*, Nos 117 and 118 on 5 and 7 October 1877. On 19 July 1878, Sorge informed Marx in writing that its author was Adolph Douai.—284
- ³⁵² On 15 and 17 June and 10, 12, 14 and 17 October 1877, the *Vorwärts* (Nos 69, 70 and 119-22) carried a series of anonymous articles under the general heading 'Aus Heuchelland. Stille Beobachtungen eines Berliners in London'.—284
- ³⁵³ *Blue Books*—Parliament and Foreign Office documents and materials published in Britain since the 17th century.
On the American edition to which Marx is referring, see Note 416.—284
- ³⁵⁴ A reference to the Pennsylvanian miners' strike of 1874-75 which was shot down by troops.—284
- ³⁵⁵ This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On History and People*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations, by Saul K. Padover, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, [1977].—286, 290
- ³⁵⁶ Marx received the first part of Moses Hess' work *Dynamische Stofflehre. I. Kosmischer Teil*, Paris, 1877. The work was to have two more parts: the organic (*Organischer Teil*) and the social (*Sozialer Teil*). Nothing is known about the publication of the last two parts.—286, 290
- ³⁵⁷ Marx is referring to the *Theories of Surplus Value* which make up the bulk of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 62).—287
- ³⁵⁸ An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Communist Morality*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.—288
- ³⁵⁹ Referring to the Dühringians' speeches at the Gotha Congress of 1877 (see Note 286) in his letter to Marx of 30 October-6 November 1877, Blos inquired whether Marx and Engels were really angry with the party members in Germany. German workers, he wrote, were more interested in Marx's and Engels' articles in the press than ever. According to him, Marx and Engels were more popular than they could have imagined thanks to the activities of the Social-Democrats.—288
- ³⁶⁰ By the 'secret communist society' Marx means the League of the Just, a secret organisation of German political refugees set up in Paris in 1836-37. In

January-February 1847 its members had talks with Marx and Engels, as a result of which they consented to join the League on the condition that it would be reorganised and an end be put to any personality cult.

At the congress held in London between 2 and 9 June 1847 the League of the Just was renamed the Communist League. New Rules were drafted at this congress with the active participation of Marx and Engels. After the discussion by the Communist League's communities the Rules were considered by the second congress and finally approved on 8 December 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 585-88).—288

- ³⁶¹ In his letter to Marx (see Note 359) Bloss wrote that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had discussed 'Dr Marx's mutual combinations with Father Beckx'. Bloss meant the newspaper's leading article, which had likened the activities of the international association of socialists, i.e., the International, to that of the Order of Jesuits, and Marx to its leader Beckx.—289
- ³⁶² A reference to Ernst Dronke's infringement of the contract under which Engels rendered him financial assistance (see Engels' letters to Emil Blank of 16 October and to Ernst Dronke of 20 October and 1 and 13 November 1876 in this volume, pp. 160, 161, 164-65, 171).—289
- ³⁶³ Engels wrote this letter when working on the article 'Natural Science in the Spirit World', which he most probably finished in early 1878. Here the reference is to the books: J. N. Maskelyne, *Modern Spiritualism*, London, 1876, and A. R. Wallace, *On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*, London, 1875, Engels' principal sources of information on spiritualists and spiritualism attacked in his article.
- The article first appeared in the Social-Democratic yearbook *Illustrierter Neue Welt-Kalender* for 1898 published in Hamburg. Engels incorporated it into *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 345-55).—290
- ³⁶⁴ Presumably an error in Marx's letter: the meeting in Trafalgar Square took place not on Friday, but on Saturday, 29 December 1877. It was called by the supporters of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.—292
- ³⁶⁵ In 1876-78, Marx received a considerable number of works on Russia's social, economic and political development from Nikolai Danielson in St Petersburg. The Russian section of Marx's library grew rapidly in this period (see Note 265).—293, 307, 343
- ³⁶⁶ *Zimnicea* (*Zimniza*), a village in Romania near which the Russian army crossed the Danube in the early morning of 27 (15) June 1877.—293
- ³⁶⁷ Following the republicans' overwhelming victory at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877 (see Note 283) the Broglie ministry was forced to resign on November 19. The attempt by Mac-Mahon and his followers to effect a coup d'état on 13 December fell through due to the resistance of the junior officer corps and especially the body of privates, who shared the republican leanings of the French peasantry. On 14 December, Jules Dufaure's government was formed. In January 1879, Mac-Mahon was obliged to resign before his term of office had expired. Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, was elected president of the Republic. The bourgeois-republican system was definitively established in France.—293, 294
- ³⁶⁸ Engels is referring to the anarchists. Inability to agree about the final goals of the campaign, failures in practical work (the abortive anarchist putches in Italy in 1874 and 1877) gave rise to substantial theoretical differences among them.

- At the congress of the so-called anarchist International in Verviers in 1877, the Bakuninists' statement that all political parties, including the socialists, were essentially reactionary, aroused vigorous protests from the Belgian, the French and some of the Italian delegates.—294
- 369 In May 1877, a congress of the Swiss Workers' Union in Neuenburg accepted Johann Philipp Becker's proposal for a merger with the Grütli-Verein, a petty-bourgeois organisation, to form a single Social-Democratic party. A commission established for the purpose and including members of the two organisations drafted a joint contract and a programme for the Social-Democratic party in Switzerland, which in fact coincided with the Gotha Programme adopted by the German Social-Democrats in 1875. In June 1878, a meeting of the Grütli-Verein deputies in Lucerne rejected the contract and adopted the programme subject to further revision. The planned merger did not take place (see also present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 218-19).—294
- 370 A reference to Hippolyte Buffenoir's articles printed under the heading 'Aus Frankreich' in the *Vorwärts*, Nos 124, 128, 129, 132, 133, 140 and 145, on 21 and 31 October, 2, 9, 11 and 30 November and 12 December 1877. In connection with the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877, Buffenoir acted as co-author of the manifesto issued by a group of the so-called autonomous socialists of Paris on 9 October 1877.—295
- 371 Comparing the different stages of the French Revolution, Engels believed that a Russian revolution would end in the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, as had happened in France in 1793 when the Jacobins came to power.—295
- 372 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On Colonialism and Modernization*, Anchor Books, New York, 1969.—296
- 373 The letters to Liebknecht of 4 and 11 February 1878 were despatched following a request contained in his letter to Marx of 22 January 1878. Liebknecht asked for one or several articles as preparatory material for a speech on the Eastern Question in the German Reichstag. Both of Marx's letters were published anonymously in the second edition of Liebknecht's pamphlet *Zur orientalischen Frage oder Soll Europa kosakisch werden? Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk*. The afterword to this edition which appeared in Leipzig a month after the first edition, on 27 February 1878, ended as follows: 'By way of conclusion, I am supplying two letters from a friend who has made a more thorough study of the Eastern Question than anyone else. The clarity of judgment, sharp insight, all-embracing knowledge—all point to an expert. *Ex ungue leonem*' (Judge the lion from his claws).—296, 299
- 374 On 25 (13) December 1877 the Russian army embarked on the decisive offensive on the Balkan theatre of war. Having crossed the Balkans, Russian troops entered Sofia on 4 January 1878 (23 December 1877), smashed the last Turkish army in the battle of Philippopol (Plovdiv) on 15-17 (3-5) January 1878, and entered Adrianople (Edirne) on 20 (8) January and continued their advance towards Constantinople (Istanbul). On 31 (19) January, Turkey was compelled to sign an armistice in Adrianople.—296
- 375 The *Grand Cophta*—the name of an omnipotent and omniscient priest who headed the non-existent Masonic 'Egyptian Lodge' which the famous eighteenth-century impostor 'Count' Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded.—296

- ³⁷⁶ In the summer of 1876, Russia and Austria-Hungary signed an agreement in Rheinstadt on Austro-Hungarian neutrality in the event of a Russo-Turkish war. They also concluded a secret convention in Budapest in March 1877, under which Russia agreed to Austria-Hungary's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in exchange for its neutrality.—296
- ³⁷⁷ The terms of the peace with Turkey, which bolstered Russia's position in the Balkans, were agreed on when signing the San Stefano preliminary peace treaty in March 1878 (see Note 430). They were revised to the advantage of Austria-Hungary and Britain at the Berlin congress in June 1878.—297
- ³⁷⁸ Under the Paris Peace Treaty concluded in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War (see Note 22), Russia lost the Danube delta and the part of Southern Bessarabia adjacent to it.—298
- ³⁷⁹ Marx is playing on the well-known saying ascribed to Voltaire: 'If God did not exist, He ought to have been invented.'—299
- ³⁸⁰ The economic crisis of the 1870s heavily afflicted the miners in South Wales, where many pits were closed down and unemployment assumed massive proportions. In January 1878, only 20 mines out of 500 were working in Monmouth and Glamorganshire.—300
- ³⁸¹ On 7 and 8 February 1878, the House of Commons debated additional allocations to the Conservative government in the event of Britain's involvement in the Russo-Turkish war. The Liberal leaders, especially Forster and Bright, who had previously opposed such allocations and any anti-Russian action, changed their tactics and did not take part in the final voting; as a result the Conservatives managed to get their demand approved, by a significant majority of 328 to 124.—300
- ³⁸² As from 1 January 1874, when universal conscription was introduced in Russia, Poles were also subject to the draft.—300
- ³⁸³ At the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, Prussia's stand towards Russia was one of benevolent neutrality.—300
- ³⁸⁴ The first campaign of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 took place in May-October 1828. It revealed that the Russian troops were confronted by a numerically superior Turkish army, its strategy being that of temporising and wearing out the enemy. The second campaign was waged between May and August 1829.—301
- ³⁸⁵ This treaty confirmed the St Petersburg Russo-British protocol of 4 April 1826 recognising Greek autonomy. Like the protocol, it included an agreement on the diplomatic recognition of Greece and on armed mediation in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The contracting parties confirmed the commitment recorded in the protocol to seek no territorial or commercial benefits for themselves in pacifying Greece except such as were common to all European states.—302
- ³⁸⁶ In September 1829 Turkey and Russia concluded a treaty in Adrianople which ended the war of 1828-29. Under the treaty Russia obtained the Danube delta, including the islands, and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuban estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation

- to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan and abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman.—303
- ³⁸⁷ Marx is drawing a parallel here with the persecution of the so-called Demagogues, participants in the intellectuals' opposition movement in Germany following the Napoleonic wars. The term became current after the Karlsbad conference of ministers of German states in August 1819, which agreed on measures for the suppression of the Demagogues.—303
- ³⁸⁸ The original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier. The Editors are not in possession of Sigmund Schott's letter, to which Marx is replying.—304
- ³⁸⁹ Marx wrote on the envelope of the letter: 'To the Publisher of "*Forward*", *Hornsey Road, Post Office, London, N.*'—305
- ³⁹⁰ Engels had requested Lopatin to write for the *Volks-Kalender* for 1879 an article on the trials of the Russian Narodniks (Populists) brought before the court for revolutionary agitation and propaganda in St Petersburg in 1877-early 1878 (see Note 391). However, the article was not needed, since, after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), the *Volks-Kalender* was closed down.—306
- ³⁹¹ This letter has come down to us as an extract quoted by Lopatin in French in his letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878. He also rendered in Russian the substance of the other two parts of Engels' letter:
- 'He wrote to me to ask for a photograph of the women condemned in the trial of the 50 for Bracke's almanach for 1879. He also wants me to write an article about this trial or about the recent Russian movement, about 16 large-sized pages, for 160 marks=200 francs;
- 'Engels writes that England shows all signs of an approaching industrial and commercial crisis, which will be a worthy consummation of all separate European crashes: Austrian, Prussian, Russian, etc. So far, two main industries have been severely affected: the cotton industry and the production of iron. The general crash will possibly be delayed until August or September.'—307
- ³⁹² *Vperyod!* (Vol. V, 1877, pp. 1-120) featured the article 'The Outcome of the Reforms. Surveys of the Successes of Economic Exploitation in Russia over Recent Years'. As is clear from Lopatin's letter to Engels of 23 April 1878, its author was Nikolai Kulyabko-Koretsky (pen-name Dahl). The *Vorwärts* published its German translation under the heading 'Die Folgen der czaristischen Reformen' between 15 February and 15 March 1878.—307
- ³⁹³ In 1871-73, a single gold coin was introduced in Germany to replace the different currencies of the kingdoms, principalities and duchies.—308
- ³⁹⁴ In a letter to Engels of 26 April 1878, Bracke praised the railway project and the tobacco monopoly introduced by Bismarck. But he still regarded as wrong 'any participation by the party in implementing these measures'.—308
- ³⁹⁵ A reference to the economic crisis of 1873, which in Germany lasted into the late 1870s (see also Note 118).—308, 405
- ³⁹⁶ Eugen Richter, the leader of the Party of Progress, said in the Reichstag on 10 April 1878 with respect to the Bill introduced by Wilhelm Bracke on the repeal of the law exempting the military from communal taxes (passed on 22 December 1868): 'We consider it important enough to note a change at

present in the tactics of the socialist gentlemen.... You, Sirs, obviously do not consider the modern state and its organisation so bad as to make them unworthy of the effort, made by the previous speaker [Bracke] in his speech, to partially improve them.... We will be far from displeased if you follow in our footsteps and bring up our old proposals.'—309

- 397 Lothar Bucher had a 'Declaration' printed in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 21 June 1878 concerning Marx's and Engels' letter to the editor of *The Daily News* (see present edition, Vol. 24 pp. 230-31), which many German newspapers had reprinted with the mistake made in the translation. On 27 June, Marx sent his reply to Bucher's 'Declaration' to a number of German newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 232-33).—310
- 398 In his 'Declaration' concerning Marx's and Engels' letter to the editor of *The Daily News* (see Note 397), Lothar Bucher stated that it would take 3,000 lines to refute Marx's 30.—312
- 399 On 9 July 1878, the London correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* had a statement printed in which, referring to allegedly 'verified sources', he asserted that Marx had intended to answer Bucher's 'Declaration' in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 397) with a whole book entitled *Herr Bucher*.—312
- 400 An allusion to the novel by Nikolai Chernyshevsky (*What Is to Be Done?*), which appeared in French in Lodi, Italy, in 1875.—312
- 401 The first complete edition of Engels' *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Philosophie. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus*, with the author's preface, was published in Leipzig in early July 1878.—312, 313, 316
- 402 On 18 July 1878, the London journal *Nature* (Vol. XVIII, No. 455, p. 316) printed the programme of the 51st congress of natural scientists and physicians scheduled for 18-24 September in Kassel. Among the reports to be read was Oscar Schmidt's 'On the Relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy'.
On 23 July, Oscar Schmidt stated his willingness to send Engels a copy of his report, which was to appear in the November issue of the *Deutsche Rundschau*. It also came out as a pamphlet: O. Schmidt, *Darwinismus und Socialdemokratie*, Bonn, 1878.—313, 317
- 403 Engels is referring to Rudolf Virchow's speech at the 50th congress of German natural scientists and physicians in Munich on 22 September 1877. Virchow associated Darwinism with the socialist movement and declared it dangerous to the existing social system (see R. Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat*, Berlin, 1877, S. 12). Engels ironically wrote that Virchow had 'amiably tipped the wink'.—313, 316
- 404 Engels intended to subject to criticism the Darwinians', including Oscar Schmidt's, writings against socialism in his *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 314), but did not carry out this plan.—314, 317
- 405 On 24 May 1878, the majority in the German Reichstag (251 to 57) voted down the government bill directed against socialists, after which the Reichstag was dissolved on 11 June, and new elections were scheduled for 30 July. The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany polled 437,158 votes this time.—314
- 406 On 11 May and 2 June 1878, assassination attempts were made on William I, the first by unemployed tinner Max Hödel and the second by anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling, who had never belonged to the Socialist Workers' Party of

Germany. These events provoked a vicious campaign against the socialists and provided a pretext for the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462).

In his turn, Bismarck used the assassination attempts to break down the resistance of the National Liberals (see Note 540), who had a short while before voted down the government proposal to introduce protective tariffs on iron. As a result of Bismarck's policies, the National Liberal Party lost about a quarter of its seats in the 1878 Reichstag elections.—314, 419, 424, 449

- 407 'We are but dogs!' ('Hunde sind wir ja doch!'). This is how, according to August Bebel, the German democratic political writer Luis Bamberger described the treatment which the National Liberals received from Bismarck.—314, 322, 324
- 408 The *reptile fund*—the special fund at Bismarck's disposal for bribing the press and individual journalists. Reptiles was the name used by the left-wing press to designate periodicals which defended the interests of the government and had been bribed by it.—315, 328, 334, 421
- 409 On 4 July 1878, Jenny Longuet, Marx's eldest daughter, gave birth to a baby boy, Henri Longuet, whom the family called Harry.—316
- 410 Engels is referring to the birth of the eighth child in Philipp Pauli's family, of which the latter informed him on 17 July 1878.—316
- 411 In 1877-78, Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) lived with her relatives in Manchester.—316
- 412 *Nachalo* (No. 2, April 1878) wrote: 'Arrested in St Petersburg the other day were: 1) *Pyankov*, detained by the police in Furstadtskaya St. and beaten within an inch of his life without the slightest provocation; exiled (!) to Archangel; 2) *Goloushev*, chief witness in the Zasluch case; 3) *Pavlovsky* and 4) *Lopatin*.'
- Lavrov wrote on 11 August in reply to Engels' letter: 'The news reported by *Nachalo* relates either to the brother of *our* Lopatin, a participant in the "trial of the 193", or to his cousin, who has just been deported to Vologda Gubernia, having been involved in the Kiev students' case. *Our* Lopatin had come over from Switzerland but then left again for a while; I think he will be back in about a month, if not earlier. He has not left an address, but I had a letter from him about a fortnight ago.'—316
- 413 *Après moi* (or *nous*) *le deluge!*—a phrase attributed to Mmle Pompadour or to Mme Du Barry, who addressed it to Louis XV.—317
- 414 This letter was published in English for the first time in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1959, No. 3.—317
- 415 Between 4 and 14 September 1878 Marx stayed with his wife, his daughter Jenny and his grandson Jean in Malvern.—318, 322, 324
- 416 After a long search, Sorge sent Marx an 'Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for 1876-1877', Part III. *Industrial Statistics*, Vol. V, Harrisburg, 1878, containing information he needed on the situation in the mining industry of Pennsylvania.—318
- 417 Sorge sent Marx the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* done by Weydemeyer (see Note 341), which appeared anonymously in August 1878 under the heading *Extracts from the 'Capital' of Karl Marx*.

Marx's intention to have a new edition of the pamphlet published with his preface was not carried through.—318

- 418 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975 and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—320
- 419 After Lizzy Burns' death on 12 September 1878, Engels left for Littlehampton (on 16 September).—321, 325, 327, 330, 331
- 420 A reference to the Anti-Socialist Law. The discussion of the bill began in the Reichstag on 16 September 1878 (see Note 462).—321, 322, 328, 332
- 421 On 17 September 1878, *The Daily News* and *The Standard* carried reports from Reuters and their own correspondents covering the 16 September session of the German Reichstag, at which Stolberg-Wernigerode, Reichensperger, Hellendorf-Bedroe, Bebel, Eulenburg and Bamberger took the floor.—322, 324
- 422 *La légalité nous tue* (legality is killing us): Marx repeats what Jean Pons Viennet, a right-wing representative in the French Chamber of Deputies, said in his speech on 23 March 1833. This was also quoted by the conservative politician Odillon Barrot in his speech to the Constituent Assembly of the French Republic early in 1849.—322
- 423 The *Party of the Centre*, a political party of German Catholics, was formed in 1870-71 following the merger of the Catholic groups in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the deputies of these parties sat in the centre of the assembly hall). The Party of the Centre normally took a non-committal approach, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the left opposition in the Reichstag. It united different social sections among the Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and part of the peasantry (mostly in small and medium states in Western and South-Western Germany), and supported their separatist and anti-Prussian leanings. Although in opposition to the Bismarck government, the Party of the Centre nevertheless voted for its repressive measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels described it in detail in his essays 'The Role of Force in History' (see present edition, Vol. 26) and 'What Now?' (Vol. 27).—322, 325, 328
- 424 In his speech to the Reichstag on 16 September 1878, August Bebel refuted the groundless accusations against the Social-Democrats which had given Bismarck a pretext to introduce the Anti-Socialist Bill. He noted that time would show its pointlessness, since the Social-Democrats would be able to disseminate their ideas even working underground.—322, 324, 326, 328
- 425 Opening the Reichstag session on 16 September 1878, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode stated the allied governments' conviction that ideas repudiating all norms of law and morality and seriously threatening the state and society had become prevalent among the general public. This, he said, was sufficient grounds for introducing an anti-socialist law.—323
- 426 On 18 September 1878, *The Standard*, No. 16897, carried an article covering the debate on the Anti-Socialist Bill that had begun in the Reichstag on 16 September.

Further on, Engels is referring to the telegraphic communication in the

- same issue of the newspaper: 'The German Parliament. The Anti-Socialist Bill. Speech of Prince Bismarck' dealing with the Reichstag sitting of 17 September.—326
- 427 On 27 September 1878, the *Vorwärts*, No. 114 (the 'Aus England, London, 20. September' section) featured extracts from a number of British newspapers dealing with the Anti-Socialist Bill. *The Standard* was not mentioned in the review.—326
- 428 The second French workers' congress held in Lyons on 28 January-8 February 1878 decided that an international socialist congress would be held in Paris in September, during the world industrial exhibition. Its convocation was initiated first and foremost by Jules Guesde. The French government banned the congress, but on 4 September the delegates assembled in Paris met unofficially, since it was already too late to try and convene a congress in Lausanne. The police dispersed the participants and arrested 38 people, Guesde among them. They appeared in court on 24 October.
- Carl Hirsch, who was present at the meeting as a reporter, was arrested on 6 September, kept in custody until 9 October, and then deported.—327, 331, 338
- 429 Marx quoted from Petty's book *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (London, 1667, p. 47) in *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Ch. I, Section 2). In his book *Die Reform des Geldwesens* (Berlin, 1869, S. 7), Adolph Samter reproduced this passage from *Capital*.—329
- 430 On 3 March (19 February) 1878, Russia and Turkey signed a *preliminary peace treaty in San Stefano* (near Constantinople). The treaty's provisions included the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality which would be nominally dependent on Turkey, state sovereignty for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and their territorial expansion. It consolidated Russia's position in the Balkans, which brought counteraction on the part of Britain and Austria-Hungary, who even resorted to a show of strength (a British squadron entered the Sea of Marmara, etc.). Russia was thus forced to agree to the convocation of an international congress to revise those sections of the treaty that involved 'common European interests'. The congress, in which Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany, France and Italy took part, was held in Berlin between 13 (1) June and 13 (1) July 1878. It resulted in the Treaty of Berlin which significantly amended the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty. The territory of self-governing Bulgaria was cut by more than half, and the Bulgarian territories south of the Balkan Ridge were to form Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province that remained under the Sultan; the territory of Montenegro was also to be substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed the provision of the San Stefano Treaty that Russia was to receive back the part of Bessarabia severed from it in 1856 and sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. After the Berlin congress the Balkans remained a focus of conflict, which led to the First World War.—331, 384
- 431 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On Revolution*. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—331
- 432 In his letter to Engels of 22 September 1878, Liebknecht expressed his condolences on the death of Lizzie Burns.—331.
- 433 Having analysed the stenographic report, sent by Wilhelm Bracke, of the first debate of the Anti-Socialist Bill in the Reichstag, Marx outlined an article on

- the subject (see 'The Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law', present edition, Vol. 24). He did not carry out his plan to use this material for the British press.—332
- 434 As a threat of an armed conflict with Britain emerged in the course of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the tsarist government agreed on an alliance with Afghanistan. The Russian envoy Stoletov, who arrived in Kabul on 22 June 1878, made arrangements with the country's rulers for a Russo-Afghan treaty. However, having settled the Anglo-Russian differences, the tsarist government decided against such an alliance.—332
- 435 Marx's letters to the British clergyman Moritz Kaufmann of 3 and 10 October 1878 are replies to the latter's request that he look through Kaufmann's article about himself, which was to appear in the *Leisure Hour* magazine in December 1878 and to be included in a book on the history of socialism he was preparing for publication. Kaufmann's book *Utopias; or, Schemes of Social Improvement. From Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx* came out in London in 1879. Marx read through the last two chapters.—332, 333, 334
- 436 Marx may have had in mind the professor of political economy at Kiev University Nikolai Sieber, one of the first to popularise Marx's economic theory in Russia. In 1876-78, Sieber published a series of articles entitled *Marx's Economic Theory* and some polemic articles against the Russian critics of Marx, Yuli Zhukovsky and Boris Chicherin.—334
- 437 In May 1876, Franz Mehring publicly accused Leopold Sonnemann of using his public position as editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* to engage in speculation during the *Gründerjahre* (see Note 118) and extract considerable profits. Sonnemann having denounced this accusation as slander, Franz Mehring had legal proceedings instituted against him. The court of the first instance found Sonnemann not guilty. In June 1877, the court of appeal found that Mehring's accusations were justified but still left Sonnemann unpunished.—334
- 438 In the late 1850s, the Mexican government of Zuloaga and Miramón issued state bonds that became an object of large-scale speculation in France (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 197).—335
- 439 Marx most probably sent Moritz Kaufmann his article 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 24), a reply to Howell's 'The History of the International Association' (*The Nineteenth Century*, July 1878) presenting the International's history in a distorted way.—335
- 440 Hermann Arnoldt, a Königsberg Social-Democrat and member of the local Johann Jacoby Fund committee (a fund for assisting the Social-Democratic press), requested Engels to accept for safekeeping the Fund's securities to the amount of about 3,000 marks, fearing confiscation by the Prussian government after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—335
- 441 This letter was occasioned by Marx's and Engels' attempts to get Liebknecht a job on the London *Whitehall Review*, since the *Vorwärts*, where he had been a member of staff, had been banned with the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany on 21 October 1878.
- On 4 November, Marx sent a letter through a third party to Natalie Liebknecht, which she received on 14 November. Its contents are not known, but Liebknecht must have read it, since on 18 November he thanked Engels

- and Marx for their efforts to find him a job (see also this volume, p. 352).—336
- 442 As can be seen from the rough draft of this letter Marx had intended to alter the original arrangement of the text. The alterations have been taken into account in the present edition.—336
- 443 Alfred Talandier's letter to the editor of *La Marseillaise* of 2 October 1878, which calumniated Maltman Barry, was printed by that newspaper on 6 October (No. 202) in the section 'Congrès ouvrier'.—336
- 444 The *International Labour Union* (or *League*) was founded in London early in 1878 by several former members of the General Council of the IWMA, who had refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20). Acting jointly with the bourgeois radicals, including Charles Bradlaugh and Pratt, they unsuccessfully tried to reinstitute the International on their own platform.—339
- 445 Alfred Talandier was the permanent Paris correspondent of *The National Reformer* edited by Charles Bradlaugh.—340
- 446 The name partisans of the 'opportunist' republic in France was applied to moderate republicans (Gembetta, Grévy et al.), who fought against MacMahon's attempts to restore the monarchy (see notes 283 and 367).—340
- 447 On 22 September 1878, *The National Reformer*, Vol. XXXII, No. 12, carried a short note alleging close relationship between Mr Maltman Barry and the Paris police.—341
- 448 A reference to Napoleon III's wife Eugénie de Montijo de Guzmán who lived in England after the fall of the Second Empire; following her husband's death in 1873, she assumed leadership of the Bonapartist party.—341
- 449 On 23 December 1871, *The Eastern Post* printed Marx's letter to the editor concerning Charles Bradlaugh's slanderous attacks on him (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 62-63).
The same issue featured a report of the meeting of the International's General Council held on 19 December 1871 at which Marx had exposed Bradlaugh's activities.—341
- 450 The address on the envelope is in Eleanor Marx's hand: 'N. Danielson, Esq., Société du Crédit Mutuel, Pont de Kazan, Maison Lessnikoff, St Petersburg, Russia.'—343, 346, 353
- 451 On 28 October (9 November) 1878, Danielson informed Marx that six or seven months before he had written to him that the first volume of *Capital* had sold out and that the prospects for a second Russian edition were discussed. He requested Marx to let him know whether he was planning any changes to the text and asked for the proof-sheets of the second volume to be sent on to him as soon as they go in print.—343
- 452 The polemics in the Russian press on the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in 1877-79 involved scholars and political writers and were opened by Yuli Zhukovsky's article 'Karl Marx and His Book on Capital' (*Vestnik Yevropy*, September 1877). The article provoked a number of replies, two of which Danielson had sent to Marx: N. Sieber's essay 'A Few Notes Apropos Yu. Zhukovsky's Article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital"' (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, No. 11, November 1877) and N. Mikhailovskiy's article 'Karl Marx

Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky' (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, No. 10, October 1877), which prompted Marx to write to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201). In 1878, sharp criticism of Marx was levelled in B. N. Chicherin's article 'The German Socialists: 2. Karl Marx' (*Sbornik Gosudarstvennikh Znaniy*, Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1878). Sieber's article 'B. Chicherin *contra* K. Marx' (*Slovo*, February 1879) was a reply to it.—344

- 453 The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for the maintenance of the Union and that of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. Marx analysed the causes and the nature of the war in his articles published in the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).—344, 357
- 454 The next two passages were quoted by Nikolai Danielson, in a somewhat modified form, in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital*, St Petersburg, 1885, p. XII.—344
- 455 A reference to the following passage in the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital*: 'And, as a matter of fact, the value also of each single yard is but the materialised form of the same definite and socially fixed quantity of homogeneous human labour' (see also K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2, present edition, Vol. 35).—346
- 456 Cf. the French edition of Volume One of *Capital*, Part V, Ch. XVI: 'I always assume the actual state of affairs, which, with a few exceptions, prevails everywhere, i.e., that the capitalist pays all preliminary expenses, including the worker's wages.'—346
- 457 Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVI (present edition, Vol. 35).—346
- 458 From 1877 Johann Philipp Becker was editor and publisher of the Swiss socialist journal *Le Précurseur*.—348
- 459 This extract was first published, in German, in the catalogue *Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co*, London, 1963, as item No. 247. The letter was said to take up half a page and was rendered in English, up to the passage published in this volume, as follows: Marx 'informing his correspondent that he sent off three copies of *Das Kapital* and received payment for them'. The letter was purchased by an agent of the Maggs Brothers auctioneers; its subsequent fate is unknown.—350
- 460 Marx is replying to Hugo Heller's letter of 9 January 1879, which stated that in his work *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Krieges mit Frankreich* (Bd. II, Leipzig, 1878, S. 159) 'court flatterer' Moritz Busch represented Marx as preserver of the late King's life (probably Frederick William IV). Hugo Heller added that 'Champagne was still the King's undoing'.
In his next letter, that of 10 February 1879, Heller apologised to Marx for misinterpreting this passage in Busch's book; in actual fact, the reference was not to Marx but to Mr Wiehr. Later, Heller copied out the pertinent passage and sent it on to Marx.—350

- ⁴⁶¹ On 26 January 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels about the financial predicament his family was in now that he had lost his job as a correspondent following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law banning the entire socialist press.—350
- ⁴⁶² The *Anti-Socialist Law* (The Exceptional Law Against the Socialists) was introduced by the Bismarck government on a majority vote in the Reichstag on 21 October 1878 to combat the socialist and working-class movement. It banned all party and mass workers' organisations and the socialist and workers' press, and sanctioned confiscation of socialist literature and persecution of Social-Democrats. But the Social-Democratic Party, in accordance with the Constitution, preserved its group in the Reichstag. By skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work and suppressing reformist and anarchist tendencies within its ranks, the party managed substantially to strengthen and extend its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels actively assisted the party's leaders.
- Under pressure from the working-class movement, the law was repealed on 1 October 1890. Engels examined it in his essay 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).—350, 383, 386, 389, 399, 413, 418, 428, 433
- ⁴⁶³ The theological system of John Calvin, a Protestant reformer of the 16th century, emphasised the doctrine of predestination and salvation solely by God's grace.—351
- ⁴⁶⁴ During the strike and lockout of Geneva building workers in March-April 1868, the General Council of the International arranged for financial assistance to the strikers. Money was received from France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Austria and Belgium.—351
- ⁴⁶⁵ A reference to Guillaume's resignation from the Jura Federation (it fell apart in 1878) of the so-called anarchist International and his departure from Switzerland to Paris in May 1878.—351
- ⁴⁶⁶ The first issue of the *Freiheit* appeared in London on 4 January 1879.—351
- ⁴⁶⁷ On 31 December 1878, the government submitted for the Reichstag's consideration a bill on its deputies' disciplinary responsibility (the so-called muzzle bill). It was spearheaded against the Social-Democratic deputies and the democratic opposition in the Reichstag and came up for debate on 4-7 March 1879. The bill granted a specially appointed commission the right to punish a deputy if 'he failed to show restraint in his attacks on speakers from among the opposition', and even expel him from the Reichstag. On 7 March, the deputies turned down the bill by a majority vote as infringing their democratic rights.—351, 352
- ⁴⁶⁸ On 5 February 1879, the western constituency of Breslau (Wrocław) held by-election occasioned by the death of the deputy Heinrich Bürgers. The ballot, conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), demonstrated the strength and unity of the working class. The workers' deputy Julius Kräcker failed to win a majority, but did poll over 7,500 votes.—352
- ⁴⁶⁹ In the original 'von Fall zu Fall'—a phrase that came to designate unpredictable and indefinite policies. In connection with the Berlin Conference (1876) of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary (see Note 430), the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Andrassy stated that the three great powers had not reached a definite decision on the Eastern Question but had agreed to

coordinate their positions 'von Fall zu Fall'. Applying the phrase to Bismarck's policies, Engels puns on the word 'Fall', 'failure', changing the meaning of the expression to 'one cropper after another'.—352

- 470 In February 1879, *The Times* printed a number of articles dealing with Bismarck's finance policies. Some of them, e.g., the leader of 13 February 1879 devoted to the opening of the German Reichstag, questioned the purposes of Bismarck's protectionist policy.—352
- 471 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. In a fuller form, it appeared in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—353
- 472 Marx is referring to Danielson's letter of 5 (17) February 1879, which contained a review of Russia's finance policies 'over the past 15 years'; the same day he sent Marx a large number of books on which the review was based.—353
- 473 The text below (including the paragraph beginning: 'Thirdly: My medical adviser...') was quoted almost in full by Danielson in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital*, St Petersburg, 1885, pp. XIII-XIV.—354
- 474 A reference to the world economic crises of 1857 and 1866 which seriously affected the British economy.—354
- 475 The *Bank Act* of 1844 (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on 19 July 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes. The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves that could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in precious metal reserves.
A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—355
- 476 A reference to the world industrial exhibition which opened in Paris on 1 May 1878.—355
- 477 The Russian economist Illarion Kaufman had an article devoted to Volume One of *Capital* and entitled 'A Point of View of Politico-Economic Criticism in Karl Marx's Work' published anonymously in *Vestnik Yevropy*, St Petersburg (May 1872). Marx quoted it in the 'Afterword to the Second German Edition of *Capital*' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—358
- 478 Reichenbach, an aspiring writer living in Paris, sent a letter and several books to Marx's address to be passed on to Rudolph Meyer. In a letter to Marx of 27 May 1879 Meyer apologised for the inconvenience caused and expressed a wish to meet him.—359
- 479 J. Gugenheim, the secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 55), had asked Engels to deliver 'a scientific lecture' there.—360

- 480 On 24 May 1879, the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column of the *Freiheit* criticised the Social-Democratic deputies' stand in the Reichstag on protective tariffs (see Note 502).—360, 362
- 481 On 16 May, 1879 Engels sent a letter to Wilhelm Bracke (not extant) with the request that he forward it to August Bebel. As follows from Bebel's reply to Bracke of 24 May, Engels criticised Wilhelm Liebknecht's Reichstag speech on the introduction of the state of siege in Berlin (see Note 486) as evidence of the Social-Democrats' submission to the Anti-Socialist Law.—360, 364
- 482 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 15, No. 9, IX, London, 1933. In full it appeared in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.
The letter is written on the back of Bernstein's letter to Engels.—360
- 483 A reference to the author of the articles on the British labour movement for the Zurich *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. When making this request, Eduard Bernstein believed the author could be Engels himself (see this volume, p. 361).—360
- 484 The writing of *Anti-Dühring*, which Engels began in late May 1876, caused him to postpone a number of scientific works he was planning or had already started, notably the *Dialectics of Nature* (see also Note 169).—361
- 485 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, [1936].—364, 416
- 486 A reference to Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 17 March 1879 on the introduction of the so-called local siege in Berlin and its environs. Liebknecht stated that the Social-Democratic Party would abide by the Anti-Socialist Law, being 'a party of reform in the strictest sense of the word'. His speech showed that some Social-Democratic leaders were undecided about the tactics to be adopted in the initial months following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.—364
- 487 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967. It appeared almost in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1983.—365
- 488 Marx is referring to Carlo Cafiero's pamphlet *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx*, which was a popular exposition of the first volume of *Capital*. It appeared in Italian in Milan in 1879.—365
- 489 Nothing is known about what has happened to the original letter. There is a copy and a rough draft which largely coincide. Engels may have made the copy for Carl Hirsch (see Note 497).—366
- 490 This refers to the preparations for the publication of the illegal newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich, the new central printed organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. The need for such a newspaper emerged after a ban on the entire party press, above all the *Vorwärts*, following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462). In July-September 1879, extensive correspondence on the political line of the new paper and its editors was maintained between August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Louis Viereck (in

Leipzig), Carl Hirsch (in Paris), Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg, Carl August Schramm (in Zurich), and Marx and Engels (in London).

The campaign Marx and Engels conducted for a sound political line of the party's future central printed organ is fully expounded in their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others of 17-18 September 1879 (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—367, 373, 374, 378, 383, 388, 393, 415

- 491 A phrase from Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Carl Hirsch of 28 July 1879 (see also this volume, p. 396), which Hirsch sent on to Marx and Engels.—367
- 492 Bernstein's letter to Hirsch of 24 July 1879 is also quoted and mentioned by Marx and Engels in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 373
- 493 Mentioned here is Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of 31 July 1879. Marx and Engels quote it in their Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 412
- 494 Marx and his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) left for Jersey on 8 August and stayed there until 20 August 1879.—368, 369, 372, 409
- 495 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976 and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—369
- 496 Between 5 and 7 August 1879, Engels, accompanied by Carl Schorlemmer, left for a holiday in Eastbourne. He returned to London on 28 August.—369, 372, 376, 378, 380
- 497 Enclosed in Carl Hirsch's letter to Marx of 7 August 1879 was a copy of Engels' letter to August Bebel of 4 August (see this volume, pp. 366-68). Hirsch quoted the letter he had received from Liebknecht that day concerning the planned illegal party printed organ (see Note 490). Marx and Engels used this information for their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, p. 395).—369, 372
- 498 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *On Education, Women and Children*. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—371
- 499 On 18 August 1879, Marx's daughter Jenny Longuet gave birth to a son, Edgar, in Ramsgate.—371, 373, 376, 378, 381, 382
- 500 On 21 August 1879, Marx interrupted his stay in Jersey (see Note 494) and arrived in Ramsgate to join his daughter Jenny and her newborn son Edgar. He returned to London on 17 September.—372, 374, 378, 381, 385, 388, 390, 393, 394, 409, 415
- 501 Marx and Engels included a concise exposition of Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 396). Engels' reply is not extant.—372, 378
- 502 A reference to the speech made by the socialist deputy Max Kayser with the consent of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on 17 May 1879 in defence of the government plan to introduce protective tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Kayser, who supported a proposal made in the interests of big industrialists and landowners and prejudicial to the mass of the

- population. They also condemned the lenient attitude displayed towards it by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders (see this volume, pp. 396-401).—373, 424
- 503 The first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* edited by Karl Höchberg under the assumed name of Dr Ludwig Richter, appeared in Zurich in August 1879; Engels received this issue on 28 August, immediately after his return from Eastbourne.—374
- 504 Carl Hirsch described the circumstances of his arrest and deportation from France in August 1879 in a letter to Engels of 23 August 1879.—374, 412
- 505 Engels' letter to Carl Hirsch, which contained excerpts from Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 (see Note 501), has not been found.—375
- 506 Engels answered Karl Höchberg's letter of 24 August 1879 on 26 August (see this volume, pp. 379-80).
A reply to Bebel's letter to Engels of 20 August 1879 was the Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—375, 386, 397
- 507 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972. In full, it appeared in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—376
- 508 The inaugural speech made by George James Allman, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in Sheffield on 20 August 1879 at the opening of the Association's 49th annual congress, was printed in the London journal *Nature* on 21 August.—377
- 509 Engels' letter to Liebknecht of 20 August 1879 mentioned here has not been found (see this volume, p. 372).
August Bebel, who wrote to Engels on the same day, could not possibly have known what it was about.—378, 394
- 510 The address on the envelope in Engels' hand is: 'Den Heer Karl Höchberg, Dr. phil. Hôtel Ealeries, Scheveningen, Holland.'—379
- 511 In his letter of 24 August Karl Höchberg wrote that, as far as he was informed, Engels had refused to contribute to *Der Sozialdemokrat* because of Carl Hirsch's unfavourable reports.
On the real reasons why Marx and Engels refused to contribute to the paper, see this volume, pp. 412-13.—379
- 512 On 24 August 1879, Johann Most wrote to Marx that the *Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung* had published Carl Lübeck's report alleging Marx and Engels had made an official statement against the *Freiheit*. Johann Most asked Marx to let him know whether or not this was true.—381, 414
- 513 A reference to the programmatic article 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' which appeared anonymously in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879, S. 75-96. Its authors were Karl Höchberg (pen-name Ludwig Richter), Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm. Marx and Engels examined it in detail in the Circular Letter (this volume, pp. 401-08).—383, 386, 389, 393, 394, 413, 420, 430, 432

- ⁵¹⁴ The *Freiheit* of 30 August 1879, and its sample issue called 'Was nun?' of 6 September carried two articles criticising the first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik* from an anarchist viewpoint. The first article, printed in the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column, reviewed the materials featured by the *Jahrbuch* and the second, 'Auch eine Denkschrift', analysed the article 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'.—383, 386
- ⁵¹⁵ At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Britain, which feared a partition of Turkey, decided to prevent the Russian troops from entering Constantinople by threatening to break off diplomatic relations. To avoid a conflict, the tsarist government agreed to the San Stefano Peace Treaty (see Note 430).—384
- ⁵¹⁶ A reference to the meeting between Alexander II and William I, which took place on 3 and 4 September 1879 in Alexandrovo, not far from the Russian-German border.—384
- ⁵¹⁷ See K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War' (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 263-70).
The attempt by Bismarck's government to provoke a new war with France in 1873-74 failed due to the negative attitude taken by the governments of Austria, Britain and Russia.—384
- ⁵¹⁸ The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a war by Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. It led to France ceding many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony were obliged to recognise, in the main, its pre-war frontiers.—387
- ⁵¹⁹ In his articles 'Die Zolldebatte' and 'Zur Kaiser'schen Rede und Abstimmung' in *Die Laterne*, a weekly he was publishing (Nos 21 and 23, 25 May and 8 June 1879), Carl Hirsch scathingly criticised the speech made in the Reichstag by Max Kayser, who supported the government plan to introduce protective customs tariffs (see Note 502).—388, 397, 414, 418
- ⁵²⁰ An ironic allusion to what Napoleon III said on 26 August 1867 in Lille: 'For 14 years many of my hopes have been fulfilled and great success has been attained, but our horizon has also been darkened by black clouds.'—389
- ⁵²¹ The *Treaty of Paris* concluded the Crimean War (1853-56). It was signed by representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and of Russia, on the other, at the Congress of Paris on 30 March 1856. Under the treaty, Russia, which lost the war, ceded the Danube delta and part of southern Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea). By skilfully exploiting the differences between Britain and France, the Russian diplomats at the congress succeeded in obtaining peace on mitigated terms.—389
- ⁵²² The 12th annual British Trades Union Congress took place in Edinburgh between 15 and 20 September 1879.—391
- ⁵²³ This letter was probably written on 12 September, Friday, as a reply to Engels' letter of 11 September 1879 (14 September was a Sunday).—392

- 524 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in the magazine *International Press Correspondence*, No. 39, Berlin, 1931; minus the introduction (address to August Bebel), the letter was published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. It appears in full in the present edition, Vol. 24.—394
- 525 This letter, intended by Marx and Engels for 'private circulation among the German leaders' (see this volume, p. 414), is a major document of their struggle against reformism and for the revolutionary programme of the Social-Democratic party.
The draft was written by Engels in mid-September 1879, discussed with Marx on 17 September, and despatched with their signatures.
The italics in the letters of the third parties quoted by Engels are his own.—394
- 526 Carl Hirsch received Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 28 July 1879, of which he informed Marx on 2 August.—395
- 527 The Leipzig controlling committee comprised August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Karl Grillenberger and Ignaz Auer. Misled by Carl Hirsch's information, Marx and Engels believed that one of the members was Louis Viereck, not Fritzsche.—395
- 528 Hirsch and Höchberg met in Paris on 15 and 16 August 1879.—397
- 529 An ironic reference to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 55). The *Freiheit* was the Society's printed organ (see also p. 360).—398
- 530 Hirsch received the information from Höchberg when they met in Paris in August 1879, and passed it on to Engels in a letter of 23 August.—398
- 531 Bismarck's plan to introduce Imperial administration over all German railways was discussed at the Gotha Congress of the Social-Democrats in August 1876. The congress approved the transfer of private railways to the state but noted that their takeover by the Imperial government would promote the interests of the bourgeoisie and militarist quarters (see *Protokoll des Sozialisten-Congresses zu Gotha vom 19. bis 23. August 1876*, Berlin, 1876, S. 89).—400
- 532 Barricade fighting in Berlin on 18 March 1848 marked the beginning of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—404
- 533 An ironic allusion to the fact that Johann Miquel, a right-wing National Liberal leader (see Note 540), was founder and member of various joint-stock companies. As a young man, he was a member of the Communist League.—405
- 534 This note is written on a postcard addressed to: 'Carl Hirsch, Esq., 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, W.'—409
- 535 In his letter to Marx of 30 August (11 September) 1879, Danielson wrote about the publication of the first part of Maxim Kovalevsky's 'very interesting work' *Communal Landownership and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its Disintegration* and offered to send a copy to Marx if he had not yet received one from the author. Marx began a study of the work in October, making detailed notes on the nature of the commune and its place and socio-economic role in different epochs and among different nations.—409

- 536 This letter was written on the back of Maltman Barry's letter to Engels of 8 October 1879. On Marx's advice, Barry requested Engels to give his comments on Carl Blind's article 'Prince Napoleon and European Democracy' printed by *Fraser's Magazine*, No. 118, October 1879. Nothing further is known about this matter.—415
- 537 A rough draft of this letter is extant which essentially coincides with the letter published in this volume. The passages crossed out in the draft, as well as additions contained in it, are given in the footnotes.—416
- 538 August Bebel's letter to Engels of 23 October 1879 (see notes 541, 543 and 544) and that of Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 21 October enclosed with it, were a reply to Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party (see this volume, pp. 394-408).
Fritzsche and Liebknecht considered Marx's and Engels' criticism of their conciliatory attitude to the reformist policies advocated by Karl Höchberg, Carl August Schramm and Eduard Bernstein to be unwarranted.—416
- 539 Engels is referring to the smuggling into Germany of the Social-Democratic newspapers *Die Laterne* and *Der Sozialdemokrat* printed abroad after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—417
- 540 *National Liberals*—the party of German (mostly Prussian) bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 after the split in the Party of Progress (see Note 312). The policies it pursued showed that a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie had given up the claim to expanding its sphere of influence and capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the unification of Germany in 1871 the National Liberal Party acquired its final shape as a party of the big bourgeoisie, above all industrial tycoons.—417
- 541 August Bebel tried to justify the tactics of the Social-Democratic deputies in the debate of protective tariffs in the Reichstag (see Note 502) by referring to the resolution passed by the party congresses in 1876 and 1877. It stated that the issue had no major significance for the party and that, this being so, party members are allowed to act as they saw fit.—418
- 542 A reference to the 'Rechenschaftsbericht der sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstages' signed by Bebel, Bracke, Fritzsche, Kayser, Liebknecht, and other deputies and carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 2-4, 12, 19 and 26 October 1879.—419, 424
- 543 August Bebel wrote to Engels about Karl Höchberg's selfless financial assistance to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—420
- 544 August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and other Social-Democratic leaders insisted that they had had nothing to do with the article by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' (see Note 513).—422
- 545 After a fierce clash between the revolutionary delegates headed by Jules Guesde and the reformist wing, the third French workers' congress (Marseilles, October 1879) resolved to form an independent workers' party in France.—422
- 546 On 18 November 1879, August Bebel wrote to Engels that the reference in Ignaz Auer's article, marked 'Von der Niederelbe, 23. Oktober' and printed anonymously by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 5, 2 November 1879 (see also this

volume, pp. 420-21), was to Most, not to Engels. The explanation was that, at the time, Auer had not yet familiarised himself with Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the German Social-Democratic leaders.

On 11 December, Bebel informed Engels that he had received a letter from Auer who assured him that he had meant Most and Erhardt, not Engels.—423, 429

547 Engels probably did not read the review of Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland* published by the *Vorwärts*, No. 27, 4 March 1877.—424

548 The editorial 'Zur Eröffnung des sächsischen Landtages', printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 16 November 1879, stated that the three Social-Democrats elected to the Saxon Landtag (Wilhelm Liebknecht, Otto Freytag and Ludwig Puttrich) had taken the oath of allegiance to King William I. This legal procedure enabled them to perform their duties as deputies.

Reporting this on 22 November 1879 in the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column, the *Freiheit* edited by Most sharply criticised the behaviour of the Social-Democratic deputies.—425, 430

549 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism against the Protestant countries. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp.—425

550 On 23 November, *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried August Bebel's review of Bernhard Becker's *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*. The book, written by 'a drunkard and wastrel', as he put it, was 'libel against socialists and the Commune'.—425

551 The addressee of this note is not quite certain. The note is to be found in the autograph album belonging to the French revolutionary Gustave Brocher who resided in London from 1876. A facsimile of the note is included in the book *Letter to G. P. Brocher. The Last Commune of 1871. Les Anciennes. P. Kropotkin, P. L. Lavrov* (published in Russian in Paris in 1924) and is supplied with a caption that reads: 'A genuine letter by Karl Marx addressed to Professor Brocher in 1879 in English. The author of the letter asks Brocher to dinner.' These facts give reasons to believe that Marx's unknown correspondent was Gustave Brocher.

There is, however, another hypothesis. In April 1883, Brocher requested Engels to send him Marx's autograph and wrote again on 2 July to thank him for it. Marx's note to the unknown correspondent could have been this autograph.—427

552 The original of this letter as well as Marx's letter to Charles Walstone of 26 January 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 46) are kept in Lord Walstone's family archive. In 1968 he passed on their photocopies to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, Moscow. According to Lord Walstone, the addressee was his father, the British archaeologist Charles Walstone, who at that time had his father's family name, Waldstein.

Marx must have met Lord Walstone's father during a lecture at the British Museum.—427

553 Engels is answering Thomas Allsop's letter of 12 December 1879, in which the latter asked for Engels' opinion of the article from *The Pall Mall Gazette* enclosed in the letter. Allsop did not mention the title of the article or the date of the

paper, so it can only be conjectured that this was one of the four articles dealing with the crisis of the autocracy in Russia printed on 4, 9, 10 and 12 December by *The Pall Mall Gazette*: 'The Czar and His People', 'Kill or Cure for Russian Despotism', 'What Next in Russia' and 'The Collapse of Authority in Russia'.—428

554 At the Reichstag elections of 30 July 1878, 437,158 votes were cast for the Social-Democrats throughout the country, including 6,253 in Magdeburg. Wilhelm Bracke became a Social-Democratic deputy.

An additional election to the Reichstag was held in Magdeburg not on Thursday, as Engels states, but on Wednesday, 10 December 1879. It was conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), but the Social-Democrats managed to get their deputy Louis Viereck, who had won over 4,000 votes out of the total of more than 14,000, take part in the second ballot. The Social-Democrats' influence was clearly growing.—428, 431

555 Engels quotes from 'Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' published in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 7 December 1879 with minor changes.—429

556 August Bebel wrote to Engels on 11 December 1879: 'Specifically on the issue of the oath, I hold a different opinion. I, too, believed that the oath had to be taken; if one refused to take it, then one needn't have participated in the elections. But I should like it ... to be stated that we regard the oath only as a formality that has to be observed because without it no access to the chamber and no use of the mandate are possible. The oath does not shake our socialist republican convictions'.—431

557 *Wailers* (Heuler)—the name which the republican democrats in Germany applied in 1848-49 to the moderate constitutionals, who, in turn, called their opponents 'agitators' (Wühler).—431

558 In his letter of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels that he had been invited by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Wilhelm Liebknecht to contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat*.—433

559 In a letter to Engels of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker raved against the activities of the anarchists in Geneva.—434

560 *Constitutionals*—representatives of the liberal opposition movement advocating moderate constitutional reform in Russia.—434

561 The rough draft of this letter was written on the spare page of one Amelie Engel's letter to Engels, in which she asked for financial assistance. Nothing further is known about Engels' letter.—434

562 These summaries of Marx's letters to Hirsch were made by the French police and kept in Hirsch's file in the Paris Police Prefecture's archive.

Marx's original letters were confiscated during Hirsch's arrest on 6 September 1878. The *Vorwärts*, No. 111 of 20 September (Supplement), reported this in the correspondence from Paris of 9 September.—439

563 In his letter of 13 April 1876, Henri Oriol wrote that his request for a review of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* 'was purely personal' and connected with his wish to help with republican propaganda.—439

564 Marx labels Alexander II a child murderer because of the harsh sentence given in St Petersburg in March 1877 to 47 young people aged between 18 and 23, members of one of the Narodnik (Populist) organisations ('the trial of 50').

They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, deportation to Siberia and hard labour. The trial attracted close public attention both in Russia and abroad.—440

- 565 Jenny Marx's article was published anonymously in the morning issue of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* on 21 November 1875 under the heading 'Aus der Londoner Theaterwelt'. It was the first in the series of her articles dealing with English theatre and cultural life, and was devoted to Henry Irving, the best Shakespearian actor of the time. Until May 1877, Jenny Marx wrote four more articles for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.—441
- 566 Carl Hirsch was the Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*.—441
- 567 The phrase 'La garde meurt et ne se rend pas!' (The guard dies, it does not surrender) is ascribed to the French general Cambronne, Brigade Commander of the Old Guard in the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. It was a reply to the British envoy's demand to surrender. After Cambronne's death, these words were engraved on a monument to him in Nantes.—443
- 568 A reference to the first French edition of Volume One of *Capital* which appeared in instalments between 1872 and 1875. The last instalments published, they were sewn and sold as a book.
The exchange of separate instalments for the sewn copies was done for Marx by Henri Oriol. Having failed to obtain permission for the exchange from Adolphe Quèst (see Note 38), he purchased the missing instalments, sew them and sent over 40 copies of *Capital* to Marx after December 1876.—445
- 569 Jenny Marx expresses her commiseration to Sorge upon the death of his daughter Clothilde in February 1873 and his 14-year-old son Max in October 1874.—446
- 570 Prosper Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* was published in 1886 in Eleanor Marx's translation.—447
- 571 Having taken permanent residence in France in 1868, Lafargue gave up his medical career and devoted himself to journalism and politics.—448
- 572 This is Jules Guesde's reply to Marx's non-extant letter of early 1879.
An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in *Science & Society. A Marxian Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 1, New York, 1940.
This is the first time the letter has been published at such length in English.—450
- 573 Having emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1871, Jules Guesde sided with the anarchists and supported their campaign against the General Council of the International.—450
- 574 In April 1877, a small group of anarchists led by Carlo Cafiero and Enrice Malatesta tried to stage a revolt in the Italian province of Benevento, which ended in a fiasco. In June 1877, Jules Guesde sharply denounced the adventurist actions of Cafiero and other Bakuninists.—451
- 575 Jules Guesde arrived in London in May 1880 to discuss the programme of the French Workers' Party with Marx, Engels and Lafargue. They met at Engels' flat, where Marx dictated the preamble to the programme (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340).

The practical part of the programme was drafted by Guesde with Lafargue's assistance, and Marx and Engels introduced a number of more precise definitions.—451

- ⁵⁷⁶ The present extract was written down by the Russian historian Nikolai Kareyev on the basis of Maxim Kovalevsky's oral translation from English into Russian and published by Kareyev in the *Byloye* (The Past) magazine, No. 20, 1922 in the article 'Karl Marx's Letter to M. M. Kovalevsky on the Physiocrats'.

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—452

- ⁵⁷⁷ A reference to Nikolai Kareyev's book *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century*, a copy of which was sent to Marx by Maxim Kovalevsky with the author's permission. As follows from Kareyev's article (see Note 576), Marx thanked Kovalevsky for the book in the opening (non-extant) part of the letter.—452

- ⁵⁷⁸ See K. Marx, *The Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* [John Gray. Polemics against the Landed Aristocracy from the Physiocrats' Viewpoint] (present edition, Vol. 34).—452

NAME INDEX

A

- Abdul Aziz* (1830-1876)—Sultan of Turkey (1861-76); deposed on 30 May 1876 and assassinated on 4 June.—120, 123
- Abdul Hamid II* (1842-1918)—Sultan of Turkey (1876-1909).—250, 280, 296
- Abdul Kader Bey*—Turkish statesman, supreme judge of Constantinople and Anatolia; representative at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829).—302
- Abdul Kerim Pasha* (1807-1885)—Turkish military leader, Generalissimo (from 1876); commander-in-chief of the Turkish army at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, was removed in 1877.—228, 250, 255, 260
- Abeele, Henri van den* (b. 1847)—Belgian merchant, anarchist; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—156
- Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of* (1784-1860)—British Tory statesman; leader of the Peelites from 1850; Foreign Secretary (1828-30, 1841-46) and Prime Minister of the Coalition Ministry (1852-55).—301, 303
- Acollas, Émile* (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician, socialist radical.—259
- Acton*—lawyer in Manchester.—20
- Adcock*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28
- Agoult, Marie Catherine Sophie de Flavigny, comtesse d'* (pseudonym *Daniel Stern*) (1805-1876)—French writer.—143
- Alexander II* (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—18, 22, 140, 156, 169-70, 191, 233, 234, 278, 299, 303, 384, 440
- Alexander Alexandrovich* (1845-1894)—heir to the throne, later Emperor Alexander III of Russia (1881-94).—278
- Allen, George*—English physician, Marx's family doctor.—294, 356
- Allman, George James* (1812-1898)—English biologist.—116, 377
- Allsop*—Thomas Allsop's wife.—159, 160
- Allsop, Thomas* (1795-1880)—English democrat, former Chartist; collaborated with Marx in helping the refugees of the Paris Commune; friend of Marx's family and Engels.—159, 160, 213, 221-22, 263, 292-93, 298-99, 307-08, 428-29

Anderson, Elisabeth (née *Garrett*) (1836-1917)—an English author, the first woman to qualify as a medical doctor in England.—29, 31

Andrássy, Julius (*Gyula*), *Count* (1823-1890)—Hungarian statesman, championed the interests of the nobility; Prime Minister of Hungary (from 1867), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary (1871-79).—155

Arnim, Harry, Count von (1824-1881)—German diplomat, envoy (1871) and Ambassador (1872-74) to Paris; opposed Bismarck; condemned for appropriating diplomatic papers (1874); emigrated to Nice to evade punishment.—16, 121

Arnoldt, Hermann—German merchant in Königsberg, Social-Democrat.—335

Arnould, Arthur (1833-1895)—French novelist and journalist, follower of Proudhon; member of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was suppressed emigrated to Switzerland where contributed to anarchist newspapers.—157, 440

Auer, Ignaz (1846-1907)—German saddler, Social-Democrat, a leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag several times.—69, 96, 98, 398, 420, 421, 423, 429

Auerbach, Berthold (1812-1882)—German writer of stories idealising the small peasantry; later an apologist of Bismarck.—137

Augusti, Berta (née *Schoeler*) (1827-1886)—German authoress, Marx's acquaintance.—416

Avrial, Augustin Germain (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; mechanical engineer; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International (1870); member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—42

B

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—41, 59, 64, 69, 85, 132, 207, 351

Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850)—French realist novelist.—324

Bamberger, Ludwig (1823-1899)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later emigrated to Switzerland, England, Holland, in the 1850s—to France; later National Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag (1871-93).—322, 324, 335

Bancroft, Hubert Howe (1832-1918)—American historian.—261

Barry, Maltman (1842-1909)—English journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against Bakuninists and reformist leaders; after the International continued to take part in the English socialist movement; contributed to *The Standard* as well as to other newspapers.—10, 92, 206, 209, 261, 266-67, 270, 277, 327-28, 331, 336-42, 352, 415

Bastelica, André Augustin (1845-1884)—prominent figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement; printer; member of the International, Bakuninist, member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—42, 156, 184

Bastiat, Frédéric (1801-1850)—French economist and politician.—153, 346

- Baudeau, Nicolas* (1730-1792)—French abbé, economist, Physiocrat.—265
- Bayer, Karl Robert von* (pseudonym *Robert Byr*) (1835-1902)—German novelist.—107
- Bazaine, François Achille* (1811-1888)—marshal of France, commanded a French corps in Mexico (1863-67); during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the Army of the Rhine; capitulated at Metz on 27 October 1870.—35, 251
- Beaconsfield, Earl of*—see *Disraeli, Benjamin*
- Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—324
- Beaumont de*—MacMahon's sister-in-law.—246, 440
- Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; member of the International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy, championed the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; leader of the Second International.—7, 60, 65, 66, 69, 85, 96, 97, 99-101, 157, 227, 322, 324, 326, 328, 366-68, 375, 378, 386-87, 393-94, 397, 408, 412-13, 416, 417, 419, 420-26, 429-32
- Becker, Bernhard* (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1870); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—30, 70, 95, 98, 120, 151, 152, 166, 266, 269
- Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brush-maker; took part in the German and Swiss revolutionary democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution, commanded the Baden people's army during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; active member of the International, delegate to all its congresses and to the London Conference (1865); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 173-75, 183, 200, 214, 215, 293, 348-49, 350, 364, 383-85, 392, 410, 415, 432-34, 442-44
- Beckx, Pierre Jean* (1795-1887)—Belgian clergyman, General of the Society of Jesus (1853-84).—289
- Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—British historian and radical politician; positivist philosopher; chaired at the Inaugural Meeting of the International on 28 September 1864 in London; supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.—213
- Behr, B.*—German publisher.—100
- Beifuß*—treasurer of a US section of the International.—29
- Berg, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count (Berg, Friedrich Wilhelm Rembert)* (1793-1874)—Russian field-marshal, Governor General of Finland (1855-63), Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland (1863-73).—169
- Bernstein, Aaron* (pseudonym *A. Rebenstein*) (1812-1884)—German publicist, democrat, founder (1853) and editor of the *Volks-Zeitung*; Eduard Bernstein's uncle.—411
- Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); came out with open revision of Marxism after Engels' death.—360-63, 366, 367, 373-75, 381, 386, 393, 395, 397-99, 401, 402, 404, 406, 408, 411-13, 417, 422, 429
- Betham-Edwards, Matilda Barbara* (1836-1919)—English novelist.—79-81, 92
- Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von* (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian

- statesman, champion of independence of lesser German states; Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor (1867-71) of Austria-Hungary; Ambassador to London (1871-78) and to Paris (1878-82).—168
- Bignami*—Italian police officer, chief of the police in Turin.—198-99
- Bignami, Enrico* (1844-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist; republican; took part in the Italian national liberation struggle headed by Garibaldi; organised a section of the *International* in Lodi; editor of *La Plebe* (1868-75, 1875-83); from 1871 on, constantly corresponded with Engels; opposed anarchism.—198, 200, 207, 214
- Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard*—German democrat, journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of *Das Volk*.—312, 317
- Bismarck* (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); unified Germany; introduced an Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—3, 16, 30, 35, 65, 100, 121, 127, 129, 137, 155, 156, 223, 278, 297, 303, 308-09, 312, 314, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 326-28, 331-32, 334, 338, 340, 349, 351-53, 364, 387, 389, 399, 401, 405, 410, 413-14, 419, 434
- Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis* (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; in 1848, member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic and Chairman of the Luxembourg Commission; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—25, 440
- Blandini*—police officer in Turin (Italy).—199
- Blank, Karl Emil (Emilius)* (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; was close to socialists in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels' sister, Marie.—159, 161, 165, 181
- Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary; utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the French revolutionary proletarian movement; was imprisoned several times.—81
- Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893)—German financier, head of a Berlin bank, Bismarck's personal banker.—424
- Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal (from the 1860s); chauvinist during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—175-77
- Bloche*—French police commissar.—18
- Block, Maurice* (1816-1901)—French statistician and vulgar economist.—194, 204
- Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German publicist, member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1872); an editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1872-74); deputy to the Reichstag from 1877 to 1918 (with intervals); Minister President of the Württemberg Government (1918-20).—8, 123, 285, 288-89
- Bonaparte, Louis*—see *Napoleon III*
- Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul* (1822-1891)—Napoleon III's cousin, nicknamed Plon-Plon.—341, 342

- Borchardt, Louis** (1820-1883)—German physician, Liberal, Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—165
- Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig** (1826-1885)—German publicist, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated, merchant in London from 1851.—34, 349, 443
- Börnstein (Bernstein)**—American merchant.—83, 84
- Boufflers, Stanislas, marquis de** (1738-1815)—French writer.—15
- Bowles, Jessica** (d. 1887)—Thomas Gibson Bowles' wife.—209
- Bowles, Thomas Gibson** (1842-1922)—English publicist and politician, M.P. for King's Lynn; Conservative; founder and publisher of the weekly *Vanity Fair* (1868-88).—209
- Bracke, Wilhelm** (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat, publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79); opposed Lassalleism and Bakuninism; supported Marx and Engels.—9, 62, 66, 69-70, 73, 94-96, 97-98, 149-52, 155, 166, 172, 186, 188, 189, 196, 217, 222, 227, 228, 230-32, 236, 237, 247, 262, 265-66, 269-70, 285, 306, 308-10, 332, 394, 408, 422
- Bradlaugh, Charles** (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, Radical, republican; editor of *The National Reformer* (from 1860).—292, 340-42
- Brassey, Thomas** (1805-1870)—British railway contractor engaged in the building of railways in Europe, America, India and Australia.—277
- Brassey, Thomas, 1st Earl** (1836-1918)—British economist and politician, railway and shipbuilding contractor; Liberal M.P. (1868-85); son of the above.—277
- Bravo**.—132
- Bright, John** (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); held several ministerial posts; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party in the 1860s.—156, 158, 299-300, 340, 447
- Brismée, Désiré** (1823-1888)—Belgian printer and publisher, Proudhonist; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council (from 1869), delegate to the Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International and the London Conference (1871); sided with the Bakuninists; later abandoned the anarchists, member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Workers' Party.—277
- Brogie, Jacques Victor Albert, duc de** (1821-1901)—French politician, writer and historian; deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75); envoy to London (1871-72), Prime Minister (1873-74 and 1877), monarchist.—193, 233, 235, 246, 251
- Brousse, Paul Louis Marie** (1844-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, physician; took part in the Paris Commune; after the defeat of the Commune lived in Spain until 1880, then in Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; member of the French Workers' Party (from 1880), a Possibilist leader.—132, 351
- Bucher, Lothar** (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a refugee in London; later National Liberal; champion of Bismarck.—310, 312, 389
- Buche, Philippe Joseph Benjamin** (1796-1865)—French politician and historian, Christian socialist.—62-63
- Büchner, Ludwig** (1824-1899)—German physiologist and vulgar materialist philosopher.—107

- Bucknam, W. H.*—employee of a New York agency engaged in international postage.—10
- Buffenoir, Hippolyte François Philibert* (1847-1928)—French publicist and writer; contributed to the *Vorwärts*.—295
- Buffet, Louis Joseph* (1818-1898)—French politician and statesman, Liberal and later Conservative; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848, 1849); Minister of Finances (January-April 1870); deputy to the National Assembly (from 1871); head of government and Home Minister (March 1875-February 1876); later senator.—153
- Bülow, Hans Guido von* (1830-1894)—German pianist and conductor.—143
- Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from 1850), later Liberal.—259
- Burke, Edmund* (1729-1797)—British politician and publicist, a Whig leader, M.P.—156
- Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie)* (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' second wife.—27, 52, 76, 86, 89, 104, 106, 116-18, 121, 124, 134, 137-41, 161, 180, 181, 197-98, 203-05, 207, 215, 216, 238, 240, 244, 248, 250, 263, 268, 271, 274, 275, 283, 315, 319, 320, 324
- Burns, Mary Ellen (Pumps)* (born c. 1860)—niece of the above.—24, 27, 38, 47, 104, 106, 115, 116, 121, 124, 141, 180, 197, 202, 205, 215, 316, 321, 324, 369, 374, 375, 377, 380, 387, 388, 415
- Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922)—English miner, Secretary of the Miners' Union in Northumberland, M.P. (1874-1918), supported the Liberal Party.—300
- Busch, Moritz* (1821-1899)—German publicist, radical, owner of *Die Grenzboten* (1859-66); supported Bismarck's policy.—350
- Butt, Isaac* (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; defended the Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; chairman of the Irish Home Rule League in the 1870s (until 1877).—261
- Byr, Robert*—see *Bayer, Karl Robert von*

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of the book *Voyage en Icarie*.—99

Cafiero, Carlo (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, lawyer; member of the International; a leader of Italian anarchist organisations (from 1872); abandoned the anarchists in the late 1870s.—85, 132, 199, 365-66

Calvin, John (Jean Chauvin) (1509-1564)—Reformer; founder of Calvinism, a Protestant teaching distinguished by its particular intolerance of Catholicism, as well as of other Protestant doctrines.—351

Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of (1819-1904)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—341

Cambronne, Pierre Jacques Étienne, comte (1770-1842)—French general, took part in Napoleonic wars, commanded a guardsmen's brigade in the battle of Waterloo (1815).—443

Cappele—Catholic priest.—84

Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—American economist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—153

- Carleton, William* (1794-1869)—Irish novelist.—371
- Carmarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, 4th Earl of* (1831-1890)—British Conservative statesman, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—296
- Caro, Jakob* (1836-1904)—German historian, professor at Breslau University (from 1869).—162
- Carol (Karl) I* (1839-1914)—Prince (1866-81) and King (1881-1914) of Rumania; nephew of King William I of Prussia.—155, 298
- Castelnau, H.*—French socialist, an editor of *L'Intransigeant*.—203
- Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Elder* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.—156
- Cavagnari, Uriele*—Italian socialist, intended to publish the first volume of Marx' *Capital* in Italian in 1877.—277
- Cecilia*—see *La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas*
- Challemel-Lacour, Paul Armand* (1827-1896)—French publicist and politician; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated, returned after the amnesty of 1859; Republican deputy to the National Assembly (from 1872); senator (from 1876), Ambassador to Berne (1879) and to London (1880).—251
- Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the English Revolution.—260
- Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—260
- Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30); deposed during the July revolution of 1830.—303
- Chaucer, Geoffrey* (1340-1400)—English poet.—449
- Chernyayev, Mikhail Grigoryevich* (1828-1898)—Russian military and public figure, lieutenant-general, took part in the Crimean war (1853-56), commander-in-chief of the Serbian army (1876).—179
- Chernyshev, Ivan Yakovlevich*—Russian socialist, refugee in Switzerland and Germany.—147
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic; predecessor of Russian Social-Democrats.—114, 312
- Chicherin (Tschitscherin), Boris Nikolayevich* (1828-1904)—Russian philosopher, historian, writer and public figure; a leader of the liberal Westerners in the Russian social movement; author of works on the history of communal landownership in Russia.—343, 346
- Chuseret, Gustave Paul* (1823-1900)—French politician, general; took part in the US Civil War on the side of the North; member of the International, sided with the Bakuninists; participant in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, military delegate (April 1871); after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Belgium, later to the USA.—5
- Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, bourgeois radical, a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—340
- Cohn, Gustav* (1840-1919)—German economist, professor at Zurich (from 1875) and at Göttingen universities.—386
- Coleman, Patrick John*—Secretary of an Irish section of the International in London.—76
- Collet*—Collet Dobson Collet's son.—206
- Collet, Clara Elizabeth* (1860-1948)—English public figure, author of

works on the statistics of women's labour; labour correspondent of the Board of Trade (from 1893); Collet Dobson Collet's daughter.—206

Collet, Collet Dobson (1812-1898)—English radical journalist and public figure, musician, editor and publisher of *The Free Press* (1855-65), organ of Urquhart's followers, editor of *The Diplomatic Review* (1866-77).—167-70, 178, 206, 210, 235, 245

Collier, Lester.—11, 13

Costa, Andrea (1851-1910)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement, a leader of Italian anarchist organisations in the 1870s; criticised anarchism in 1879; one of the organisers and leaders of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagne (1881-91), M.P. (from 1882), member of the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892).—305

Cox.—132

Crémieux, Isaac Moïse (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician, member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848-51), deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75), supported Left Republicans, senator (from 1875).—36

Cross, Richard Assheton, Viscount (1823-1914)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1874-80, 1885-86).—228

Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, engineer, socialist, fought anarchism in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there; a

leader of The Knights of Labor, an American workers' organisation.—200

D

Damad Mahmud—see *Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pasha Damad*

Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-1897)—American journalist, Abolitionist, editor-in-chief of the *New-York Daily Tribune* (1849-62), an editor of *The New American Cyclopaedia* (1857-63) and *The New-York Sun* (1868-97).—377

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pen-name *Nikolai—on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist, publicist, a theoretician of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; correspondent of Marx and Engels for a number of years; translated the three volumes of Marx's *Capital* into Russian (the first volume jointly with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin).—343-44, 346, 353-55, 358, 409

Darson, A.—publisher and bookseller in London.—45

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—91, 106, 107, 124, 179, 313, 316-17

Davydovsky, Ivan Mikhailovich—Russian nobleman, *Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya's* second husband.—36, 185

Dekhterev, Vladimir Gavrilovich (1853-1903)—Russian psychiatrist.—147

Delius, Nikolaus (1813-1888)—German philologist, expert in Shakespeare's legacy, professor at Bonn University.—191, 273, 446

Demuth, Frederick (1851-1929)—Helene Demuth's son, English worker.—200

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—75, 132, 138-40, 244, 245, 323, 392

- De Paepe, César* (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, printer, later physician; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) congresses, the London Conference (1871) of the International and Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—172, 184, 199, 277
- Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of* (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; from the 1850s, a leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—296, 298, 299
- Derossi, Karl* (1844-1910)—German journalist; member (from 1869) and Secretary (1871-75) of the General Association of German Workers, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-78); emigrated to Switzerland in 1879, then to the USA where contributed to the German-language workers' newspapers.—96, 98
- Descartes (Cartesius), René* (1596-1650)—French dualist philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—50
- Deville, Gabriel Pierre* (1854-1940)—French socialist, propagated Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, publicist; author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris of 1889.—193, 194
- Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington* (1833-1908)—British statesman and politician, Liberal; M. P. (from 1857); the de facto leader of the Liberal Party (1875-80), Secretary of State for War (1882-85).—300
- Dickes*.—11, 13
- Diderot, Denis* (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—15
- Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count* (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief (1829) of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and of the troops (from December 1830) which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—300-02
- Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, Tory leader, later leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—18, 23, 24, 67, 121, 140, 155, 178, 296, 298, 361
- Dizzy*—see *Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield*
- Dolleschall, Laurenz* (b. 1790)—police officer in Cologne (1819-47); censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—252
- Dörenberg, E.*—German publicist, contributed to the *Berliner Freie Presse*.—199
- Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph* (1819-1888)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, later socialist; French by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA (1852), took part in the American socialist movement; edited a number of socialist newspapers, contributed to the *Vorwärts*.—276-77, 282-84, 318
- Dronke*—Ernst Dronke's second wife.—345, 347
- Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German writer, 'true socialist'; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to England; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently withdrew from

politics.—159, 161, 164-65, 171, 268, 289, 345, 347

Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1848, 1849), Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-76, 1877-79), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876, 1877-79).—293

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921)—German philosopher, economist, lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist, lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—118-20, 122-24, 131, 139-40, 154, 162, 174, 186, 205, 206, 208, 218, 227, 236, 242, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251-56, 258, 260, 276, 283, 295, 306, 309, 312, 316, 361, 420

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1837 (1831?)—1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument-maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, and the London Conference (1871); organiser of sections of the International in Manchester (from 1870); member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); moved to the USA in 1874; associate of Marx and Engels.—77

Duval, Théodore—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in early 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Council of the International; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses of the International.—4

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League, a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), General Secretary of the Council (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International; supported Marx and Engels up to the Hague Congress (1872); participant in the British trade union movement in the 1870s and 1880s.—49, 92, 183, 277, 340, 448

Ecker, Karl—German engineer, factory inspector in Hanover.—281

Ehrhart, Franz Joseph (1853-1908)—German Social-Democrat, upholsterer; refugee in England; supporter of Johann Most; Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (1878-first half of 1879); deputy to the German Reichstag (1898-1908).—315, 337

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist, refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869); edited a number of legal workers' papers in the 1880s.—121

Engel, Amélie.—434-35

Engels, Emma (née *Croon*) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—280

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—19, 106, 160, 181-83, 187-88, 279-80, 281-82

- Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor* (1858-1926)—Hermann Engels' son, student of Berlin University (1876-77), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187
- Engels, Mathilde* (née *Remkes*) (1831-1905)—Rudolf Engels' wife.—68, 106
- Engels, Paul* (1857-1883)—Rudolf Engels' son, merchant, later army officer.—105
- Engels, Rudolf* (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen (from 1861).—19, 66-68, 105-06, 320
- Engels, Rudolf Moritz* (1858-1893)—Rudolf Engels' son, student of Leipzig University (1876-78), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187
- Epicurus* (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—50
- Ermen*—Heinrich Ermen's wife.—68
- Ermen, Franz*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's son.—67, 68
- Ermen, Franz jr.*—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, Franz Ermen's son.—67
- Ermen, Gottfried (Godfrey) Jakob* (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's brother.—19-20, 67-68
- Ermen, Heinrich*—a partner of Gottfried Ermen in Bridgewater Mill, Pendlebury; Peter Ermen's son.—67-68
- Ermen, Peter* (1802-1889)—a founder (1837) and partner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—67, 68
- Esselen, Christian* (1823-1859)—German author, democrat, headed the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848; emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA.—214
- Étienne, Charles Guillaume* (1777-1845)—French journalist and dramatist.—389
- Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba* (1826-1920)—Empress of France (1852-70), Napoleon III's wife.—341
- Eulenburg, Botho Wend August, Count of* (1831-1912)—Prussian statesman, Conservative, Minister of the Interior (1878-81), Prime Minister (1892-94); took part in drawing up the Anti-Socialist Law.—322, 324
- Euripides* (c. 480-c. 406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—245

F

- Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de* (1810-1892)—French general, commanded a corps during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—251
- Fanelli, Giuseppe* (1826-1877)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic movement, took part in the Italian revolution of 1848-49 and in Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; follower of Mazzini, friend of Bakunin, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; organiser of sections of the International and groups of the Alliance in Spain (1869); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; M. P. (from 1865).—210
- Farga Pellicer, Rafael* (pseudonym *Gomez*) (1840-1903)—Spanish printer and journalist; a founder and leader of anarchist groups and first sections of the International in Spain; one of the leaders of the secret Alliance; editor of *La Federación* (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—42, 49
- Fatouville, Nolant de* (d. 1715)—French playwright.—198
- Favre, Jules Claude Gabriël* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician,

- leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71); together with Thiers, headed the struggle against the Paris Commune, inspired struggle against the International.—223, 224, 440
- Fawcett, Henry* (1833-1884)—English economist, M.P. (from 1865), Liberal.—158
- Fleckles, Ferdinand* (1836-1894)—German physician, practised in Karlsbad from 1864 to 1866; editor of *Der Sprudel*; Marx's acquaintance.—37, 89, 136, 145, 147-49, 190-91, 212
- Fleury, Charles* (real name *Carl Friedrich August Krause*) (b. 1824)—merchant in London; Prussian spy and police agent.—54
- Forbes, Archibald* (1838-1900)—Scottish journalist, contributed to *The Morning Advertiser* and *The Daily News*, war correspondent during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—140
- Forster, William Edward* (1818-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P., Secretary of State for Ireland (1880-82).—300
- Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—262-63
- Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary (1848-1916).—263
- Frankel, Léo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; jeweller; took part in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels.—36, 49, 93, 112, 157-58, 174
- Frederick III* (1831-1888)—Crown Prince of the German Empire (from 1871), King of Prussia and German Emperor (March-June 1888).—315
- Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—301
- Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—260, 350
- Freund*—Wilhelm Alexander Freund's wife.—192
- Freund, Wilhelm Alexander* (1833-1918)—German physician, lecturer at Breslau University; friend of Marx's family.—4, 191-92, 439
- Fribourg, Ernest Edourd*—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris section of the International; author of *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—80
- Friedberg, Hermann* (1817-1884)—German physician, professor at Breslau University (from 1866).—136
- Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—German cigar-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers (1863); member of the International, adhered to the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German (1868-71) and the German Reichstag (1877-81); emigrated to the USA in 1881.—408, 416
- Frohme, Karl Franz Egon* (1850-1933)—German publicist, Social-Democrat, follower of Lassalle in the 1870s, later a leader of the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881); delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris (1889).—49
- Frossard, Charles Auguste* (1807-1875)—French general, commanded a corps

- during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, captured at Metz.—251
- Furnivall, Frederick James* (1825-1910)—English philologist, Christian socialist, founded several literary societies, the New Shakespeare Society among them.—192
- G
- Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de* (1830-1909)—French general, captured at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; released in March 1871 to take part in the struggle against the Commune; butcher of the Paris Commune; held several military posts from the 1870s.—246, 440
- Gambetta, Léon Michel* (1838-1882)—French statesman and politician, lawyer, moderate republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-82).—25, 239, 246, 251, 295
- Gambuzzi, Carlo* (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer, follower of Mazzini in the early 1860s; later anarchist; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of anarchist organisations in Italy; founded a section of the International in Naples in January 1869.—210
- Gandolfi, Mauro*—Italian merchant, Bakuninist, member of the Milan section of the International.—200
- Gans*—physician in Karlsbad.—82
- Gans*—physician in Prague, son of the above.—52, 87
- Geib, Wilhelm Leopold August* (1842-1879)—German Social-Democrat, bookseller in Hamburg; member of the General Association of German Workers (1863); participant in the Eisenach Congress of 1869; one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its treasurer (1872-78); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-77).—69, 96, 98, 186, 246, 251, 252, 259, 392
- Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898)—German Social-Democrat, publicist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and of the International (1872); editor of the *Volksstaat* (1875) and the *Neue Welt* (1877-86); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87); expelled from the party at the end of the 1880s.—408
- Gigot, Albert* (1835-1913)—French lawyer, liberal, later conservative; Prefect of Paris police (1877-79).—328, 338
- Gillot, Firmin* (1820-1872)—French lithographer, invented zincography.—447
- Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French publicist and politician; editor of *La Presse*, and *La Liberté*; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; later Bonapartist.—155, 235
- Gladstone, Catherine* (née *Catherine Glynne of Hawarden*) (1807-1874)—William Ewart Gladstone's wife.—168
- Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite, a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—18, 23, 67, 155-56, 158, 167-70, 178, 179, 205, 206, 209, 277, 297, 299, 361
- Glagau, Otto*—German writer and publicist; author of a work on stock-exchange speculation.—304
- Glais-Bizoin, Alexandre Olivier* (1800-1877)—French politician, lawyer, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the *Corps législatif* (the 1860s), member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—36

- Glaser de Willebrord, E.*—participant in the Belgian working-class movement; member of a section of the International in Brussels.—75
- Gnecco, Eudóxio Cesar d'Azedo*—prominent figure in the Portuguese working-class movement, member of the Portuguese section of the International (1871); a founder of the Portuguese Socialist Party, member of its Central Committee (1875); editor of *O Protesto*.—174
- Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the revolution; member of the International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—63
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—131, 379
- Golokhvastov, Pavel Dmitrievich* (1839-1892)—Russian historian and publicist.—164
- Golovachov (Golowatscheff), Nikolai Nikitich* (b. 1825)—Russian lieutenant-general, military governor of Turkestan (from 1867).—168, 169
- Gomez*—see *Farga Pellicer, Rafael*
- Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince* (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1856-82) and State Chancellor (1867-82).—123, 162, 389
- Gordon, Sir Robert* (1791-1847)—British diplomat, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople (1828-31) and to Vienna (1841-46).—301-02
- Gore*—English acquaintance of Eleanor Marx.—139
- Gorlov (Gorloff), Alexander Pavlovich* (1830-1905)—Russian lieutenant-general, military attaché in the United States of North America (from 1868) and in London (1873-82).—168, 169
- Goschen, George Joachim Goschen, 1st Viscount* (1831-1907)—British statesman and politician, financier; German by birth; Liberal; M.P. from 1863, member of government on more than one occasion, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1887-92); author of works on economics.—300
- Götz, E.*—Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—165
- Gouppy, A.*—French refugee in Manchester.—77
- Grant, Albert*—German businessman from Mainz.—335
- Greulich, Hermann* (1842-1925)—German bookbinder; emigrated to Zurich in 1865; member of the Zurich section of the International (from 1867); founder and editor of the *Tagwacht* (1869-80); subsequently a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and leader of its reformist wing.—349
- Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German worker, then journalist; publisher of several Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869); sided with its reformist wing; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881).—398
- Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, Baron von* (1723-1807)—German diplomat, writer of the Enlightenment; lived in France from 1748, member of the Encyclopaedists' circle; from 1792 was in Russia's diplomatic service; Russian Consul in Gotha, later in Hamburg.—14, 15
- Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl* (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor at Göttingen and then at Berlin; liberal.—74
- Griset*.—12
- Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Heide*) (1817-1887)—German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-

- bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); refugee in Brussels (1850-61), professor at Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and at Vienna (from 1870).—88
- Grunzig, Julius* (b. 1855)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; deported from Berlin (1883) under the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA, contributed to several US workers' papers.—150, 152, 166
- Guesde, Jules (Mathieu Jules Bazile)* (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and international socialist movement; founder and editor of *L'Égalité*; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880) and author of its programme; propagated Marxism in France.—327, 450, 451
- Gugenheim, J.*—German Social-Democrat, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (from April 1879).—359-60, 363
- Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, edited anarchist papers (1868-78); was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—132, 154, 156, 172, 200, 207, 214, 259, 277, 306, 348, 351
- Guilleminot, Armand Charles, comte de* (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, took part in the wars of the French Republic and of Napoleonic France; Chief of Staff of the French interventionist army in Spain (1823), Ambassador to Constantinople (1824).—301, 302
- Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—4, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 31, 244, 245, 387
- Gurevich, Grigory Yevseyevich* (1854-d. after 1920)—Russian publicist, socialist, sided with the Narodniks; refugee in Germany (1874-79).—147
- Gurko (Romeiko-Gurko), Iosif Vladimirovich* (1828-1901)—Russian general, took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—272
- Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, public figure, liberal, member of the Young Germany literary group.—429
- Guyot*—Lavrov's agent in Paris in the 1870s.—153, 440

H

- Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich* (1834-1919)—German materialist biologist; professor at Jena University (1862-1909).—50, 317
- Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—81, 92, 155, 277, 292, 300, 341, 448
- Hansemann, Adolph von* (1826-1903)—German financier, head of the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* banking firm (from 1864); commercial adviser and Consul-General of Austria-Hungary in Berlin.—424
- Hanssen, Georg* (1809-1894)—German economist; author of works on the history of agriculture and agrarian relations.—179
- Harcourt, William George Cranville Venables Vernon, Sir* (1827-1904)—British statesman and politician, M.P. (1868-80), Liberal leader (1894-98).—300

- Harney, George Julian** (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing; edited several Chartist periodicals; refugee in the USA (1862-88), member of the International; friend of Marx and Engels.—284, 370, 377
- Harney, Mary**—George Julian Harney's wife (from 1856).—370
- Harrison, Frederic** (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian, radical, positivist, took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s-70s; cooperated with Marx in helping Commune refugees.—11, 12, 179, 193
- Hartington**—see *Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington*
- Hartmann, Eduard von** (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher; ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50
- Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm**—German Social-Democrat, member of the General Association of German Workers; one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-81).—96, 98
- Hasenclever, Wilhelm** (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited the *Vorwärts* (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78, 1879-88).—6, 7, 43, 60, 65, 96, 98, 247, 249, 408
- Hassan Cheirullah, effendi**—head of the Moslem clergy of the Ottoman Empire (until 1877).—263
- Hasselmann, Wilhelm** (1844-1916)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (1871-75); member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76, 1878-80); expelled from the party as an anarchist in 1880.—6, 43, 60, 65, 75, 96
- Havas, August** (1814-1889)—co-proprietor of the French news agency, *Havas*.—158
- Hayes, Rutherford Birchard** (1822-1893)—US President (March 1877-March 1881), Republican.—251
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich** (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—50
- Heine**—the owner of a banking house founded in Hamburg in 1797 by Solomon Heine (1767-1844).—136
- Heine, Heinrich** (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—288
- Heinzen, Karl Peter** (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—433
- Heller, Hugo**—correspondent of Marx, carried Marx's instructions concerning transportation of material for the General Council of the International; lived in Oxford in 1879.—350
- Hellwald, Friedrich Anton Heller von** (1842-1892)—Austrian ethnographer, geographer and historian.—107
- Helmholtz, Hermann von** (1821-1894)—German physicist and physiologist, professor at Berlin University (from 1871).—78, 124, 236
- Henry IV** (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—425
- Hepner, Adolf** (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; subsequently emigrated to the USA.—123

- Herder, Johann Gottfried von* (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment; a founder of the *Sturm-und-Drang* trend.—272
- Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German radical writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after its split sided with the Willich-Schapper separatist group; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International, took part in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—286, 290
- Hess, Sibylle* (née *Pesch*) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—286, 290
- Hirsch, Carl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869; after 1872 Paris correspondent of German Social-Democratic newspapers.—92, 96, 149, 193, 203, 245-48, 251-53, 258, 262, 269, 305, 306, 310, 327, 328, 330, 337-40, 366-69, 372-73, 375, 377-81, 386, 387, 390, 392, 401, 409, 412, 414, 417-19, 423, 425, 439-41, 444-45, 449, 450
- Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—English materialist philosopher.—108, 293
- Höchberg, Karl* (pseudonym *Dr Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885)—German writer and publisher, social reformist; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1876); published and financed *Die Zukunft* (1877-78) and *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (1879-81).—252, 253, 258-60, 283, 285, 362, 367-68, 372-73, 375, 378-80, 383, 386-87, 393-94, 396-99, 401-02, 411-13, 417, 420, 422, 429-33, 440
- Hoffmann*.—204
- Hoffmann, Wilhelm*—German worker, refugee in London.—229
- Hohenstaufen*—emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (1138-1254).—303
- Hohenzollern*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—278, 303
- Hollinger, Fidelio*—German refugee in London, owner of a print-shop which published *Das Volk*.—175-77
- Howell, George* (1833-1910)—a leader of the British trade unions, mason; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—179, 300, 335
- Hubbard, Nicolas Gustave* (1828-1888)—French economist, historian and publicist.—263
- Hume, David* (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and political economist.—50, 207-08, 452
- Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, Reformer, ideologist and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—74
- Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English naturalist, follower of Charles Darwin and populariser of his theory.—50

I

Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna (died c. 1915)—Valerian Nikolayevich Smirnov's wife.—78, 91

Ignatiyev, Nikolai Pavlovich, Count (1832-1908)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Ambassador to Turkey (1864-77), Russia's representative at the conclusion of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (1878); Minister of the Interior (1881-82), member of the State Council (from 1877).—120, 210, 216, 280, 296

Imandt, Peter (1823-1897)—German teacher, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; refugee in Lon-

- don from 1852; supported Marx and Engels; member of the International.—92
- Immhof*.—229
- Irving, Sir Henry* (1838-1905)—English producer and actor, played in Shakespeare's tragedies.—441
- Isouard, Nicolas (Nicolo), dit* (1775-1818)—French composer.—389

J

- Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; headed the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1872.—7, 9
- James II Stuart* (1633-1701)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—260
- Jennychen*—see *Longuet, Jenny*
- Johnny*—see *Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric*
- Jolly (Jollymeier, Jollymeyer)*—see *Schorlemmer, Carl*
- Juch, Hermann*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London; editor of the newspaper *Hermann* (1859-69), founder of the *Londoner Journal* (1878).—315
- Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the Swiss and international working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), Chairman at the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and at the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872); supported Marx before the Hague Congress (September 1872); later joined the reformist wing; at the end of the 1870s left the working-class movement.—5, 6, 43, 92, 277, 341, 448
- Juta, Charles*—son of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—261
- Juta, Henry* (1857-1930)—English lawyer and public figure; son of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—192, 261, 390
- Juta, Johann Carl* (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town; husband of Marx's sister Louise.—261
- Juta, Karoline*—daughter of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—138, 141
- Juta, Louise Amalia*—daughter of Marx's sister Louise Juta.—369

K

- Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—50, 123
- Kara Chalil, effendi*—head of the Moslem clergy in the Ottoman Empire (from 1877).—263
- Karcher, Théodore* (1821-1885)—French publicist, republican; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to Belgium, later to England.—341
- Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1850-1931)—Russian historian and publicist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St Petersburg universities (1879-84).—452
- Karl von Hohenzollern*—see *Carol (Karl) I*
- Kaub (Kolb), Karl (Charles)*—German worker; refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865, 1870-71); delegate to the London Conference (1865).—92, 269, 306, 327, 330, 337, 339-40, 377, 439-41, 445, 450

- Kaufman, Illarion Ignatievich* (1848-1916)—Russian economist, professor at St Petersburg University; author of works on money circulation and credit.—260, 304, 358
- Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich von* (1818-1882)—Russian general, first Governor General of Turkestan (1867-82).—168, 169, 170
- Kaufmann, Moritz* (1839-d. after 1914)—English clergyman, author of works on socialist teachings.—432-35
- Kaufmann, S. F.*—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—365, 411
- Kautsky, Karl Johann* (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, economist and historian; editor of *Die Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism; abandoned Marxism in the early 1900s.—100
- Kayser, Max* (1853-1888)—German Social-Democrat, deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-87); represented the reformist wing in German Social-Democracy.—373, 388, 397-401, 414, 418, 419, 424
- Kersten, Paul*—German sculptor, Social-Democrat.—49, 110
- Kind, Johann Friedrich* (1768-1843)—German writer.—177
- King, Philip Stephen*—bookseller in London.—220
- Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic publicist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, was sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court, in 1850 escaped for England; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—137
- Kinkel, Marie*—Gottfried Kinkel's daughter.—137
- Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von* (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher, radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848, later member of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-76).—54
- Kistemaekers, Henri*—Belgian writer.—149, 445
- Kitz, Frank* (born c. 1848)—English socialist, member of the Socialist League (from 1885), Secretary of the English section of the Social-Democratic Workers' Club in London.—338
- Knies, Karl* (1821-1898)—German vulgar economist.—252, 255
- Knille, Otto* (1832-1898)—German artist.—47
- Kock, Charles Paul de* (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—324
- Kokosky, Samuel* (1838-1899)—German publicist, Social-Democrat from 1872, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers; translated into German the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* by Marx and Engels.—166
- Koshelev, Alexander Ivanovich* (1806-1883)—Russian writer and public figure.—100
- Köttgen, Gustav Adolph* (1805-1882)—German artist, poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s; was close to 'true socialists'; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—88
- Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich* (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer, lawyer; liberal; author of essays on the history of the primitive communal system.—137, 153, 163, 179, 185, 322-23, 329, 344, 376, 381, 386, 388, 409, 452
- Kraus*—Bernhard Kraus' wife.—82
- Kraus, Bernhard* (1828-1887)—Austrian physician; founded and edited the *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung* (from 1856).—47, 82, 103-04

- Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince* (1842-1921)—Russian revolutionary, theoretician of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; an émigré (1876-1917).—305
- Kugelmann, Franziska* (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—3, 17, 21, 31
- Kugelmann, Gertrud (née Oppenheim)* (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann's wife.—3, 17, 21, 31, 46-48, 56, 144
- Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1828-1902)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74).—3, 4, 17, 19, 21, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 46, 47, 82, 125, 162, 280-81
- Kulishova, Anna Moiseyevna* (real name *Rosenstein*) (1854-1925)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; joined the Bakuninists (1872); refugee in Italy (from 1878); broke off with anarchism; participant in the Italian socialist movement, prominent figure in the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892); Andrea Costa's wife.—305
- Kurz, Isolde* (1853-1944)—German authoress.—172, 189, 196, 217, 218, 222, 224, 230-32, 266, 285, 288
- Küster*—German army officer; attaché of the Prussian Embassy in Constantinople (1829).—302
- Kyllmann*.—165
- L
- Laaf*—German chaplain, Christian socialist, candidate at the by-elections to the German Reichstag in 1877.—195
- La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas* (1835-1878)—Italian-born French revolutionary; professor of mathematics; participant in Garibaldi's expedition (1860); member of the Paris section of the International; an editor of *Le Rappel*; general of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; maintained friendly relations with Marx and Engels.—36
- Lachâtre (Lachastre), Claude Maurice, baron de* (1814-1900)—French progressive journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* in French.—25-26, 56-57, 75, 113, 153, 193, 223, 227, 439
- Lacroix (Sigismond Julien Adolphe Krzyzanowski, dit Sigismond)* (1845-1907)—Polish-born French journalist; contributor to and editor of a number of periodicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1883).—259
- Lafargue, Laura* (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter, participant in the French working-class movement; Paul Lafargue's wife (from 1868).—22, 51-52, 118, 121, 131-32, 139, 212, 244, 271, 274, 369, 373-75, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390
- Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International (from 1866); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—28, 52, 75, 118, 130, 132, 139, 244, 271, 274, 374, 375, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390, 447, 448
- La Harpe (Laharpe), Jean François de* (1739-1803)—French poet and critic.—14
- Lahure, Louis Justin* (c. 1850-1878)—Parisian printer; printed the French edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.—16, 57, 79
- Lasker, Eduard* (1829-1884)—German politician, a founder and leader of

- the National Liberal Party which he left in 1880; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1867).—136-37
- Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—62-63, 65, 97, 100, 118, 288, 334, 402-03
- Laube, Heinrich* (1806-1884)—German writer and dramatist; member of the Young Germany literary group; later theatre director.—429
- Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, Baron de* (1822-1892)—Belgian historian and economist.—153, 194, 204
- Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; member of the International, took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the magazine *Vperyod!* (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76).—53, 58, 59, 73, 78, 91, 93-94, 106, 109, 111, 113, 117, 126-30, 132, 134, 137, 147, 153, 154, 163-64, 201, 203, 206, 210-11, 213, 216, 217, 220-21, 225, 226, 242, 307, 313, 316-17, 331, 440
- Layard, Sir Austen Henry* (1817-1894)—English archaeologist and politician, Radical, M.P. (1852-69), Liberal (from the 1860s); Ambassador to Madrid (1869-77) and to Constantinople (1877-80).—255
- Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix* (b. 1844)—participant in the French working-class movement, sided with the Bakuninists; engineer; member of the Paris section of the International; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—159, 222, 341
- Leblanc (Le Blanc), F. D.*—refugee in London.—113, 213
- Leeson, E.*—acquaintance of Engels' family in London.—119, 201
- Lefrançais, Gustav Adolphe* (1826-1901)—French revolutionary, Left-wing Proudhonist, teacher; participant in the 1848 revolution; member of the International (from the late 1860s), member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined anarchists.—259
- Le Moussu, Benjamin* (pseudonym *Constant*) (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement; engraver; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in the USA (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against Bakuninists.—11, 29, 44, 448
- Lenchen*—see *Demuth, Helene*
- Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the British socialist movement (the 1880s-90s); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—49, 112, 204-05, 274, 277, 319, 374, 377, 391, 434, 443
- Lever, Charles James* (1806-1872)—Irish-born British novelist.—371
- Levy, Joseph Moses* (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph* (from 1855).—328, 331
- Lewes, George Henry* (1817-1878)—

- English positivist philosopher, physiologist and writer.—179
- Liebig, Justus, Baron von* (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—107
- Liebknecht, Natalie* (née *Reh*) (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868).—55, 247, 256, 274-75, 336
- Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the International; propagator of the International's ideas in the German working-class movement; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German (from 1874) Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and the *Vorwärts* (1876-78, 1890-1900); during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 took an internationalist stand; supported the Paris Commune; delegate to the international socialist congresses in 1877 (Ghent), 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—4, 6, 7, 9, 30, 43, 45, 50, 54, 55, 60, 65, 66, 69-70, 75, 85, 94, 96, 98, 103, 118-23, 125-30, 132, 134, 147, 151, 154-56, 166, 175-76, 184, 186-87, 194, 201, 203, 207, 218-20, 227, 228, 236, 238, 239, 243, 247, 249, 251, 254-60, 274-76, 295, 296, 299, 303, 321, 331, 334, 336, 352-53, 361, 364, 366-67, 372-75, 378, 381, 385, 388, 394-98, 408, 412, 413, 416, 420, 422, 433, 434, 449
- Lieven, Christofor Andreyevich, Count* (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), Ambassador to London (1812-34).—303
- Lindheimer, B.*—German Social-Democrat.—225-26, 229-30
- Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand* (c. 1814-1877)—German-born American socialist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA; he bequeathed his fortune to the German Social-Democratic Party.—279, 392
- Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier* (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, Left Republican; participant in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and then to England.—36, 149-52, 155, 157, 166, 172, 189, 190, 196, 222, 230-31, 234, 262, 266, 288, 308, 333, 440, 445, 446, 450
- Liszt, Franz* (1811-1886)—Hungarian composer and pianist.—143
- Longuet, Charles* (September 1873-July 1874)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—14, 15, 26, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38, 43
- Longuet, Charles Félix César* (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, later joined the Possibilists; member of the Paris Municipal Council in the 1880s and 1890s.—12, 15, 27, 32, 34, 35, 75, 118, 121, 123, 131, 143, 244, 262, 263, 268, 274, 332, 341, 372, 373, 390, 391, 447
- Longuet, Edgar* (1879-1950)—active in the French working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; physician; member of the Socialist Party.—372, 375, 376, 378, 391, 392
- Longuet, Felicitas*—Charles Longuet's mother.—234
- Longuet, Henry (Harry)* (1878-1883)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—316, 321

- Longuet, Jean*—Charles Longuet's father.—121
- Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny)* (1876-1938)—active in the French and international working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; lawyer; a leader in the French Socialist Party.—121, 123, 143, 235, 271, 318, 320, 322, 324-26, 332, 372, 376, 382, 447
- Longuet, Jenny* (1844-1883)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; Marx's eldest daughter, Charles Longuet's wife from 1872.—14-15, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34-36, 38-39, 43, 50, 51, 75, 118, 120, 123, 131, 138, 139, 143, 212, 244, 262, 263, 268, 274, 316, 320-22, 324, 325, 332, 333, 371-73, 375-76, 378, 381, 382, 390-92, 447
- Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870); a translator of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.—53, 58, 76, 242, 248, 306, 313, 316, 439
- Loria, Achille* (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist, falsifier of Marxism.—426
- Loris-Melikov, Mikhail Tarielovich, Count* (1825-1888)—Russian general and statesman, commander of the Caucasian Corps during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; Minister of the Interior (1880-81).—240
- Lormier, Marie*—French acquaintance of Marx's family.—75, 234
- Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—356
- Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—358
- Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—358
- Louis XVI* (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92), guillotined during the French Revolution.—260
- Lover, Samuel* (1797-1868)—British writer, Irish by birth.—371
- Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke* (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist; contributor to *The Times*; Whig and later Liberal; M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).—29, 156, 158, 300
- Loyola, St Ignatius of (Inigo Lopez de Loyola)* (1491-1556)—Spanish nobleman, a founder of the Society of Jesus (1534).—199
- Lübeck, Carl*—German journalist, Social-Democrat, emigrated in 1873.—381, 386, 411, 414
- Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the German burghers.—74, 191

M

- Macdonald, Alexander* (1821-1881)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, President of the National Miners' Union (from 1863), M.P. (from 1874); advocated the Liberal Party's policy.—300
- M(a)cDonnell(l), Joseph Patrick* (1847-1906)—prominent figure in the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); emigrated to the USA in 1872 and took part in the working-class movement there.—76
- MacMahon (Mac-Mahon), Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta* (1808-1893)—French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; participant in a number of wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—23, 24, 35, 233, 235, 246, 251

- Mackenzie, Wallace*.—170
- Magne, Pierre* (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—25
- Mahmud II* (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—301
- Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pasha Damad* (1840-1884)—Turkish statesman, member of the War Council, War Minister several times, demoted and deported (1878); returned in 1880; was exposed as an accomplice in the assassination (in 1876) of the Turkish Sultan Abdul Aziz and sentenced (in 1881) to exile for life.—234, 260, 263, 280, 293, 296-97
- Mahomet*—see *Mohammed*
- Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland where he joined the Bakuninists; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists (from 1882).—157, 214, 259, 431
- Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—62, 108
- Manning, Charles*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28
- Maret, Henri* (1838-1917)—French radical journalist, writer and politician, editor of *La Marseillaise*; deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.—339-40
- Maria Alexandrovna* (1853-1920)—Grand Duchess, Alexander II's daughter, Duke of Edinburgh's wife from 1874.—14, 18
- Maria Fyodorovna* (1759-1828)—Princess of Württemberg, Empress of Russia, Paul I's wife (from 1776).—14
- Martin, Constant* (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—36
- Marx*—Austrian police official, chief of police in Vienna.—82
- Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884; active propagator of Marxism.—26, 34, 37, 39-40, 46, 47, 51, 56, 75, 87, 89, 93, 121, 132, 135, 136, 138-42, 144-46, 148, 190, 191, 212, 222, 226, 244, 245, 268, 269, 289, 291, 321, 323, 324, 329, 333, 369-72, 374, 376-78, 380, 390, 392, 441-42, 444-46, 449, 450
- Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen)* (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—13-14, 30, 33, 49, 52, 75, 76, 93, 121, 131-32, 138-41, 201, 211, 222, 225, 235, 244, 245, 263, 268, 269, 274, 279, 289, 294, 307, 312, 315, 318-19, 322, 329, 332, 333, 349, 353, 369, 371, 372, 375, 376, 380, 382, 388, 391, 414, 422, 432, 441-48
- Maskelyne, John Nevil* (1839-1917)—English illusionist, organised anti-spiritualist seances.—291
- Matheson*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28
- Mayer, Karl* (1819-1889)—German democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland; editor of *Der Beobachter* in Stuttgart in the 1860s.—9, 85, 190
- Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Govern-

- ment of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London; fought against the International and the Paris Commune.—81
- Mehemed Ali Pasha* (real name *Karl Detroit*) (1827-1878)—Turkish general; German by birth; commanded a corps in Bosnia (1875-76), commander-in-chief in Bulgaria (1877), recalled in 1878; took part in the Berlin Congress (1878); later commander-in-chief in Albany.—255, 272, 280
- Mehmed Sadek, effendi*—Turkish statesman, Minister of Finance, plenipotentiary at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829).—302
- Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, philosopher, historian and journalist; author of several works on the history of Germany and German Social-Democracy and of a biography of Marx; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); a regular contributor to *Die Neue Zeit*; one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—260, 334
- Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels.—45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 125
- Mercier de la Rivière, Paul Pierre* (1720-1793)—French economist, Physiocrat.—452
- Merriman*—Marx's attorney.—11, 13
- Mesa y Leompart, José* (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated into Spanish a number of works by Marx and Engels; their supporter.—39, 42, 306, 330, 439
- Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich, Prince* (1839-1914)—Russian writer and journalist, an ideologist of the reactionary nobility, monarchist.—164
- Metz, Theodor*—an innkeeper in Cologne.—106
- Mevissen, Gustav von* (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; founder of a number of big joint-stock and credit banks and industrial joint-stock companies.—182
- Meyer, Hermann* (1821-1875)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in St Louis.—115
- Meyer, Rudolph Hermann* (1839-1899)—German economist and publicist, conservative.—7, 17, 304, 359, 368, 382, 391, 424
- Midhat Ahmed Pasha* (1822-1884)—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizir (1872, 1876-77), succeeded in proclaiming the first Turkish Constitution (23 December 1876); later was condemned and banished to Arabia.—234, 260, 297, 331
- Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of liberal Narodism; an editor of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84).—343
- Milyutin, Dmitry Alexeyevich, Count* (1816-1912)—Russian general, War Minister (1861-81).—168, 170
- Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and philosopher.—58, 346
- Miquel, Johannes von* (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist

- League; chief burgomaster of Osna-brück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the Right-wing National Liberals (from 1867); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag.—405
- Mohammed (Muhammad, Mahomet)* (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—447
- Moleschott, Jakob* (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher; lectured in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—107
- Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von* (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer; general, field-marshal (from 1871); chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—8, 163, 182, 297, 300
- Montefiore, Leonard* (1853-1879)—English journalist.—329
- Moore, George*—English engraver.—10-13
- Moore, Samuel* (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—387
- Morel*—French refugee in London.—110
- Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn* (1838-1923)—British journalist and statesman, Liberal; editor-in-chief of *The Fortnightly Review* (1867-82).—6, 213
- Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—British industrialist and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85).—6, 299
- Most, Johann Joseph* (1846-1906)—participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; book-binder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London in 1878; published the newspaper *Die Freiheit* there; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as an anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA (1882).—118-20, 122, 123, 125, 130, 150, 152, 218, 247, 276, 283, 351, 353, 362, 363, 365, 368, 381, 383, 386, 389, 411, 413, 414, 423, 425, 429, 433
- Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); later opposed Marx's and Engels' line in the General Council and the British Federal Council, one of the active members of the latter's reformist wing; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council (1873).—92, 153, 158, 292, 300, 448
- Muffling, Friedrich Ferdinand Karl, Baron* (1775-1851)—Prussian general, then field-marshal general, military writer, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—301-02
- Muhtar Ahmed Pasha* (1832-1919)—Turkish general, commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops in Asia Minor during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—232
- Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German physician, journalist; Social-Democrat.—120
- Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf* (1774-1829)—German poet, dramatist and literary critic.—154
- Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer; M.P. from 1868; Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education (1880-85); held a number of ministerial posts.—299
- Murad V* (1840-1904)—Sultan of Turkey (May-August 1876); nephew of Sultan Abdul Aziz.—120
- Muravyov (Muravieff), Mikhail Nikolaevich, Count* (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, participant in the campaign against Napoleon in 1812, Governor General of the North-

- Western Territory (1863-64).—169, 170
- Mutzelberger*—German Catholic priest in Frankfurt am Main.—84, 85
- N
- Nadler, Karl Christian Gottfried* (1809-1849)—German poet.—133
- Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—14, 68
- Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Napoleon I's nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—52, 175, 303, 314, 340, 357
- Nassauer*.—84
- Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1816-56); State Chancellor (from 1845).—303
- Neumann*.—84
- Neustadt an der Hardt*—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; refugee in England, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—364
- Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—164, 301, 302
- Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1831-1891)—Grand Duke, Nicholas I's son; commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—241
- Nobiling, Karl Eduard* (1848-1878)—German anarchist; made an attempt on William I's life in 1878.—419, 449, 450
- Noel*—see *Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna*
- Noel*—see *Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich*
- Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Yevgeny Petrovich* (1826-1903)—Russian writer and statesman, envoy to Athens (1865), Ambassador to Vienna (1870) and to Constantinople (1879-82).—167
- Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Ivan Petrovich*—Russian general, Olga Alexeyevna Novikova's husband.—167
- Novikova (Nov(w)ikoff), Olga Alexeyevna* (née *Kireyeva*) (1840-1925)—Russian journalist, for a long time lived in London.—167-70, 178, 179, 205, 277
- O
- O'Clery, Keyes, Count* (1849-1913)—Irish historian and politician, M.P. (1874-80).—210, 221
- O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—84
- Offenbach, Jacques* (1819-1880)—French composer.—143
- Oppenheim, Max*—Gertrud Kugelman's brother, lived in Prague.—47, 48, 52, 53, 55-56, 86, 87, 89, 142, 144-45, 146, 147
- Oriol, Henri*—clerk in Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris; owner of the printshop which put out socialist literature (1883-86).—153, 439
- Orlov, Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, Prince* (from 1856) (1786-1861)—Russian military leader, statesman and diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation to the Paris Congress (1856).—302
- Orsini, Cesare*—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); spread the International's ideas in the USA; Felice Orsini's brother.—81
- Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's

- national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—81
- Osborne, John*—English trade unionist; plasterer; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), reformist.—292, 300
- Osman Nuri Pasha* (1832-1900)—Turkish military leader, marshal; participant in the Crimean (1853-56) and Russo-Turkish (1877-78) wars, War Minister (1878-85).—255, 272
- Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); emigrated to London after the defeat of the revolution.—74
- Otto-Walster, August* (1834-1898)—German journalist and writer; member of the General Association of German Workers, Social-Democrat; emigrated to the USA in 1876.—100
- Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—99, 262-63, 292, 335
- P
- Pahlen, Fyodor Petrovich, Count* (1780-1863)—Russian diplomat, Russia's representative during the conclusion of the Adrianople Peace Treaty (1829); member of the State Council (from 1832).—302
- Panayev*—shareholder of Louis Blanc's newspaper *L'Homme Libre*.—440
- Parnell, Charles Stewart* (1846-1891)—Irish politician and statesman, Liberal, M.P. (from 1875), leader of the Home Rule League (1877-90); President of the Irish Land League (from 1880).—261
- Paul I* (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—14
- Pauli, Ida*—Philipp Viktor Pauli's wife.—104, 115-17, 133, 134, 141-42, 146, 180, 197-98, 215, 216, 316
- Pauli, Philipp Viktor* (1836-d. after 1916)—German chemist, friend of Marx and Engels; headed a chemical plant in Rheinau (1871-80).—104, 105, 115-17, 133, 134, 142, 146, 180, 181, 198, 215, 216, 288, 314, 316
- Perret, Henri*—participant in the Swiss working-class movement, engraver; a leader of the International in Switzerland, Secretary of the Romance Federal Council (1868-73); member of the *Égalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; broke with the Bakuninists in 1869; after the Hague Congress (1872) adopted a conciliatory stand.—4-6
- Perrot, Franz*—19th-century German economist and journalist.—304
- Pertev, Reis, effendi* (d. 1837)—Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs (from 1827).—301
- Peter III* (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—14
- Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca)* (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—25
- Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—English economist, father of the classical bourgeois political economy.—208, 329, 452
- Petzler, Johann* (d. 1898)—German democrat, teacher of music; refugee in London from the 1850s.—332, 333
- Phaedrus* (c. 15 B.C.-A.D. c. 70)—Roman fabulist.—219
- Pindar* (c. 522-c. 443 B.C.)—Greek poet.—358
- Pindy, Jean Louis* (1840-1917)—French joiner, Proudhonist; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses

- ses, organiser of the International's section in Brest (1869); took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined the anarchists.—157
- Pio, Louis Albert François* (1841-1894)—a leader of the Danish working-class and socialist movement, propagated Marx's ideas, an organiser of the International's Danish sections (1871), a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); emigrated to the USA in 1877.—117, 121, 126, 221
- Plater, Wladyslaw* (1806-1889)—Polish politician; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31.—37
- Plon-Plon*—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul*
- Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich* (c. 1843-1905)—Russian democratic publisher, was close to Narodniks; published the first Russian edition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (1872).—57
- Potapov, Alexander Lvovich* (1818-1886)—Russian adjutant general; took part in the Crimean war (1853-56); Chief of Staff of the gendarmes' corps and of the Third Department of the Imperial Chancellory (1861-64); Governor General of the North-Western Territory (from 1868); chief of gendarmes (1874-76).—170
- Potter, George* (1832-1893)—a British trade union leader, carpenter; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*.—81
- Powell*—Marx's lawyer.—11, 13
- Premierlani*—policeman in Turin (Italy).—199
- Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; founder of anarchism.—64, 80, 92, 99, 433
- Pumps*—see *Burns, Mary Ellen*
- Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; opposed an independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1888).—440

Q

- Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the School of Physiocrats; physician by profession.—262, 263, 265, 452
- Quêst, Adolphe*—judicial administrator, manager of Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris.—79, 153, 193-94, 204, 227
- Quételet, Lambert Adolphe Jacques* (1796-1874)—Belgian statistician, mathematician, astronomer and sociologist.—82
- Quinet, Edgar* (1803-1875)—French politician and historian; participant in the 1848 revolution; refugee (1852-70); took part in the bourgeois-pacifist congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867); deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75).—25

R

- Ragsky, Ferdinand*—Austrian chemist, professor at Vienna.—88
- Ralston, William Ralston Shedden* (1828-1889)—English writer, author of works on literature and history of Russia.—329
- Ramm, Hermann*—German Social-Democrat, member of the editorial

- board of *Der Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts*.—59, 66, 194-95, 238, 326
- Rasch, Gustav* (d. 1878)—German lawyer, democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat a refugee in Switzerland and France; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1873.—175, 177, 239
- Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke* (1810-1895)—English historian, orientalist, army officer in Persia; member of the Council of India (1858-59, 1868-95); M.P. (1858-59, 1865-68); President of the Royal Asiatic Society (1878-81); contributed to many English newspapers.—163
- Razoua, Eugène Angèle* (1830-1878)—French journalist, Republican; deputy to the National Assembly; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Geneva; member of the International; contributed to a number of periodicals.—259
- Reclus*—Protestant priest, father of Élie and Élisée Reclus.—259
- Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée* (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theoretician of anarchism; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated and lived in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium.—132, 172, 257, 259, 440
- Reclus, Jean Pierre Michel Élie* (1827-1904)—French ethnographer, journalist, utopian socialist; took part in the 1848 revolution; director of the National Library during the Paris Commune.—132, 172, 257, 259
- Redif Pasha*—Turkish statesman, War Minister (1877).—260
- Reichenbach*—young German writer.—359
- Reichensperger, August* (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) (1848-49) and to the German Reichstag (1871-84); a leader of the Catholic Party of the Centre.—322, 325, 328
- Renshaw*—an acquaintance of Engels' family in London.—321, 324
- Reshid Mustafa Mehemed Pasha* (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman; repeatedly held posts of Grand Vizir and Foreign Minister.—301
- Reuß, Heinrich VII, Prince* (1825-1906)—Prussian diplomat and general, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople (1877), Ambassador to Vienna (1878-94).—301
- Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von* (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—158, 325
- Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—62, 153, 205, 261, 452
- Richter, Dmitry Ivanovich* (1848-1919)—Russian statistician, economist and geographer; lived in emigration in the 1870s.—121, 126-28
- Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-1906).—309
- Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German journalist, democrat; contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); member of the International; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party till 1884; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78 and 1881-84).—195
- Rivers, George*—bookseller in London.—317-18
- Roby, Henry John* (1830-1915)—British manufacturer, classical scholar; Liberal; member of the government schools commissions (1864-74); a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Roby (1874-94); M.P. (1890-95).—67
- Roby, Mary Ann Matilda* (née Ermen) (d. 1889)—Peter Ermen's daughter, wife of the above from 1861.—67

- Rochat, Charles Michel* (b. 1844)—a leader of the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (October 1871 to 1872); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—49
- Rocheport, Victor Henri, marquis de Rocheport-Luçay* (1831-1913)—French journalist, writer and politician, Left-wing republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia whence fled to England; organised the second edition of the Anglo-French magazine *Lanterne* in London and Brussels (1874-76).—25, 29, 34
- Rocher, L.*—11
- Rörig*—Wilhelm Liebknecht's acquaintance, forester.—55
- Rothschild, Alphonse, baron de* (1827-1905)—French banker, head of the banking house.—136
- Roy, Joseph* (1830-1916)—French teacher, translated the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and works by Feuerbach into French.—16
- Royer, von*—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1829).—302
- Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National Liberal after 1866.—374
- Rümelin, Gustav* (1815-1888)—German writer and statistician, sociologist, author of works on statistics, history and literature.—191
- Russell, John, 1st Earl Russell* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—140, 156
- S
- Sadek, effendi*—see *Mehmed Sadek, effendi*
- Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—263
- Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of* (1830-1903)—British statesman, Conservative leader (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67, 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—296, 299
- Salzmann*.—83
- Samarin, Yuri Fyodorovich* (1819-1876)—Russian writer and public figure.—103
- Samter, Adolph* (1824-1883)—German economist, follower of Rodbertus.—328
- Sargant, William Lucas* (1809-1889)—English teacher and economist, Owen's biographer.—263
- Sarny, Eduard*—German journalist, an editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*.—180
- Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903)—German vulgar economist and sociologist, armchair socialist, rejected the class struggle.—163, 190, 413
- Schaible, Karl Heinrich* (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, then emigrated to England.—175-77
- Scheu, Andreas* (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian (1868-74) and British socialist movement; member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social-Democratic Federation.—49, 189

- Scheu, Heinrich* (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); emigrated to England in 1873; brother of the above.—49, 189
- Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—259
- Schily*—Victor Schily's wife.—92
- Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; refugee in France; member of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865); Marx's friend.—92
- Schlesinger, Maximilian* (1855-1902)—German journalist, Social-Democrat, Lassallean; contributor to a number of newspapers and magazines.—386
- Schmidt, Eduard Oscar* (1823-1886)—German zoologist, Darwinist, professor at Strasbourg (from 1872).—313-14, 317
- Schmidt, Johann Joseph*.—180
- Schmitz, Richard* (1834-1893)—German physician in Neuenahr (from 1863).—267
- Schneckenburger, Max* (1819-1849)—German poet.—444
- Schöler, Caroline (Lina)* (1819-1891)—German teacher in Cologne; friend of Marx's family.—202, 203, 205
- Schollmeyer, Schorlemeyer*—see *Schorlemmer, Carl*
- Schopenhauer, Arthur* (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, irrationalist and pessimist, ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50
- Schorlemmer, Carl* (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor at Manchester; member of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—116, 133, 215, 268, 270, 271, 350, 371, 374, 375, 377-80, 382-83, 385, 387, 389, 390
- Schott, Sigmund* (1818-1895)—Württemberg writer and politician; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; a founder of the National Association.—287, 304-05, 311-12
- Schramm, Carl August* (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat, reformist; left the Party in the 1880s.—73, 75, 375, 378, 393, 395-98, 402-08, 411-13, 417, 422, 428, 431
- Schumacher, Balthasar Gerhard* (1755-d. after 1801)—German lawyer, author of the song on which Prussian National Anthem was based.—301
- Schumacher, Hermann* (c. 1826-1904)—German economist.—90
- Schumann, Fritz*—delegate to the International Socialist Congress in Paris (September 1878) from the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party and from the International Labour Union.—339, 340
- Schupps*—family of Engels' acquaintances in Heidelberg, with whom Mary Ellen Burns stayed in 1875-77.—116, 180, 197
- Schuyler, Eugene* (1840-1890)—American historian and diplomat, secretary of the diplomatic mission in Russia (1869), General Consul in Constantinople (1876-78), later American minister in Athens and US representative in Romania and Serbia.—168
- Schweitzer*—owner of a printing-house in London, where the *Londoner Journal* was printed.—315
- Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von* (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic

- Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—6, 402
- Schwitzguébel, Adhémar* (1844-1895)—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, anarchist; engraver; member of the International; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the Jura Federation; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision (1873).—49, 306
- Seidlitz, Georg von*—German naturalist, follower of Darwin.—107
- Serrailier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—participant in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland, Spain (1870) and France (1871-72); in September 1870 was sent to Paris as the General Council's agent, member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1873); associate of Marx and Engels.—44, 341, 448
- Seton*—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28
- Shaen*—English lawyer.—11, 12
- Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English poet and playwright.—65, 122, 191, 226, 446
- Shipton, George* (1839-1911)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, reformist, Secretary of the House-Painters' Union and of the London Trades Council (1871-96).—300
- Shwalow (Schuwaloff), Pyotr Andreyevich, Count* (1827—1889)—Russian statesman and diplomat, general, member of the State Council (1874); chief of gendarmes (1866-74); Ambassador to London (1874-79).—168, 170, 389
- Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1844-1888)—economist; one of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia; held radical bourgeois reformist views.—343
- Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Government of National Defence, Minister of Public Instruction in that government and in Thiers' government (1870-73); deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, an instigator of struggle against the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—440
- Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social-Democrats; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—396, 412
- Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich* (pseudonym *Doctor Noel*) (1848-1900)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, physician; emigrated to Zurich in the early 1870s, then to London, Paris, and Berne; member of the International; an editor of the newspaper and magazine *Vperyod!*—78, 91, 129, 134, 147, 154, 305, 312-13, 316
- Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—153, 260, 452
- Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German politician, journalist, banker, democrat; founder and publisher of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*; deputy to the German

- Reichstag (1871-77, 1878-84).—7, 9, 85, 95, 98, 156, 180, 305, 334, 412*
- Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium, from 1852 lived in the USA; organised the International's American sections, Secretary of the Federal Council for North America, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council of the International in New York (1872-74), propagated Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—7-10, 28, 30, 40, 41, 43, 44, 51, 114-15, 124-25, 275-77, 279, 282-84, 318-19, 385, 392, 410, 414, 422, 445-48
- Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—452
- Spurgeon, Charles Haddon* (1834-1892)—English Baptist priest.—22
- Staël, Madame de (Anne Louise Germaine Necker, baronne de Staël-Holstein)* (1766-1817)—French authoress.—252
- Staël, Madame de* (d. 1877)—a relative of the above.—252
- Stahl, Heinrich*—German socialist in Chicago.—42
- Stern*—Joseph Stern's wife.—85
- Stern, Joseph* (1839-1902)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* (from 1873).—85
- Steward, Ira* (1831-1883)—prominent figure in the American labour movement, leader of the Eight-Hour League in Boston and of the National Ten-Hour League; an organiser of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1869) and of the International Labor Union (1878).—411
- Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—chief of Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and main witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—29, 96, 100, 103, 121, 147, 327
- Stoffel, Eugène, baron* (1823-1907)—French army officer; during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) served in MacMahon's General Headquarters; discharged from the army (1872).—251
- Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Prince* (1837-1896)—German statesman and politician, conservative, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-78), Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire (from 1878).—322-24
- Stroussberg, Bethel Henry* (1823-1884)—German-born railway contractor who lived in England; went bankrupt in 1873.—228, 405
- Suleiman Pasha* (1840-1892)—Turkish general; commander-in-chief in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, then commander of the Danubian army; commander-in-chief of Turkish troops (December 1877-February 1878).—272

T

- Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred* (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist, took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 1851; member of the General Council of the International (1864); senator (1876-80, 1881-85).—336-42
- Taneyev, Vladimir Ivanovich* (1840-1921)—Russian public figure, lawyer, materialist philosopher; from 1866, counsel for the defence at a number of political processes.—185
- Tenge, Therese (née Bolongaro-Crevenna)* (born c. 1833)—wife of the Westphalian landowner Tenge-

- Ritberg; acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann's family in Hanover.—17, 19
- Tennyson, *Alfred* (1809-1892)—English poet.—14
- Terzaghi, *Carlo* (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist; editor of *Proletario italiano*, Secretary of the Federazione operaia and the Emancipazione del proletario societies in Turin; became police agent in 1872.—184, 199
- Tessendorf(f), *Hermann Ernst Christian* (1831-1895)—Prussian Public Prosecutor, member of the Berlin City Court (1873-79); organised persecution of Social-Democrats.—96, 100
- Theisz, *Albert Frédéric Félix* (1839-1881)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver; Proudhonist; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872) and its treasurer.—110
- Thiers, *Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840), President of the Republic (1871-73); hangman of the Paris Commune.—16, 30, 210, 233, 235, 440
- Thünen, *Johann Heinrich von* (1783-1850)—German economist.—90
- Thachov, *Pyotr Nikitich* (1844-1885)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, an ideologist of Narodism.—59, 363
- Tölcke, *Karl Wilhelm* (1817-1893)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; President of the General Association of German Workers (1865-66) and member of its Executive Committee till 1874.—6, 60, 65
- Tomanovskaya, *Yelizaveta Lukinichna* (pseudonym *Yelizaveta Dmitrieva*) (née *Kusheleva*) (1851-d. after 1910)—Russian revolutionary, lived in emigration from 1868 to 1873, member of the Russian section of the International in Geneva, supported Marx in the struggle against Bakuninists; friend of Marx and his family; took an active part in the Paris Commune (1871); after its suppression emigrated; withdrew from revolutionary activities after her return to Russia.—36, 185
- Traube, *Moritz* (1826-1894)—German chemist and physiologist.—78, 192
- Treitschke, *Heinrich Gotthard von* (1834-1896)—German historian and journalist; historiographer of the Prussian state (from 1886); deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-88).—260
- Trochu, *Louis Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; head of the Government of National Defence; commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—223, 224
- Turgot, *Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne* (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller General of Finance (1774-76).—209
- Turner.—11
- Tussy, *Tussychen*—see *Marx, Eleanor*
- Tyndall, *John* (1820-1893)—English physicist, professor at the King's College in London.—50

U

- Urquhart, *David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile; exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77) renamed *Diplomatic Review* (1866).—158, 167, 178, 206, 209, 235, 238

- Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich* (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; emigrated to England in 1863, then to Switzerland; an organiser of the Russian section of the International in Geneva and an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870-71); Marx's supporter in the struggle against Bakuninism; delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871); retired from political activity in the mid-1870s; returned to Russia in 1878.—36, 148, 163, 328, 351
- Utina, Natalia Jeronimovna* (née *Corsini*)—Nikolai Utin's wife; contributed to *Vestnik Yevropy* and other periodicals.—211
- V
- Vahlteich, Karl Julius* (1839-1915)—German Social-Democrat, shoemaker; first secretary of the General Association of German Workers (1863-February 1864); delegate to the Eisenach Congress (1869) and a leader in the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-81); emigrated to the USA and took part in the working-class movement there.—85, 95, 98, 257, 276
- Vasilchikov, Alexander Illarionovich* (1818-1881)—Russian economist and public figure.—103
- Vasiliyev, Nikolai Vasiliyevich* (1857-1920)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; physiologist, Doctor of Medicine; carried on propaganda among St Petersburg students; emigrated to Switzerland in the latter half of the 1870s and continued his revolutionary activity there; lived in London for some time.—427
- Vernouillet, Juste*—director of Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris.—57, 79, 439
- Viennet, Jeyn Pons Guillaume* (1777-1868)—French writer and politician.—322
- Viereck*—German actress, Louis Viereck's mother.—428
- Viereck, Louis* (1851-1921)—German Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the party in the latter half of the 1870s; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-87); left Social-Democratic movement after 1888; emigrated to the USA in 1890.—375, 395-96, 399, 401, 412, 428
- Virchow, Rudolf* (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; founder of modern pathological anatomy and the theory of cellular pathology; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress (1861-84).—236, 313, 316
- Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)* (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—143
- Vögele, August*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's print-shop (1859).—176
- Vogler, Carl Georg* (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels, member of the Communist League.—439
- Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial Regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; Louis Bonaparte's paid agent in the 1850s and 1860s; slandered Marx and his associates; exposed by Marx in the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (1860).—107, 162, 175-76
- Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von* (1850-1922)—German army officer, Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; an editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918).—375, 413, 417, 422

W

- Wagner, Cosima* (1837-1930)—Franz Liszt's daughter, Richard Wagner's second wife.—143
- Wagner, Richard* (1813-1883)—German composer, conductor and musical writer.—135, 137, 143, 192, 268, 443
- Wallace, Alfred Russel* (1823-1913)—English biologist, a founder of zoogeography; simultaneously with Darwin came to the theory of natural selection.—291
- Walster*—see *Otto-Walster, August*
- Walstone (Waldstein), Charles* (1856-1927)—English archaeologist, acquaintance of Marx's family.—427
- Walther von der Vogelweide* (c. 1170-c. 1230)—German minnesinger.—74
- Weber, Carl Maria von* (1786-1826)—German composer.—177
- Weber, Joseph Valentin* (1814-1895)—German watchmaker; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848; after its suppression, refugee in London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society there; expelled from the Society for his splitting activities and the slander of the General Council of the International (December 1871).—364
- Weber, Louis*—German watchmaker; refugee in London after the 1848-49 revolution, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; expelled from the Society for the intrigues against Marx and his supporters (April 1865); son of the above.—364, 411
- Wedde, Friedrich Christoph Johannes* (1843-1890)—German journalist and writer, democrat.—240, 259
- Weiler, Adam* (1841-1894)—German joiner; refugee in London, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), supporter of Marx and Engels, member of the London Trades' Council; member of the Social-Democratic Federation (from 1883).—277
- Weiß, Guido* (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of *Die Zukunft*, organ of the People's Party (1867-71), publisher of a weekly *Die Wage* (1873-79).—85, 88
- Weiting, Wilhelm* (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, tailor by profession; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—284, 410
- Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of* (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded troops in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief of the British army (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30) and Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—301, 303
- Wenzel*—see *Kugelmann, Ludwig*
- Wessel, Jean Marc Albert* (1829-1885)—Swiss lawyer and politician, notary in Geneva.—279
- Westlake*—English public figure, elected to the school board from Marylebone on 30 November 1876.—444
- Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851, participated in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—115, 448
- Weydemeyer, Otto*—participant in the American working-class movement; son of the above.—276, 318-19

- Wiede, Franz* (born c. 1857)—German journalist, founder and editor of *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, reformist.—240-43, 247, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 362, 413
- Wiehe, Johann Friedrich*—German refugee in London, compositor in Hollinger's print-shop (1859).—176, 177
- Willebrord*—see *Glaser de Willebrord, E.*
- William I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—16, 263, 301, 352, 384, 389, 412, 428
- Willis, Edwin*.—311
- Wingfield, Lewis Strange* (1842-1891)—English traveller, writer and actor; correspondent of *The Times* during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—49
- Withers, John*—London baker, acquaintance of Marx's family.—103, 245
- Wohlauer, Ferdinand*—bookseller in London, Engels' acquaintance.—214
- Wolff, Bernhard (Benda)* (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the *Berlin National-Zeitung* (from 1848); founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—158
- Wolff, Luigi (Louis)*—Italian major, follower of Mazzini; member of the Associazione di Mutuo Progresso (organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865); exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—81
- Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus)* (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary, teacher, prominent figure in the Communist League; editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—195, 391
- Wollmann*—factory owner in Paris.—136, 212
- Wollmann*—Ferdinand Fleckles' cousin, wife of the above.—136, 190, 211-12
- Wright, Carroll Davidson* (1840-1909)—American economist and statistician, head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1873-88).—377, 411
- Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the 1863-64 Polish uprising; general of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); actively supported Marx and Engels in the struggle against Bakuninists.—18, 51, 111-12, 221-22, 234, 332, 448

Z

- Zanardelli, Tito* (b. 1848)—Italian journalist, socialist, editor of a number of democratic newspapers; a refugee in Paris.—450
- Zhukovsky (Joukowski), Juli Galaktionovich* (1833-1907)—Russian economist, journalist, sociologist, manager of the State Bank, senator.—344
- Zhukovsky, Nikolai Ivanovich* (1833-1895)—Russian revolutionary, anarchist; refugee (from 1862), Secretary of the Geneva Section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International (from 1869), withdrew from it in 1872 in protest to Bakunin's expulsion by the Hague Congress.—259
- Zilinski (Zichlinsky)*—German refugee in London, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; expelled from the Society in 1871.—49

INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

- Achilles* (Gr. Myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, hero of Homer's *Iliad*.—351
- Aesculapius* (Rom. Myth.)—God of medicine and of healing.—447
- Ali Baba*—hero of the Arabian fairy-tale *Ali Baba and Forty Thieves*.—18
- Castor* (Rom. Myth.)—one of the twin sons of Zeus and Leda.—259
- Cid Campeador*—national hero of Spain, the main character of the 12th-century Spanish poem *El cantar de mio Cid*, hero of Herder's poem *Cid*.—272
- Don Quixote*—the title character in Cervantes' novel.—443
- Egeria* (Rom. Myth.)—the nymph who advised the Roman King Numa Pompilius.—169
- Faust*—the title character in Goethe's tragedy.—46
- Figaro*—the title character in Beaumarchais' comedy *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*.—324
- Hans Heiling*—an earth and mountain spirit, according to a saga. He married a mortal woman but out of jealousy he turned her into a rock.—47
- Harlequin*—a character in Italian *commedia dell' arte*, an enamoured quick-witted servant who finds a way out of various predicaments.—440
- John Bull*—the title character in John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is often used to personify England.—18, 188, 190, 292
- Mammon*—the idol of wealth among some ancient peoples.—283
- Numa Pompilius*—second King of Ancient Rome (715-673 or 672 B.C.).—169
- Oerindur*—a character in Adolf Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*.—154
- Pollux* (Rom. Myth.)—one of the twin sons of Zeus and Leda.—259
- Shylock*—a character in Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice*.—65
- Siegfried*—one of the main characters in an ancient Germanic epic and the title character of Richard Wagner's opera.—443
- Valkyrie*—a character in an old Scandinavian epic and the title character of Richard Wagner's opera.—443

INDEX OF QUOTED AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Marx, Karl

Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume I (present edition, Vol. 35)

- Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867.—62, 73, 80, 92, 162, 204, 208, 277, 287, 328, 329
- Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Hamburg, 1872.—52, 58, 90, 118, 209, 277, 282, 318, 343, 346, 366
- Le Capital. Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement révisée par l'auteur [Vol. 1]. Paris, éditeurs, Maurice Lachâtre et C^{ie} [1872-1875].—15-17, 25, 28, 56, 58, 70, 75, 80, 92, 93, 110, 113, 114, 124, 153, 166, 190, 193, 208, 209, 212, 227, 276-77, 282, 287, 343, 344, 346, 359, 440, 445
- Капиталь. Критика политической экономии. Сочинение Карла Маркса. Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго. Томъ первый. Книга I. Процессъ производства капитала. С.-Петербургъ, 1872.—334, 343, 346

Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume II (present edition, Vol. 36)

- Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Zweiter Band. Buch II: Der Circulationsprocess des Kapitals. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg, 1885.—57, 162, 287, 289, 343, 354, 415, 432

Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume III (present edition, Vol. 37)

- Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Dritter Band. Buch III: Der Gesamtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg, 1894.—57, 58, 115, 162, 287, 289, 343, 354, 415, 432

The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. [London,] 1871 (present edition, Vol. 22).—288, 333

- La Guerre civile en France. Adresse du Conseil général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Troisième édition revue. [Bruxelles, 1872].—183

Critique of the Gotha Programme (present edition, Vol. 24)

- Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei. In: *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Nr. 18, 1891.—69, 75, 97, 243

- Declaration* (present edition, Vol. 17)
—Erklärung. In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 325, 21. November 1859, Beilage.—162
- Declaration* (present edition, Vol. 17)
—Erklärung. In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 336, 1. Dezember 1860, Beilage.—162
- Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (present edition, Vols 30-34).—287
- The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11)
—Der Achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte. Zweite Ausgabe. Hamburg, 1869.—52
- Epilogue to 'Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne'* (present edition, Vol. 24)
—Enthüllungen über den Kölner Kommunistenprozeß, Nachwort. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 10, 27. Januar 1875.—54, 55
- General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23)
—General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. Official edition, revised by the General Council. London, 1871.—8, 10, 44, 97, 132
—Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe, revidirt durch den Generalrath. Leipzig, [1871].—40, 44
- Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17)
—Herr Vogt. London, 1860.—176-77
- Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London* (present edition, Vol. 20).
—Address. In: *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting, Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London*. [London,] 1864.—80, 81
- [*Letter to the Editor of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'*] (present edition, Vol. 17)
—Brief an der Redacteur der 'Allgemeinen Zeitung'. In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 300, 27. Oktober 1859.—162
- Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 24). In: *The Secular Chronicle, and Record of Freethought Progress*. Vol. X, No. 5, August 4, 1878.—312, 335
- Notes on Bakunin's Book 'Statehood and Anarchy'* (present edition, Vol. 24).—64
- Notes on Dühring's 'Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie'*
—Randnoten zu Dührings 'Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie'. In: F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Dialektik der Natur*. 1873 bis 1882. Sonderausgabe zum vierzigsten Todestage von Friedrich Engels. Moskau-Leningrad, 1935, S. 341-371.—203, 205-08
- On Barry's Mandate* [Record of Marx's speech at a sitting of the Hague Congress of the International on 3 September 1872]. In: *The Hague Congress of the First International. Minutes and Documents*. Moscow, 1976, p. 37.—18

- [*Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law (Outline of an Article)*] (present edition, Vol. 24).—332
- The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* (present edition, Vol. 6)
—Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon. Paris-Bruxelles, 1847.—64, 80, 92, 99, 433, 439
- Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette. To the Editor of 'The Free Press'. London, 4th February, 1860* (present edition, Vol. 17).—176
- Provisional Rules of the Association* (present edition, Vol. 20). In: *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.* [London,] 1864.—41, 80, 81, 132, 203, 408
- [*Reply to Bucher's 'Declaration'*] (present edition, Vol. 24)
—Marx und Bucher. In: *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt, Abendblatt*, Nr. 180, 29. Juni 1878; *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, Nr. 152, 2. Juli 1878; *Vorwärts*, Nr. 78, 5. Juli 1878.—312
- Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11)
—Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 144, 147; 28., 30. Oktober, 4., 6., 11., 13., 18., 25., 27. November, 2., 4., 11., 18. Dezember 1874.—54, 55
—Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln. Neuer Abdruck. Leipzig, 1875.—54, 55, 73, 105
- Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War* (present edition, Vol. 22)
—Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War. To the Members of the International Working Men's Association in Europe and the United States. London, September 9th, 1870.—384
- Theories of Surplus Value*—see *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63*
- To the Editor of 'The Eastern Post'* (present edition, Vol. 23). In: *The Eastern Post*, No. 169, December 23, 1871.—341
- To the Editors of the 'Volks-Zeitung'. Declaration* (present edition, Vol. 17)
—Offener Brief in Sachen Vogt und Berliner 'National-Zeitung'. Erklärung. In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 48, 17. Februar 1860, Beilage (distorted).—162
- Engels, Frederick
- Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (present edition, Vol. 25)
—Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie. I-XIII. In: *Vorwärts*, Leipzig, 1877, Nrn. 1-7, 3., 5., 7., 10., 12., 14., 17. Januar; Nrn. 10, 11, 17, 24, 25, 36, 37, 44, 45, 49, 50, 55, 56, 24., 26. Januar, 9., 25., 28. Februar, 25., 28. März, 15., 18., 27., 29. April, 11., 13. Mai.—118, 119, 122-24, 139, 140, 154, 162, 174, 180, 186, 195, 201, 206-08, 218, 220, 236, 238, 249, 254, 258, 283, 295, 306, 309, 361, 420
—Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie. I-IX. In: *Vorwärts*, 1877, Beilage, Nr. 87, 27. Juli; Nrn. 93, 96, 10., 17. August;

- Nrn. 105, 108, 7., 14. September; Nr. 127, 28. Oktober; Nrn. 130, 139, 4., 28. November; Nr. 152, 30. Dezember.—118, 119, 122-24, 139, 140, 154, 162, 174, 180, 186, 195, 206-07, 218, 220, 227, 236, 238, 254, 258, 264, 265, 283, 289, 295, 306, 309, 361, 420
- Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung des Sozialismus. I-V. In: *Vorwärts*, 1878, Nrn. 52, 61, 5., 26. Mai; Nrn. 64, 75, 2., 28. Juni; Nr. 79, 7. Juli.—118, 122-24, 139, 140, 154, 162, 174, 180, 186, 218, 220, 227, 236, 238, 249, 254, 258, 283, 289, 295, 306, 309, 361, 420
- Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. I. Philosophie. Leipzig, 1877.—180, 241
- Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. II. Politische Oekonomie. Sozialismus. Leipzig, 1878.—312, 313, 316, 333-35, 349
- The Bakuninists at Work. An Account of the Spanish Revolt in the Summer of 1873* (present edition, Vol. 23)
- Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den letzten Aufstand in Spanien (Separat-Abdruck aus dem *Volksstaat*). [Leipzig, 1873].—105
- Dialectics of Nature* (present edition, Vol. 25)
- Dialektik der Natur.—88, 106, 124, 154, 192, 254, 290, 361, 362, 420
- The English Elections* (present edition, Vol. 23)
- Die englischen Wahlen. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 26, 4. März 1874.—8
- From Italy* (present edition, Vol. 24)
- Aus Italien. In: *Vorwärts*, Nr. 32, 16. März 1877.—203, 207, 214
- The Housing Question* (present edition, Vol. 23)
- [Zur Wohnungsfrage]. I. Wie Proudhon die Wohnungsfrage löst. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 51, 52, 53, 26., 29. Juni, 3. Juli 1872; II. Wie die Bourgeoisie die Wohnungsfrage löst. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 103, 104, 2., 3., 25., 28. Dezember 1872, 4., 8. Januar 1873; III. Nachtrag über Proudhon und die Wohnungsfrage. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 12, 13, 15, 16, 8., 12., 19., 22. Februar 1873.—120, 420
- Zur Wohnungsfrage. 1. Heft: Wie Proudhon die Wohnungsfrage löst. Separatabdruck aus dem *Volksstaat*. Leipzig, 1872; 2. Heft: Wie die Bourgeoisie die Wohnungsfrage löst. Sonderabdruck aus dem *Volksstaat*. Leipzig, 1872; 3. Heft: Nachtrag über Proudhon und die Wohnungsfrage. Sonderabdruck aus dem *Volksstaat*. [Leipzig, 1873].—105
- The Imperial Military Law. I-II* (present edition, Vol. 23)
- Das Reichs-Militärgesetz. I-II. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 28, 29, 8., 11. März 1874.—8
- [*Introduction to the Pamphlet 'On Social Relations in Russia'*] (present edition, Vol. 24)
- In: *Soziales aus Rußland*. Leipzig, 1875.—105
- Karl Marx* (present edition, Vol. 24)
- Karl Marx. In: *Volks-Kalender*. Braunschweig, 1878.—227
- [*Letter to Enrico Bignami on the German Elections of 1877*] (present edition, Vol. 24).
- In: *La Ptebe*, Num. 7, 26 febbraio 1877.—198-200
- On Social Relations in Russia* (present edition, Vol. 24)
- Soziales aus Rußland. Leipzig, 1875.—105

- The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 10)
 —Der deutsche Bauernkrieg. Zweiter, mit einer Einleitung versehener Abdruck. Leipzig, 1870.—32, 34
 —Der deutsche Bauernkrieg. Dritter Abdruck. Leipzig, 1875.—52, 105
- Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* (present edition, Vol. 24)
 —Preussischer Schnaps im Deutschen Reichstag. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 23, 24 u. 25, 25., 27. Februar, 1. März 1876.—195
- Refugee Literature* (present edition, Vol. 24)
 —Flüchtlings-Literatur. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 69, 73, 117, 118, 17., 26. Juni, 6., 8. Oktober 1874; Nrn. 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 28. März, 2., 16., 18., 21. April 1875.—51, 53, 59, 105
- Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (present edition, Vol. 16)
 —Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein. Berlin, 1860.—105
- [Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*] (present edition, Vol. 23)
 —Vorbemerkung. In: *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*. Dritter Abdruck. Leipzig, 1875.—52
- Varia on Germany* (present edition, Vol. 23)
 —Varia über Deutschland.—7
- Wilhelm Wolff* (present edition, Vol. 24)
 —Wilhelm Wolff. In: *Die Neue Welt*, Nrn. 27, 28, 30, 31, 40-45, 47; 1., 8., 22., 29. Juli, 30. September, 7., 14., 21., 28. Oktober, 4., 25. November 1876.—195
- The Workmen of Europe in 1877*. I-V (present edition, Vol. 24). In: *The Labor Standard*, Nos. 43-47, March 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1878.—306
- Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick
- The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association. Report and Documents Published by Decision of the Hague Congress of the International* (present edition, Vol. 23)
 —L'Alliance de la démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Rapport et documents publiés par ordre du Congrès International de la Haye. Londres-Hambourg, 1873.—6, 7, 10, 41, 44, 184, 198, 210
- [Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others] (this volume and present edition, Vol. 24).—375, 378, 386, 389, 390, 394-408, 411-14, 417, 420
- Herr Bucher. To the Editor of 'The Daily News'* (present edition, Vol. 24). In: *The Daily News*, No. 10030, June 13, 1878.—311
- Manifesto of the Communist Party* (present edition, Vol. 6)
 —Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. London, 1848.—64, 407, 433
 —Das Kommunistische Manifest. Neue Ausgabe mit einem Vorwort der Verfasser. Leipzig, 1872.—95, 97, 105, 115, 276, 283, 414, 450

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- Allman, G. J. *Inaugural Address at the British Association Meeting at Sheffield*. In: *Nature*, Vol. XX, No. 512, August 21, 1879.—377
Annolied.—74
- Arnim, A. von und Brentano, K. *Kurzweil*. In: *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder*. Dritter Band.—249
- [Auer, I.] *Von der Niederelbe*, 23. Oktober. In: *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 5, 2. November 1879.—420, 423, 429
- Augusti, B. *Ein verhängnisvolles Jahr*. In: *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nrn. 247-302, 6. September-31. Oktober 1879.—416
- [Bakunin, M. A.] *Государственность и анархія*. Введение. Часть I. [Zurich-Geneva.] 1873.—64, 69
- Bancroft, H. H. *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. Vols 1-5. London, 1875.—261
- Barry, M. *The Internationalists and the Government*. In: *The Spectator*, July 13, 1878.—341
 —*Les socialistes et le gouvernement*. In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 198, 2 octobre 1878.—338-40
 —*The War in the East*. In: *The Times*, No. 29018, August 11, 1877, p. 8.—267
- [Barry, M.] *Mr. Gladstone*. In: *Vanity Fair*, Vol. XVII, No. 435, March 3, 1877.—206, 209, 277
 —*Mr. Gladstone and Russian Intrigue*. In: *The Whitehall Review*, February 3, 1877.—209, 277
 —*The Great Agitator Unmasked*. In: *Vanity Fair*, Vol. XVII, No. 436, March 10, 1877.—206, 209, 277
 —[Announcement about the Ghent Congress of Socialists.] In: *The Standard*, September 11, 13, 17, 18, 1877.—277
- Bastelica, A. *Appel aux Français. Lettre d'un proscrit sur la situation*. Genève, 1 juillet 1876.—156, 184
- Baudeau, [N.] *Explication du Tableau économique à madame de*** par l'auteur des Éphémérides*. In: *Physiocrates*. Quesnay, Dupont de Nemours, Mercier de la Rivière, L'Abbé Baudeau, Le Trosne, avec une introduction sur la doctrine des physiocrates, des commentaires et des notices historiques, par Eugène Daire. Deuxième partie, Paris, 1846.—265
- Beaumarchais, [P. A. C.] de. *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*.—324
- Bebel, A. [Speech at the Reichstag's sitting of 18 April 1877.] In: *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 91, 20. April 1877, Zweites Blatt and *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 3. Legislaturperiode, I. Session 1877, Band I. Berlin, 1877.—227
- [Bebel,] A. [Review of B. Becker's book *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*.] In: *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 8, 23. November 1879.—425
- Becker, B. *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's. Nach authentischen Aktenstücken*. Braunschweig, 1874.—30, 95, 98

- Geschichte der Revolutionären Pariser Kommune in den Jahren 1789 bis 1794.* Braunschweig, 1875.—120
- Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871.* Leipzig, 1879.—151, 152, 166, 425
- Becker, J. Ph. *Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben.* In: *Die Neue Welt*, Nr. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29; 22., 29. April, 6., 13. Mai, 3., 10., 24. Juni, 8., 15. Juli 1876, 1. Jg.—215
- Neue Stunden der Andacht. Psalmen in Reimform. Die Zeitgebrechen, bloßgelegt durch strikte Schlußfolgerungen aus den überlieferten Anschauungen und Einrichtungen in religiöser, politischer, ethischer und sozialer Beziehung. Kriterien und Satire.* Genf, 1875.—174, 183
- Becker, J. Ph. und Essellen, Chr. *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849.* Genf, 1849.—214
- [Betham-Edwards, M. B.] *The International Working Men's Association.* In: *Fraser's Magazine.* New series. Vol. XII. Nos. LXVII-LXIX, July to September 1875. London.—79-81, 92
- Bible*
- The Old Testament*
- The Wisdom of Solomon.—247
- The New Testament*
- Luke.—40, 246, 275, 442
- [Biscamp, E.] *London, 5. Juli (Orig.-Corr. der 'Voss. Ztg.')* In: *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, Nr. 159, 9. Juli 1878.—312, 317
- Blind, K. *Erklärung.* In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 313, 9. November 1859 ('Neueste Posten').—176
- Erklärungen.* In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 345, Beilage, 11. Dezember 1859.—176
- Prince Napoleon and European Democracy.* In: *Fraser's Magazine.* New series. Vol. XX, No. 118, October 1879.—415
- [Blind, K.] *Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung.* In: *Das Volk*, Nr. 7, 18. Juni 1859 ('Die Reichsverraetherei').—175, 176
- Zur Warnung* (pamphlet).—175, 176
- Zur Warnung.* In: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 173, Beilage, 22. Juni 1859. In the article: 'K. Vogt und die deutsche Emigration in London'.—175
- Block, M. *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du 'Journal des Économistes'* (numéros de juillet et d'août 1872). Paris, 1872.—194, 204
- Bracke, W. *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag. Ein Wort an den 4. Congreß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei.* Braunschweig, 1873.—62, 95, 98
- [Speech at the Reichstag's sitting of 18 April 1877.] In: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags.* 3. Legislaturperiode, I. Session 1877, Band I. Berlin, 1877.—227
- Bracke, [W.] [Speech in the Reichstag on 10 April 1878.] In: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags.* 3. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1878, Zweiter Band, 33. Sitzung am 10. April 1878, Berlin, 1878.—309
- [Bradlaugh, Ch.] [Note on M. Barry.] In: *The National Reformer*, Vol. XXXII, No. 12, New Series, September 22, 1878.—342

- Bucher, [L.] [Reply to Marx's letter to the Editor of *The Daily News*.] In: *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, Nr. 172, 21. Juni 1878, Abendblatt.—310
—In: *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 145, 21. Juni 1878.—310, 312
- Buffenoir, H. *Aus Frankreich*. In: *Vorwärts*, Nrn. 124, 128, 129, 132, 133, 140, 145; 21., 31. Oktober, 2., 9., 11., 30. November, 12. Dezember 1877.—295
- [Bunyakovsky] Буняковский, В. Я. *Антропобиологическія изслѣдованія и ихъ приложение къ мужскому населенію Россіи. Приложение къ XXIII^{му} тому записокъ имп. академіи наукъ. № 5, Санктпетербургъ, 1874.—213*
- Bürgers, H. *Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Freiligrath*. In: *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, Nrn. 278, 284, 290, 296, 302; 26. November, 3., 10., 17., 24. Dezember 1876.—259
- Busch, M. *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Kriegs mit Frankreich. Nach Tagebuchsblättern*. 2 Bde, 1878.—350
- Byr, R. *Dreimal*. In: *Über Land und Meer*. 35. Band, 18. Jahrgang, Erster Band, Stuttgart, 1875.—107
- Cafiero, C. *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx*. Milano, 1879.—365
- Carleton, W. *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. Volumes I-II. London, 1853.—371
- [Challemel-Lacour, P. A.] Paris, 11 juillet [leading article]. In: *La République Française*, 12 juillet 1877.—251
- [Chernyshevsky, N. G.] *Политико-экономическія письма къ президенту Американскихъ Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, Г. К. Кэре*. Переводъ съ англійскаго. In: *Современникъ*, Т. LXXXV, 1861.—114
- [Chicherin] Чичеринъ, Б. Н. *Нѣмецкіе социалисты: I. Лассаль; Нѣмецкіе социалисты: II. Карлъ Марксъ*. In: *Сборникъ государственныхъ знаній*. Тт. V, VI. С.-Петербургъ, 1878.—344, 346
- [Chuprov] Чупровъ, А. *Жельзнодорожное хозяйство*. Т. II. Москва, 1878.—346
- Darwin, Ch. *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London, 1859.—91, 106-08, 124
- Delius, N. *Die epischen Elemente in Shakespeare's Dramen. Einleitender Vortrag zur Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. Zwoelfter Jahrgang. Weimar, 1877.—191, 273, 446, 449
- D[e] P[ae]re, C. *Da Bruxelles, 11 Febbraio*. In: *La Plebe*, Num. 6, 16 febbraio 1877.—200
- Deville, G. *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique*. Paris, [1883].—193
- Disraeli, B. [Reply to an Inquiry on the Amnesty of Fenians Made in the House of Commons on 22 May 1876.] In: *The Times*, No. 28636, May 23, 1876.—121
- D[ö]renberg, E. *Da Berlino*. In: *La Plebe*, Num. 3, 21 gennaio 1877.—199
- [Douai, A.] *Die Folgen des großen Krachs*. In: *Vorwärts*, Nrn. 117, 118; 5., 7. Oktober 1877.—284, 285

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— *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Opera tetralogy.—143
— *Götterdämmerung*. Concluding part of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.—443
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DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING
MEN'S ASSOCIATION

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- Fraternal Bond between the Italian Workmen's Association*.—81
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- Factories and Workshops Law Consolidation Bill.—228*
- Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie. Berlin, 1878.—322, 328, 350, 386, 389, 399-401, 404, 405, 413*
- Gewerbeordnung für den Norddeutschen Bund. 1869.—228*
- The Greek United Church in Russia.—220*
- Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 27, 7. März 1875; Neuer Social-Demokrat, Nr. 29, 7. März 1875.—60-65, 69, 70, 75*
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- Статистическiй Временникъ Россiйской Имперiи. Серiя II. Выпускъ 10. I. Наличное населенiе Россiйской Имперiи за 1870 г. II. Свѣдѣнiя о посѣвѣ и сборѣ хлѣбовъ и картофеля въ 1870-1872 гг. и о численности скота въ 1870 году въ Европейской Россiи. III. Статистика городскихъ сберегательныхъ кассъ. Санктпетербургъ, 1875.—213*

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- Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 3. Legislatur-Periode. II. Session 1878, Zweiter Band, 33. Sitzung am 10. April 1878. Berlin, 1878.—309
- Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 4. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session 1878, Erster Band, 4., 5. Sitzung am 16., 17. September 1878. Berlin, 1878.—332
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ANONYMOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS PUBLISHED
IN PERIODIC EDITIONS

- The Daily News*, No. 8831, August 14, 1874: *International Bands in the Romagna*. (From our own correspondent.) Rome, August 10.—35
—No. 9247, December 13, 1875: *Arrest of a Communist in Vienna*.—112
—No. 9386, May 23, 1876: *The Revolution in Constantinople*. (From our own correspondent.) Constantinople. May 16.—118
—No. 9429, July 12, 1876: [Article on Turkish atrocities during the suppression of the insurrection in Bulgaria].—140
—No. 9521, October 27, 1876: *The Russians in Turkestan*. (Signed: A Russian).—169
—No. 9523, October 30, 1876: *The Russians in Turkestan*. (Signed: Another Russian).—169
—No. 16112, September 17, 1878: *News from Berlin. The Socialist Bill*.—322, 323, 324, 328
- The Daily Telegraph*, September 18, 1878: [leader].—328, 331
- The Diplomatic Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October 1876: *The Bulgarian Insurrection*.—158
- The Dundee Advertiser*, No. 4510 (daily), 5407 (weekly), 25 September 1875: *The International Working Men's Association. By an Internationalist*.—92
- The Evening Standard*, August 13, 1874: *The Internationalist snake has been scotched, not killed*...—35
—August 13, 1874: *The Arrest of Communists at Marseilles*.—35
- Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, Nr. 229, 17. August 1875: *Frankfurter Angelegenheiten. Frankfurt, 17. August*.—85
- Freiheit*, Nr. 21, 24. Mai 1879: [On the position of the deputies of the Reichstag

- Social-Democratic group concerning protective tariffs]. In the section *Socialpolitische Rundschau*.—360, 362
- Nr. 35, 30. August 1879: [Review of articles from the first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*]. In the section *Socialpolitische Rundschau*.—383, 386
- Nr. 36, 6. September 1879, Probenummer *Was nun?: Auch eine Denkschrift*.—383, 386
- Nr. 47, 22. November 1879: [Information about Liebknecht's oath]. In the section *Socialpolitische Rundschau*.—425
- Gleichheit*, Nrn. 29, 30, 33; 18., 24. Juli, 14. August 1875: *Karl Marx über Streiks und Arbeiter-Koalitionen*.—99
- Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Erster Jahrgang. Erste Hälfte. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879.—374, 383, 386, 389, 393, 394, 401, 413, 422, 430, 432
- Kölnische Zeitung*, Nr. 249, 7. September 1878.—326
- Il Martello*, 13 gennaio 1877.—199
- Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*. Vol. XVIII, No. 455, London, New York, July 18, 1878: [Agenda of the 51st Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians].—313, 317
- The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 3529. Vol. XXIII, June 10, 1876: *Russian Credit*.—128
- No. 4613, December 4, 1879: *The Czar and His People*.—428
- No. 4617, December 9, 1879: *Kill or Cure for Russian Despotism*.—428
- No. 4618, December 10, 1879: *What Next in Russia*.—428
- No. 4620, December 12, 1879: *The Collapse of Authority in Russia*.—428
- La Plebe*, Num. 1, 7 gennaio 1877: *Tribunali*.—199
- Num. 3, 21 gennaio 1877: [Reply to an article in *Il Martello* of 13 January 1877].—199, 200
- Num. 6, 16 febbraio 1877: [Concerning the reply of the Central Committee of the German-language sections to a letter from the Zurich Section]. In the section *Estero. Germania*.—200
- Num. 7, 26 febbraio 1877: *Congresso socialista di Milano*.—203, 207
- Num. 7, 26 febbraio 1877: [Concerning the first issue of the newspaper *Lavoratore*]. In the section *Estero*.—207
- La République Française*, Nr. 2088, 8 août 1877: *Constantinople, 27 Juinet*.—263
- Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nr. 7, 16. November 1879: *Zur Eröffnung des sächsischen Landtages*.—425
- Nr. 10, 7. Dezember 1879: *Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke*. II.—430
- Der Sprudel*, Nr. 18, 30. August 1874: (*Telegramm des 'Sprudel'*).—37
- The Standard*, No. 16896, September 17, 1878: *The German Parliament. Debate on the Anti-Socialist Bill*.—322, 323, 324
- No. 16897, September 18, 1878: *London, Wednesday, September 18 and The German Parliament. The Anti-Socialists Bill. Speech of Prince Bismarck*.—326
- Die Tagwacht*, Nr. 96, 2. Dezember 1876: [Notice about the forthcoming Congress of Portuguese Socialists on 5 January 1877]. In the section *Socialpolitische Rundschau. Portugal*.—174

- The Times*, Nos. 28104, 28105, 28107, 28108, 28109, September 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 1874: *The Seventh International Working Men's Congress*.—42, 49
 —No. 28956, May 31, 1877: *Peace Rumours and The New French Ministry*.—234
 —No. 29436, December 12, 1878: (*From Our Own Correspondent*.) *The Socialist Movement. Berne, Dec. 11*.—348
- Der Volksstaat*, Nrn. 140, 141, 2., 4. Dezember 1874: *Der Bankgesetz-Entwurf*. (Marked: K-Z).—54, 100
 —Nr. 146, 16. Dezember 1874: *Die Reichsbank oder die Association des Reiches mit dem Kapital*. (Marked: K-Z).—54
 —Nr. 149, 23. Dezember 1874: *Kulturkampf und Parlamentarismus*. In the section *Politische Übersicht*.—54
 —Nrn. 103, 104, 106; 8., 10., 15. September 1875: *Karl Marx über Strikes und Arbeiter-Koalitionen. Der 'Gleichheit' entnommen*.—99
 —Nr. 82, 16. Juli 1876: *Das Begräbniß Bakunin's...* In the section *Politische Übersicht*.—132
 —Nr. 55, 14. Mai 1875: *Ueber den Programmwurf. Stimmen aus der Partei*. (Marked: K-Z).—100
 —Nrn. 68, 82, 18. Juni, 21. Juli 1875: *Ueber die gewerkschaftliche, politische und lokale Agitation*. (Marked: K-Z).—100
 —Nrn. 91, 92, 11., 13. August 1875: *Strikes sind ein Zeichen mangelhafter Organisation der Gewerkschaften*. (Marked: K-Z).—100
- Vorwärts*, Nr. 27, 4. März 1877: [Review of R. Meyer's book *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*].—424
 —Nr. 40, 6. April 1877: *Wieder Einen hat die Nemesis beim Schopfe gepackt!*—246, 440
 —Nr. 67, 10. Juni 1877: *Zum jüngsten Staatsreich des Herrn Mac-Mahon*.—239, 294
 —Nrn. 69, 70, 119-122, 15., 17. Juni, 10., 12., 14., 17. Oktober 1877: *Aus Heuchelland. Stille Beobachtungen eines Berliners in London*.—284, 285
 —Nr. 109, 15. September 1878: *Die Verhaftungen in Paris*. In the section *Sozialpolitische Uebersicht*.—338
- Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue. Prospect*.—283, 285, 362
- Впередь! Двухнедельное обозрѣніе*, № 37, 15 июля 1876: *Бернъ, 4 іюля. Похороны М. А. Бакунина*.—132
- Начало*, № 2, апрель 1878: [Note on the arrests in St Petersburg].—316

INDEX OF PERIODICALS

- Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*—a weekly published in Vienna from 1856 to 1915.—47
- Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—162, 175-76
- Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik. Sozialökonomisches Volksblatt*—a Hungarian socialist weekly, published under this title in Budapest from 1873 to 1890, organ of the Hungarian Social-Democrats; appeared under the title *Arbeiterpresse* from January 1891 to 1894.—157
- L'avant-garde. Organe collectiviste et anarchiste*—a French-language anarchist newspaper, published twice a month in La-Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland) in 1877-78.—348
- Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben*—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; newspaper of the petty-bourgeois democrats in the 1860s.—9, 85
- Berliner Freie Presse*—a German Social-Democratic daily published under this title in Berlin from 1876 to 1878; from the middle of 1876 it appeared under the editorship of Johann Most.—199
- Braunschweiger Volksfreund*—a daily, organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers) published in Brunswick from 1871 to 1878.—245
- Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*—a French-language newspaper of the Swiss anarchists published under the editorship of James Guillaume from 1872 to 1878, at first twice a month, and from July 1873, weekly.—6, 199, 200, 214, 294, 306
- Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a German-language socialist newspaper published in Chicago from 1876 to 1924, three times a week until 1879, then daily.—414
- La Commune*—a democratic daily published in Paris in September-November 1880 under the editorship of Félix Pyat.—440
- The Contemporary Review*—a liberal monthly published in London since 1866.—168-70, 209

- The Daily News*—a liberal newspaper of the British industrial bourgeoisie; it appeared under this title in London from 1846 to 1930.—35, 118, 140, 168-70, 311, 322, 324, 332
- The Daily Telegraph*—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative newspaper, published under this title in London from 1855 to 1937.—176, 328, 331, 340
- Demokratisches Wochenblatt. Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei*—a German workers' newspaper, published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress (1869) it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and renamed *Der Volksstaat*.—65
- The Diplomatic Review*—an English foreign policy journal, published under this title from 1866 to 1877, up to July 1870 as a monthly, then as a quarterly; its publisher was David Urquhart.—158, 167
- Dziennik Polski*—a Polish liberal newspaper, published in Lvov from 1869 to 1914.—103
- The Eastern Post*—an English workers' weekly published in London from 1868 to 1873, organ of the General Council of the International from February 1871 to June 1872.—341
- L'Égalité*—a socialist weekly founded in 1877 by Jules Guesde, organ of the French Workers' Party from 1880 to 1883. It appeared in six series with different sub-titles. The first three series were published weekly (113 issues), the fourth and the fifth series—daily (56 issues). Of the sixth series only one issue appeared (1886).—306, 449
- L'Égalité. Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande*—a French-language weekly, organ of the Romance Federation of the International, published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872.—351
- The Engineer*—an English scientific and technical weekly published from 1856.—12
- Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*—a German popular scientific monthly, published in Hildburghausen from 1865 to 1871.—162
- The Evening Standard*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827; from 1857, it came out as a morning newspaper under the title *The Standard* and from 1860 to 1905 under the titles *The Evening Standard* and *The Standard*.—35
- The Farmer*—an English monthly and later weekly newspaper published under this title from 1865 to 1889; has been appearing under the title *Farmer and Stockbreeder* since 1889.—12
- La Federación. Organo de la Federación de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores*—a Spanish workers' weekly organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International, published in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873; was under the Bakuninists' influence.—6
- Le Figaro*—a French conservative daily published in Paris since 1854. From 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title *Figaro, journal nonpolitiqué*.—36, 268
- The Fortnightly Review*—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine, founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently liberal in character; published under this title in London till 1934.—179, 213

- Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—3, 17, 61, 85, 95, 98, 120, 121, 156, 180, 310, 329, 334, 441
- Fraser's Magazine. For Town and Country*—a literary, popular scientific and political liberal monthly published in London from 1830 to 1882.—80, 92, 415
- Freiheit*—a German-language weekly of the anarchist group of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann; published in London from 1879 to 1882, in Belgium in 1882 and in the USA from 1882 to 1910.—351, 353, 360-63, 365, 383, 398, 411, 417, 433
- Galignani's Messenger*—an English-language newspaper published in Paris from 1814; at first three times a week and then daily; it reprinted excerpts from major English, American and French papers.—268
- Gardener's Chronicle*—see *Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*
- Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*—an agricultural weekly published in London since 1841.—11, 13
- Gazeta Narodowa*—a Polish liberal paper published in Lvov from 1862 to 1914.—103
- La Gazette de Bruxelles*—a French liberal daily published in Brussels.—49
- Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*—a German-language weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees published in London from 1859.—315
- L'Homme Libre*—a petty-bourgeois democratic daily, published in Paris in 1876-77; Louis Blanc was its editor-in-chief.—341, 342
- L'Indépendance belge*—a liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—75, 268
- L'Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*—a weekly organ of the Belgian sections of the International published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; printed documents of the International; took the anarchist stand in 1873.—6
- The International Gazette*—an English-language weekly published in Berlin in 1874.—56
- Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*—a social-reformist magazine published in Zurich in 1879-81 by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter); three issues came out.—374, 383, 386-87, 393, 401-02, 413, 422, 430, 432
- Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944, was conservative in the 1870s-80s.—244, 441
- Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle d'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a liberal monthly published in Paris from 1841 to 1943.—194
- Kalender*—see *Volks-Kalender*
- Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; expressed the interests of the National-Liberal Party in the 1870s.—155, 240, 241, 326, 416

- Königlich privilegierte Bertinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*—a daily published under this title from 1785 to 1911; also called *Vossische Zeitung* after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—252, 312, 317
- The Labor Standard*—a socialist weekly published in New York from 1876 to 1900; Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—306
- La Lanterne*—a radical republican weekly published by Henri Rochefort from 30 May 1868 in Paris and, after it was banned by the Bonapartist authorities, in Brussels (from August 1868 to November 1869), opposed the Second Empire; Rochefort published the second edition of the paper in London in 1874-76.—25, 34
- Die Lanterne*—a Social-Democratic weekly, published by Carl Hirsch in Brussels from 15 December 1878 to 29 June 1879.—388, 395, 398, 399, 401, 412, 414, 417
- The Leisure Hour*—a magazine published under this title in London from 1852 to 1905.—332
- La Liberté. Organe socialiste hebdomadaire*—a democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873 (in 1872-73 daily); from 1867, an organ of the International in Belgium.—6, 259
- Londoner Journal*—a German-language petty-bourgeois paper published in London from 1878 to 1891.—315
- La Marseillaise*—a radical republican weekly published in Paris from 1877 to 1914.—235, 336-40, 342
- Il Martello. Organo del Circolo Operaio di Milano, Giornale democratico socialista degli operai*—an Italian Bakuninist weekly published in Bologna under the editorship of Andrea Costa in January-March 1877.—199
- Messenger de l'Europe*—see *Вѣстникъ Европы*
- Le Mirabeau*—a weekly published in Verviers from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—6
- Morning News*—a Scottish conservative paper.—209
- The Morning Post*—a London conservative daily published from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-nineteenth century it was the organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped around Palmerston.—178
- The National Reformer*—a radical weekly published in London from 1860 to 1893.—341, 342
- Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*—a journal published in London since 1869.—50
- Die Neue Gesellschaft. Monatsschrift für Socialwissenschaft*—a reformist magazine published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880; its editor-in-chief was Franz Wiede.—242, 243, 253, 258, 362, 407, 413
- Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution

- in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); Engels was among its editors.—259, 334
- Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League, founded by Marx and Engels and published by them from December 1849 to November 1850.—49
- Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt für das Volk*—a socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876 to 1883, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg till 1919; its editor was Wilhelm Liebknecht (1876-80); Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—123, 195, 215, 242
- New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; opposed slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—115, 448
- The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—a liberal journal published under this title in London from 1877 to 1900.—328, 335
- Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; semi-official paper of Bismarck's government in the 1860s-80s.—310
- O operário*—a Portuguese socialist paper published in Oporto in the late 1870s and the 1880s.—363
- Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften und Volkswirtschaft*—a conservative Catholic monthly published in Vienna in 1879 and 1880.—369
- The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; conservative in the 1860s and 1870s; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with the paper from July 1870 to June 1871; it published a series of Engels' articles *Notes on the War*.—128, 163, 428
- Paterson Labor Standard*—an American weekly published in Paterson from 1878; from 1899 to 1906 appeared under the title *The National Labor Standard*.—410
- La Plebe. Giornale repubblicano-razionalista-socialista*—an Italian paper published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Lodi (1868-75) and in Milan (1875-83); till the early 1870s—democratic, then socialist paper; in 1872-73 was organ of the Italian sections of the International and supported the General Council.—198-200, 203, 214
- Le Précurseur*—a French-language socialist weekly, organ of the Social-Democrats of Romance Switzerland; published in Geneva from 1877 to 1887 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker.—183, 214, 294, 348-49, 351
- Il Proletario Italiano*—a newspaper published in Turin twice a week from 1871; appeared under the title *Il Proletario* from 1872 to 1874.—184
- O Protesto*—a socialist weekly published in Lisbon from August 1875 to January 1878.—91, 99, 174
- Quiddities and Oddities Journal*.—14

- Le Radical*—a democratic paper published in Paris in 1877.—451
- Le Rappel*—a Left-republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; it was published in Paris from 1869 to 1928.—439
- La République Française*—a bourgeois-radical daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871 to 1924.—235, 251, 263, 341
- La Révolution française*—a newspaper published in Paris in 1876.—445
- Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris from 1829 to 1944.—153, 194
- La Revue socialiste*—a monthly founded by Benoît Malon, at first a socialist republican, then syndicalist and co-operative organ; published in Lyons and Paris from 1880, in Paris from 1885 to 1914; Marx and Engels contributed to it in the 1880s.—431
- Schwäbischer Beobachter*—see *Der Beobachter*
- Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1870s it was moderate republican—235, 441
- Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge*—central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; published weekly in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890; edited by Georg von Vollmar (1879-80) and by Eduard Bernstein (1881-90); Marx and Engels contributed to it.—367, 372, 374, 378, 379, 383, 386, 392-99, 401, 402, 412-13, 417, 420, 421, 422, 425, 430, 431, 433
- The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828; at first liberal, then conservative.—341
- Der Sprudel*—a weekly published in Vienna from 1869 to 1876.—37
- The Standard*—a conservative daily published in London from 1857 to 1916 (see *The Evening Standard*).—255, 277, 322, 324, 326, 327, 339, 340
- Die Tagwacht*—a German-language Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland in 1869-73, later of the Swiss Workers' Union and the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—174
- Le Temps*—a conservative daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; opposed the Second Empire and war with Prussia.—441
- The Times*—a conservative daily published in London since 1785.—42, 49, 67, 234, 266, 268, 277, 329, 340, 352
- Le Travailleur*—a French-language anarchist monthly published in Geneva from May 1877 to May 1878 under the editorship of Nikolai Zhukovsky, Élisée and Éli Reclus and others.—259
- Tribune*—see *New-York Daily Tribune*
- Über Land und Meer*—an illustrated weekly published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—107
- L'Union des Travailleurs*—a workers' monthly published in Geneva in 1873-74, held a reformist stand.—5

- Vanity Fair. A Weekly Show of Political, Social and Literary Wares*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1868 to 1929.—205, 209, 220, 227
- Das Volk*—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor.—175, 176
- Volksfreund*—see *Braunschweiger Volksfreund*
- Volks-Kalender*—a Social-Democratic almanac published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1878; its editor-in-chief and publisher was Wilhelm Bracke.—227, 236, 306
- Der Volksstaat. Organ der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei und Gewerksgenossenschaften*—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week, from July 1873 three times a week) under the general guidance of Wilhelm Liebknecht; August Bebel greatly influenced the paper; it regularly printed articles by Marx and Engels.—7, 30, 41, 54, 55, 58, 61, 94, 103, 118, 123, 127, 132, 154, 155
- Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke*—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897.—411
- Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands*—central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany after the 1876 Gotha Congress; published in Leipzig three times a week from October 1876 to October 1878; Marx and Engels helped its editorial board.—155, 162, 174, 186, 195, 203, 214, 218, 238, 239, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254, 265, 283, 284, 285, 289, 295, 306, 307, 326, 338, 400
- Vossische Zeitung*—see *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*
- Die Wage. Wochenblatt für Politik und Literatur*—a democratic journal published in Berlin under the editorship of Guido Weiß from 1873 to 1879.—88
- Westphälische Volkszeitung*—a daily, organ of the Party of Progress, published in Hagen in the 1860s; its editor-in-chief was Wilhelm Hasenclever (1862-63).—247
- Whitehall Review*—a conservative weekly published in London from 1876 to 1929.—205, 209, 277, 327, 352
- Wiener medizinische Zeitung*—see *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*
- Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue*—a social-reformist review published twice a month from October 1877 to November 1878 in Berlin.—238, 247, 249, 252, 253, 254, 257, 259, 261, 283, 285, 362, 367, 407, 412, 413
- Встникъ Европы. Журналъ историко-политическѣхъ наукъ*—a Russian historical, political and literary journal of liberal trend, published in St Petersburg from 1866 to 1918; from 1868, monthly.—358
- Впередь! Двухмѣсячное обозрѣніе*—a Russian paper published by Pyotr Lavrov in London in 1875-76; printed material on the struggle of the proletariat of different countries.—91, 106, 107, 132, 154, 163
- Впередь! Непериодическое обозрѣніе*—a Russian journal published from 1873 to

1877 at first in Zurich and then in London; five issues appeared; Pyotr Lavrov was its publisher from 1873 to 1876; it printed many articles on the working-class movement in the West and on the activity of the International.—129, 305, 307

Гражданин—a Russian literary and political weekly published in St Petersburg from 1872 to 1914; organ of the nobility.—164

Начало. Органъ русскихъ социалистовъ—the first Narodnik paper in Russia published illegally in St Petersburg from March to May 1878; four issues appeared; the paper strove to unite revolutionaries of different trends.—316

Отечественныя Записки—a Russian literary and political monthly published in St Petersburg from 1839 to 1884.—343

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Alliance of Socialist Democracy—see *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*

Anarchism—63, 351, 434

— in Italy—207

— in Russia—434

— anarchists' congresses—157, 166, 173, 184, 214

See also *Bakuninism*

Apology—304

Armchair socialists—252, 367

Army—271, 428

—French—246

—Romanian—188

—Russian—182, 183, 186-88, 232-33

—Turkish—182, 188, 249, 271

Austria—296-98, 353, 356

See also *Working-class movement in Austria*

Authority

—elimination of superstitious belief in—288

—Bakuninists' congresses—42-43, 48, 157, 166, 173, 184

See also *Anarchism*; *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*; *Socialist Congress in Ghent, 1877*

Belgium—356

See also *Working-class movement in Belgium*

Biology—78

Bonapartism

—Bismarck's—314-15

—in France—23, 30, 57, 235, 246, 294

Bourgeoisie—60, 61, 242-44, 246, 404, 405, 423

—bourgeois liberalism—63

Bourgeoisie, English—183, 298

Bourgeoisie, French—234

Bourgeoisie, German—24, 190, 332, 351, 384

Bourgeoisie, Russian—384

Bourgeois political economy—58, 90, 108, 153, 208, 328, 452

Bulgaria—182

B

Bakuninism—9, 41, 132, 214, 259, 306

—and the *International*—5, 155

—in Belgium—42, 214

—in Italy—35, 155, 184, 214

—in Spain—155, 214

—in Switzerland—183, 200, 214

C

Capital—452

'Capital' by Karl Marx—287, 366

—second German edition of Volume One—58, 276, 282

—second Russian edition of Volume One—343, 346

- French edition of Volume One—
16, 26, 28, 56, 57, 58, 92, 114,
276, 282, 343, 346
—preparation of the second vol-
ume—17-18, 115, 162, 354, 432
—popularisation of its ideas—124,
125, 193, 276, 366
Capitalist mode of production—346, 355-
57, 366
Class(es)—109, 346
—abolition of class distinctions—64
See also *Bourgeoisie*; *Class struggle*;
Peasantry; *Petty bourgeoisie*; *Working
class*
Classical political economy—209, 260-61,
452
Class struggle—108, 366, 384, 402-04,
406-08
Coalitions—99
Communism, Icarian (Cabet's)—99
Communism (social formation)—62-64,
109, 197, 450
Conservative Party (England)—299
*Crimean war, 1853-56 (Paris Treaty,
1856)*—18, 298, 389
Criticism—242, 314, 421
—methods of—107, 109
- D
- Darwinism*—106-08, 313, 316
See also *Struggle for existence*
Democracy
—bourgeois—402, 406
—petty-bourgeois—61, 63, 65
Dialectics—122
Dühring, teaching of—119, 122-23, 130-
31, 139, 186, 256
- E
- Eastern (Oriental) question, the*—118,
122-23, 161, 163, 182, 186, 192, 216,
223, 278
See also *Crimean war, 1853-56*; *Russo-
Turkish war, 1877-78*
Economic crisis—78, 109, 212, 354
—in the 1870s—78, 212, 218, 277,
344, 346, 354-55
Education
—the role of tradition—215
- Eisenachers*—see *German Social-
Democracy*
Engels, Frederick—175, 288
—in the 1870s—50, 122-24, 139-40,
154, 162, 173, 175, 186, 189, 192,
227, 254, 257-59, 295, 306, 313,
361, 362, 378, 383-84, 386, 388,
394, 408, 411-13, 420, 429-32
See also *Party, proletarian, socialist*;
Socialism, scientific; *Working-class
movement*
England (Great Britain)
—economic development—309, 358
—industry—355
—railways—355-56
—banks—354-55
—economic crisis—344, 354
—domestic situation—24, 140, 155,
297, 340
—aristocracy—298
—radicals—157, 339, 360
—democratic movement—155-57,
184, 292
—foreign policy, diplomacy—18,
182, 296-97
See also *Bourgeoisie, English*; *Conser-
vative Party (England)*; *Eastern (Ori-
ental) question, the*; *Liberal Party (Eng-
land)*; *Trades unions in Britain*; *Work-
ing class in England*; *Working-class
movement in England*
Europe
—state system after 1815—297, 299
—danger of war in the 1870s—18,
30, 100-03, 297, 384, 428, 431
- F
- Fleet*
—Turkish—186
France—234, 239, 278, 297
—joint-stock companies—245
—banks—354
—railways—355-56
—before 19th cent.—357-58
—in early 19th cent.—302
—Second Empire—22-23, 233, 239,
278, 293, 294
—domestic situation, attempt at a
monarchist coup—22-24, 30, 233-
35, 245, 246, 278, 294
—peasantry—294

- monarchists (Orleanists)—57
- Bonapartists—22, 30, 57, 235, 246, 294
- bourgeois republicans—239
- See also *Army*—French; *Bourgeoisie, French*; *Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71*; *Working class in France*; *Working-class movement in France*
- Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71*—61, 62, 297, 302, 384
- Freedom*—63, 294, 423

G

- General Association of German Workers*—6-7
- See also *German Social-Democracy*; *Lassalleanism*; *Working-class movement in Germany*
- German People's Party*—61, 69, 95, 97
- German Social-Democracy*—60, 64, 100, 118, 283, 352, 401, 421, 430
- Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers)—60, 69, 97
- critique by Marx and Engels of the draft programme and programme adopted in Gotha (May 1875)—60-66, 69-70, 94-95, 97-98
- Socialist Workers' Party before the introduction of the exceptional law against socialists—117-18, 246, 249, 257, 259, 283-84, 288, 295
- during the operation of the exceptional law against socialists, struggle against reformist and petty-bourgeois socialism—362, 364-65, 367, 373-74, 383-84, 386, 393, 401-08, 412, 413, 418-19, 422, 429-30, 432
- anarchist group of Johann Most—360-63, 365, 383, 411, 433
- party congresses, their functions and resolutions—248, 417-18
- participation in elections to Reichstag—3, 6, 189, 190, 192, 195, 294, 352, 428, 431
- Social-Democratic group in Reichstag, its policy and tactics—309, 325, 360, 399-404, 413-14, 417-18, 423
- internationalism of—61

- press—285, 367, 373, 379, 383-84, 386, 388, 393, 395-96, 400-01, 408, 411-12, 420, 429
- and bourgeois democracy—402, 407
- and petty bourgeoisie—61, 65, 384, 408, 425, 430
- and representatives of other classes—283, 294, 384, 406-08, 412, 419, 425
- and students—283, 294, 384
- and peasantry—195, 425
- anti-war position—61, 62, 387, 389, 431
- See also *Lassalleanism*, *Lassalleans*; *Working-class movement in Germany*
- German Workers' Educational Society in London (1840-1918)*—251, 360, 362, 365, 433
- Germany*—212, 308-09, 408
- industrial revolution, industry—308, 424
- state monopolies—308, 309
- ruin of small-scale production—309, 352
- protectionism—423-24
- economic crisis—353
- domestic policy, domestic situation—24-25, 99, 228, 314-15, 352
- Kulturkampf*—25
- militarism—389
- exceptional law against socialists (Anti-Socialist Law)—322, 323, 332, 349, 364, 389, 401, 428
- peasantry—195
- foreign policy—25, 155, 223, 278, 296, 326, 387
- and Russia—22, 100, 155, 223, 278, 384, 387
- See also *Bonapartism*—Bismarck's; *Bourgeoisie, German*; *German Social-Democracy*; *Petty bourgeoisie, German*; *Prussia*; *Working class in Germany*; *Working-class movement in Germany*

H

- History*—109, 366, 431
- historical development—7
- historical conflicts—406
- Holy Alliance*—298

I

- Industry*—308, 355, 423
International Alliance of Socialist Democracy—172, 199, 200, 214, 257
Internationalism of the working-class movement—61, 173, 259, 405
International Working Men's Association (First International)—40, 41, 114, 154, 184, 408
 —first programme documents—42, 80-81
 —and Paris Commune—41
 —Hague Congress (1872)—18, 41
 —Geneva Congress (1873)—4-6
 —General Council—43-44, 50, 80, 184
 —dissolution of (1876)—184
 —in Austria—30
 —in Belgium—41
 —in England—10, 29, 41
 —in Switzerland—4-5, 173
 —in the USA—8, 18, 43
 See also *Bakuninism*—and the International
Italy—357

J

- Joint-stock companies*—246, 356
Jurassians—see *Bakuninism*

L

- Labour*
 —productive—209
Languages, linguistics—74
Lassalleism, Lassalleans—43, 49, 60, 62, 65, 70, 95, 96, 97, 100, 118, 297, 402, 403, 413
 See also *General Association of German Workers*; *German Social-Democracy*; *Working-class movement in Germany*
Liberal Party (England)—140, 155, 190, 299
Literature
 —German—136
 —Irish—371
 —Russian—137
Loanable capital—356
Logic—122
London—211, 354-55

M

- Malthusianism*—62, 108
Man—109, 365
Marx, Karl—95, 174, 288
 —in the 1870s—64, 122, 189, 205, 258, 275, 276, 383-84, 386, 388, 394, 408, 411-13, 416, 430-31, 447
 —application for British naturalisation—27, 29, 35
 See also '*Capital*' by *Karl Marx*; *Party, proletarian, socialist*; *Socialism, scientific*; *Working-class movement*
Materialism—109, 283, 284, 366
Means of communication—356
Means of production—356
Metaphysics—140
Monarchy
 —absolute—260
Monopolies
 —state—308-09

N

- Narodism (Populism) in Russia*—see *Nihilists*
National question
 —and working class—111, 112
Nature—106-07
Nihilists—100, 387

O

- Officials*—63
Owenism—99, 262

P

- Paris Commune of 1871*—41, 60
Party, proletarian, socialist—257, 294, 373, 418, 424, 450
 —programme of—60-65, 72, 294
 —theoretical discussions—406, 430
 —theory and practice—421
 —criticism of—421
 —congresses, their functions—248, 257, 417-18
 —internationalism of—61-62
 —and trade unions—63
 —press—285, 367, 383, 389, 393, 408, 419, 429

—tactics—60, 69, 154, 373-74, 399
 —and representatives of other
 classes—407-08, 425
 See also *German Social-Democracy*;
Socialism, scientific; *Working-class
 movement*
Peasantry—357-58, 425
People's Party—see *German People's Party*
Periodical, scientific—241, 248, 257
Personality cult—100, 288
Petty bourgeoisie—61, 393, 405-08
Petty bourgeoisie, German—61, 223, 351
Petty-bourgeois socialism—see *Socialism*—
 petty-bourgeois
Philosophy—452
 —German—407
Physiocrats—208-09, 452
Poland (Polish lands)—111, 278, 300
Polish question—111, 112, 186, 278
Political economy—265, 328, 452
 See also *Bourgeois political economy*;
Classical political economy; *Physiocrats*;
Quesnay's Tableau économique; *Vulgar
 political economy*
Production
 —capitalist—108, 357
 —under communism—63, 109
Proudhonism—41, 99
 —in Belgium—42
Prussia—297, 300, 302
 See also *Germany*

Q

Quesnay's Tableau économique—208,
 263-65

R

Railways—355-57
Reform—405, 406, 423
Reformism (in socialist movement)—68,
 242-44, 248-51, 259-60, 283, 373,
 383, 404-06, 412-13
 See also *Socialism*—petty-bourgeois
Rent—209
Reproduction—208
Republic, bourgeois—239
Revolution—64, 366, 408
 —prospects of, in Europe—see *Rus-
 sia*—imminence of revolution, its
 international significance

Revolution of 1848-49—406, 430, 431
Revolution, proletarian, socialist—109,
 366, 404, 407, 450
Russia—100, 167-68, 277, 278, 293,
 357
 —tsarism as a mainstay of European
 reaction—428, 431
 —domestic situation—163, 164, 167,
 190, 210, 234, 277, 293, 357,
 386-87
 —economic crisis—216
 —nobility—384
 —schools, universities—33, 100, 278
 —students—100, 278
 —revolutionary movement, persecu-
 tion by the authorities—35, 53,
 210, 384
 —imminence of revolution, its inter-
 national significance—100, 190,
 192, 242, 277, 280, 295, 296, 351,
 428, 431, 434
 —foreign policy, diplomacy—
 22, 210, 260, 300-01, 326, 387,
 389
 —and Germany—23, 100, 155, 223,
 278, 296, 384, 387
 See also *Army*—Russian; *Bourgeoisie,
 Russian*; *Crimean war, 1853-56*; *East-
 ern (Oriental) question, the*; *Russo-
 Turkish war, 1877-78*

Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29—163, 182,
 243, 300-03

Russo-Turkish war, 1877-78—186, 187,
 190, 221, 228, 232, 233, 234, 236-37,
 239-42, 245, 247, 249-50, 255, 271-
 72, 278, 280, 282, 293-97, 300, 302,
 323, 326, 384

—Berlin treaty of 1878—331

See also *Eastern (Oriental) question,
 the*; *Serbo-Montenegrin-Turkish war,
 1876-77*

S

Science

—freedom of—63

—scientific criticism—313

See also *Periodical, scientific*;
Philosophy; *Political economy*; *Socialism,
 scientific*; *Socialism (theory)*

*Serbo-Montenegrin-Turkish war, 1876-
 77*—130, 140, 296

Slavs—112, 177
Social crisis—297, 298
Socialism, scientific—284, 313, 362, 366, 402, 421, 431
Socialism (theory)
 —pre-Marxian—64, 99
 —utopian—99, 284
 —feudal—99
 —bourgeois—99
 —petty-bourgeois—99, 403-07, 412, 413, 419, 430, 433
 —vulgar—243
 See also *Communism, Icarian* (Cabet's); *Owenism*; *Socialism, scientific*; 'True socialism'
Socialist Congress in Ghent, 1877—258, 277
Society—108
 —bourgeois—108-109, 308
 —primitive—109
 —eastern—236
 —socialist—64, 109, 197, 362, 366
State, the—63-64, 239, 308-09
Strikes—62, 99, 355, 360
Struggle for existence—91, 107-09
Surplus value—209
Switzerland—64, 401
 See also *Working-class movement in Switzerland*
System
 —philosophical—452

T

Theory and practice
 —in the working-class movement—421
Trade (commerce)—357
Trade unions—63
 See also *Trades unions in Britain*
Trades unions in Britain—6, 299, 360
 —and the International—41
 'True socialism'—243, 407
Turkey—120, 123, 182, 188, 214, 216, 232, 234, 236, 240-41, 255, 260, 263, 280, 293, 296-300, 331
 See also *Army—Turkish; Eastern (Oriental) question, the; Fleet—Turkish; Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29; Russo-Turkish war, 1877-78; Serbo-Montenegrin-Turkish war, 1876-77*

U

United States of America, the—18, 212, 251, 344, 356-58
 See also *Working-class movement in the USA*
US Civil War, 1861-65—344, 357

V

Value
 —theory of—260-61
Vienna Congress of 1814-15—297, 298
Vulgar political economy—260-61, 328

W

Wages—62, 90
 —Lassalleian 'iron law of wages'—62, 65, 97
War(s)
 —danger of war in Europe—18, 30, 100-03, 297, 384, 428, 431
 See also *Russo-Turkish war, 1877-78; Serbo-Montenegrin-Turkish war, 1876-77*
Women's question, women's movement—198, 256
Working class—64, 408, 423
 —significance of trade amalgamations—63
 —and national question—111, 112
 See also *Internationalism of the working-class movement; Party, proletarian, socialist; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working-class movement*
Working class in England—299, 339-42
 See also *Working-class movement in England*
Working class in France—234, 239, 294
 See also *Working-class movement in France*
Working class in Germany—6, 61-63
 See also *Working-class movement in Germany*
Working-class movement
 —internationalism of—61, 173, 259, 405
 —struggle for democratic rights—see *Working-class movement in Bel-*

- gium; *Working-class movement in France*; *Working-class movement in Germany*
- struggle against militarism, annexations and wars—61, 62, 387, 389, 451
 - and representatives of other classes—407, 408
 - in 1849-64—41-42
- See also *International Working Men's Association*; *Party, proletarian, socialist*; *Reformism* (in socialist movement); *Socialist Congress in Ghent, 1877*
- Working-class movement in Austria*—6, 17, 30
- See also *International Working Men's Association*—in Austria
- Working-class movement in Belgium*—30, 156, 184, 199, 214
- See also *Bakuninism*—in Belgium; *International Working Men's Association*—in Belgium
- Working-class movement in Bohemia*—30
- Working-class movement in Denmark*—41, 121
- Working-class movement in England*—6, 17, 29, 41, 156, 157, 184, 360
- See also *International Working Men's Association*—in England; *Trades unions in Britain*
- Working-class movement in France*—18, 26, 29-30, 239, 258, 294, 363, 422
- Working-class movement in Germany*—17, 40, 43, 61, 63, 100, 223
- See also *German Social-Democracy*; *Lassalleism, Lassalleans*
- Working-class movement in Hungary*—157
- Working-class movement in Italy*—30, 41, 155, 184, 200, 203, 214
- See also *Bakuninism*—in Italy
- Working-class movement in Portugal*—91, 99, 173-74
- Working-class movement in Spain*—30, 41, 154, 184, 214
- See also *Bakuninism*—in Spain
- Working-class movement in Switzerland*—183, 214, 294-95, 306
- See also *Bakuninism*—in Switzerland; *International Working Men's Association*—in Switzerland
- Working-class movement in the USA*—8, 18, 251, 255