Dear Hans,

I am not at all sure whether I am doing the right thing in sending you a letter with Fabricius. What assurance have I that this man won’t be nabbed at the border, since he is letting people here burden him with a veritable valiseful of letters?

As your proposed American plan—Engels may have already written to you about this—a has come to naught, you will have no alternative but to come and reinforce us here. Something might even turn up that would enable us to collaborate—for payment, of course, car il faut vivre.

I have now heard from a reliable source that betrayal and denunciation are playing a part in the arrests of our friends. I am morally convinced that Messrs Willich and Schapper and their good-for-nothing pack of rascally curs are directly taking part in this infamy. You will appreciate how important it is to these ‘great men’ in partibus to remove such people in Germany as they believe to be directly in the way of their accession to the throne. The jackasses fail to comprehend that we regard them as jackasses and accord them at best our disdain.

Despite his respectably high-minded, broth-without-bread, non-commissioned officer’s moral hypocrisy, Willich is a thoroughly common, mark well, thoroughly common chevalier d’industrie, pillier d’estaminet and—or so I am told by a respectable philistine, though I cannot myself vouch for it—also cardsharper. The lad loafs around all day at the pub, a democratic pub, naturally, where he drinks gratis, bringing customers in lieu of payment and entertaining them with his stereotyped phrases about a future revolution in which the chevalier himself no longer believes, so often has he reiterated them under such widely disparate circumstances, and always with the same result. The fellow is a parasite of the basest kind—invariably, of course, under patriotic pretences.

See this volume, p. 373. for one has to live in partibus infidelium—in parts inhabited by infidels. Here: abroad, far from the fray—adventurer, pillar of the taproom.
All this individual’s communism amounts to a determination to tread the primrose path, always at the public expense, in communion with other footloose chevaliers. This man’s activities consist solely in gossiping and lying about us in pubs, and boasting of connections in Germany which, though non-existent, are nevertheless taken for gospel by the Central clown A. Ruge, the ideological boor Heinzen and by the stagey, coquetish, theologising belletrist Kinkel, connections of which he also boasts to the French.

Apropos, while this last-named sanctimonious Adonis runs off his legs in bourgeois cercles, permitting himself to be fed, cosseted, etc., etc., by them, he associates secretly and illicitly with Schapper and Willich in order to keep in touch with the ‘Workers’ Party’ as well. This lad would greatly like to be all things to all men. In every respect he bears a most striking resemblance to Frederick William IV who is nothing more than a Kinkel enthroned and is afflicted with the same rhetorical leucorrhoea.

Were you to ask me how you are to subsist here, my answer would be: follow in the footsteps of the doughty Willich. He sows not neither does he reap, and yet the heavenly Father feeds him.\(^a\)

But now au sérieux! If living in Germany is becoming too dangerous for you, it might be good for you to come here. If you could remain in Germany unmolested, that would, of course, be preferable, since it’s more useful to have people there than here.

Your
K. M.

Apropos, Britain’s overseas trade amounts to at least $\frac{1}{3}$ of its entire trade—more, since the repeal of the corn duties.\(^b\) There is, by the by, no sense at all in Mr Christ’s arguments.\(^b\) Pinto\(^c\) has already pointed out that, if $\frac{10}{10}$ are necessary to something, the final $\frac{1}{10}$ is as important as the previous $\frac{9}{10}$. Granted that Britain’s overseas trade amounts to only $\frac{1}{4}$ (which is wrong), there can be no doubt that without that, the other $\frac{3}{4}$ would not exist, and still less the $\frac{4}{4}$ which alone can produce the numeral 1.

\(^a\) Matthew 6:26. \(^b\) The original has: Christmann. Marx refers to A. Christ, Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Frage der Schutzzölle. \(^c\) I. Pinto, Traité de la circulation et du crédit.
The democrats have long been accustomed to miss no opportunity of compromising themselves, making themselves ridiculous, and risking their own skins. But never has the impotence of the *infiniment petits* succeeded in demonstrating itself so strikingly as in the paper which the local Central democrats—Ruge, Haug, Ronge, etc.—are bringing out. Under the presumptuous title *Der Kosmos* (or *Das Kosmos* as Freiligrath aptly calls it) there appears a weekly scrawl the like of which, in its brazen and insipid insignificance, the German language—and that is saying a great deal—has never, perhaps, produced before. Not even one of little-German democratic parish magazines has ever brought forth such evil-smelling wind as this.

It would perhaps be as well if things were to remain quiet for a few years yet, so that all this 1848 democracy has time to moulder away. Untalented as our governments may be, they are veritable *lumina mundi* as compared with these bumptious mediocre jackasses.

Adieu!

I am usually at the British Museum from 9 in the morning until 7 in the evening. The material I am working on is so damnably involved that, no matter how I exert myself, I shall not finish for another 6-8 weeks. There are, moreover, constant interruptions of a practical kind, inevitable in the wretched circumstances in which we are vegetating here. But for all that, for all that, the thing is rapidly approaching completion. There comes a time when one has forcibly to break off. The democratic *simpletons* to whom inspiration comes ‘from above’ need not, of course, exert themselves thus. Why should these people, born under a lucky star, bother their heads with economic and historical material? It’s really all so simple, as the doughty Willich used to tell me. All so simple to these addled brains!—Ultra-simple fellows!

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*a* infinitely small (an expression used by P.-J. Béranger to describe the men of the Restoration in France, see present edition, Vol. 5, p. 514)  
*b* Freiligrath apparently used the neutral instead of masculine gender to stress the amorphous and shallow character of this publication.  
*c* lights of the world  
*d* F. Freiligrath, ‘Trotz alladem!’
Dear Marx,

After trailing around here for a week with my old man, I have happily sent him on his way again and today am at last able to send you the enclosed Post Office Order for 5 pounds. On the whole I can declare myself satisfied with the results of my encounter with the old man. He will need me here for three years at least, and I have entered into no long-term obligations, not even for 3 years, nor was I asked for any, either with regard to my writing, or to my staying here in case of a revolution.

This last would appear to be far from his mind, so secure do these people now feel! On the other hand, I stipulated at the very start what my expense and entertainment allowance was to be—approx. £200 a year, which was agreed without over-much difficulty. With such a salary, all should be well, and if there are no ructions before the next balance sheet and if business prospers here, he'll have quite a different bill to foot—even this year I'll exceed the two hundred pounds by far. Moreover, he has acquainted me with every aspect of his business, both here and over there and, since business has been very good and he is now more than twice as wealthy as he was in 1837, it goes without saying that I shan't be needlessly scrupulous.

Besides, the old man is artful enough, too. His plan, which, however, can only be executed very gradually and laboriously and, indeed, is unlikely to go through on account of the trouble with the Ermens, is that Peter Ermen should be moved to Liverpool, as he himself wishes, and that I should be left solely responsible for the office here—G. Ermen would then look after the mill. Thus I would be completely tied down. I, of course, feigned modesty, claiming that this was beyond my capabilities. Had my old man stayed here a few days longer, however, we'd have been at each other's throats; good fortune seems to upset the chap; he gets
above himself, reverts to his old schoolmasterly habits and becomes provocative. What’s more, he’s so stupid and tactless that, on the last day of his visit, for example, he sought to take advantage of the presence of one of the Ermens, before whom I thought I would keep my mouth shut and behave myself, to indulge himself at my expense by intoning a dithyramb in praise of Prussia’s institutions. A word or two and a furious look were, of course, enough to bring him back to heel, but also just enough to place us suddenly on a less cordial footing—just at the moment of parting—and I can be quite sure that, one way or another, he will seek to avenge himself for this check. *Nous allons voir.* So long as the affair has no immediate, practical repercussions, i.e. on my financial situation, a dispassionate business relationship is obviously preferable to any kind of emotional humbug.

*Ceci entre nous.*

The *Kölner Zeitung* hasn’t been seen here since the beginning of July, perhaps because the subscription has been allowed to lapse, so I don’t know whether anything further has happened. If you have any news, do pass it on to me. I shall at long last be able to start working properly again, now that the interruptions caused by the Exhibition are more or less over and the Athenaeum catalogue is finally complete. It is also my intention to move out into the country soon, so that I shall be completely undisturbed. Since I shan’t see my old man within the year, I can arrange things to suit myself and use the expense allowance largely for other purposes.

Give my regards to your wife and write soon,

Your

F. E.
Dear Dronke,

You have heard nothing from us for some considerable time—firstly because, since Galeer’s death, we haven’t had any address, and then because, after you had given us Schuster’s address, news reached us that you yourself would soon be coming to England. But, since Lupus has now been in London for almost a month and we have heard nothing from you, we can only suppose that you will be remaining where you are for the time being.

You will have been informed of the happenings in London last autumn. What you did not hear from this quarter you will have seen in the documents published since then. So to put you au fait I need only tell you about a few of the things that have happened in the meantime.

As I have been stuck here in Manchester since Nov. ’50 and as Marx speaks little English, our connection with Harney and the Chartists was making little or no headway. This was exploited by Schapper, Willich, L. Blanc, Barthélemy, etc.,—in short, the whole Franco-German caboodle, displeased on the one hand with us and on the other with the Ledru-Mazzini Committee—to get Harney involved in a banquet planned for 24 February; in this they succeeded. During that banquet the following curious things happened:

1. Two of our people who were present, one of them Schramm, were thrown out by the German refugee rabble—the thing took a serious turn and legal proceedings might have ensued had we not been able to settle it well enough to satisfy the injured parties; on the other hand it led—momentarily—to somewhat strained relations with Harney, who showed weakness on that occasion. Jones, however, a fellow quite unlike Harney, is wholly on our side and is at present expounding the Manifesto to the English.

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a Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper. b K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.
2. Mr Willich, for want of an address from Germany, read out one from Switzerland, beneath which was your signature among others. By what deception or forgery your name found its way onto such a document we here cannot of course know; at all events, you must duly investigate the matter, and let us have the necessary information. The address, by the way, is printed in the *compte rendu* of the banquet with your name under it, and you can imagine the glee occasion by the name of someone from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appearing at its foot.

3. The business of Blanqui's toast. As a professed Blanquist, Barthélémy transmitted a request to Blanqui for a toast and Blanqui obliged with a splendid attack on the entire prov. government, Blanc and Co. included. Thunderstruck, Barthélémy laid it before the Committee, who resolved to suppress it. Blanqui, however, knew his men, the toast was published in the Paris papers to coincide with the banquet and quite spoiled the dramatic effect. That pious little swindler, L. Blanc, now asserted in *The Times*, as did the Committee—Willich, Schapper, L. Blanc, Barthélémy, Vidil, etc.—in the *Patrie*, that they knew nothing whatever about the toast. The *Patrie*, however, added the comment that, in reply to their inquiries, Blanqui's brother-in-law, Antoine, had told them he had sent the toast to Mr Barthélémy and was in possession of an acknowledgment from the latter—one of the co-signatories of the statement. Barthélémy thereupon declared that this was so, that he accepted full responsibility, had lied, had received the toast but, in the interests of concord, had suppressed it. Unfortunately, however, the ex-*capitaine de dragons* Vidil simultaneously declared that he wished to confess everything: the toast had been submitted by Barthélémy to the Committee and suppressed by a resolution of the latter. Can one imagine a more horrid fiasco for the whole band? We translated the toast into German and had 30,000 copies distributed in Germany and England.

During the November mobilisation Willich, transported to the height of ecstasy by bogus letters, wanted to revolutionise the

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\(^{a}\) account - \(^{b}\) 'Toste envoyé par le citoyen L. A. Blanqui à la commission près les réfugiés de Londres, pour le banquet anniversaire du 24 février', *La Patrie*, No. 58, 27 February 1851. - \(^{c}\) L. Blanc, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 20741, 5 March 1851; ['La déclaration de la commission du Banquet des Egaux du 1 mars 1851'], *La Patrie*, No. 66, 7 March 1851. - \(^{d}\) E. Barthélémy, 'Au rédacteur en chef du journal *La Patrie*', *La Patrie*, No. 71, 12 March 1851. - \(^{e}\) J. Vidil, ['Letter to the editors of *La Patrie*] *La Patrie*, No. 69, 10 March 1851. - \(^{f}\) K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Introduction to the Leaflet of L. A. Blanqui's Toast Sent to the Refugee Committee'.

world with the Prussian *Landwehr*.\(^3\) We have in our hands some exceedingly comical documents and revolutionary plans relating to this.\(^a\) They will be put to use in due course. First and foremost, all 'quill-pushing elements' were to be extirpated, root and branch, and the dictatorship of the mobilised Eifel peasants proclaimed. *Malheureusement il n’en fut rien.*\(^b\)

Since then the associated great men, amidst mutual assurances of power and immortality, have been fruitlessly attempting to gain a footing somewhere. All in vain. And they have the gratification of knowing that, of all the house searches and arrests that have taken place in Germany, not one has been due to connections with themselves.

We, on the other hand, have the satisfaction of being rid of the entire loud-mouthed, muddle-headed, impotent émigré rabble in London, and of being at long last able to work again undisturbed. The innumerable private iniquities of that gang need not concern us. We have always been superior to the riff-raff and, in any serious movement, have dominated them; but we have, meanwhile, learnt an enormous amount from our experiences since 1848, and have made good use of the lull since 1850 to resume our swotting. If anything should blow up again, the advantage we shall have over them will this time be of quite a different order, and in fields, furthermore, of which they have small inkling. Apart from all that, we have the enormous advantage that, unlike us, they are place-seekers to a man. It is beyond comprehension that there should still be jackasses whose supreme ambition, after the experiences they have been through, is to join some government or other, *le lendemain même de la première insurrection victorieuse*\(^c\)—as they call revolution—only to be spurned or thrown out in disgrace 4 weeks later, as were Blanc and Flocon in 1848! And a Schapper-Gebert-Meyen-Haude-Willich government to boot! Alas, the poor devils will never achieve this satisfaction; they will, alas, revert to being mere appendages and, as such, may continue to sow confusion in the small towns and among the peasantry.

What are you actually doing in Geneva? They say you are a husband and a father, and that you are also on very friendly terms with Moses\(^d\)—with an eye to Mrs Moses.\(^e\) Others have it that all this is sheer calumny but—at a distance of 10 degrees of latitude—that would be difficult to judge. Freiligrath, too, is in London and is bringing out a new volume of poetry. Weerth is in

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 320.  
\(^{b}\) Unfortunately, nothing came of it.  
\(^{c}\) On the very Morrow of the first victorious insurrection.  
\(^{d}\) Hess  
\(^{e}\) Sibylle Hess
Hamburg and, like myself, is writing business letters pending the next set-to. He brought nothing back from his travels in Spain, not even the clap. He is, by the way, coming to London this month. Red Wolff has gone through various phases of being an Irishman, a worthy bourgeois, a madman and other interesting states, and has completely abandoned Schnaps in favour of HALF-AND-HALF. Père Marx goes daily to the library and is adding amazingly to his knowledge—but also to his family. Finally, as to myself, I drink rum and water, swot and spend my time 'twixt TWIST and tedium. So much for the Personal Column.

Since we over here have been compelled by the arrests in Germany to provide in many respects for the re-establishment of contacts, and to resume responsibility for much of the work we had delegated, it is essential that you write and tell us as soon as possible how things are in Switzerland. Reply at once, therefore, and should you want further elucidation, let us know upon what points. Write to me—CARE OF MESSRS Ermen & Engels, Manchester—via Calais.

Your

F. Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 July 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have put off writing from day to day so as to send you complete the documents communicated below. But as they won't be complete for several days, I am writing today so as not to keep you waiting any longer for an answer.

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a Ferdinand Wolff
D'abord. From your letter it would seem that, during your old man's visit to Manchester, you did not hear that a second document had appeared in the Kölnische Zeitung under the heading 'Der Bund der Kommunisten'. This was the piece we wrote jointly, 'Ansprache an den Bund'—au fond, nothing less than a plan of campaign against democracy. From one point of view its publication was desirable, unlike Bürgers' document, of which the form was absurd, plus ou moins, and the content not very reassuring. On the other hand, certain passages will make the present prisoners' position more difficult.

From Louis Schulz in Cologne I have heard that Bürgers writes most dolefully from Dresden. On the other hand it is generally believed in Cologne that Daniels will be released, since there is nothing against him, and all the wailers in the Holy City have reacted in his favour. Naturally they consider him to be incapable of such 'foolery'.

Miquel has written from Göttingen. Has been subjected to several house searches. Nothing was found. Wasn't locked up. Five new emissaries—GENTLEMEN—have left Göttingen for Berlin, etc. The persecution of the Jews has, of course, stimulated both zeal and interest.

The funniest thing is that that fatuous sheet, the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, attributes paternity of our document to Messrs Mazzini and Ruge, beats its breast over and over again and can find no better way of expressing its shock at the enormity than by crying at intervals, 'Madness! Madness! Madness!'

The Trier'sche Zeitung—i.e. K. Grün—has, of course, climbed onto its high horse and used the first document to prove the material, and the second, the 'intellectual' impotence of the party. Needless to say, neither the stock phrases of the friends of light nor the most extreme 'anarchist' catch-words are wanting. Everything to be done from above! Police state! All dissenters literally to be proscribed and expelled. Mon Dieu! That really is the limit.

Now for the local storms—which customarily take place in a tea-cup.

First. Father Willich has bolted from the barracks—the demise

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a First of all. - b 'Der Communisten-Bund', Kölnische Zeitung, No. 156, 1 July 1851, supplement. - c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', March 1850. - d basically - e more or less - f The original has: Schüler. - g 'Der Communistenbund', Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 186, 5 July 1851, supplement. - h 'Eine Polizei-Ente?', Trier'sche Zeitung, No. 158, 6 July 1851.
of which, it seems, has been decided—and has become deeply involved in squabbles with most of his bodyguard.

Second. The great Fickler has arrived here. A few days before he came to England he was in Strassburg with Lupus. Liebknecht has long been an intimate of his. Both, therefore, went to see him on 5 July. He chatted away most affably, spoke of the need for reconciling the parties, etc. Then they were joined by the great A. Goegg. He called Willich a 'mere fantasist', Schapper a 'disgusting character'—having several times heard the fellows blustering in the Windmill, he had disassociated himself from them and hadn't darkened their door again. Fickler and Goegg inveighed with exceptional vigour against the great Kinkel, who here plays the role of happy parvenu, thus bringing down on his head the ire of the other great men. Ruge, on the other hand, was regarded as a kind of luminary.3

Fickler asked for my address and Lupus and Liebknecht departed, duped by the worthies and their striving for 'concord'.

A few days later Freiligrath sent me the following letter which he had received:

4 Brunswick Place, North Brighton,
4 July 1851

Dear Freiligrath,

We are planning a kind of club or society which does away with the privacy of such organisations and excludes no one from the revolutionary social democratic party save him who desires to be exclusive or is debarred by his own character and antecedents.

Fickler, Goegg, Sigel, Ronge and Ruge are promoting the affair and I have undertaken to inform you, and to invite you if, as I suppose, you are interested, to a meeting to be held for this purpose on 14 July (Monday week) at 11 in the morning at Fickler's lodgings, 26 York Buildings, which form part of New Road b at the lower end of Baker Street. We have invited about 24 people whom we know to be reliable and to have remained true. At present we know of no more.

I would have liked to talk to you. If the plan comes off, this will be possible in any case. Even if you are not going to remain in London, you still ought to come.

With regards and a handshake.

Your
A. Ruge

Qu'en dis-tu? c

Freiligrath has made the great mistake of not sending off his answer until yesterday, 12 July, so that Ruge won't even get it

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a luminary  b Now Marylebone Road  c What do you make of that?
before leaving Brighton for London. Freiligrath was altogether too lackadaisical over the matter. *Mais enfin chacun a sa manière d'agir.* Lupus, to whom I communicated the letter, immediately wrote to Fickler:

10 July 1851

Citizen Fickler,

On the 5th of this month Liebknecht and I came to visit you. From the manner in which you addressed us, I could not possibly have inferred that only the previous day the following letter had been sent to Freiligrath. (The above letter follows.)

If, on the 5th of this month, I had so much as remotely suspected that such a connection existed between yourself and A. Ruge, that fatuous, insolent, rascal-lion, I would certainly not have set foot inside your lodgings.

Since I perceive from the above, however, that you consort with a person *‘who is debarred by his own character and antecedents’* (e.g. by his own cowardly flight from Berlin, etc.) from any truly revolutionary party, and who has already been sent to Coventry by the whole communist party in Germany, I would hereby inform you that I neither will nor can have anything to do with people who move so intimately within the orbit of an individual such as Ruge.

W. Wolff

3 Broad Street, Golden Square

P.S. You can make whatever use you like of this note. I for my part shall bring it to the notice of my comrades in the party.

The above

To this Lupus received the following answer:

London, 11 July 1851

Dear Citizen Wolff,

So feeble indeed are my powers of prescience that they never remotely led me to fear the loss of your goodwill and of your company, should I associate with that ‘rascal-lion’ Ruge.—More, I was not even aware of being subject in this respect to the tutelage of one section of the party and to police rule by the men of the future. It is to this want of percipience as also to what I have learned in twenty years of political activity, namely that there is not one political party able to avoid co-operating with rascal-lions—that I owe my resolve to offer my hand to any qualified man desirous of treading the same revolutionary path as myself;—whether he goes no more than half way to the goal I have set myself;—whether he accompanies me all the way there, or whether he continues beyond it.

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*a But after all, everyone has his own way of doing things.*
Anathemas, whether political or religious, are anachronisms, even if emanating from Emperor or Pope; — how infinitely more ridiculous do they appear when hurled by the kinglets and popelets of a party which, to judge by public avowals, is as inconsistent as your own, and which today transforms into ‘rapscallions’ those in its own midst to whom only yesterday it accorded almost divine honours!

In the course of my life I have encountered disproportionately more ‘rapscallions’ than upright people, and have been disproportionately less deceived by the former than by the latter. I therefore waste no time in drawing distinctions of this kind, but rather look for those qualities which may be put to use in the most diverse ways.

Should you desire, therefore, together with Marx and Liebknecht—whom I would beg you to inform—to take part in the said ‘meeting’, I hereby invite you to it, only pointing out that it will be no more than a preliminary discussion and that the chief disadvantage for you, as for half the company in general, will probably be the absence of accommodation for the grosser portions of the anatomy—a fact which, however, should contribute materially to expediting the proceedings.

With warm regards

Yours
Fickler, etc.

The most comical thing about the whole business is and will remain the unending efforts of Ruge and his clique to thrust themselves on the public by constantly changing the combination. If it doesn’t work as ABCDEF, it will assuredly do so as FEDCBA. Just try calculating how many variations and permutations of this kind are possible. Has there ever been a more impotent, ludicrously pretentious clique of barren jackasses?

Your
K. M.

Apropos, have received the 5 pounds. They arrived like a deus ex machina, for circumstances are ‘orrible’, and it’s hard to see how to extricate oneself. Write direct to Klose (6 Upper Rupert Street, near Princes Street, Soho), since the jackass will otherwise think that the letter he addressed to you, the one about the £10, remember? hasn’t reached you.

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\(^a\) a god from the machine (by which in ancient theatre gods were shown in the air); a power or an event that comes in the nick of time to solve difficulty.
Dear Engels,

Be so kind as to post enclosed letter for Schulz in Manchester without delay.

Herewith you will find Freiligrath's letter to Ruge, which I would ask you to return, and Bermbach's letter to me. Also a letter from Miquel.

A certain 'Ulmer', a shoemaker, fled from Cologne at the time of the recent house searches. He gave a Straubinger at Schärtner's a letter to take to his relations. Immediately afterwards this Straubinger was caught with the letter at the Dutch border. The only people to be compromised by this are those who set him free. So well organised are the police at the Schärttnner place.

Weydemeyer has got across the border. We are expecting him here.

That wretched pair, Heinzen and Ruge, claim to have received all kinds of stupid tittle-tattle about the events in Cologne, allegedly from Germany. To judge by the total inaccuracy of the contents they are acting as their own correspondents.

Let me hear from you soon.

Your

K. M.

P.S. It has just occurred to me that it would be better if you were to send the letter to Bermbach yourself. On the outside namely: Louis Schulz, 2 Schildergasse, Cologne. Inside, the sealed letter to Bermbach. Of course you will see to it that the inside address is quite invisible, and seal the letter as a merchant does.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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Dear Marx,

I’ll write to Klose this very day\(^4\) — I’m glad you included his address, which I hadn’t got.

That you’re in a pretty tight corner, I can readily conceive, and this is all the more vexatious as I shan’t be able to lay my hands on another centime until the beginning of next month. If you can’t wait so long, could it not be arranged for Weerth to advance you something until then? I can repay £5 on 1 August, and another £5 on 1 September, and that is as safe as cash.

The newspaper subscriptions here are at last in order again, and thus I have at last set eyes on our old document\(^a\) in the Kölnische Zeitung. By the way, in an otherwise apparently well-informed article entitled ‘Dresden’, the Augsburg paper relates that, as a result of browbeating during interrogation, Nothjung eventually made the most sweeping confessions.\(^b\) However, I think it more than probable that skilled interrogators can soon corner him and get him embroiled in the wildest contradictions. A Prussian official is said to have gone there to squeeze still more out of him. Apparently the King of Hanover\(^c\) has refused to engage in persecution in his domains, at least in the crude manner usual in Prussia, Hamburg, etc., etc. Miquel’s letter seems to bear this out.

As you know, Martens has been arrested in Hamburg.\(^4\) Incidentally, nowhere has the stupidity of the Prussians been more in evidence than during the house search at Carl am Rhein’s, who was also suspected of belonging to the Communist League, and was found to have only letters from Raveaux!

The only passage in the old document that could harm the arrested men is the one about ‘excesses’,\(^4\) all the rest is directed against the democrats and would aggravate their position only if they were to appear before a semi-democratic jury; but it seems

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\(^a\) K. Marx and F. Engels, ‘Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850’. \(^b\) ‘Noch umfassendere Haussuchungen in Aussicht. Umfassende Geständnisse des Schneider Nothjung’, Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 189, 8 July 1851 (a report from Leipzig with reference to the Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger). \(^c\) Ernst August
likely that, if they come before a jury at all, it will be a hand-picked special, or federal, jury. And even these matters had been largely restated in the Bürgers document, which was seized at the very start. In all other respects, however, it is of enormous advantage that the thing has been published and has appeared in all the newspapers. It will tremendously encourage the mute, isolated groups of aspiring communists of which one knows nothing and which, to judge by past experience, must exist all over Germany, and even the article in the Augsburg paper betrays that the thing has affected it in quite a different way from the first disclosures. Its arrangement of the material shows that it has understood the 'madness' only too well—en effet il n'y avait pas moyen de s'y méprendre."

Moreover, so madly and recklessly is feudal reaction galloping into the fray that the bogy that had been raised is not having the slightest effect on the bourgeoisie. It is too amusing to see how the Kölnische Zeitung daily preaches that il faut passer par la mer rouge and admits all the mistakes made by the Constitutionalists of 1848. But in truth, with a Kleist-Retzow as Oberpräsident in Coblenz and with the impertinent Kreuz-Zeitung's flat jokes and doggerel becoming ever more insulting, what can the cultured and sober constitutional opposition do? It's a pity we don't have the Kreuz-Zeitung over here. I see sundry excerpts from it. You can have no conception of the excessively vulgar, guttersnipeish, cretinously Prussian manner in which that rag is now belabouring the decent, well-to-do and respectable constitutional bigwigs. If fellows such as Beckerath and Co. possessed even so much as an ounce of self-respect and resilience, they would be bound to prefer the maltreatment and abuse of a Père Duchesne, in the rude Rhenish manner and the entire terreur rouge, to the treatment they have to endure daily at the hands of the Junkers and the Kreuz-Zeitung.

Then spake the donkey: 'Furthermore Wesel has a councillor. And were I not a moke,' quoth he, 'A Wesel councillor I'd be'—such are the witty verses with which the Kreuz-Zeitung is now bespattering each of the great constitutional figures seriatim and

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*indeed, there could be no mistake about it. The Red Sea must be crossed (see Exodus 13:18; 15:22). - *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - red terror - *Kreistags-Lieder, II*, Neue Preussische Zeitung, No. 137, 17 June 1851. (In the original the rhyme is based on the words 'Esel' (donkey) and 'Wesel', the name of the councillor.)
the fellows meekly put up with it. But it serves these dogs right, who once decried the best articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as 'vulgar abuse', to have the difference knocked into their cowardly skulls. They will look back nostalgically to what was, by comparison, the infinitely Attic raillery of the *N.Rh.Z.*

The Willich business¹ is like a ray of sunshine on a cloudy day. So the 'most popular of men' has reached the zenith of his popularity and may now, as unrecognised saviour of humanity, console himself for the world's ingratitude with a pot of beer and Schapper's friendship. I can imagine his distress, now that the army of the future, the 'nucleus' round which the whole of Europe was to gather, has been destroyed. Where will the noble fellow find his new 'men of principle'?

I can't quite make sense of the Fickler business.² Why did Lupus go straight to Fickler instead of first getting Liebknecht to take soundings, *puisque celui-ce n'aurait compromis que lui-même*? It looks as though they were trying to win Fickler over. And then, after Lupus had been there, his letter was altogether too brutal. Either it was not worth taking any trouble at all with Fickler, or—after Ruge had been set up as a kind of *lumen*³ during the actual conversation that took place between Fickler and Goegg—it would have been enough to break with him without doing it so thoroughly and brutally. It was a mean trick on Fickler's part, *c'est clair,*⁴ but should it not have been assumed from the outset that South German worthies are capable of such things? And he had certainly made no secret of his respect for Ruge. Ruge's importunity is, of course, unspeakable. But these ever new variations are in themselves proof enough that not one of them can have any appeal whatsoever, and that the 'comité allemand'⁵ to which Mazzini sends his Roman Epistles⁶ is still no more than a figment of Ruge's imagination.

See to it that Weerth comes here, and write again soon.

Your

F. E.

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¹ See this volume, p. 385.  
² ibid.  
³ since the latter would have compromised no one but himself.  
⁴ luminary  
⁵ that's clear  
⁶ the German Committee (i.e. the Committee for German Affairs)  
⁷ An ironical comparison of Mazzini's appeal to the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans (New Testament).
Dear Marx,

I return the documents herewith. I like the letter from Miquel. The fellow does at least think, and would assuredly turn out very well if he were to spend some time abroad. His fears concerning the ill-effects of our document, now published, on the democrats are without doubt perfectly correct as regards his own district; this primitive, Lower Saxon, middle peasant democracy, whose arse the Kölnische Zeitung has recently been licking and to whom it has offered an alliance, is just what one might expect and is greatly inferior to the philistine democracy of the larger towns by which, after all, it is dominated. And this humdrum, petty-bourgeois democracy, although obviously much piqued by the document, is itself so pinched and oppressed that it is far more likely, in common with the big bourgeoisie, to come round to the necessity of passer par la mer rouge. The fellows will increasingly resign themselves to the need for a short reign of terror by the proletariat—it can't, of course, last very long, for so nonsensical, indeed, is the actual tenor of the document that there can be no question of permanent rule by such people or of the eventual implementation of such principles! On the other hand the Hanoverian big and middle peasant, who has nothing but his land, and whose house, farm, barn, etc., are exposed, with the prospective ruin of all the assurance companies, to every kind of peril, and who in any case, since the accession of Ernst August, has tasted all the sweets of lawful resistance—this sturdy German yeoman will take good care not to enter the Red Sea any sooner than he has to.

According to Bermbach's letter, the traitor was Haupt—which I cannot believe. The business must in any case be investigated. It

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a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850'.  
b crossing the Red Sea (see Exodus 13:18; 15:22)
may of course seem suspicious that Haupt, at least so far as I know, is still free. The possibility of travelling to Hamburg from Göttingen or Cologne cannot be entertained. What sort of explanation will emerge, and when, from the record of the trial or from the proceedings is impossible to say. *S'il y a trahison,* it must not be forgotten, and it would be most desirable, given the opportunity, were an example to be made.

I hope that Daniels will be released soon, *après tout c'est la seule tête politique, qu'il y ait dans Cologne* and, despite surveillance by the police, he would still be in a position to keep the business on the right track.

To come back to the effect of our document on the democrats: Miquel should not forget that we have continuously and uninterruptedly harried the gentry in writings which were, after all, more or less party manifestos. Why, then, the present outcry about a programme that merely sums up in a very calm and, above all, quite impersonal manner, what has already long been in print? Did our disciples on the continent, then, deny us? Did they involve themselves more deeply with the democrats than party policy and party honour permitted? If it was because of freedom from contradiction that the democrats shouted in such revolutionary tones, who was it that freed them from contradiction? Not we, to be sure, but in all likelihood the German communists in Germany. And there, it would seem, lies the snag. Any democrat with a modicum of intelligence must have known from the start what was to be expected of our party—the document cannot have taught him much that was new. In so far as they allied themselves *pro tempore* with the communists, they were fully *au fait* with the conditions and duration of the alliance, and no one but Hanoverian middle peasants and lawyers could have ever believed that the communists had, after 1850, turned away from the principles and the policy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* The thought certainly never occurred to Waldeck and Jacoby. Anyhow, in the long run publications of this kind can have no effect either on the 'nature of things' or on the 'concept of relation', to use Stirner's expressions, and the democrats will soon be in full cry again, wire-pulling as busily as ever and proceeding hand in hand with the communists. And we have long known that, on the lendemain of the movement, the fellows are bound to

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*a* If there is treason - *b* after all, he's the only political brain in Cologne - *c* See M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* - *d* morrow
play us some dirty tricks. No amount of diplomacy will prevent this.

On the other hand, I am delighted that, as I anticipated, small communist groups are being formed everywhere on the basis of the *Manifesto*. This is just what we lacked, the General Staff having hitherto been so weak. There'll never be any shortage of rank and file when it comes to the point, but it is agreeable indeed to have in prospect a General Staff not consisting of Straubinger elements, and admitting of a wider selection of men with a modicum of education than does the existing staff of 25. It would be a good idea to issue a general recommendation to carry out propaganda among office workers everywhere. In the event of having to set up an administration, such fellows would be indispensable—they are accustomed to hard work and intelligible book-keeping, and commerce is the only practical school for reliable clerks. Our jurists, etc., are no good for that. Clerks for book-keeping and accounts, talented, well-educated men for preparing dispatches, letters, and documents, voilà ce qu'il faut. I could organise an administrative office infinitely more simply, practically and more conveniently with 6 office workers than with 60 government advisers and financial experts. The latter cannot even write legibly, and make such a mess of one’s books that the devil himself couldn’t make head or tail of them. Since we are increasingly obliged to prepare for this eventuality, the matter is not without importance. Besides, these office workers, being accustomed to sustained mechanical activity, are less exacting, more easily kept from loafing about, and easier to get rid of in case of inefficiency.

The letter to Cologne has gone off—all nicely taken care of; if it doesn’t arrive safely, I don’t know why. Otherwise Schulz’s address isn’t to be recommended—ex-co-publisher!

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a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. b that’s what is needed. c See this volume, p. 388. d Schulz was responsible editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at one time.
Dear Marx,

I am surprised not to have heard from you for a fortnight.

Our predictions in the last Revue of an enormous expansion in ocean-going steam shipping are already being borne out. Apart from several small lines, there are now two new, large and highly important lines in operation: 1. the screw-vessels from Liverpool to Philadelphia—every fortnight—4 vessels in the line; 2. the steamers between Liverpool, Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso, etc., every 7 weeks, 4 vessels in the line. Furthermore, in a month or two there will be regular overland journeys to California—New York, to San Juan, from there by steamer to Lake Nicaragua—overland to Léon, thence direct to San Francisco; the journey to California cut by a week at least.

Next month a train will be running between London and Aberdeen—550 English miles, or 8 degrees of latitude, in one day.

One can now travel from Leeds to London and back for five shillings with one railway company and four and sixpence with another. Next Saturday the fares are going to be reduced here as well. If they get as low as that, I shall come to London at least once a fortnight.

Provided nothing untoward happens within the next 6 weeks, this year’s cotton crop will amount to 3,000,000 bales or 1,200 million to 1,350 million lbs in weight. Jamais on n’a vu la plante aussi florissante. At the same time symptoms of declining trade: East India is overstocked and is crying out for a stoppage of imports of cotton goods, in this country the market for yarn and cloth still upset by fluctuating cotton prices—if the crash in the market coincides with such a gigantic crop, things will be cheery indeed. Peter Ermen

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a K. Marx and F. Engels, ‘Review, May to October 1850’. - b Never has the plant appeared more flourishing.
is already fouling his breeches at the very thought of it, and the little
tree-frog's a pretty good barometer.

*Voilà* the industrial potpourri for today.

Your

F. E.

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**MARX TO ENGELS**

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 July 1851

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your letter which opens up very pleasing prospects of a trade crisis.

I haven't written for about a fortnight because during such time as I haven't spent at the library, I've been harried from pillar to post and hence, despite the best will in the world, have constantly been deflected from writing.

After I'd been put off from week to week—at first, from month to month—by the two Bambergers, father and son,\(^b\) with the promise that they'd discount a bill for me, after I had at length been summoned to the Jew's place for that purpose last Monday,\(^c\) and had actually brought the *STAMPED PAPER* with me, the younger one explained that the old one, who was also present, could not ect., etc.

It was highly regrettable that I couldn't give those two Jews a box on the ears for such infamous stalling and wasting of time and for putting me in a *fausse*\(^d\) position vis-à-vis other people.

Incidentally, I have Mr Conrad Schramm to thank, if not in *fact*, then in *principle*, for my having been bamboozled, truly *à la*...

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\(^{a}\) there's

\(^{b}\) Simon and Louis Bamberger

\(^{c}\) 28 July 1851

\(^{d}\) false
Sancho, first for months on end, and then again for the past 6 weeks.

As you know, that individual left for Paris four or five weeks ago. In their usual fashion, our precious friends here—e.g. that booby Hain—have only just divulged what they have long known about the blackguard. But I am now forbidding them to raise an ‘outcry’, as it could only do more harm than good. Well, one evening—I don’t know whether I’ve written to you about this before—I was told by Mr Schramm that he intended to leave in 2×24 hours. I therefore decided to take the necessary steps regarding League\(^a\) documents and other papers still in Mr Conrad’s possession. That same evening I learned through Liebknecht that Mr Conrad refused to hand over these documents, but had given them to Mr Louis Bamberger under sealed cover. And what made rapid action even more necessary was my discovery, upon emerging from the Museum\(^b\) the following day, that Mr Vagabond wasn’t leaving in 2×24 hours, but actually within the first 24 hours, i.e. at 2 o’clock the following morning. The precious Conrad had asked for a private rendezvous with me that evening, but I thwarted him by taking Lupus, Liebknecht and Pieper with me. Hardly had we setted down in an insulated pub, when I called on Mr Conrad to account for his doings over the documents, etc. As always when he makes a faux pas,\(^c\) the fellow flew off the handle, declaring that he wouldn’t hand over the documents since he needed them to vindicate himself, and other inanities. He was, he said, as much the League as you and me, he too was capable of deeds of deliverance. He had no idea, he went on, whether or not I was head of the district in London. Then Stirnerisms about his uniqueness in the party.\(^d\) Some of the others, particularly Lupus, flared up; he threatened to make off, shouted, raved—all connu.\(^e\) Once again I quelled the tumult, and since I know how to handle the lad, and no purpose could be served by a rumpus, the point being to get hold of the documents and that without delay—I succeeded with threats and smooth talk in persuading Mr Conrad to give me a note for Bamberger instructing the latter to hand over the sealed package to me.

This I obtained the following day. It contained everything, even including your and my statement against A. Ruge,\(^f\) which the precious Conrad had not after all sent to the Staatszeitung,

\(^a\) the Communist League - \(^b\) the British Museum - \(^c\) false move - \(^d\) A pun on M. Stirner’s Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum - \(^e\) familiar stuff - \(^f\) K. Marx and F. Engels, ‘Statement, 27 January 1851’.
probably because he had told his brother\textsuperscript{a} so many lies that he was afraid of any—public—explanation.

At the same time this blackguard—thinking to further his own business thereby—had warned the Bambergers against me, telling them that I had exhausted the last of my credit to meet the last bill etc., etc. In general he has intrigued against and calumniated us, etc., in the meanest fashion.

Now—all this being a \textit{fait accompli}—we mustn't, as the boobies here wanted to do and in fact did, cry out in self-righteous indignation, but rather let the vagabond continue for a while to believe he's still connected with us, until such time as we have the power and the opportunity to dispose of the fellow, \textit{d'une manière ou de l'autre}.\textsuperscript{b} If we were in any way to confront him with our knowledge of his dishonourable scoundrelly conduct, he might at this moment constitute a real danger to our German comrades.

You will believe, by the by, without my insisting, that I am damned sick of my situation. I've written to America to find out whether there's any possibility of setting up, in collaboration with Lupus, as correspondent here for a couple of dozen of journals. It is impossible to go on living like this.

As to the negotiations with Ebner in Frankfurt, he writes to say that Cotta will probably take my Political Economy—of which I sent an outline—and that, if not, he will find another publisher. I should have finished at the library long ago. But there have been too many interruptions and disturbances and at home everything's always in a state of siege. For nights on end, I am set on edge and infuriated by floods of tears. So I cannot of course do very much. I feel sorry for my wife. The main burden falls on her and, \textit{au fond},\textsuperscript{c} she is right. \textit{Il faut que l'industrie soit plus productive que le mariage}.\textsuperscript{d} For all that\textsuperscript{e} you must remember that by nature I am \textit{très peu endurant} and even \textit{quelque peu dur},\textsuperscript{f} so that from time to time I lose my equanimity.

Julius was buried about a week ago. I was present at the funeral. The precious Kinkel delivered a few platitudes at the grave-side. Julius was the only one of the émigrés who applied himself to study and was progressively moving away from idealism into our own sphere.

The precious Dulon is here.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{a} Rudolf Schramm - \textsuperscript{b} one way or another - \textsuperscript{c} at bottom - \textsuperscript{d} Industry ought to be more productive than marriage. - \textsuperscript{e} F. Freiligrath, \textquote{'Trotz alledem!'} - \textsuperscript{f} not at all patient - \textsuperscript{g} rather hard
\end{flushright}
Heinzen and Ruge are still thundering in the New York Schnellpost against the communists and against ourselves in particular. But the stuff's so abysmally stupid that it's impossible to deal with it other than by selecting, at some opportune moment, the funniest bits in Ruge's concoctions and thereby revealing to the Germans by whom, malgré eux, they are ruled.

Have you by any chance read Proudhon's latest book? Weydemeyer has written to me from Zurich. Karstens is jailed in Mainz. He made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. Vale faveque.

Your
K. M.

It would, by the by, be a very good idea if you were to write a signed article for Jones. He is making progress with his paper. He is learning. Ce n'est pas un Harney. The Notes to the People is, accordingly, on the up and up, while The Friend of the People is going to pot.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 1 August 1851]

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the 2nd half of the 5 pound note.

I didn't know that Schramm had gone off to Paris. You had told me nothing about it. Hence it was with the utmost astonishment that I read in the Kölnische Zeitung that he had been drowned—it can't, alas, be true. The cur is very obtrusive—we

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a against their will - b P. J. Proudhon, Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle. - c Friedrich Lessner - d Good-bye and farewell - e He's not a Harney. - f Reference to Conrad Schramm (see this volume, p. 397).
have allowed him to become too familiar—and he's a complete blackguard. However, you're perfectly right in saying that protests and recriminations are useless; we must just leave the fellow to go his own way until we have him in our power. As I said, it would have been quite a good thing if he really had been drowned in the Channel; but as likely as not he spread the rumour himself—c'est une manière comme une autre de faire parler de soi.\(^a\)

So Weydemeyer's going to America to see whether he can take over the New York Arbeiterzeitung presently being run by Fenner von Fenneberg. If he can stay in New York he will be more useful to us there than in London, where the embarass\(^b\) would only be made worse. A reliable chap like him is just what we've been wanting in New York and after all, New York isn't the back of beyond and with Weydemeyer one can be sure that, le cas échéant,\(^c\) he would immediately be to hand.

The lithographic correspondence\(^d\) scheme is quite a good one. Only you must keep it completely under your hat. Should little Bamberger\(^e\) and others ever get hold of the idea, they would immediately steal a march on you. As soon as the initial arrangements have been made I should, if I were you, advertise in the German-American papers and, indeed, sign the thing myself, as director, to give it appeal. If it can be done on your responsibility and you think it might help in some way to name me as collaborator, you are, of course, entirely at liberty to do so. If, however, you want to keep your name out of the affair, although I see absolutely no need for this, car enfin,\(^f\) why shouldn't you, too, be entitled to set up an industrial firm and carry on the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in lithograph—the man to set up the firm is Lupus. In this connection Weydemeyer could be of great service to you in New York, especially as regards the collection of money, which is the main thing. I'm convinced the thing will have enormous appeal and that the many American correspondents in London, etc., will soon become aware of it.

If you name yourself as a director there can be no question but that the thing will attract more custom, and this right from the outset; if you choose to name only Lupus, there's no longer any moral responsibility, and his Silesian tirades à la Luther, which are very well suited to the German Americans,—better than your style, which compels them to think—can be given free rein.\(^{452}\) In

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\(^a\) it's as good a way as any other of getting oneself talked about - \(^b\) confusion -  
\(^c\) should the occasion arise - \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 373, 489-90. - \(^e\) Louis Bamberger - \(^f\) for after all
any case you must make a point of writing as badly and as *décosu"* as possible, otherwise you'd soon be in hot water with your readers.

What's this new thing of Proudhon's you mention?*b*

I shall write a signed article for Jones; I only wish that he would send me as complete a run as possible of his Notes,*c* which isn't to be had here. What is his address? I've forgotten it.

From America, too, reports on the cotton goods trade sound bad. The markets are *overstocked*, and the *Yankees* themselves are producing too much, given the present state of the market.

Write again soon, I am bored to death here.

Your

F. E.

N.B. Always keep your papers well away from home; for some time now I've been under very close observation here and can't move a step without having 2-3 *informers* at my heels. Mr Bunsen will not have missed the opportunity of providing the British government with new and important disclosures about how dangerous we are.*454*

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER*43*

IN ZURICH

[London,] 2 August 1851

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Engels has just sent me your letter, which I hasten to answer. I would, of course, have liked very much—if it was impossible to keep you here—at least to see and talk to you before you left.

*a* disjointedly - *b* See this volume, pp. 409-16. - *c* *Notes to the People*
But if you are really going to America you couldn't have chosen a better moment, both as regards finding a source of livelihood there and being of service to our party.

For it is almost as good as certain that you will obtain a position as editor with the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*. It was previously offered to Lupus. Enclosed is a letter from him to Reichhelm, the co-proprietor of the paper. So much for the industrial aspect. But you have no time to lose.

On the other hand, Mr Heinzen, and with him the worthy Ruge, sounds weekly trumpet blasts against the communists, especially myself, Engels, etc., in the New York *Schnellpost*. Our local democratic riff-raff have a pit over there where they deposit their guano which forces neither seed nor fruit but rather a luxuriant growth of weeds. Finally Heinzen is harrying the *Staatszeitung*, which is no match even for this opponent.

Whatever the attitude of the *Staatszeitung* to American politics, you will have *la voix libre* as regards European politics. Heinzen goes around posing as a great writer. The American press will be delighted by the arrival of someone who will rap this loud-mouthed poltroon over the knuckles.

If you become editor, we shall give your department every support. Unfortunately that blackguard and jackass, Seiler, is the *Staatszeitung's* London correspondent. In addition, the member of the European government, Ruge, needs to have his mouth stopped.

Your article against Christ is good. I have no alterations to suggest but would simply remark, by way of parenthesis, that the workers in the manufacturing areas do indeed marry in order to coin *money* out of the children. It's a sad fact but a true one.

As you can imagine, my circumstances are very dismal. My wife will go under if things continue like this much longer. The constant worries, the slightest everyday struggle wears her out; and on top of that, there are the infamies of my opponents who have *never yet* so much as attempted to attack me as to the substance, who seek to avenge their impotence by casting suspicions on my civil character and by disseminating the most unspeakable infamies about me. Willich, Schapper, Ruge and countless other democratic rabble make this their business. No

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* a free say -  *b* i.e. the Central Committee of European Democracy -  *c* Probably Weydemeyer's critical article on A. Christ's *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Frage der Schutzzölle*
sooner does someone arrive from the Continent than he is collared and worked upon so that he in turn takes up the self-same handiwork.

A few days ago the ‘famous’ referendary Schramm, on meeting an acquaintance in the street, at once whispered in his ear: Whatever the outcome of the revolution, everyone is agreed that Marx is perdu. Rodbertus, who has the best prospects, will have him shot outright—and all the rest likewise. I, of course, would make a joke of the whole dirty business; not for one moment do I allow it to interfere with my work but, as you will understand, my wife, who is poorly and caught up from morning till night in the most disagreeable of domestic quandaries, and whose nervous system is impaired, is not revived by the exhalations from the pestiferous democratic cloaca daily administered to her by stupid tell-tales. The tactlessness of some individuals in this respect can often be colossal.

By the by, there’s no question of parties here. The great men, despite their professed disparity of views, do nothing except mutually underwrite one another’s importance. Never has revolution brought a hollower crew to the surface.

When you reach New York, go and see A. Dana of the New-York Tribune and give him my and Freiligrath’s regards. He may be of use to you. As soon as you arrive, write to me at once, but still care of Engels, who is better able to afford the postage than any of us. At any rate I expect a line or two from you before you actually put to sea. When your wife arrives, convey to her the warm regards of myself and my wife.

If you are able to remain in New York, you will not be very far from Europe and, with the wholesale suppression of newspapers in Germany, it is only over there that we can conduct the struggle in the press.

Your
K. Marx

P.S. I have just learnt that the great men, Ruge and clique, Kinkel and clique, Schapper, Willich and clique, and these great ones’ go-betweenes, Fickler, Goegg and clique, have combined to form a spongy mass. Remember the story of the peasant who sold a dozen bushels a time at below cost price. But, he said, it’s

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a Rudolf Schramm - b lost - c Louise
the volume that does it; and that’s what these weaklings also say: it’s the volume that will do it. The cement, by the by, which has kneaded this dough together, is hatred of the ‘Neue Rheinische Zeitung clique’, and in particular of myself. When there’s a dozen of them together, they’re proper fellows.

If you don’t become master of the Arbeiterzeitung in New York—which would undoubtedly be best—if, that is, you are compelled to negotiate with the Staatszeitung, beware of your friend Kapp, who’s always in and out of the place. We have proof to hand that this individual—for what reason I know not—is one of the main intrigues against us.

Adieu mon cher.


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ENGELS TO WILHELM WOLFF

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 August 1851

Dear Lupus,

I shall make inquiries here about Mr Kendall this very day, and let you know tomorrow what I find out about him. Were I to approach him myself at this stage, before he has given you an answer, and some indication that he is considering you, the only result would be that he would dismiss me very coolly and with inadequate information. These gentlemen are extremely formal. Not long ago Hain also applied to this same Kendall for a post and promptly mentioned my name, yet Kendall did not think it worth the trouble to approach me for information about him—if, after this incident, I were to importune Kendall, this could only do you harm. As soon as you have an answer from Kendall, let me know and tell me what he writes; I’ll then at once go to him and find out everything I can, and shall do my best to make him well
disposed towards you. Of course, if it were not for Hassenpflug's warrants against you, you would be engaged straight away. But even so, all will probably be well. If I could somehow procure you a position here it would be splendid, but unfortunately I have too few acquaintances in this line, and only in modern languages is there permanent employment for private tutors, and of these there are enough. I shall see, by the way, about setting Watts in motion—the fellow is in the Educational Movement and now has a mass of connections.

Your
F. E.

In future, wet the glue on your envelopes more thoroughly—your letter arrived ± open.

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN ZURICH

Manchester, 7 August 1851

Dear Weydemeyer,

Many thanks for your information. If you can get anything further out of Hoffstetter I would be much obliged to you. I should, by the way, have thought that you might still remember from earlier days the titles of a few manuals and other military text-books; what I need particularly is precisely the utterly commonplace and ordinary stuff required for the ensign's and lieutenant's examination, and which for that reason is generally assumed to be common knowledge. I had already acquired a Decker in Switzerland, in a bad French translation and without

a more or less
plans, but Marx has mislaid it, and will hardly be able to find it again. I will get hold of the atlas myself, but must also have a map of Hungary. I see that the Austrian General Staff has published several works on the subject; tell me whether your map is of this kind and how much it costs; at the very worst, it’s bound to be more serviceable than the large Stieler. As regards Baden and the Rhine frontier between Baden and Switzerland, I salvaged sufficient maps from the campaign. I shall now find out about prices, etc., from Weerth, who is back in Hamburg, and then see what to buy. But as I said, any further information you can obtain for me will be most welcome.

It is bad that you should be going to America, and yet I honestly don’t know what other advice I should give you if you can’t find anything in Switzerland. There’s nothing much doing in London, and Lupus still hasn’t found anything here. He’s looking round for a position, and I am trying to obtain one for him here, but so far without success. As regards music, the competition here is enormous. Après tout, looked at from England and particularly from here, New York does not seem so very far away, when you see steamers regularly making the passage, which begins on a Wednesday and ends on the Saturday of the following week, and seldom taking the full 10 days. In New York you will also find little red Becker; he was recently in the dispatch department of the Arbeiterzeitung, but whether he is still there I don’t know, since I have not heard from him for a long time. His last address was 24 North William Street, upstairs, but should you not be able to discover his present one, you can certainly find out where he is from Lièvre, Shakespeare Hotel, or at the Staatszeitung. In New York, by the way, there’s a great deal to be done, and a proper representative of our party, who has also had a theoretical training, is badly needed there. You’ll find enough material there, your greatest obstacle, however, being the fact that reliable Germans, those who are worth anything, readily become Americanised and give up all idea of returning; and then there are the special American circumstances to be considered—the ease with which the surplus population can drain off into the country, the necessarily rapid, indeed ever more rapid, increase in the country’s prosperity—which cause them to regard bourgeois conditions as the beau idéal, etc. Such of the Germans there as are

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\[\text{a} \text{ C. Decker, } \text{La Petite guerre, ou Traité des opérations secondaires de la guerre (see this volume, p. 331).} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{Stieler’s Handatlas über alle Theile der Erde}... \quad \text{c} \quad \text{After all} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{apparently Max Joseph Becker} \]
minded to return are mostly good-for-nothing individuals, exploiters of revolution—à la Metternich or Heinzen,—who are the more pitiful the more subordinate they are. You will, incidentally, find the fatherland’s imperial rabble in New York. That you’ll be able to support yourself there, I have no doubt—besides New York, the only place that is at all tolerable is St Louis; Philadelphia and Boston are ghastly holes.

If you could win the paper over, that would be splendid. Otherwise, make sure that you approach the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, which is very favourable to us and whose European reports were constantly under our supervision.

The best thing would be for correspondence from there to go through me, I can then get the postage paid by the firm.

I hear very little about the barracks now, save that Willich has quarrelled with that crew and no longer lives in barracks. The nucleus of the army of the future has been disbanded, so Marx informs me, and Willich is without a Besançon. Quelle horreur! This Willich, by the way, is not merely a fool but an infinitely perfidious, malicious fellow, whose wickedness—serving as tool for the most colossally and unimaginably puffed-up vanity and self-adulation—knows absolutely no bounds. Never have I seen a creature who is so consummate a liar. I can assure you that I have literally never heard a true word fall from his lips. You can hardly conceive the figure cut by this fellow as a result of the idée fixe that, thanks to his genius as soldier, politician and organiser of societies, he is destined to lead the revolution to victory and completion. This folly has, of course, come upon him only by degrees. While considering him capable of any dirty trick, no matter how base, I do not, by the way, believe him guilty of actual betrayal on this occasion. The Hamburg affair has resolved itself in a different fashion; Bruhn, the only agent Willich and Schapper have there, is not the traitor. Haupt is said to have blabbed, but this I cannot believe.

We, naturally, leave the whole crew to their own devices—their activity being, of course, confined to rodomontade, the forging of crazy schemes, and abuse of ourselves—and leaves us indifferent. We have no need to keep them under observation, this being done for us by the Prussian police. Not a word is spoken in Schärttner’s pub, where they meet, that isn’t reported.

Anyhow, write to me again before you leave and give me the

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* See this volume, p. 391.
name of the vessel on which you are sailing—I can see from the papers here when it is due in New York. Once in New York, let us have your address straight away.—Marx’s is 28 Dean Street, Soho Square, London.

All my regards,

Your

F. Engels

Have you heard anything of Dronke? He's stuck in Geneva; Schuster will have given you his address.


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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You'll excuse me for not having written sooner, and at the same time acknowledging receipt of the £5. So great was the pressure from without this week that I didn't get round to writing. For the time being I've saved myself from being thrown out of the house by signing a bill on the landlord.

I enclose herewith a copy of the Schnellpost in which you'll be able to see how infamously inane are the doings and chatterings of that bunch of old women, Ruge & Co. As soon as you've read the muck, sent it back. About the letter from which the boorish Heinzen cites extracts—and which in any case, originates from Fickler—a word of explanation: for some 2-3 weeks the jackasses—the émigrés—have been holding meetings in order to 'settle their differences', constitute themselves a round 'dozen' and mutually 'set each other up' as the great men of the future. Today they held their definitive sitting. I shall be hearing the result and
shall inform you of it. But already the seed of disension has
grown so prolific that Mr Sigel has sent me a message through
Schabelitz, who is here for the Exhibition, saying he would call on
me.

The New-York Tribune has invited me and Freiligrath to work as
paid collaborators. It's the most widely disseminated journal
in North America. If you could possibly let me have an article in
English on conditions in Germany by Friday morning (15 August),
that would make a splendid beginning.

As to Schramm, we know that he corresponds regularly with his
brother. He wrote and told Bamberger not to give us his address.
Fresh reports come in daily of his infamous doings here.

Red Wolff has once again become an 'Irishman'.

Now for the Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX siècle par P. J.
Proudhon. The first time I wrote to you about this book, I had
read no more than extracts from it—often misquoted, to boot.
Now I can send you the σκέλετόν. First of all, the book contains
well-written attacks on Rousseau, Robespierre, the Montagne, etc.
The force of the true sequence, to use the words of the
immortal Ruge, is generated as follows:

I. Étude. It was reaction that first brought about the develop-
ment of the revolution.

II. Étude. Y a-t-il raison suffisante de la Révolution au XIX siècle?

The revolution of 1789 overthrew the ancien régime. But it
omitted to create a new society or to create society anew. It was
concerned only with politique instead of with économie politique. At
present 'anarchie des forces économiques' prevails, hence 'tendance de
la société à la misère'. This manifests itself in the division of labour,
machinery, competition, the credit system. Increase in pauperism
and crime. Again, the State (l'état) becomes ever greater, endowed
with all the attributes of absolutism, acquires ever more indepen-
dence and power. Increase in the national debt. The State sides
with wealth against poverty. Corruption. The State subjugates
society. There is a need for the new revolution. The task of the
revolution consists à changer, à redresser la mauvaise tendance de la
société. Society itself must not be touched. In its case there can be
no question of reconstitution arbitraire.

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a See this volume, pp. 436-38. - b the Great Exhibition of 1851 - c Conrad and
Rudolf Schramm - d See this volume, p. 383. - e ibid., p. 399. - f skeleton - g First
Essay. - h Second Essay. Is there sufficient reason for revolution in the nineteenth
century? - i politics - j political economy - k anarchy of economic forces - l the
tendency of society towards poverty - m in changing, in redressing the evil tendency
of society - n arbitrary reconstruction
III. Étude. Du Principe d'Association.ª

Association is a dogma, but not a force économique. Association is in no way organic or productive, as are the division of labour, commerce, exchange, etc. Association should not be confused with force collective.

La force collective est un acte impersonnel, l'association un engagement volontaire. L'association est de sa nature stérile, nuisible même, car elle est une entrave à la liberté du travailleur.ª

The force that has been ascribed to the contrat de sociétéª belongs solely to the division of labour, to exchange, to the force collective. When an association is founded for the purpose of carrying out great works, these must be ascribed to its means rather than to the principe of association. A man submits to an association only if it offers him une indemnité suffisante.ª Only to the associé faible or paresseuxª is the association productive d'utilité.ª It is solidarité, responsabilité communeª vis-à-vis third parties. As a rule an association is only feasible dans des conditions spéciales, dépendantes de ses moyens.ª

L'association, formée en vue du lien de famille et de la loi du dévouement, et en dehors de toute considération économique extérieure—l'association pour elle même, est un acte de pure religion, un lien surnaturel, sans valeur positive, un mythe.ª

Association should not be confused with the rapports nouveaux que se propose de développer la réciprocité entre les producteurs et les consommateurs. L'association met de niveau les contractants, subordonne leur liberté au devoir social, les dépersonnalise.§

ª Third Essay. On the Principle of Association. - h Collective force is an impersonal act, association is voluntary commitment. Association is by its nature sterile, even harmful, since it impedes the freedom of the worker. c social contract - d adequate compensation - e the associate who is weak or lazy - f production association of any utility - g solidarity, joint responsibility - h in special conditions, depending on the means employed - i Association established with a view to the family tie and the law of dedication, and apart from any external economic consideration—association for its own sake, is purely an act of religion, a supernatural bond, devoid of positive value, a myth. - j new relations which are intended to evolve from reciprocity between producers and consumers. Association puts the contracting parties on an equal footing, subordinates their freedom to social duty, depersonalises them.
IV. Étude. Du Principe d'Autorité.

The idée gouvernementale naquit des mœurs de famille et de l'expérience domestique. The démocratie is the dernier terme of évolution gouvernementale.

The idea of government is in opposition to that of contract. The true revolutionary motto is: Plus de Gouvernement! The autorité absolue is soon compelled to negate itself and to circumscribe itself with lois and institutions. The laws enacted are as innumerable as the interests which they outwardly determine. They have an ominous tendency to multiply. The law is a fetter forced on me from without. Constitutional monarchy. A contradiction in terms. Suffrage universel. The intuition divinatoire de la multitude is nonsense. Qu'ai-je besoin de mandataires, pas plus que de représentants! Votes, even though unanimous, decide nothing. According to suffrage universel, Bonaparte would be the right man, etc. La démocratie pure ou le gouvernement direct—figments in the minds of Rittinghausen, Considérant, Ledru-Rollin—aboutit à l'impossible et à l'absurde. In being carried to extremes this idea of the State is revealed for the nonsense it is.

V. Étude. Liquidation sociale.

1. Banque nationale. The liquidation of the Bank of France is decreed. It is not declared a national bank, but rather an 'établissement d'utilité publique'. Interest is reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

2. The national debt. The capitaux particuliers, having been deprived of the industrie de l'escompte, flows into the Bourse, the State no longer pays more than $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, and thus interest ceases to be of interest. Instead of interest, the State pays annuities, i.e. it repays in yearly quotas the capital it has been loaned. Or in other words, a decree to the effect that the interest on the debt paid by the State be deemed annuities and deducted from the principal.


Les intérêts de toutes créances, hypothécaires, chirographaires, actions de commandite, sont fixés à $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}\%$. Les remboursements ne pourront être exigés

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*a Fourth Essay. On the Principle of Authority.* - *b* The idea of government was born of family custom and domestic experience. The final stage of governmental evolution is democracy. - *c* No more government! - *d* absolute authority - *e* laws - *f* Universal suffrage. The prophetic intuition of the masses - *g* What need have I of mandatories, any more than of representatives! - *h* Pure democracy or direct government - *i* leads to impossibility and absurdity - *j* establishment of public utility - *k* private capital - *l* discount industry
4. Propriété immobilière: Bâtiments.

Decree: 'Tout paiement fait à titre de loyer sera porté en à compte de la propriété, celle-ci estimee au vingtième du prix de location. Tout acquittement de terme vaudra au locataire part proportionnelle et indivise dans la maison par lui habitée, et dans la totalité des constructions exploitées à loyer, et servant à la demeure des citoyens. La propriété ainsi remboursée passera à fur et mesure au droit de l'administration communale qui, par le fait du remboursement, prendra hypothéque et privilège de premier ordre, au nom de la masse des locataires, et leur garantira à tous, à perpétuité, le domicile, au prix de revient du bâtiment. Les communes pourront traiter de gré à gré avec les propriétaires, pour la liquidation et le remboursement immédiat des propriétés louées. Dans ce cas, et afin de faire jouir la génération présente de la réduction des prix de loyer, les dites communes pourront opérer immédiatement une diminution sur le loyer des maisons pour lesquelles elles auront traité, de manière que l'amortissement en soit opéré seulement en trente ans. Pour les réparations, l'agencement et l'entretien des édifices, comme pour les constructions nouvelles, les communes traiteront avec les Compagnies maçonnées ou associations d'ouvriers en bâtiment, d'après les principes et les règles du nouveau contrat social. Les propriétaires, occupant seuls leurs propres maisons, en conserveront la propriété aussi longtemps qu'ils le jugeront utile à leurs intérêts.'

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a 3. Mortgage Debts. Simple Bonds. 'Interest on all debts, mortgages, simple contract debts, joint-stock shares, is fixed at 1/4 or 1/2 per cent. Repayment claims can be met only by annual instalments. The annual instalment for all sums below 2,000 fr. will be 10 per cent, for sums above 2,000 fr. 5 per cent. In order to facilitate the repayment and replace the function of the former money-lenders a section of the offices of the National Discount Bank will become a mortgage bank, the maximum of its advances will be 500 million per annum.'

b 4. Real estate: Buildings. Decree: 'Every payment made in respect of rent shall be entered in the account of the property reckoned as twenty times the rent. With every instalment of rent the tenant will acquire a proportional and joint share in the house he occupies and in the totality of all buildings let for rent and serving as dwellings for the citizens. Property thus paid for will pass by degrees into the hands of the communal administration, which by the fact of the payment will take over the mortgages and prerogatives in the name of the mass of tenants, and will guarantee their domicile to all of them in perpetuity at the cost price of the building. The communes will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners for the immediate liquidation and repayment of the leased properties. In this case, and in order that the present generations shall enjoy reduced rents, the said communes will be able immediately to reduce the rent of houses for which they have concluded agreements, in such a way that amortisation be completed only in thirty years. For repairs, fittings and upkeep of the buildings, as in the case of new constructions, the communes will negotiate with the companies of masons or associations of building workers according to the principles and rules of the new social contract. The owners, sole occupiers of their own houses, will retain the property as long as they judge this advantageous to their interests.'
5. Propriété foncière.

"Tout paiement de redevance pour l'exploitation d'un immeuble acquerra au fermier une part de propriété dans l'immeuble, et lui vaudra hypothèque. La propriété, intégralement remboursée, relèvera immédiatement de la commune, laquelle succédera à l'ancien propriétaire et partagera avec le fermier la nue-propriété et le produit net. Les communes pourront traiter de gré à gré avec les propriétaires qui le désirent, pour le rachat des rentes et le remboursement immédiat des propriétés. Dans ce cas il sera pourvu, à la diligence des communes, à l'installation des cultivateurs et à la délimitation des possessions, en ayant soin de compenser autant que possible l'étendue superficielle avec la qualité du fonds, et de proportionner la redevance au produit. Aussitôt que la propriété foncière aura été intégralement remboursée, toutes les communes de la République devront s'entendre pour égaliser entre elles les différences de qualité des terrains, ainsi que les accidents de la culture. La part de redevance à laquelle elles ont droits sur les fractions de leurs territoires respectifs, servira à cette compensation et assurance générale. À partir de la même époque, les anciens propriétaires qui, faisant valoir par eux-mêmes leurs propriétés, auront conservé leur titre, seront assimilés aux nouveaux, soumis à la même redevance et investis des mêmes droits, de manière que le hasard des localités et des successions ne favorise personne, et que les conditions de culture soient pour tous égales. L'impôt foncier sera aboli. La police agricole est dévolue aux conseils municipaux." [op. cit., p. 228.]

VI. Étude. Organisation des forces économiques.


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5. Landed property. 'Every payment of rent for the use of a piece of real estate will make the farmer part-proprietor of it and will count as a mortgage payment by him. When the property has been entirely paid for it will be immediately taken over by the commune, which will take the place of the former owner and will share with the farmer the ownership and the net product. The communes will be able to negotiate separate agreements with the owners who desire it for the redemption of the rents and the immediate repayment of the properties. In that case at the request of the communes steps shall be taken to install the cultivators, and to delimit their properties, taking care that as far as possible the size of the area shall make up for the quality of the land, and that the rent shall be proportional to the product. As soon as the property has been entirely paid for, all the communes of the Republic will have to reach agreement among themselves to equalise the differences in the quality of the strips of land, and also the contingencies of farming. The part of the rent due to them from the plots in their particular area will be used for this compensation and general insurance. Dating from the same period the old owners who worked themselves on their properties, will retain their title, and will be treated in the same way as the new owners, will have to pay the same rent and will be granted the same rights in such a way that no one is favoured by the chance of location and inheritance and that the conditions of cultivation are equal for all. The land tax will be abolished. The functions of the rural police will devolve on the municipal councils.' b As for personal credit, it should be operated in the workers' companies and the agricultural and industrial societies.
2. Propriété. See 'Propriété foncière' cited above. Under the above conditions it is possible

sans la moindre inquiétude, permettre au propriétaire de vendre, transmettre, aliéner, faire circuler à volonté la propriété ... Avec les facilités du remboursement par annuités, la valeur de l'immeuble peut être indéfiniment partagée, échangée, subir toutes les mutations imaginables, sans que l'immeuble soit entamé jamais. Le travail agricole repousse la forme sociétaire.a

3. Division du travail, forces collectives, machines. Compagnies ouvrières.

Toute industrie, exploitation ou entreprise qui par sa nature exige l'emploi combiné d'un grand nombre d'ouvriers de spécialités différentes, est destinée à devenir le foyer d'une société ou compagnie de travailleurs. Mais là où le produit peut s'obtenir sans un concours de facultés spéciales, par l'action d'un individu ou d'une famille, il n'y a pas lieu à l'association.b Hence no associations in small workshops, among artisans, shoemakers, tailors, etc., marchands,c etc. Association in big industry. Here, then, compagnies ouvrières.

Tout individu employé dans l'association a un droit indivisé dans la propriété de la compagnie; il a le droit d'en remplir successivement toutes les fonctions; son éducation, son instruction et son apprentissage, doivent être dirigés de telle sorte, qu'en lui faisant supporter sa part des corvées répugnantes et pénibles, ils lui fassent parcourir une série de travaux et de connaissances, et lui assurent, à l'époque de la maturité, une aptitude encyclopédique et une revenue suffisant; les fonctions sont électives et les règlements soumis à l'adoption des associés; le salaire est proportionné à la nature de la fonction, à l'importance du talent, à l'étendue de la responsabilité; tout associé participe aux bénéfices comme aux charges de la compagnie, dans la proportion de ses services; chacun est libre de quitter à volonté l'association, de faire régler son compte et liquider ses droits, et réciproquement la compagnie maîtresse de s'adoindre toujours de nouveaux membresd...

a without the slightest misgiving, to permit the owner to sell, transfer, alienate or otherwise dispose of his property as he pleases... Given the facility of repayment by annual instalments, the value of a piece of real estate can be indefinitely divided, exchanged, and undergo any conceivable change, without the real estate being in the least affected. Agricultural labour rejects associatory forms. b 3. Division of labour, collective forces, machinery. Companies of workers. Every industry, enterprise or undertaking which by its nature requires the combined employment of a large number of workers with different skills is bound to become the basis for an association or company of workers. But where a product may be obtained without a combination of special skills, through the activity of an individual or family, there is no need for association. c shopkeepers d Every person working in the association possesses an indivisible right in the property of the company; he has the right to perform successively all duties. His education, training and apprenticeship ought therefore to be conducted in such a way that, while he is made to take his share of disagreeable and arduous tasks, he will acquire experience in various sorts of work and fields of
This is the solution to the *deux problèmes: celui de la force collective, et celui de la division du travail*..." In the transitional period these workshops will be managed by the manufacturers, etc.

4. *Constitution de la valeur: organisation du bon marché.* To combat *cherté de la marchandise* and the *arbitraire du prix.* The *juste prix* représente avec exactitude: a) le montant des frais de production, d'après la moyenne officielle des libres producteurs; b) le salaire du commerçant, ou l'indemnité de l'avantage dont le vendeur se prive en se dessaisissant de la chose." To induce the merchant so to do, he must be given a guarantee. This may be

...de plusieurs manières: soit que les consommateurs qui veulent jouir du juste prix, et qui sont en même temps producteurs, s'obligeront à leur tour envers le marchand à lui livrer, à des conditions égales, leurs propres produits, comme cela se pratique entre les différentes associations ouvrières parisiennes; soit que les dits consommateurs se contentent d'assurer au débiteur une prime ou bien encore une vente assez considérable pour lui assurer une revenue."

E.g., the State

...au nom des intérêts que provisoirement il représente, les départements et communes, au nom de leurs habitants respectifs, voulant assurer à tous le juste prix et la bonne qualité des produits et services, offrent de garantir aux entrepreneurs qui offriront les conditions les plus avantageuses, soit un intérêt pour les capitaux et le matériel engagé dans leurs entreprises, soit un traitement fixe, soit, s'il y a lieu, une masse suffisante de commandes. Les soumissionnaires s'obligeront, en retour, à fournir les produits et services pour lesquels ils s'engagent, à toute réquisition des consommateurs. Toute latitude réservée, du reste, à la concurrence. Ils devront indiquer les éléments de leurs prix, le mode des...
livraisons, la durée de leurs engagements, leurs moyens d'exécution. Les soumissions déposées, sous cachet, dans les délais prescrits, seront ensuite ouvertes et publiées, 8 jours, 15 jours, 1 mois, 3 mois, selon l'importance des traités, avant l'adjudication. A l'expiration de chaque engagement, il sera procédé à de nouvelles enchères.¹

5. Commerce extérieur.² As soon as the interest falls, it is necessary to abaisser les tarifs³ and, if it be depressed or standing between ¼ and ½ per cent, the Customs must be abolished.

VII. Étude. Dissolution du gouvernement dans l'organisme économique.

La société sans l'autorité. Elimination des cultes, Justice, administration, police, Instruction publique, Guerre, Marine etc.⁴, the whole with appropriate Stirnerian stock phrases.

Write and tell me in detail what you think of this formula. Salut.

Your
K. Marx

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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¹ on behalf of the interests which it temporarily represents, and the departments and communes on behalf of their respective inhabitants, being desirous of ensuring a fair price and a high standard of goods and services for all, propose to guarantee that the entrepreneurs who offer the most advantageous conditions will receive either interest on the capital and material invested in their enterprises, or a fixed salary, or in appropriate cases a sufficient quantity of orders. In return, the tendering parties will pledge themselves to meet all consumers' requests for the goods and services they have undertaken to supply. Apart from that, full scope is left for competition. They must state the component parts of their prices, the method of delivery, the duration of their commitments, and their means of fulfilment. The tenders submitted under seal within the periods prescribed will subsequently be opened and made public 8 days, 15 days, 1 month or 3 months before the contracts are allocated depending on the importance of the contracts. At the expiry of each contract, new tenders will be invited. ² External trade. ³ to lower the tariffs - ⁴ Seventh Essay. The Merging of Government in the Economic Organism. Society without authority. Elimination of cults, Justice, Administration, police, Public Education, War, the Navy.
Dear Marx.

I was very much tickled by the *Schnellpost*. It's a long time since I've read such consummate balderdash as 'A. Ruge an K. Heinzen'.\(^a\) I couldn't have believed that even two jackasses such as Ruge and Heinzen could emerge from three years of revolutionary tumult so completely unchanged and still so encumbered with the same old stock phrases, absurd mannerisms, turns of speech, etc. It's like the clown in the circus riders' troupe who, after performing the most hair-raising leaps, makes yet another bow, says: 'HERE WE ARE AGAIN!' and then, without the least compunction, proceeds to repeat every item in his all-too familiar repertoire. I can just see Ruge, that egregious literary laxative, as he seriously declares that

> 'the fundamental answer to tyranny, anarchy and high treason ... is precisely the bull's-eye which it behoves us to hit'.

and then himself hits the bull's-eye with the discovery that the modern class struggle is the *secessio plebis*,\(^b\) whence, by a process of effortless association, he goes on to the Roman schoolmaster\(^c\) whose name I forget, his fable of the stomach and the hands\(^d\) and other such charming fourth form pedagogic recollections. The chap's *impayable*\(^d\) when he comes to speak of 'circumstances',

> 'As you know ... by “circumstances” all I mean are the thoughts which are presently uppermost in men's minds!'

His lame attempts at making wittily malicious allusions were a dismal failure. The fellow is adroit enough; his malice is plain for all to see, but nobody has the faintest idea of its object nor of the general why and wherefore. And whereas the great Ruge is turning out to be a buffoon pure and simple, the great Heinzen excels no less as a boor, a condition now become chronic. The manner in which the

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 408.  
\(^b\) secession of the plebs  
\(^c\) Menenius Agrippa  
\(^d\) priceless
fellow seeks, in his note of 23 July 1851, to fob off on his readers his old nonsense about communism couched in the very same terms as those he used in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in the summer of 1847, is impudent beyond words.\(^a\)

Et pourtant,\(^b\) the fellows are compelled to recognise the superiority of our stuff, not only by their constant preoccupation with it, but even more by its influence on them of which despite their stubbornness and rage they are quite unaware. In all this scribble, there is not a single phrase that does not contain a plagiarism, an uncomprehending distortion of our stuff, or something suggested by it.

Mr Meyen or Faucher has published a fatuous article in Manteuffel's semi-official *Lithographische Correspondenz in Berlin* about the attempted conciliation in London;\(^c\) only we two still stick to one another, etc.—all the rest being united and opposed to us. No mention of Freiligrath or Wolff. It would seem that, following the disbandment of the army of the future, the great Willich finds himself obliged to gain recognition as 'a character' among the great men of all parties; he is even said to have attended their meetings. *A quoi tous ces coups de désespoir ont-ils abouti?*\(^d\) And has the great Sigel been to see you?

I have just been assured by a German social jackass who arrived from Dessau with an introduction from Julius, that the gentlemen there have been circulating the rumour that, by your own confession—you yourself are alleged to have told Mr Louis Drucker (!) so—you are writing for the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. En voilà une bonne!\(^e\)

As for Proudhon,\(^f\) the man seems to be making progress. The phases of development through which his nonsense passes are at least assuming a more tolerable form and these 'hérésies' are something for Mr Louis Blanc to break his teeth on. Thus, *au bout du compte*,\(^g\) Mr Proudhon has now also come to the conclusion that the true meaning of property rights lies in the disguised confiscation of all property by a more or less disguised State, and that what abolition of the State really means is intensified state centralisation. What else are

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\(^a\) 'Karl Heinzen und die Kommunisten', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 77, 26 September 1847. Engels' reply to it were articles 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'.  
\(^b\) Nevertheless  
\(^c\) See this volume, p. 425.  
\(^d\) Cf. H. Heine, *Atta Troll*, XXIV—'no talent but a character' (description of the bear-hero Atta Troll).  
\(^e\) What have all these acts of despair led to?  
\(^f\) That's a good one!  
\(^g\) P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle* — in the final analysis
Dear Marx,

Today I shall continue the glosses on Proudhon\textsuperscript{c} which were interrupted yesterday. For the time being I shall disregard the many gaps in the formula, e.g. the fact that one cannot see how the factories are to be transferred from the hands of the manufacturers to the \textit{compagnies ouvrières},\textsuperscript{d} since interest and land rent are to be abolished, but not profit (for there will still be competition); further, what is to become of the big landowners who exploit their land by means of hired labour, and other such deficiencies. In order to assess the thing as a theoretical whole, I should have to have the actual book in front of me. Hence I can give an opinion only in so far as I consider the feasibility, \textit{le cas échéant},\textsuperscript{e} of the individual measures and at the same time examine the extent to which they lend themselves to the centralisation of all

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\textsuperscript{a} all the communes in the Republic which come to an agreement regarding mutual compensation for the difference in the quality of their lands, and for the hazards of agriculture -  
\textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 408-09. -  
\textsuperscript{c} P. J. Proudhon, \textit{Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX\textsuperscript{e} siècle}. -  
\textsuperscript{d} workers' associations -  
\textsuperscript{e} should the occasion arise
the productive forces. And even then, I really ought to have the book in order to see all the développements.

The fact that Mr Proudhon has at last come to realise the need for more or less covert confiscation is, as I have already said, a step forward. The question is, however, whether his pretext for confiscation will serve, for, as always with these blinkered fellows who persuade themselves that compulsory measures of this kind are not confiscation, the whole thing hinges on that pretext. 'Interest is reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.' But your extracts say nothing of how this is done, save that the State, or the Bank which secretly and under another name is part and parcel of the State, must make an annual loan on mortgage of 500 mill. fr. at that rate of interest. From this I conclude that the reduction is intended to take place gradually. Once interest was as low as that, the annual liquidation of all debts etc., etc., at a rate of 5 to 10 per cent per annum would, of course, be easy. But Mr Proudhon fails to indicate by what means this is to be attained. In this connection I recall our recent discussion about your scheme for reducing the interest rate by setting up a national bank with exclusive privileges and a monopoly of paper currency, gold and silver being excluded from circulation.\(^a\) I believe that any attempt to lower the interest rate rapidly and steadily would inevitably fail because of the growing need, at a time of revolution and stagnant business, for usury, for the granting of credit to people who are momentarily in a tight corner, at a loss what to do, in other words, momentarily unsound financially. Even if that portion of the interest rate intended for the actual repayment of the loan can be depressed by weight of capital, there still remains the portion representing the guarantee of repayment, which, at times of crisis, rises enormously. In any revolution merchants are grateful to a government which lends to them, not at $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but at 5 per cent. Cf. 1848, loan offices, etc., etc. The State, and any large, centralised state bank, unless it operates branches in the most out-of-the-way places and has given its officials a long training in commercial practice, can lend to large businesses only, otherwise it would be lending at random. And small businesses cannot pledge their goods like large ones.\(^b\) 1. the consequence of any reduction in interest rate for government loans=increased profits for big businessmen and a general advancement of that class.

Small businesses would, as before, be compelled to have recourse to middlemen to whom the government had advanced

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 299-300. \(^b\) Hence
money at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent so that they could lend it again at 5-10 per cent. That is inevitable. Small businesses furnish no guarantees, and can offer no pledges. Hence in this respect, too, advancement of the big bourgeoisie—indirect creation of a large usurer class, bankers at a lower level.

The constant harping by the socialists and Proudhon on the reduction of interest is, in my opinion, no more than a glorified pious wish of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. So long as interest and profit remain in inverse proportion, a reduction of interest can only lead to an increase in profit. And so long as there are people who are financially unsound, unable to provide a guarantee and for that very reason truly in need of money, state lending cannot supersede private lending, i.e. cannot bring down interest rates in respect of all transactions. The State, which lends at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, would be in precisely the same position vis-à-vis the usurer whom it provides with money as was the French Government of 1795 vis-à-vis the property speculators and stock jobbers of that time when it collected taxes to the tune of 500 mill. in assignats\(^a\) and reissued them for 3 mill. and, simply to maintain its 'credit' which had already collapsed, accepted the assignats used for tax payments at their face value, or 200 times their real value.

Proudhon is altogether too naive. Le crédit personnel trouve or doit trouver son exercice dans les compagnies ouvrières.\(^b\) Hence the dilemma: either management and finally administration and regulation of these companies by the State, which Proudhon doesn't want, or the organisation of the most splendid association fraud, the fraud of 1825 and 1845, reproduced at the level of the proletariat, Lumpenproletariat and petty bourgeoisie.

To seek to place the main emphasis on the gradual reduction of the interest rate by commercial and compulsory measures so that all debts etc., etc., are liquidated by converting interest payments into repayments, all real wealth being concentrated in the hands of the State or the communes, seems to me utterly impracticable, 1) on the grounds already cited; 2) because it takes far too long; 3) because the only consequences, if state paper maintained its credit, would necessarily be the country's indebtedness to foreigners, since all money repaid would find its way abroad; 4) because, even if the feasibility of the thing were accepted in principle, it would be nonsense to believe that France, la République, could carry this out in the teeth of England and America; 5) because war abroad and the pressure of the moment generally, make sheer nonsense of

\(^a\) paper money issued at the time of the French Revolution

\(^b\) Personal credit finds or should find its application in the workers' associations
such systematically protracted measures, extending over 20 or 30 years and more especially of money payments.

The only practical significance of the thing would seem to be that it is indeed possible, at a certain point of revolutionary development, and with the help of a monopolist state bank, to decree: Art. 1: interest is abolished or limited to \( \frac{1}{4} \) per cent; Art. 2: interest will continue to be paid as hitherto, being regarded as repayment; Art. 3: the State is empowered to purchase all real estate, etc., at current tax value and pay for it over 20 years at 5 per cent. Such might perhaps one day serve as the final and immediate precursor of undisguised confiscation; but it would be pure speculation to ponder on the when, where and how.

In any case it would seem that this book of Proudhon's is much more down-to-earth than his earlier ones—eventhe *constitution de la valeur* assumed a more fleshy aspect: that of the *juste prix des boutiquiers. Quatre francs, Monsieur, c'est le plus juste prix!* What there is in common between the abolition of customs and that of interest is not clear. The fact that, since 1847, Proudhon should have made so complete a transition from Hegel to Stirner is another step forward. Be it said, however, that he won't understand German philosophy even should he persist with it until his corpse is in the final stage of decomposition.

Write soon and tell me what you think of the foregoing.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

In a day or two I shall be sending you the Proudhon itself, but send it back as soon as you've read it. For I intend—for the

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*fair price of the shopkeepers. Four francs, sir, that's the fairest price!*
money—to publish 2-3 sheets about the book. So let me have your views in greater detail than your hasty letter-writing generally allows.464

The Proudhon business—and the whole is first and foremost a polemic against communism, however much he may filch from it and however much it may appear to him in the light of the Cabot-Blanc transfiguration—boils down, in my opinion, to the following line of reasoning:

The real enemy to be combatted is capital. The pure economic affirmation of capital is interest. So-called profit is nothing but a particular form of wage. We abolish interest by transforming it into an annuity, i.e. repayment of capital by annual instalments. Thus the working class—read industrial class—will be assured precedence for ever, while the actual capitalist class will be condemned to an ever-diminishing existence. The various forms of interest are money interest, rent interest and lease interest. In this way bourgeois society is retained, justified, and divested only of its mauvaise tendance.a

Liquidation sociale is simply a means of building anew a ‘healthy’ bourgeois society. Quick or slow, peu nous importe.b I want first to hear your views on the contradictions, uncertainties and obscurities of this liquidation as such. The truly healing balm of the newly built society, however, consists in the abolition of interest, i.e. in the yearly transformation of interest into an annuité. This, introduced not as a means but as an economic law of the reformed bourgeois society, has, of course, a twofold result:

1. The transformation of small, non-industrial capitalists into industrial capitalists. 2. The perpetuation of the big capitalist class, for au fondc if one takes an overall view of the thing, it becomes apparent that, by and large,—and aside from industrial profits—society never pays anything except the annuité. Were the converse true. Dr Price’s compound interest calculationsd would become a reality and the entire globe would not suffice to pay interest on a capital, however tiny, invested at the time of Christ. In fact, however, it may be confidently said that the capital invested, whether in land or otherwise, over the past 50 or 100 years e.g. in England—the most tranquil and bourgeois of countries, that is—has never as yet paid interest, at least in terms of price, which is what we are concerned with here. Let us assume, e.g., that at the highest estimate, England’s national wealth amounts to e.g. 5

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a evil tendency  
b it matters little to us  
c basically  
d The reference is to R. Price’s An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt and Observations on Reversionary Payments...
thousand million. Suppose England produces 500 millions each year. Hence England's entire wealth merely = England's annual labour×10. Hence, not only is this capital not paying interest, it is not even reproducing itself in terms of value. And this by reason of the simple law. Value originally determined by the original production costs, in terms of the working time originally needed to manufacture the object. But once the product is produced, its price is determined by the costs necessarily incurred in reproducing it. And reproduction costs fall steadily and at a speed proportionate to the current state of industrialisation. Hence the law of the continuous depreciation of capital value itself, through which the law des rentes and of interest, which would otherwise lead to absurdity, is nullified. This also explains the thesis you yourself put forward that no factory covers its production costs. Thus Proudhon cannot refashion society by introducing a law which, au fond, is already being observed without his counsel.

The means by which Proudhon proposes to achieve all this is the bank. Il y a ici un qui pro quo. The bank's business is divisible into two parts: 1. The conversion of capital into cash. Here money is simply substituted for capital, which can, of course, be done simply at production cost, i.e. at 1/2 to 1/4 per cent. 2. Advances of capital in the form of money, and here the interest rate will adjust itself in accordance with the amount of capital. All that credit can do here is to convert by means of concentration, etc., etc., existing but unproductive wealth into truly active capital. Proudhon considers No. 2 to be as easy as No. 1, and au bout du compte he will find that by making over an illusory mass of capital in the form of money he will at best reduce the interest on the capital, only to increase its price in like proportion. Whereby nothing is gained but the discrediting of his paper.

I shall allow you to savour in the original the correlation between customs and interest. The thing's too delicious to spoil it by mutilation. Mr Proudhon entirely fails to elucidate either the commune's share in the houses and land—something he certainly should have done as regards the communists—or how the workers come into possession of the factories. At any rate, while anxious to have 'des compagnies ouvrières puissantes', he is so afraid of these industrial 'guilds' that he reserves the right, if not for the State, then for société, to dissolve them. As a true Frenchman who knows neither a Moses & Son nor a Midlothian farmer, he confines

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a of rents - b Here there is a quid pro quo. - c in the final analysis - d powerful workers' associations - e a large firm of men's clothiers in London
association to the factory. To him, the French peasant and the French shoemaker, tailor, merchant appear as des données éternelles et qu'il faut accepter.* But the more I go into the stuff, the more I become convinced that the reform of agriculture, and hence the question of property based on it, is the alpha and omega of the coming upheaval. Without that, Father Malthus will turn out to be right.

So far as Louis Blanc, etc., are concerned the piece is capital, notably because of its cheeky outpourings about Rousseau, Robespierre, God, fraternité and similar twaddle.

As to the New-York Tribune, you've got to help me, now that I'm so busy with political economy. Write a series of articles on Germany, from 1848 onwards. Witty and uninhibited. The gentlemen of the foreign department are exceedingly uppish.

In a few days' time I'll send you 2 volumes of Roman stuff. To wit Économie politique des Romains. Par Durcau de la Malle. I sent to Paris for the book (very erudite). It will open your eyes to, amongst other things, the economic backing of the Roman way of waging war, which was nothing else than the — cadastre. What's the cheapest way of sending the thing to you? There are 2 fat volumes.

You must pinch the Lithographische Correspondenz articleb or try to get hold of a copy. As soon as Weydemeyer gets there, he must make the jackasses in New York run the gauntlet. For that all the documents are needed. Faucher is correspondent of the Neue Preussische Zeitung. Sigel has not yet turned up. Willich, of course, is a unifying member of the Emigré Fraternity. They held their first general meeting on Friday. We had a spy there. The proceedings opened with a reading (by General Haug) of the Lithographische Correspondenz article in which we are attacked. For because of us they live and move and have their being. Next, a resolution in favour of all manner of undesirable and contentious lectures. Mr Meyen undertook to do Prussia; Oppenheim, England; Ruge, France; and Kinkel, America—and the future. I very much look forward, by the way, to hearing what you think about all this.

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* eternal data that must be accepted  

b See this volume, p. 418.  

c Jakob Schabelitz (the meeting of émigrés was held on 8 August 1851—see this volume, pp. 436-38)
...You will have read, in various German papers, the semi-ministerial Lithographische Correspondenz article in which the official German emigration in London notifies the public of its fraternal unification, its constitution as a joint body. The agreement-seeking united democrats fall into 3 cliques: the Ruge clique, the Kinkel clique, and the indescribable Willich clique. Between the three hover the intercalated deities, minor literati such as Meyen, Faucher, Oppenheim, etc., erstwhile Berlin agreeers and, finally, Tausenau along with a few Austrians.

Let us begin, as is fitting, with A. Ruge, the 5th wheel of European Central Democracy's state coach. A. Ruge arrived in London, not exactly weighed down with laurels. All that was known of him was that, at the critical moment, he had cut and run from Berlin and had later vainly applied to Brentano for the post of Ambassador in Paris, that throughout the period of revolution he had espoused, always with the same unshakable conviction, whatever illusion happened to be in vogue and, at one inspired moment, had even discovered that the simplest way of resolving modern conflicts was 'after the Dessau pattern'. For that is what he called this little model state's royalist-constitutional-democratic farce. Meanwhile he was firmly determined to become a great man in London. As always, he had prudently arranged to maintain contact with a democratic local paper in Germany so that he could, without constraint, regale the German public with talk of his important person. This time the lot fell to the Bremer Tages-Chronik. Now Ruge could embark on further operations. Since he speaks only very broken French, no one could stop him presenting himself to foreigners as Germany's most important man, and Mazzini aptly summed him up at first glance as a homme sans conséquence whom he could, without hesitation, call on to supply the German counter-signature to his manifesto. In this way A. Ruge became the 5th wheel of the Provisional Government of

\[a\] Note in the margin: from Berlin (see this volume, p. 418) - \[b\] man of no consequence
Europe and, as Ledru-Rollin once said, *l'homme de Mazzini*. He found himself outdone in his own ideal. However, it now behoved him to make himself appear a power in the eyes of Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, and to prove that there was more to be thrown onto the scales than an equivocal name. A. Ruge set himself to perform three great deeds. In company with Messrs Haug, Ronge, Struve and Kinkel, he founded a so-called German Central Committee, he founded a journal modestly entitled *Der Kosmos* and, finally, he sought to extract a loan of 10 millions from the German people, the *quid pro quo* being that he would gain them their liberty. The 10 millions never came in, but the *Kosmos* came to an end and the Central Committee came apart, disintegrating into its original elements. The *Kosmos* had appeared only three times. Ruge's classical style put his profane readers to flight, but nevertheless this much had been achieved: A. Ruge had been able to place on record his amazement at the fact that the Queen should have invited Herr von Radowitz to Windsor Castle rather than himself; and in letters of his own fabrication he had had himself hailed from Germany 'as provisional government' and consoled with in advance by gullible friends on the score that, after his return to the fatherland, 'affairs of state' would debar him from all companionable intercourse.

Hardly had the invitation to subscribe to the loan of 10 millions appeared, signed by Messrs Ruge, Ronge, Haug, Struve and Kinkel, when the rumour was suddenly put round that a subscription list was circulating in the City for the purpose of dispatching Struve to America, while at the same time the *Kölnische Zeitung* carried a statement by Mrs Johanna Kinkel to the effect that her husband had not signed that appeal and had resigned from the newly formed Central Committee.

Mr Struve's entire political wisdom before and after the March revolution had notoriously confined itself to preaching 'hatred of princes'. Nevertheless in London he found himself compelled to contribute articles for cash to Duke Karl of Brunswick's German paper and even to submit to the ducal blue pencil wielded by His Grace himself. Mazzini had been secretly informed of this and, when Mr Struve wished to see his name appear in splendour beneath the European circular letter, Mazzini pronounced an interdict. His heart filled with rage against the Central Committee, Struve shook the dust off his feet and sailed for New York.

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\(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\) 'An die Deutschen', *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 534, 28 March 1851. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\) 'Bonn, 10 May'. *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 114, 13 May 1851. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\) *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*
there to acclimatise his *idée fixe*, his inevitable *Deutscher Zuschauer*.

Now as for Kinkel, he had not, if the gossip of A. Ruge and the New York *Schnellpost* are to be believed, actually signed that appeal but had approved it, the scheme had been hatched in his own room, he had himself undertaken to dispatch a number of copies to Germany and had only resigned because the Central Committee had elected General Haug chairman instead of himself. A. Ruge accompanied this explanation with angry attacks upon the ‘vanity’ of Kinkel whom he described as a *democratic Beckerath* and with aspersions upon Mrs Johanna Kinkel for having access to newspapers as execrated as the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Thus the democratic Central Committee was reduced to Messrs Ruge, Ronge and Haug; even A. Ruge realised that this trinity was incapable of creating anything at all, let alone a world. However, the tireless fellow by no means threw up the sponge. All this great man was really concerned about was that something or other should be always afoot, which would lend him an air of activity, of being engaged in deep political combinations, and, above all, afford him material for self-important chitchat, for comings and goings, negotiations, complacent gossip and notices in the press. Luckily for him, Fickler now arrived in London. Like his fellow South Germans, Goegg and Sigel, he was repelled by Kinkel’s pretentious mannerisms. Sigel felt no inclination whatever to place himself under the supreme command of Willich, any more than did Goegg to accept his plans for world improvement. Finally, all 3 were too little acquainted with the history of German philosophy not to mistake Ruge for a significant thinker, too naive not to be taken in by his false bonhomie, and too gullible not to take *au sérieux* all the doings of the so-called emigration. They decided, as one of them* writes in the New York *Schnellpost*, upon union with the other coteries for the purpose of restoring the reputation of the moribund Central Committee. But, the same correspondent complains, there was little prospect for this pious and well-intentioned task; Kinkel was continuing to intrigue; he had formed a committee consisting of his saviour, his biographer* and several Prussian lieutenants; it was to work unseen, expand in secret, if possible attract democratic funds and then, suddenly, emerge into the light of day as the mighty Kinkel party. This was neither honourable, nor just, nor sensible. In the same issue of the

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* seriously -  **Amand Goegg -  **Karl Schurz (helped Kinkel to escape from prison in 1850) -  **Adolf Strodtmann
paper Rüge was unable to resist a few innuendoes at the expense of the 'absolute martyr'. On the very same day that the New York *Schnellpost* brought this gossip to London, the hostile coteries for the first time officially celebrated their fraternal unification. But that is not all. A. Ruge is making propaganda in America through the New York *Schnellpost* on behalf of the unfortunate European loan. But Kinkel, who disavowed this absurd undertaking in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, is now, off his own bat, calling for a loan in the transatlantic papers, with the comment that the money should be sent to the man who enjoys the greatest confidence; that he is that man, goes without saying.

For the present he is demanding an instalment of £500 sterling in order to manufacture revolutionary paper money. Ruge, no sluggard, lets it be known through the *Schnellpost* that he, A. Ruge, is the treasurer of the democratic Central Committee and the notes, ready and to hand, are to be had from him; anybody with £500 sterling to lose would do better to exchange it for already printed notes than as yet non-existent ones. And the editorial department of the *Schnellpost* has stated pretty plainly that, if Mr Kinkel does not desist from his machinations, he will be treated as an enemy of the revolution. Finally, while Ruge disposes of his weekly gossip in the *Schnellpost*, cuts his capers here as man of the future and has himself accorded all the honours due to a 5th wheel, Kinkel writes in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, the direct antagonist of the *Schnellpost*:

'So you see that, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, war is waged in due form, whereas on this side Judas kisses are exchanged.'

If you were to ask me how an A. Ruge—a man who, almost from the start, has been quite useless, who in theory has long departed this life and distinguished himself only by his classically confused style—how he can continue to play any role at all, I would first remark that that role is a pure newspaper fiction which he tries, with a unique and persistent diligence and by the most mean-minded methods, to disseminate and convince himself and others. As regards his position among the so-called emigration here, it is a fitting one, be it only as a gutter for the reception of all the contradictions, inconsistencies and limitations of the united democrats. As the classic representative of their general confusion and woolly state of mind, he rightly claims his place as their Confucius.¹

¹ A pun on the name of the Chinese philosopher Confucius and the word 'confusion'.
From the foregoing you will have seen how Kinkel now advances, now retreats, now embarks on an undertaking, now disavows it, always in accordance with the way he believes the popular wind to be blowing. In a piece for the short-lived Kosmos, he expressed particular admiration for a gigantic mirror exhibited in the Crystal Palace. That's Kinkel for you; the mirror is the element in which he exists. He is first and foremost an actor. As the martyr *par excellence* of the German revolution, he has received here in London the honours due to the other battle victims. But while, officially, he allows himself to be paid and feted by the liberal-aesthetic bourgeoisie, he engages behind the latter's back in illicit dealings with the most extreme fraction of the agreement-seeking émigrés represented by Willich, thinking thereby to assure himself both the delights of the bourgeois present and a title to the revolutionary future. While the conditions in which he lives here might be called splendid by comparison with his former position in Bonn, he nonetheless writes to St Louis saying he lodges and lives as befits the representative of the poor. Thus he simultaneously complies with the required etiquette vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie, while making the obeisance that is due to the proletariat. However, as a man in whom imagination far outweighs intelligence, he has been unable to avoid succumbing to some of the vices and pretensions of the parvenu, and this has alienated from him many a pompous émigré worthy. At this moment he apparently intends to make a tour of England to lecture in various towns to audiences of German merchants, receive homage and extend to the North of England the privilege of the double harvest normally confined to southern climes. It is self-delusion on Kinkel's part if he regards himself as ambitious. He is a man of vain appetites, and fate could play this otherwise innocuous speechifier no worse trick than to permit him to attain the goal of his desires and a responsible position. He would be a complete and irretrievable failure.

Finally, as to Willich, I need do no more than apprise you of the opinion of his acquaintances, all of whom regard him as an uninspired visionary. They doubt his talent but, for that very reason, declare him to be a character. He is happy in this

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*a* The Crystal Palace was built of metal and glass for the first world trade and industrial exhibition in London in 1851.  
*b* G. Kinkel, 'Der Brief an die Bürger von St. Louis', *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 507, 25 February 1851.  
*c* Cf. H. Heine, *Atta Troll*, XXIV—'no talent but a character' (description of the bear-hero Atta Troll).
situation and exploits it with more Prussian cunning than he is generally credited with. Now you know who the great men of the future are.

The vast majority of the official emigration consists with very few exceptions of noughts, each of whom thinks to become the number one by combining with others to form a dozen. Hence their constant attempts at uniting and conglomering, which are constantly being undone by the petty jealousies, intrigues, basenesses and rivalries of these *petits grands hommes,* and as ceaselessly entered into again. While slinging mud at each other in the North American papers they believe that, vis-à-vis Germany, they form a front, and that by coagulating to form a great gossiping cheese-pat they will inevitably produce the effect of being a power and a *corpus venerabile.* They are always under the impression that there is still something they lack if they are to impress, hence their organised courtship of every new arrival. Their efforts to win over Freiligrath, whom they have now sent to Coventry, and to lure him away from Marx, were as importunate as they were, of course, fruitless. Kinkel left no stone unturned, and A. Ruge actually wrote him a letter to induce him to join the League of the Just. He does not now, of course, belong to 'the emigration' any more than W. Wolff and other refugees who remain aloof from these goings-on. One more name! If these capuchins of the revolution, these mendicant friars of the same, had anything at all to give away, they would give a kingdom for one more name, especially a name as popular as Freiligrath's. Place-seekers and popularity-mongers, that's what all this crowd amounts to. These gentlemen believe that the revolution is at hand and that they must naturally make their dispositions. In like manner did the Imperial Assembly men in Switzerland form themselves into an association in which future posts were shared out hierarchically by number. And it bred bitter strife as to who should represent No. 17 or 18.

You express surprise that these gentlemen should make the semi-ministerial *Lithographische Correspondenz* their monitor. Your surprise will be at an end when I tell you that one of its scribes regularly scribbles in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung,* another serves as general factotum to the Russian *Morning Chronicle,* etc., etc. Nor does this take place behind the backs of the official emigration—

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far from it. Indeed, their first general assembly opened with a reading of the article from the *Lithographische Correspondenz*. They mustered some 50 men, a number which, at the second sitting, dwindled to less than half. The seed of discord had already begun to germinate freely among those craving agreement, who, by the by, as one of them remarked in confidence, consisted solely of 'superior refugees'. Of the profane vulgusb of the refugee working men, none was to be seen.

If there is one point upon which the fraternising emigration are all unanimous, it is their common and fanatical hatred of Marx, a hatred which regards no fatuity, no baseness, no intrigue as too high a price to pay for the gratification of their ill-humour towards this, their bête noire. For these gentlemen have not even thought it beneath their dignity to make contact with Beta or Bettziech, a former collaborator on Gubitz's *Gesellschafter*, and through that great author and patriot writing in the organ of the merry vintner, Louis Drucker,c to insinuate that Marx is a spy because he is brother-in-law to the Prussian minister, von Westphalen.471 The only connection Herr von Westphalen ever had with Marx lay in the former's confiscation of Becker's printing works and the incarceration of H. Becker in Cologne, by which he frustrated the publication of Marx's *Gesammelte Aufsätze* which Becker had undertaken and of which the first volume had already appeared,347 and likewise prevented the publication of a *Revue* then actually printing. Their hatred of Marx was further intensified by the Saxon Government's publication of the communist address,d since he was held to be its author. Marx, however, being wholly engaged in working out his critique and history of political economy, begun years before, had no more time or inclination than Freiligrath and their mutual friends to attend to the tittle-tattle of the fraternising emigration.

But the more one ignores them, the more frantic the yapping of these pug-dogs of the future becomes. Gustav Julius, a man with a thoroughly critical and scientifically trained intellect, who died all too young and is now being claimed by the emigration for their own, grew so weary of their shallow and preposterous goings-on

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a The reference is to emigrant meetings in London on 8 and 15 August.
b common people - c *How Do You Do?* - d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League. March 1850'.

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that he wrote a full and detailed description of the same and, only a few weeks before his death, sent it to a North German newspaper\textsuperscript{a} which, however, rejected it....

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 20 August 1851]

Dear Engels,

It would be best if you read the Proudhon\textsuperscript{b} first, since I must have it back. I have made as many notes as I need from the Dureau.\textsuperscript{c}

Apropos, *do for goodness' sake write to Fischer in New Orleans.* (Liebknecht is at present his regular correspondent). This is all the more important because it is precisely from New Orleans that the Kinkels, Ruges, etc., are hoping to draw subsidies. So don’t forget to write to the man who complained in a letter to Liebknecht about your silence.

Your

K. M.

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\textsuperscript{a} At this point the words ‘of Magdeburg’ have been added in the margin. - \textsuperscript{b} P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX\textsuperscript{e} siècle*. - \textsuperscript{c} Dureau de la Malle, *Économie politique des Romains*. 
Manchester, 21 August 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith an article of a sort. Various circumstances have conspired to spoil the thing. In the first place I have, for a change, been unwell ever since Saturday. Then there was the total absence of material—all I could do was scrape the bottom of the barrel, and rely on memory. Then the shortness of time and working to order, almost total ignorance of the paper and its readership, precluding any proper plan. Finally, the impossibility of keeping the manuscript of the whole series for comparison, hence the need for a plus ou moins pedantically methodical beginning to obviate repetitions in subsequent articles. All this, combined with the fact that I have quite got out of the habit of writing, has made the piece very dry and, if there's anything to be said in its favour, it is the greater fluency of the English, which I owe to the fact that for the past eight months I have been accustomed to speak and read practically nothing but English. Enfin, tu en feras ce que tu voudras.

I am half way through the Proudhon and heartily endorse your view. His appeal to the bourgeoisie, his reversion to Saint-Simon and a hundred and one other matters in the critical section alone, provide confirmation that he regards the industrial class, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as virtually identical and as having been brought into opposition only by the fact that the revolution was never completed. The pseudo-philosophical nature of the historical construction is plain for all to see: before the revolution, the industrial class an entity in itself, 1789-1848 in opposition: negation; Proudhonian synthesis to wind up the whole with a flourish. The whole thing seems to me a last attempt to maintain the bourgeoisie in theory; our premises on the decisive historical initiative of material production, class struggle, etc., largely adopted, for the most part distorted and used as the basis for the endeavour apparently to reincorporate the proletariat in the

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bourgeoisie by a pseudo-Hegelian sleight-of-hand. I have not yet read the synthetic part. There are one or two nice things in the attacks on L. Blanc, Robespierre, and Rousseau, but on the whole it would be hard to find anything more pretentiously insipid than his critique of politics, e.g. in the case of democracy, in which, like the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* and all the old historical school, he comes up with head-counting, and in which, without a blush, he builds up systems out of small, practical deliberations worthy of a schoolboy. And what a great idea that pouvoir and liberté are irreconcilably opposed, and that no form of government can provide him with sufficient moral grounds why he should obey it! *Par Dieu!* Then what does one need pouvoir for?

I’m convinced, by the way, that Mr Ewerbeck let him have his translation of the *Manifesto* and also, perhaps, in an underhand manner, passages translated from your articles in the *Revue*. A number of points were indubitably lifted from them—e.g. that a gouvernement is nothing but the power of one class to repress the other, and will disappear with the disappearance of the contradiction between classes. Then, a number of points concerning the French movement since 1848. I don’t think he can have found all that in your book against him.

In a few days’ time, as soon as I’ve read the whole thing, I’ll write about it in greater detail. Meanwhile, Weerth, who is making one of his sudden visits to Bradford, is likely to turn up here any day, in which case I may be obliged to keep the Proudhon for another two or three days.

Tell Lupus that I’ve spoken to Watts, who is going to make every effort, and with every prospect of success, to obtain a position for him here. Watts believes that his having been a member of the National Assembly will be quite sufficient here. He knows the whole genus of schoolmasters and clergy of liberal complexion and, once he gets moving, will certainly be able to arrange something. I shall therefore keep him in good humour; as soon as I hear anything further, I shall let him know. By the way, Watts is, all things considered, no less tolerable than the usual type of philistine. Since the man lives the life of an Englishman, socialist, doctor and paterfamilias, allowance must be made for the fact that he’s been a teetotaller for the past 7 years—and has even

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felt a yearning to become a Struvian herbivore. His wife, on the other hand, tipples and guzzles enough for two. It's regrettable, but a fact, that here in Manchester your ordinary little man is, by and large, more congenial than anyone else; he tipples, talks smut, is a republican (like Martens), and you can laugh about him.

What news have you from Germany? In Hamburg 3 have been released and one re-arrested. So all the journeyman tailor Nothjung's confessions amount to is that he's the emissary of a propagandist secret society—*quelle découverte!*b

**Your**

F. E.

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**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] 25 August 1851

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord mes remerciments pour ton article.*c Despite all the bad things you say about it, it was splendid and has set sail unaltered for New York. You hit just the right note for the *Tribune*. As soon as we get the first number of it, I'll send it to you, and continue to do so regularly from then on.

*Maintenant,*d I've got a whole load of émigré dung to forward to you and, should you know a farmer in the neighbourhood who requires the guano of these cleanly birds for manure, you can do a deal with him.

Well, then, as you already know, the first official meeting of the fraternising émigrés took place on Friday, 8 August, the leading lights being: *The ‘Damm’,* who presided; Schurz, secretary, Goegg, two Sigels,e Fickler, Tausenau, Franck (the Austrian worthy),

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a Catherine Shaw - b what a revelation! - c First, many thanks for your article (the reference is to F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany. Article I*). - d Now - e Albert and Franz Sigel
Willich, Borkheim, Schimmelpfennig, Johannes Ronge, Meyen, Count Reichenbach, Oppenheim, Bauer (Stolpe), a the intolerable Lüders, Haug, A. Ruge, Techow, Schmolze (Bavarian lieutenant), Petzler, Böhler, Gehrke, Schärtner, Göhringer, etc., not, of course, forgetting Kinkel and Strodtmann. Thus the main cliques: 1. Ruge-Fickler, 2. Kinkel, 3. Tausenau. Interspersed with other independent literary loafers and agreeers.467 The real issue with which this great historical event371 was concerned was the following: Ruge-Fickler-Tausenau-Goegg-Sigel-Haug, etc., sought the election of an official committee, partly to denounce the misdeeds of the reactionaries, partly to represent the émigrés, partly for 'Action'—agitation as regards Germany. A further snag about that idiot, Ruge, was that he had been recognised as plenipotentiary vis-à-vis Ledru-Mazzini and, in addition to his name, was now in fact able to place an army at their disposal in the shape of the German refugee corps. Mr Kinkel (and with him, besides his saviour Schurz and his biographer Furtz, b more esp. Willich, Techow, Schmolze, Schimmelpfennig), on the other hand, did not want a public institution of this kind, partly so as not to imperil his position vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie here in London—since it's the guineas that count—partly so as not to have more or less recognise Ruge vis-à-vis Mazzini-Ledru.

From the start the Ruge-Fickler clique was furious to see that the meeting-room was full to overflowing. It had been agreed at a secret sitting that only notables were to be asked to attend. But the Kinkel clique had brought in le menu peuple c so as to assure themselves of a majority.

The sitting opened with the reading of a piece of rubbish from the Lithographische Correspondenz by General Haug, who at the same time declared that there must be spies present, that the document might be abused, etc. Willich, his pathos as yet unimpaired, seconded this and called on the miscreants to declare themselves. Thereupon Bauer of Stolpe (whom, by the way, I hold to be a regular spy) rose to his feet and declared he was unable to understand Willich's virtuous horror since, at the first preparatory sitting, he had introduced Mr Scheidler without any opposition as editor of the Lithographische Correspondenz.

This incident settled, Tausenau, with much cosily emotional grunting and groaning, doubtless under the impression that he was before a Viennese audience, made his proposal for nomina-

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a Ludwig Bauer - b Adolf Strodtmann—a pun in the original: Schurz and Furtz (fart) - c the small fry
tions to the committee. In reply, Mr Meyen said that what he wanted was not deeds but voluntary lectures. As prearranged, Kinkel at once undertook to deal with America and its future, Oppenheim England, Schurz France, and Meyen Prussia. Tausenau’s proposal having met with a resounding defeat, he declared with emotion that, despite his failure, he would sacrifice his righteous anger on the altar of the fatherland and remain in the bosom of the fraternising.

But the Fickler-Ruge clique immediately assumed the menacing and injured air of beautiful souls who’ve been cheated.

At the end of the sitting Kinkel went up to Schabelitz (who was there purely in the capacity of our agent—and a very useful agent, too, since he enjoyed the confidence of all those worthies), declared him to be an honest democrat, declared the Basler National-Zeitung to be an excellent democratic paper and asked, among other things, about the state of its finances. Schabelitz: Poor. Kinkel: But aren’t the working men doing anything? Schabelitz: Everything we ask of them; they read the paper. Kinkel: The workers should do more. They don’t support us either as they ought to. And you know, we really do so much for the workers. We do everything we can to make them into ‘respectable’,—you understand me, of course,—‘honourable citizens’. En voilà une bonne!a

The agreeers’ meeting on the 15th was not well attended and was, as the English say, indifferent.

Meanwhile great things were taking place—on the 17th—and the true course of the affair assumed, as our great A. Ruge would say, the following course:

Mr Kinkel summoned Willich, Techow, Goegg, Sigel and a few others, and revealed to them that he had received £160 through Fischer from New Orleans and had been charged with disposing of this money in consultation with the above-named and with Mr ‘Fr. Engels’. Instead of the latter, he had invited Fickler who, however, had declared that he had nothing to do with the ‘scoundrels’. Mr Kinkel was forced to show the letter from which it transpired that, anonymous and incognito, this money had already been at his lodgings for three weeks, unable to decide whether or not it should generously unbosom itself to the profane world. Though Kinkel spake with the tongues of angels, it availed him nothing. The Fickler clique realised that the Kinkel clique was doing some considerable angling on the side and would merely

a That’s a good one!
exploit the storm in the émigrés' communal tea-cup to lure the 'goldfish' away by stealth. And thus it was in vain that the great Heinzen had cast such lovelorn and plain-speaking glances at the £s collected in New Orleans! Goegg and Sigel left the conclave. A separate sitting of the Fickler-Ruge-Tausenau clique took place.

For the South Germans had privily discovered that A. Ruge was an imbecile. They need him because he provides a channel to Ledru-Mazzini, and this patronage is of great importance to the South Germans. Tausenau appears to have opened their eyes for them and is now their real leader alongside Fickler. Tausenau is, in general, very much a wiseacre and intriguer, dabbling in diplomacy and equipped with the petty Jew's flair for calculation; he believes in the imminence of the revolution. Hence his presence in this League.

Ruge, in a tremendous rage over the lost £160, now revealed to his friends that, more than 12 months previously, Willich-Kinkel had sent Schimmelpfennig to Mazzini, saying that he was an emissary and had come for money so that he could travel to Germany for the purpose of agitation. Mazzini gave him 1,000 fr. in cash and 5,000 fr. in his Italian notes on condition that in 12 months' time he would return the 1,000 fr. and 2/3 of the Italian notes provided. On these Schimmelpfennig travelled round France and Germany. The 12 months elapsed but nothing more was heard of either Kinkel-Schimmelpfennig, or the 1,000 fr., or the Italian notes. Now, when the money had arrived from New Orleans, Kinkel had once more sent his envoys to Mazzini, not to pay, but to blow their own trumpets and enter into an alliance with him. Mazzini had too much delicacy to remind them of their debt but told them that, since he had connections in Germany, he could not enter into any new ones. These gentlemen, A. Ruge went on, had also betaken themselves to Ledru-Rollin. But here Ruge had stolen a march on them: since Ledru-Rollin already considers himself President of the French Republic and has determined to wage war abroad forthwith, Ruge had presented Sigel to him as commander-in-chief of the German revolutionary army, whereupon Ledru-Rollin had embarked on a strategical discussion with Sigel. Another snub, then, for Kinkel-Willich.

After these revelations of Ruge's, therefore, the turpitude of the Kinkel-Willich clique was laid bare before the eyes of the bemused beautiful souls. Now was the time for action, but what action is Ruge capable of other than new combinations and permutations of his mouldy old Central Committee? Hence it was resolved to form an agitation club,\textsuperscript{473} not for debating, but 'essentially for working',
productive not of words but of works, and above all for inducing like-minded comrades to make financial contributions. To be composed of: Fickler, Tausenu, Franck, Goegg, Sigel, Hertle, J. Ronge, Haug, Ruge. You will immediately note the reconstruction Ruge-Ronge-Haug. But closer inspection reveals that the main components of the club are 1. the western South German worthies, Fickler, Goegg, Sigel, Hertle, 2. the eastern South Germans, Tausenu, Haug, and Franck, and hence that the club has been formed mainly as a South German one in opposition to the 'Prussians', and Ruge is only the umbilical cord maintaining the connection with the European Central Committee. In fact, they now call the other societies simply 'the Prussians'. This agitation club nominated Tausenau to its executive authority and simultaneously made him its Minister of the Exterior. This meant that the Central Ruge was completely ousted. But in order to sugar the pill for him, he was given a douceur in the shape of an acknowledgment that his position on the Central Committee was recognised, as also his previous activities and his representation of the German people in accordance with the wishes of the German people. You'll have seen this testimonium paupertatis in print since it appeared in a notice, published in almost every English newspaper, in which the agitation society most humbly announces its birth to the European public and solicits its custom. Even this douceur was soured for poor Ruge by the fact that Bauer-Fickler imposed the intolerable conditio sine qua non that Ruge should desist 'from writing and publishing his stupid stuff.'

Before I go on, I should observe that, all unbeknown to the others, we are represented in the united democratic club by a working man called Ulmer who has fled from Cologne to join our League: he's a man who, when he's with us, is very quiet and taciturn and of whom we would never have believed that he would hold the united democrats in check. But indignatio facit poeta, the silent Ulmer, or so he told me, has a 'genius' for flaring up easily, whereupon he shakes all over and lets fly like a Berserk. Despite his weedy tailor's build, he is the best gymnast in Mainz, and has a considerable awareness of his physical strength and agility. In addition a communist's pride in infallibility.

On 22 August, then, the 3rd sitting was held. Meeting very well attended in anticipation of great row over the highly reasonable

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\[a\] certificate of poverty - \[b\] indispensable condition - \[c\] the Communist League -
\[d\] indignation makes the poet—adaptation of facit indignatio versum (indignation makes the verse), Juvenal, Satires, 1
agitation club. President: Meyen. Also present: R. Schramm and Bucher. The Kinkel clique proposed that a refugee committee be set up. For Mr Kinkel has no wish to make his exit from the public stage. Nor does he wish to compromise himself in the eyes of England's aesthetic-liberal bourgeoisie. A refugee committee, besides being politico-philanthropic, is a source of funds, and thus combines all the desirable prerequisites. On the other hand, Ulmer and a certain Hollinger put forward a proposal that the refugee committee be elected at a general meeting of refugees, whereat the Kinkel clique began to harp on the danger that people (namely we, the unnamed) would kick up a row behind the backs of the assembly. But they also had enemies before them. Goegg, Sigel and his brother were the only members of the agitation club present. Goegg was elected to the refugee committee. This provided an opportunity, 1) to announce Tausenau's resignation, 2) to reject the agitation club's statement, 3) finally, after the conclusion of the debate, to announce their resignation in a body. Uproar. Techow and Schramm gave A. Ruge a fearsome dressing down. Altogether a great deal of abuse was hurled. Goegg replied to the others with assurance, launched a bitter attack on the ambivalent Kinkel, who, replying only through his satellites, stroked his beard like the Great Mogul and dictated to Schurz, who was constantly dancing attendance on him, notes which he then, like the agreeers in Berlin, caused to be circulated among his trustees and, after the circulation, recorded his final vote. Only when Goegg said that the agitation club would publish its declaration in the English papers, did Kinkel answer majestically that he already controlled the whole of the American press and that steps had been taken to bring the whole of the French press likewise under his control within a very short space of time.

Besides this scandal-laden theme, others were mooted which stirred up the most almighty turmoil in the bosom of the fraternising democrats. Fists were shaken and there was a great clamour and hullabaloo until, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the landlord put out the lamps, thus plunging the agreement-seekers into impenetrable darkness. The row pivoted on two people, Schramm and Ulmer. For in his diatribe against Ruge, Schramm simultaneously vented his wrath on the communists, which received much acclaim, launched a most virulent attack on Willich, and called the workers cowards. To this Ulmer replied; but, for his part and in company with Hollinger—Sigel's friend—demanded the convening of a general meeting of refugees to elect a relief committee. He accused Willich, etc., outright of dissipating
and squandering refugee funds. Indescribable tumult. Up sprang Dietz, the cockroach, stated that he was the treasurer of the Great Windmill Street\(^{331}\) refugee committee\(^{292}\) and demanded that the allegation be withdrawn. Ulmer declared that, should the gentlemen so desire, he would provide proof. He would withdraw nothing. Willich, in his usual manner, tried to mollify him and invited him to his lodgings for a private discussion. But Cato Ulmer stood his ground and would say nothing without witnesses. By the by, during Goegg's speech Schimmelpfennig, who was sitting behind Ulmer, had kept on grunting and making noises until Ulmer, suddenly seized by his 'genius', turned round with clenched fist and roared at Schimmelpfennig: 'If you don't keep your mouth shut, you miserable penny-pincher, I'll chuck you out of the window.' Schimmelpfennig turned white as a sheet but, discretion getting the better of a Prussian officer's valour, he betook himself to the farthest corner of the room.

Time and again in the course of this memorable séance Willich was so savagely assailed from all sides—by Goegg, Schramm, Hollinger, Ulmer, etc.—that on 6 occasions he declared he would have to resign if they refused to leave his worthy person alone.

But now a new element enters the row which was all our doing. For, the 'superior refugees' as these gentlemen call themselves, had left the 'inferior émigrés' completely out of account. We had got Ulmer, Rumpf and Liebknecht to give these 'inferior émigrés', who are faring very badly, a spicy account of the fact that the Great Windmill Street refugee committee had received 800 gulden from Württemberg, and that they were being well and truly diddled. So yesterday, there was a row at the sitting of the Windmill Street committee, \textit{praesidio Schapperi}.\(^{a}\) The refugees demanded to see the letters, accounts, etc. Willich, who had made the same demands as these jackasses' when he was opposing us, tells them curtly that he and co. are answerable only to the Workers' Society.\(^{52}\) When a refugee comes too close, he tells him to stand back and keep his lice to himself. In return the man calls him an 'empty-headed half-wit'. Schapper is asked to account for his hippopotamus's belly and addressed as 'Snapper'. Willich calls the landlord and asks him to eject one of the refugees. The latter says he will leave if they call a policeman. The gents, he states, are rascals, and there the matter rests. Willich and Schapper declare that in the circumstances they will resign.

These 'inferior émigrés' have now been told by Rumpf and

\(^{a}\) chaired by Schapper
Ulmer that next Friday their interests will be placed before the general emigration society. They will proceed there en masse armed with clubs in order to assert their claims. I then let them know through Ulmer that Kinkel has received £160 on their behalf which he has secreted for weeks and is now proposing to share with Willich, and that in any case they are simply being used—et c'est vrai—as a trade-mark to bolster up the finances of these statesmen. Ulmer is to be the speaker and since Schramm, etc., are completely unaware of this surprise—the row should be edifying from every point of view.

You may write a—belated but necessary—letter to Kinkel as soon as I have informed you about Friday's sitting. What you must do forthwith, however, is write to Fischer in New Orleans, explaining the whole dirty business to him and letting him know that henceforward he should collect money only under the 'Freiligrath' trade-mark, which is quite popular. Our party of course needs it. It is the only active one, the only one to be in direct confrontation with the Federal Diet, God and the devil, and we have no money whatever for agitation. Again, money must be raised for our people in prison who are, for the most part, quite penniless. These two aspects, it seems to me, should be easy to explain to the man. If possible, by the way, he should make the collections in secret, since our efficiency can only be impaired by newspaper gossip.

Vale faveque.

Your

K. Marx

25 August

I should further remark that Schapper, that orthodox ox, is by no means prepared to consort with 'unbelievers'; rather he has told Willich that he'd sooner have his skull split open than betake himself to 'the curs'.

If a few days sometimes elapse between letters, it is because I want to send you a fuller report.

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"a and it's true - b Good-bye and farewell.

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Dear Marx,

The homeric struggles of these great men in their striving after unity have cheered me up wonderfully. What an Iliad!

I have written to Fischer.475 But is it absolutely certain that my name appears in the letter to Kinkel? For I don't want to make an ass of myself with Fischer. The Freiligrath idea is a splendid one; it must surely have been thought up by your wife. A request to Fischer to raise money specifically for our party purposes is altogether inappropriate; but if any should be forthcoming—which to judge by the experience of the people in America, I rather doubt—I think my letter will be enough to channel it into Freiligrath's hands et cela suffit.a

Write to me immediately about the upshot of Friday's scene so that I can take the necessary steps against Kinkel. To begin with I can do no more than ask for information and to be sent the records and then, after their receipt or non-receipt, take further steps. But do you know Kinkel's address?

It would have been a good idea had you let me have Freiligrath's address, too, so that I could have passed it to Fischer immediately. It's now too late for this steamer and, by the time his answer arrives, 4 weeks will have gone by during which we ought not to bombard him overmuch with letters.

My letter will have cooked Kinkel's and Willich's goose over there. It will give them something to think about.

More on Proudhon tomorrow or the day after. b Weerth's presence and then this mummmery, combined with office rubbish, have prevented me from tackling the thing seriously. At all events the charlatanry of it is superb. Part 2, from liquidation onwards, is to be marvelled at for its blend of Girardin display and Stirner braggadocio. Moreover, both grammatically and logically much of it is pure galimatias, of which he himself knows that it is totally

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a and that is sufficient - b F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle'.
devoid of meaning. This second part is really not to be treated seriously; with the best will in the world one couldn't do so. I have not, of course, been able to do anything for the Tribune—shall resume next week." In great haste.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 August 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

One always miscalculates badly if one reckons on a definitive crisis among the democratic heroes. A row like the one a fortnight ago demands a recuperation of several weeks for these performers. Hence nothing of any moment happened the day before yesterday, Friday the 29th.

*D'abord.* On Monday, 25 August, as I have already told you, Willich and Schapper threatened to resign from the Great Windmill refugee committee. The following Tuesday they did in fact resign during an official sitting, and all in all the committee came to a satisfactory end. Harsh words were exchanged on this occasion. Willich moralised and pontificated, whereupon he was confronted with his iniquities. The main charge against him was that on this, as on an earlier occasion, when account had to be given of the twenty or so pounds invested in the brush-making business, matters had been so arranged that Mr Lüssel, the manager responsible for same, had absconded.

On Friday General Sigel* had attended the general meeting of the agreement-seekers. He had counted on the appearance of the

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*a A series of articles Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.

*b First of all.

*c Franz Sigel
'inferior émigrés', on whose behalf he broke a few mighty lances with Willich, who gave free rein to his indignation over the herd of immoral louts he had once apotheosised vis-à-vis ourselves. Conspicuous by their absence, however, were the lumpen-proletariat. Those who had presented themselves before the gates of the Areopagus were too few in number to be able to count on success, and therefore withdrew. You know that they are cowardly rascals, and that every one of the rapscallions has too bad a conscience to appear before a gathering of any size and take the floor as public prosecutor.

A few Rugians such as Ronge, 4 in number, had been elected to the refugee committee of the 'united democrats'. These men announced their resignation. So the committee was dissolved. A new, provisional, one was elected, consisting of Mr Kinkel, Count Reichenbach, Mr Bucher and Mr Semper from Saxony.

From this you will see that they have entered a new phase. They have thrown themselves into the arms of the respectable 'hommes d'état', since the former leaders are now compromised as being bourgeois scum. The 'hommes d'état'—their nucleus—are the 'doughty men of the people' Bucher (Berlin agreeur.\textsuperscript{467}), Count Reichenbach (Knight of the Spirit and compromised deputy to the Frankfurt Assembly, not the Berlin beard of the party\textsuperscript{c}) and that eminent stutterer 'Rudolf Schramm' (connu\textsuperscript{d}).

Because of his long-standing friendship with Countess Reichenbach and her brother—also now in this country—Lupus now and again frequents the Reichenbach's house, and yesterday found there Mr Techow, whom he had known in Switzerland. Not long afterwards Willich himself appeared, in company with the melancholy Eduard Meyen. Lupus left when these two great ones took their seats.

Voilà tout ce que j'ai à rapporter pour le moment.\textsuperscript{e} With the help of the 160 pounds from America, Kinkel has clearly succeeded—partly himself and partly through his followers—in inducing in the 'respectables' and 'hommes d'état' a tremendous opinion of his power and connections. But with the dissolution of the Windmill committee, the precious Willich has broken the stoutest link that bound him to the 'rascals'.

Maintenant,\textsuperscript{f} as to yourself, there is no doubt whatever that Fischer expressly named you as one of the godfathers of the £160. General Sigel and Goegg told their friend Schabelitz about this,
ostensibly *au secret,* but in fact, I believe, in order that it should come to your ears. In my opinion, all you should do is write to Mr Kinkel saying you have heard from New Orleans about the remittance and your role as co-advisor as to its disposal. You *simplement* ask him what has happened to the money, or what it is intended to do with it. Kinkel’s address is: Dr. phil. (that’s how he describes himself on his visiting cards) Kinkel, 1, Henstridge Villas, St. Johns Wood. Some time, just for fun, I’ll send you one of these visiting cards, in form and content exactly like a London advertisement for corn *cures* and so forth.

Lest I forget the big event. In the issue* of 13 August, the unfortunate Heinzen announces that Otto has withdrawn his capital, thus leaving him on his own with his mental capital which will not, in industrial America, keep a newspaper going. Hence he writes an elegy on the premature fall of Hector. And in the same issue Hoff and Kapp invite readers to subscribe for shares in a newspaper which is to take the place of the *Schnellpost.* And, fate having strange quirks, the *Staatszeitung* has at the same time begun proceedings against the precious Heinzen—incidentally disclosing many of his financial villainies—for libel, proceedings which, he anticipates, will land him up in a ‘house of correction’. *Le pauvre* Heinzen! Moreover this great man is now morally outraged at America and the ‘unemotional Yankees’ and at the German Americans who take after them, instead of working for the ‘humanisation of society’ and going into raptures over A. Ruge’s politico-social revelations.

In the said issue we read, for example:

‘That free German spirit, which is to fill the world ... that spring which, for almost two millennia now, and in ever richer spiritual measure, has been flowing over the continents of the earth.’

‘For what purpose, then, are there Germans in the world? For what purpose the German heart, for what purpose the German tongue? To what purpose, e.g., this instrument, invented by the German Gutenberg, for the education and enlightenment of the mind? All this exists, and so does the very soil on which it is coming or should come to pass, this America, *discovered by A German.*’

‘The free communities,* lusty German philosophy, magnificent German literature, transposed and brought into intellectual interaction with everything excellent and enduring that the country and its inhabitants possess,—from factors such as these there must arise an *American-ness* [Amerikanertum] of world-historical *importance,* an all-powerfully humane, spiritual and moral greatness, whose heart is activated by a never-ceasing influx of Teuton-ness [Teutschum], its head by a refined Yankee-ness [Yankeetum] and its arm by both combined.’

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*a* in confidence  
*b* simply  
*c* of the *Deutsche Schnellpost*  
*d* Poor
'Indeed, I maintain that the German people are more ripe for a democratic republic than the American.... Verily, were Germany to be freed of her fetters and bloodsuckers, she would be better equipped to "fix", as the Americans say, a purely democratic republic and to bring it about more successfully than the Yankees, for in as much as even the politically most educated section of the Americans is still so much a prey to superstitition, so unfree intellectually, and so remote from any humane education, how can the final goal of democracy, true humanity, the harmonious development of mankind, be realised politically, socially and morally or spiritually?'

Thus writes the German buffoon, or gets someone to write, at the very time when the Americans have successfully made their way across the isthmus. In the same issue the hooligan has himself addressed as follows:

'So aptly do you castigate American conditions, notably the German Americans, that any discriminating and unbiased person must agree with you. You would be doing really praiseworthy work were you, through your paper, to help assure the refinement and education of Germans in America, and even if your voice should elude the untutored masses, enough would be achieved if you freed the individual German of the simian and pernicious urge to ape the Americans.'

And then, with all stops pulled out, the churl proceeds to vent the foul, morning-after-the-night—before pecuniary jeremiads.

You'll have undoubtedly long since learnt from the papers that Girardin has allied himself with Ledru-Rollin. He was already convinced he was the future Great Mogul of France. But now a Lamennais-Michel (de Bourges)-Schoelcher rival committee has been set up in Paris whose intention is to bring into being the 'United States of Europe' with the help of the Romance peoples—French, Spanish and Italians—round whom the Germans, etc., will then crystallise. So the Spanish! are to civilise us! Mon Dieu, that even outdoes K. Heinzen, who wants to introduce Feuerbach and A. Ruge among the Yankees in order to 'humanise' them. Ledru's Proscrit bitterly attacked the rival committee. They replied in the same coin. But what was still more bitter for the Great Mogul in partibus was this: a conclave of the entire press was held in Paris. The Proscrit, too, was represented by a delegate. Purpose: to agree on a common President. The rejection of all the Proscrit's proposals was followed by the unequivocal declaration that, let the gentlemen in London chatter as they would, what was necessary for France must emanate from France herself; Ledru was very much mistaken if he regarded himself as 'the important personage' Mazzini made him out to be.

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a Karl Heinzen - b My God - c 'Cronique de l'intérieur', La Voix du Proscrit, No 18, 23 August 1851. - d In partibus infidelium—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels; figuratively; without any real power. - e Ch. Delescluze [see Ch. Delescluze, 'Le conclave démocratique', La Voix du Proscrit, No. 19, 30 August 1851]
For the rest, the conclave broke up amidst much uproar without achieving anything. Unity-seeking democrats are everywhere as like as two peas.

Adieu.

Your

K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 1 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Once again you must excuse me.

1. I still haven't been able to make a start on the Proudhon,a having for the past 4 days been plagued by the most atrocious toothache, which has rendered me quite incapable of anything. On top of that my brother b (whom you know) is arriving this evening from London and will keep me from my work for heaven knows how long. Que le diable emporte l'exposition! c

2. I can't send the £5 I promised for today until tomorrow, since there is absolutely no money at all in the firm's cash box, and so I won't be able to get it until tomorrow.

The triumphant article in the Lithographische Correspondenz on the unity finally achieved by the honest émigrés is belied by another lament and the attacks by the 'Prussians' on the 'South Germans' and on Ruge the 'Pomeranian' in the very same number of the Lithographische Correspondenz. Sic transit gloria d—their joy was short-lived. It's a good thing that, having so many friends in both the new societies, e we'll be molested by neither.

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a Reference to Engels' 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle'.

b probably Hermann

c Confound the Exhibition! (i.e. the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.)

d Thus passes away the glory

e the German Agitation Society and the Refugee club
Have you read the edifying article in today's *Daily News* about that genuine whore and putative baroness Beck, who breathed her last in Birmingham, in the midst of her swindles, whilst in the hands of the English police? A delightful business, the more so since it revealed that that importunate mendicant, 'Dr' Heinemann was also a spy in the direct pay of the 'newly established foreign department of the British police'. You will remember how suspect that base creature has always seemed to us. Again, the handing over of documents ‘concerning a German communist association existing in London’ explains the chicanery of the police last summer, and I should like to know to what extent Mr Christian Joseph Esser is involved in this affair. Do you know the ‘Baron Soden’ who vouches for these stories and offers to provide proof? It would be a good thing if we could have this man secretly investigated. There would be no difficulty in finding a pretext and much would emerge about the rascally elements among the émigrés which might later come in useful. I shall get hold of this number of the *Daily News* and keep it; it's a document that may be of use some time or other.

In Liverpool and London the bankruptcies have already begun and *The Economist*, despite the evidence it adduces that the country's trade is exceptionally healthy, i.e. that most of the surplus capital is invested in soundly based production, has to admit that East India is again over-stocked and that the old story of consignment goods and cash advances is once again the rule rather than the exception in Indian trade. Next week it proposes to tell us how to run the consignment business on a sound basis—to which I much look forward. In the meantime the spinners and weavers here are making an enormous amount of money—most of them are booked up until the New Year, and in the country they generally work until at least 8 o'clock in the evening, that is, between 12 and 12 1/2 hours, and often longer. They are spinning yarn at 7-8d a pound from cotton at 3 5/4 to 4 1/2d per pound; the cost of spinning these coarse counts is barely 1 1/2-2d per pound, hence, with a weekly production of 12 million pounds (with 600,000,000 pounds of raw cotton imports) and taking the coarse counts as the norm, English spinners as a whole are earning £75,000 a week, 3 3/4 million

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a 'Remarkable Case of Fraud by an Austrian Spy.—Sudden Death of the Impostor', *the Daily News*, 1 September 1851. - b 'Indigo', *The Economist*, No. 417, 23 August 1851.
pounds a year net. The same holds good if, instead of Nos. 6-12, we take an average yarn count of 18-24 and many of those who can use inferior cotton on good machines earn, not 1 ½d per pound of yarn, but 2 ½d. All this dates back to the fall in cotton prices in April and May, and the people who buy relatively more twist than anyone else are the Germans. When the trouble starts—and the present state of trade will certainly not persist beyond March at the latest—and if at the same time the fun begins in France, it will be keenly felt by the Germans, with all that unsaleable yarn on their hands, and in this way, too, the country will be well prepared.

Let us dedicate a silent tear to the shade of Brüggemann. Never before, perhaps, has a worthy citizen met with more undeserved misfortune—sit illi terra levis.

Your

F. E.

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ENGEL'S TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 8 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

My brother is going away tomorrow and then I shall at last get some peace again. All this while I haven’t had a moment to myself, and it was quite impossible to get the banknote off to you before Saturday, both pieces going by the same post, since there’s only one delivery on Sundays. As this involves the risk of its misappropriation, herewith the particulars of the note—its number was E/X 01780 and it was dated Leeds, 15 July 1850. So if it hasn’t reached

a may the earth lie lightly upon him  b probably Hermann
you, go at once to the bank and stop payment: there’s still time enough. It was a five pound note.

On Friday evening I suddenly got a letter from my old man in which he tells me that I’m spending far too much money and must make do with £150. Naturally I shan’t stand for this ludicrous imposition, all the less so that it is accompanied by the threat that, if necessary, the Ermens will be instructed not to pay me more than that amount. I shall, of course, at once write and tell him that the moment he attempts to put his scandalous plan into practice, I shall turn my back on the office for ever and immediately hie me to London again. The man’s completely mad. The whole thing’s all the more absurd and preposterous in that this point was agreed verbally between us long ago, and I have given him absolutely no pretext for it. I think that, with the help of my brother and mater, I shall be able to settle the matter, but at first shall have to retrench a little, having already spent £230 summa summarum and, from now until November when I shall have been here a year, I had better not to go too far beyond that sum. Anyhow this fresh piece of knavery is most disagreeable and vexes me considerably, the more so because of the mean attitude my old man has adopted. Admittedly he is making far less money here than he did last year, but that’s due entirely to the bad management of his partners over whom I have no control.

What’s this fresh piece of knavery in Paris\(^478\)? This time it’s the hippopotamus\(^a\) clique that seems to have got into trouble; to judge by the names of the Germans arrested, they are all former Weitlingians from the 1847 period and earlier.\(^479\) A number of little betrayals seem to have been involved. The Swabian saviour appears to be one of the lucky ones. *Tant mieux pour lui.*\(^b\) If you hear anything, let me know.

According to the German papers, the Cologne people\(^c\) will not be brought before the next—October—assizes.

More tomorrow or the day after.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) Karl Schapper - \(^b\) So much the better for him. The reference is probably to Willich. - \(^c\) i.e. the arrested members of the Central Authority of the Communist League set up in Cologne in October 1850
ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON
[Manchester,] Thursday, 11 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Today I had hoped to be able to finish an article for you to send to America. I still have about 3-4 pages to do. So I must give up all idea of tomorrow’s post but, unless I’m mistaken, a Collins steamer is leaving on Wednesday—the article can go by that, to be followed by the 3rd on Friday. I shall make inquiries about it. In the present moment I consider this American business, which definitely brings in money, to be more urgent than the Proudhon, of which I can’t tell whether it will bring so certain and rapid a return; that is why I have tackled the former first. If you should think otherwise, write and say so.

You’ll have got my Monday’s letter.

En attendant tes nouvelles.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMeyer
IN ZURICH
[London,] 11 September [1851]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Lupus has written to his acquaintance on the Staatszeitung about your affairs. The only cause for regret is that Mr Kinkel has

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recently ensconced himself there. On the other hand, there is cause for rejoicing that Mr Heinzen's paper, the New-York *Schnellpost*, has been compelled to declare itself insolvent. Messrs Hoff and Kapp are now trying to found a new paper by issuing shares. At any rate, this is a favourable moment for speculating in newspapers.

Our local great men are now completely at loggerheads. They are behaving as though they were Alexander's successors and were having to share out the Macedonian-Asiatic Empire between them, *les drôles*.a

If only I knew more people here, I would have tried to get you a post as an engineer, railroad surveyor or the like. Unfortunately I have no contacts whatever. Otherwise I feel sure that employment is to be found here in that line. The pity of it is that we are all so short of money and that you haven't the means to spend some time here and take a look around. But if you really succeed in carrying out your plans in New York, you will at all events find it easier, in case of revolution, to return to Europe from there than we from here.

And yet I rack my brains trying to think of ways for you to settle here, for once over there, who can say that you won't lose yourself in the Far West! And we have so few people and have to be so sparing of the talent we have.

Besides, you are choosing a bad and uncomfortable time to travel. However, *il n'y a rien à faire contre la nécessité des choses.*b And if there is one thing of which I am convinced, it is that, once you are over there, you will not have to go through the same *misère* as all of us here. And that prospect, at least, has to be taken into account.

That this is a time of dissolution for 'democratic' provisional governments, Mr Mazzini, too, has had to learn. After some violent clashes the minority has resigned from the Italian Committee.480 It is said that they are the more advanced ones.

I regard Mazzini's policy as basically wrong. He is working wholly in the Austrian interest by inciting Italy to the present secession. On the other hand, by failing to turn to the part of Italy that has been repressed for centuries, to the peasants, he is laying up fresh resources for the counter-revolution. Mr Mazzini knows only the towns with their liberal nobility and their *citoyens éclairés*.c

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a the queer fellows  
b needs must when the devil drives  
c enlightened citizens
The material needs of the Italian country folk—bled white and systematically enervated and stultified just like their Irish counterparts—are, of course, too lowly for the platitudinous paradise of his cosmopolitan-neo-catholic-ideological manifestos. But admittedly it required some courage to tell the bourgeoisie and the nobility that the first step towards gaining Italy's independence was the complete emancipation of the peasants and the transformation of their métayage system into bourgeois freeholdings. Mazzini would seem to regard a loan of 10 million francs as more revolutionary than a gain of 10 million human beings. I very much fear that, if the worst comes to the worst, the Austrian Government itself will alter the state of tenure in Italy and effect 'Galician' reforms. 481

Tell Dronke that I shall write to him in a few days' time. Warm regards to you and your wife from my wife and myself. Consider once again whether you mightn't give it a try here.

Your

K. Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS 482

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Saturday, 13 September 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Did you in fact—while your brother a was there—get a letter from me? I ask, because you don't mention it, not on account of its contents. It contained only gossip, although even that might as

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a probably Hermann Engels
well be kept on record. But I would rather it didn’t fall into the hands of strangers.

Your various letters, including the one with the five pounds, have arrived here safely.

Kinkel is now making his tour of northern England. Hasn’t he been to Manchester yet?

Little has happened here since the matter referred to in my last letter. A week ago yesterday (Friday), Count Reichenbach announced his resignation from the general refugee society. You, too, Brutus? Sigel, etc., who had still not definitively resigned, have now done so. Willich, however, is conducting a campaign against the ‘Lumpenproletariat’ among the refugees. As yet I’ve had no report of the sitting held yesterday evening.

There has also been a split in the Italian committee. An appreciable minority has resigned. Mazzini gives a sorrowful account of the event in the Voix du Peuple. The main causes would appear to be:

D’abord Dio. Ils ne veulent pas de dieu. Ensuite, et c’est plus grave, ils reprochent à Maître Mazzini de travailler dans l’intérêt autrichien en prêchant l’insurrection, d. h. en la précipitant. Enfin: Ils insistent sur un appel direct aux intérêts matériels des paysans italiens, ce qui ne peut se faire sans attaquer de l’autre côté les intérêts matériels des bourgeois et de la noblesse libérale qui forment la grande phalange mazzinienne.

This last matter is exceedingly important. If Mazzini, or anyone else puts himself at the head of the Italian agitators and fails this time to transform the peasants, franchement and immédiatement from métairies into free landowners,—the condition of the Italian peasants is atrocious, I have thoroughly mugged up the beastly subject,—the Austrian government will, in the event of revolution, have recourse to Galician methods. In the Lloyd it has already threatened ‘a complete transformation of the state of tenure’ and the ‘extermination of the turbulent nobility’. If Mazzini’s eyes have not yet been opened, then he’s a duncehead. Admittedly certain agitational interests are involved here. Where will he find the 10 million fr. if he

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a Oskar Reichenbach - b Franz Sigel - c Marx probably means La Voix du Proscrit - d ‘Firstly, Dio. They don’t want a god. Next, and more serious, they blame Maître Mazzini for working for the Austrian interest by preaching insurrection, i.e. by precipitating it. Finally, they insist on a direct appeal to the material interests of the Italian peasants, and this cannot be made without a corresponding attack on the material interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, who form the great Mazzinian phalanx. - e outright and immediately - f tenant share-croppers
antagonises the bourgeoisie? How retain the services of the nobility, if he informs them that their expropriation comes first on the agenda? Such are the difficulties encountered by a demagogue of the old school.

Unfortunately those arrested in Paris include that rascal Schramm.\(^{483}\) The day before yesterday Liebknecht had a letter from the rogue, and we are faced with the agreeable prospect of having this dissolute character once again in our midst. But he'll get a bit of a shock, *ce monsieur là!*\(^{a}\) You would greatly oblige me by sending me the essay for Dana by Tuesday morning.\(^{b}\)

Herewith letter from Dronke. By the by, should you write him a letter, you must send it direct to his address. Schuster’s is by no means safe. In a day or two I'll send you a note for him, to which you can add something before forwarding it to the little fellow.

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**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN LONDON**

[Manchester,] Friday, 19 September [1851]

Dear Marx,

Yesterday, in the greatest haste, I managed to finish the American article\(^{c}\)—*tel quel,*\(^{d}\) with many interruptions over the past 3 weeks and finally the remainder thrown together in haste. *Tu en feras ce que tu pourras.*\(^{e}\) At all events you'll get it by the first post today.

The only letter I got after my brother's\(^{f}\) arrival was yours of 31

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\(^a\) will that gentleman - \(^b\) F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* Article II. - \(^c\) F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.* Article II. - \(^d\) such as it is - \(^e\) You'll have to do what you can with it. - \(^f\) probably Hermann
August, which I only received on 2 September and in which you quoted the passages from Heinzen (in the *Schnellpost* concerning the refinement of Yankee-ness).

My laziness was due to:
1. a business trip to Bradford,
2. our clerk’s departure for London, whence he won’t be returning till Monday,
3. the sudden dismissal of our warehouseman and assistant, leaving me with my hands full.

Tomorrow or Monday I shall devote myself to the 3rd American article, which will definitely reach you in time for the next steamer—by Tuesday if there’s a sailing on Wednesday, otherwise by Friday. More tomorrow; the office is now closing, and as yet we have no gas, so that I am writing virtually in darkness.

Your

F. E.

The Willich document in the *Débats* is superb!*

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 September 1851

Dear Marx,

At last I think I’ve reached the point at which, after so many deplorable interruptions, I can settle down to regular work again. Article No. 3 for America\(^a\) will be finished by this evening and

\(^a\) F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. Article III.
dispatched to you forthwith, and then I will at once get down to
the Proudhon.\textsuperscript{a}

I have heard nothing more about Kinkel’s tour. The split among
the Italians is wonderful. It’s excellent that that astute visionary,
Mazzini, should at last find himself thwarted by material interests,
and in his own country to boot. One advantage of the Italian
revolution has been that there, too, it has swept the most isolated
classes into the movement, and that a new party, more radical
than the old Mazzinian emigration, is now being formed, and is
gradually displacing Mr Mazzini. Newspaper reports would also
seem to indicate that \textit{il Mazzinismo}\textsuperscript{b} is falling into disrepute even
among people who are neither constitutionally nor reactionarily
minded, and that what remains of the freedom of the press in
Piedmont is being used by them for attacks on Mazzini, the \textit{portée}\textsuperscript{c}
of which the government fails to grasp. In other respects the
Italian revolution far outdoes the German in poverty of ideas and
wealth of hot air. It is fortunate that a country which, instead of
proletarians, has virtually nothing but \textit{lazzaroni},\textsuperscript{485} should at least
possess \textit{métayers}. The other reasons given by the Italian dissidents
are delightful too, and, finally, it is really splendid that the only
émigrés to have remained united, at least in public, should now be
at each other’s throats.

The little man’s\textsuperscript{d} report pleased me greatly. Pompous title-tattle,
a duel, a bit of money to be collected in Hamburg, Piedmontese
plans—DODGE, DODGE and DODGE again\textsuperscript{486}! There are two things one
can never understand about the little fellow, firstly what he’s up
to, and secondly what he lives on. I return the letter herewith,
send me the answer and I shall forward it to him post free. I have
noted his own address—much good Schuster’s would be, now
that his house has been searched.

It was only to be expected that the precious Schramm\textsuperscript{e} should
be one of the first to fall into the clutches of the Parisian police.
He must have been vociferating in cafés and been nabbed for it.
But since he has no connection with the Willich-Schapper
conspiracy, you’ll no doubt have him back in London again by
now.\textsuperscript{483} The excerpts from the Willich document\textsuperscript{484} in the \textit{Kölnische
Zeitung}\textsuperscript{f} are much nicer than in the French papers, the original
German text being given, and the great all-rounder’s vigorous
arguments emerge here quite unadulterated. E. g. where he says

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{a} F. Engels, ‘Critical Review of Proudhon’s Book \textit{Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX\textsuperscript{e} siècle’}. \textsuperscript{b} Mazzinism - \textsuperscript{c} import - \textsuperscript{d} Ernst Dronke - \textsuperscript{e} Conrad Schramm - \textsuperscript{f} ‘Maß-
regeln vor, während und nach der Revolution’, \textit{Kölnische Zeitung}, No. 225, 19
September 1851.
\end{flushright}
that, in the next revolution, ‘the League’ and the ‘fourth estate’ (not, of course, to be confused with the bogus article from the Marx-Engels factory, placed on the market under the label ‘proletariat’) ‘are to bring the historical developments of the economic question to a conclusive conclusion’!! The poor translation by the French police has altogether spoilt this incomparable document. The age-old idées fixes of this crazy martial clod, the hoary fatuities about social revolution stemming from the village commune, the cunningly calculated little schemes, which, as long ago as last November, were to have stood the world on its head through the agency of the Rhenish Landwehr, none of this really comes through. But the most infuriating thing about it is that this poor translation almost completely spoils one’s pleasure in observing how the ideas we instilled have gradually, after 12 months of independent cerebration within this misshapen skull, been finally converted into pompous nonsense. In the translation the provenance is everywhere discernible, but precisely the accretion of underived craziness, the distortion, is not in evidence. And are we to be deprived of the pleasure of at last being able to read in the vernacular a piece of unalloyed Willich which has assuredly been long chewed over by the noble man? One sees nothing but the most appalling dearth of ideas and the attempt to conceal the same beneath an immense heap of revolutionary admonition as brought forth of a gloomy evening in the inglenook by Mr Willich and Mr Barthelemy. Unsurpassed, too, the financial measures: first you make paper money, n’importe combien, second you confiscate, third you requisition. Then the social ones, which are equally simple: 1) you organise, tellement quellement, 2) you guzzle, guzzle a great deal, until you get to 3) when there’s nothing left to guzzle, which is fortunate, for you then reach the point at which, 4) you start all over again, since the most radical tabula rasa consists in leaving not a crumb on the table, by which time the hour will have come for the word of the prophet Willich to be fulfilled: ‘We must march into Germany as into a waste land that we are to colonise and render fertile’. From the beginning the fellow’s one idea has been to conquer the communist Canaan from without, exterminating the original inhabitants, with the help of ‘5,000 men’, hand-picked from the ‘people of the Lord’. Moses and Joshua rolled into one; alas, during their exile in Egypt the Children of Israel had already dispersed in all directions.

One must hope the Australian gold business won’t interfere with

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\[a\] no matter how much - \[b\] as best you can - \[c\] clean sweep
the trade crisis. At any rate it has momentarily created a new, largely fictitious market, sending wool sky-high, since the flocks are being neglected. Otherwise it's a splendid thing. In six months' time the circumnavigation of the world by steam will be fully under way and our predictions concerning the supremacy of the Pacific Ocean will be fulfilled even more quickly than we could have anticipated. When this happens the British will be thrown out and the United States of deported murderers, burglars, rapists and pickpockets will startle the world by demonstrating what wonders can be performed by a state consisting of undisguised rascals. They will beat California hollow. But whereas in California rascals are still lynched, in Australia they'll lynch the *honnêtes gens*, and Carlyle will see his aristocracy of rogues established in all its glory.

The numerous asseverations in the press to the effect that, notwithstanding the recent bankruptcies and the depression prevailing in Liverpool and elsewhere, the country's trade has never been healthier, are most suspect. What is certain is that East India is overstocked and that for months past sales there have been made at a loss. I am not clear about where the mass of stuff manufactured in Manchester and district is going; a great deal, a very great deal, of speculation must be involved, for as soon as cotton had reached its lowest point in July, and the spinners began to lay in a stock of raw material, all the spinners and weavers were immediately given long-term contracts by the local commission houses, which were very far from having orders for all the goods they were ordering from manufacturers. In the case of the East Indian houses, the old cash advance system is obviously in full swing again; this has already come to light in a few cases, and in others there will sooner or later be a fine old crash. As the manufacturers here are working at full stretch, and productive power, particularly within a 5-20 mile radius of Manchester, has increased by at least 30 per cent since 1847 (in Lancashire it was 30,000 in 1842, 40,000 in 1845; now certainly 55,000-60,000 horsepower), this brisk activity has only to continue until March or April and we shall have such overproduction as will warm the cockles of your heart.

The following information, prepared by the Liverpool Cotton Brokers Corporation, may not have come to your notice in so detailed a form. First I should explain that delivery to the ports of

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*a* K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review. January-February 1850'. *b* Australia was formerly a place of deportation for criminals. *c* honest folk
each year’s cotton crop is completed by 1 September of the following year, so that the cotton year runs from one 1 September to the next. Hence it follows that what is here described e. g. as the 1851 crop was grown in the summer of 1850, harvested in the autumn of 1850 and conveyed to the ports between September ’50 and September ’51. The crop now ripening which, by the way, will be poorer as the result of drought and storms, and will amount to about 2½ millions, would thus figure as that of 1852.

Cotton crop in the year: American domestic consumption:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>US Consumption</th>
<th>Foreign Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>2,110,537 bales</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>1,778,651 bales</td>
<td>427,967 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2,347,634 bales</td>
<td>531,772 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>2,728,596 bales</td>
<td>518,039 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2,096,706 bales</td>
<td>487,769 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>2,355,257 bales</td>
<td>404,108 bales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Americans, therefore, have consumed between 1/5 and 1/4 of their entire crop themselves. I have not yet any information concerning exports and imports of other types of cotton besides those from the United States. Exports from the US to Britain amounted to about 55-60 per cent of the crop, to France, 1/8. But both countries in their turn export fairly heavily, Britain to France, Germany and Russia, France to Switzerland.

At the present moment the Russians are no longer taking so much as a pound of twist from Britain, very few finished cotton goods, a great deal of raw cotton—2,000-3,000 bales per week and, despite the reduction in duty on yarn from 7d to 5d a pound, new spinning mills are going up daily. Nicholas seems at last to be growing apprehensive about this industry and wants to reduce the duty even further. But since all his rich nobility and all the bourgeoisie have an interest in this business, the affair might become serious should he insist on it.

Your

F. E.
Dear Engels,

This business of the Paris document is quite stupid. The German papers, the Kölnische and the Augsburg,\textsuperscript{a} as might be expected of such undiscerning curs, attribute it to us. On the other hand, the wretched Willich & Co. are putting it about that we had had the rubbish denounced by acquaintances of ours in Paris. \textit{Qu’en dis-tu}\textsuperscript{b}

C. Schramm is also in jug. \textit{Habeat sibi}.\textsuperscript{c} Next time—when I’ve gleaned some further news—I’ll write and tell you more about the dirty business here. Today I shall regale you with the following résumé of Citizen Tchow’s manifesto which occupies several columns in the \textit{New-Yorker Staatszeitung},\textsuperscript{d} and is entitled: ‘\textit{Umrisse des kommenden Kriegs. London, 7. August.}’ (Ill-written, doctrinaire, sundry echoes of our \textit{Revue},\textsuperscript{e} seemingly intelligently developed, but insipid in content, undynamic in form, nothing striking.) I shall spare you Tchow’s initial narrative of the revolution of 1849. These, for a start, are the general lessons he draws from it:

1. Force can be resisted only by force.
2. A revolution can only be victorious if it becomes general, i. e. if it is kindled in the larger centres of the movement (Bavaria-Palatinate, Baden) and if, furthermore, it is not the expression of one single oppositional faction. (Example: the June insurrection of 1848.$^{488}$)
3. National struggles cannot be decisive because they are divisive.
4. Fighting on the barricades has no significance other than to signal a population’s resistance and to put the power of governments, i. e. the troops’ frame of mind, to the test by confronting them with that resistance. Whatever the outcome of this test, the first and most important step in revolution always remains organisation for war, the raising of disciplined armies. For this alone makes an offensive possible and it is only in the offensive that victory lies.

\textsuperscript{a} Kölnische Zeitung and Allgemeine Zeitung - \textsuperscript{b} What do you make of that? - \textsuperscript{c} Serve him right. See this volume, p. 459. - \textsuperscript{d} of 6 September - \textsuperscript{e} Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue
5. National constituent assemblies are not capable of organising for war. They invariably waste time on questions of internal politics, the time for whose solution does not come till after victory has been won.

6. In order to be able to organise for war, a revolution must gain time and space. Hence it must attack politically, i.e. bring into its domain as many stretches of country as possible, since militarily it is at first always restricted to the defensive.

7. In the republican, no less than in the royalist, camp organisation for war can only be based on compulsion. No pitched battle has ever been won by political enthusiasm or fantastically bedizened volunteers against disciplined and well-led soldiers. Military enthusiasm only sets in after a series of successes.—Initially there can be no better basis for such successes than the iron rigour of discipline. In armies, even more so than in the internal organisation of a country, democratic principles can only apply after the victory of the revolution.

8. By its nature the coming war will be a war of extermination—of peoples or princes. From this follows the recognition of the political and military solidarity of all peoples, i.e. of intervention.

9. Spatially the area of the coming revolution falls within the boundaries of that of the defeated ones: France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland.

From all this it follows that the question of the coming revolution is equally as important as that of a European war. Object of the war—a Cossack or republican Europe.¹ Theatre of the war—as before: Northern Italy and Germany.

Mr Techow now enumerates: 1. the armed forces of the counter-revolution; 2. the armed forces of revolution.

I. Armed Forces of the Counter-Revolution

1. Russia. Suppose that it could bring its armed forces up to 300,000. That would be a great deal. How quickly and at what strength could it then appear on the Rhine or in Italy? At the best, in 2 months. Deduct at least 1/3 for sickness and for manning the lines of communication. That leaves 200,000 men who, 2 months after the action has begun, will make their appearance at the crucial points in the theatre of war.

2. Austria. Estimates the strength of its army at 600,000 men. In 1848 and '49 employed 150,000 men in Italy. Radetzky is demanding that number even now, in time of peace. In Hungary

¹ In Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène by Las Cases Napoleon is reported to have said: 'Dans cinquante ans l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque' (In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack).
he now requires, in peacetime, 90,000 men. During the last war, 200,000 were not enough. $1/3$ of this army consists of Hungarians and Italians, who will defect. At best, if the uprising does not take place simultaneously in Hungary and Italy, she will be able to reach the Rhine in 6 weeks with 50,000 men, having been delayed by sundry battles at the barricades.

3. Prussia. Numbers 500,000 men, incl. of the replacement battalions and the Landwehr\(^{985}\) of the First Levy, which do not accompany the army into the field. For operations in the field, 300,000 men, $1/2$ line, $1/2$ Landwehr. Mobilisation: 2 to 3 weeks. The officers' corps in the Prussian army aristocratic, the non-commissioned officers bureaucratic, the masses ‘democratic’ through and through. The revolution has further opportunities in the mobilisation of the Landwehr. Disorganisation of the Prussian army by the revolution which will be mastered by the King\(^ a\) only under the protection of the Russian army and in order to lead the remnants of his army, in company with the Russians, against the rebels. Rhine Province, Westphalia, Saxony lost to him, thus the most important fortified lines and at least $1/3$ of his army. He will need $1/3$ against the uprisings in Berlin, Breslau,\(^ b\) the province of Posen and West Prussia. This leaves at most 100,000 who will be unable to appear on the battlefield any earlier than the Russians themselves.

4. The German Federal Army. The regiments of Baden, Schleswig-Holstein, the Electorate of Hesse, and the Palatinate belong to the revolution. Only the remnants of the German Federal Army, following the fleeing princes, will reinforce the armies of reaction. Of no military significance.

5. Italy. Italy’s only military force, the Sardinian army, belongs to the revolution.

To sum up, then:

**Theatre of war in Germany**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prussians</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrians</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landwehr</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Theatre of war in Italy**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austrians</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landwehr</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 500,000 men

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\(a\) Frederick William IV - \(b\) Polish name: Wroclaw - \(c\) In the original: 110,000
II. Armed Forces of the Revolution

1. France. 500,000 men at the disposal of the revolution from the very start. Of these, 200,000 on the Rhine, 100,000 in Italy (North) ensure that the revolution in Italy and Germany has time and space to organise itself.

2. Prussia. 50,000 i.e. half the defecting armies
3. Austria. 100,000 organised.

4. Small German armies: 100,000.

This adds up as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active French Army</th>
<th>300,000 men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German revolutionary army</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy and Hungary</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>650,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the revolution will lead 650,000 men against absolutism's 500,000.

He concludes:

'Whatever differences of nationality or principle may, after all, split the great party of the revolution—we have all of us learnt that the time to combat these different views amongst ourselves will only come after victory has been won', etc., etc.

What do you make of these calculations? Techow presupposes that there will be disorganisation on the part of the regular armies and organisation on the part of the revolutionary armed forces. That forms the basis of his calculation. However, you'll be better able than I to judge these statistics.

But the essay's actual political tendency, which emerges even more clearly in the exposition, is as follows: No revolution ever breaks out, i.e. there is no party struggle, no civil war, no class dissension, until after the ending of the war and the collapse of Russia. But in order to organise these armies for this war, force is needed. And where is the force to come from? From General Cavaignac, or some similar military dictator in France, who has his generals in Germany and Northern Italy. Voilà la solution, which is not very far removed from Willich's ideas. World war, i.e. as understood by your revolutionary Prussian lieutenant, domination,

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* There is the solution
at least temporarily, of civilians by the military. But how any general, even were the old Napoleon himself to rise up out of his grave, is to get, not only the means, but also so much influence without preliminary and simultaneous internal struggles, without those damned 'internal politics', is not vouchsafed by the oracle. At least this future world-warrior's 'pious wish', which finds its due political expression precisely in the classless politicians and democrats as such, has been clearly and frankly stated.

Farewell.

Your

K. M.

I have just received your letter which I acknowledge herewith.

NB. You know, of course, that Stechahn or Steckhahn\(^a\) has been arrested in Hanover and, before he joined our association, was corresponding with the Schapper committee, etc. Well, 2 letters which he wrote to the secretary of this committee—Dietz, the cockroach—and which the latter received, are at present in the police inspector's office in Hanover. We then entrusted Ulmer with the task of questioning Messrs Dietz & Co. on the subject at next Friday's public sitting of the 'refugee or émigré society'. This we countermanded again. Stechan has done a bunk and is, therefore, either on his way to London or already here. And who's to say that Stechan won't go to our enemies rather than to us?

The Straubingers\(^b\) are capables de tout. Further proof: Mr Paul Stumpf who, during his short visit to London, did not come to see either myself or Lupus but consorted exclusively with the blackguards.

I found your trade news exceedingly interesting.

As for C. Schramm, he was carrying in his pocket-book a brief note from me establishing his bona fides. Those lines could have been as fatal Uriah's letter.\(^c\) They were originally given to him to make him think he was trusted and to disarm him, since the fellow could do us considerable damage. But at the same time a letter went off to Reinhardt warning him to be on his guard should he

\(^a\) should read Stechan
\(^b\) capable of anything
\(^c\) The bible relates that David sent a letter by Uriah condemning the bearer to death (2 Samuel 11:14, 15).
Engels to Marx. 25 September 1851

Dear Marx,

Your letter has arrived. Will write about Techow’s erudition tomorrow. Kinkel’s begging letter to New Orleans is very charming, but unfortunately I only saw the French version. Mr Stechan must also be in London by now; should he fail to announce himself, you will be absolutely right to leave the fellow to his own devices and to wait and see what happens before allowing anyone to take his side. Those released in Paris, of whom there is word in today’s papers, will doubtless include Mr Conrad. I, too, was much annoyed by the stupidity of the German newspapers in laying Willich’s document at our door. However, it will soon transpire that we have nothing to do with this wretched screed. Par dieu, nous en avons assez sur les bras with other people’s documents, as regards both style and content. Herewith article No. 3 for New York, at least a little less trashy than No. 2. I shall shortly be tackling No. 4.

*SCHRAMM* present himself with the note, which was couched in general terms. The worst of it is that my name is at the bottom. It could earn Schramm 6 months.

Addio!

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] [25] September 1851

*Manuscript damaged - Conrad Schramm - By God, we have enough on our hands - F. Engels, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany. Article III.*
You might from time to time send me an American paper sous \textit{bande},\textsuperscript{a} it being occasionally desirable to see the muck \textit{in natura}. I shall shortly be sending you another \textit{lot of stamps} for this purpose.  

\textit{Adieu!}

Your  
F. E.

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Dear Marx,

As regards Techow's war story,\textsuperscript{b} from a military standpoint too, it is tremendously superficial and in parts downright wrong. Apart from the profound verities that only force avails against force and from the absurd discovery that revolution can only be victorious if it is general (i.e. literally if it meets no resistance and, by inference, if it is a bourgeois revolution), apart from the well-meaning intention to suppress those awkward 'internal politics', that is, the revolution itself through the agency of a military dictator as yet to be discovered, \textit{pace} Cavaignac and Willich, and apart from this very significant political formulation of the views on revolution held by these gentlemen, it should, militarily speaking, be noted that:

1. The iron discipline which alone can procure victory is the exact obverse of the 'postponement of internal politics' and of military dictatorship. Whence is that discipline to come? The gentlemen really should have gleaning some experience in Baden and the Palatinate.\textsuperscript{c} It is a manifest fact that the disorganisation of

\textsuperscript{a} in a wrapper \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 463. \textsuperscript{c} i.e. during the uprising of May-July 1849 there
armies and a total relaxation of discipline have been both precondition and consequence of all successful revolutions hitherto. It took France from 1789 to 1792 to reorganise an army—Dumouriez's—of only about 60,000-80,000 men, and even that disintegrated again and there was no organised army to speak of in France until the end of 1793. It took Hungary from March 1848 to the middle of 1849 to create a properly organised army. And who brought discipline to the army in the first French Revolution? Not the generals who, at a time of revolution, do not acquire influence and authority in improvised armies until a few victories have been won, but rather the terreur of internal politics, of the civil power.

Armed forces of the Coalition:

1. Russia. The estimate of an effective force of 300,000 men, 200,000 of them under arms in the theatre of war, is on the high side. Passe encore. But they could not be on the Rhine (at most an advance guard on the Lower Rhine, at Cologne), or in Northern Italy in 2 months. In order to act in concert, to co-ordinate their movements adequately with those of Prussia, Austria, etc., etc., they would require 3 months—a Russian army does not cover more than 2-2½ German miles a day, and rests every third. It took them almost 2 months to reach the theatre of war in Hungary.

2. Prussia. Mobilisation: at least 4-6 weeks. The speculation regarding defections, uprisings, etc., etc., very uncertain. At best can make 150,000 men available, at worst maybe less than 50,000. This being so, to count on 1/3 or 1/4 is sheer humbug, since everything depends on chance.

3. Austria. Equally chanceux and even more complex. No possibility here of estimating probabilities à la Techow. At best it could, as Techow supposes, put some 200,000 men into the field against France, at worst it would not succeed in detaching one man, and might at the very outside pit 100,000 men against the French at Trieste.

4. Federal army—of the Bavarian, 2/3 would certainly march against the revolution, and here and there even a bit more. At all events a corps 30,000-50,000 strong could be raised within 3 months, and against revolutionary soldiers this is enough to start off with.

5. Denmark would immediately put 40,000-50,000 good troops into the field and, as in 1813, the Swedes and also the Norwegians

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a But let that pass  
b 1 German mile is roughly 4-4½ statute miles  
c risky
would have to accompany it on the great crusade. Techow has overlooked this, as he has overlooked Belgium and Holland.

Armed forces of the revolution:

1. France. Has 430,000 men under arms. Of these, 100,000 in Algiers. 90,000 not présent sous les armes—a—\(\frac{1}{4}\) of the remainder. This leaves 240,000—of whom not more than 100,000 could reach the Belgo-German and 80,000 the Savoyard-Piedmontese frontier in 4-6 weeks, despite the now largely completed railways. This time Sardinia will try, like Belgium in 1848, to be the firm rock in the turbulent sea; hence whether the Piedmontese army, crammed as it is with bigoted Sardinian peasant lads, is—at least in its present form, officered by aristocrats—as committed to the revolution as Techow imagines is highly questionable. Victor Emmanuel has taken Leopold for his model, c'est dangereux.

2. Prussia—? 3. Austria—?; i.e. so far as regular organised soldiers are concerned. As regards volunteers, they will turn up in their thousands, useless, of course. If in the first months 50,000-60,000 useful soldiers can be made out of troops who have defected, that's a great deal. Where are the officers to come from in so short a time?

Judging by all this, it is more likely that since any revolution (even in France) is bound to lack the very thing which enabled Napoleon to muster vast armies rapidly, to wit, good cadres, the revolution, if it takes place next year, will first either have to remain on the defensive or else confine itself to empty proclama-
tions from Paris and highly inadequate, reprehensible and damaging Risquons-Tout expeditions on a larger scale. Unless, of course, the Rhine fortresses come over during the first attack and the Piedmontese army responds to Citizen Techow's call; or unless the disorganisation of the Prussian and Austrian troops immediately centres on Berlin and Vienna, thus placing Russia on the defensive; or unless something else happens which cannot be foreseen. And to speculate on this and to calculate probabilities à la Techow is both otiose and arbitrary, as I know well enough from my own experience. All that can be said in this connection is that a very great deal depends on the Rhine Province.

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

\(a\) under arms - \(b\) it's dangerous
My dear Mrs Daniels,

I believe it is hardly necessary for me to mention the deep concern I feel about your husband’s arrest and your own separation from him. I console myself with the conviction that the courts will not be able to allow his detention to drag on much longer without bringing the case before a jury, and that you and your husband possess fortitude enough to defy adversity. I should be much obliged to you if you would hand over to the bearer of these lines the following books for me....

First published in the Kölnische Zeitung, No. 275, 27 October 1852
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

Dear Engels,

You’ll have seen in the Kölnische Zeitung that I’ve made a statement refuting the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung’s nonsense. The tittle-tattle was becoming altogether too wild. The ruffians'
intention, in launching the recent series of prolonged attacks in all the German newspapers, was, I am quite sure, to place me on the horns of a dilemma. Either I must publicly disown the conspiracy and hence our party friends, or I must publicly acknowledge it, thus committing an act of treason 'in law'. However, these gentlemen are too clumsy to catch us out.

On 29 September Weydemeyer sailed for New York from Le Havre. There he met Reich, who was also crossing the ocean to the Atlantic regions. Reich had been arrested with Schramm and reports that the police found Schramm in possession of a copy of the minutes containing the transaction which caused his duel with Willich, the minutes, that is, of that same evening when he insulted Willich and walked out of the meeting. The thing was written in his own hand and was unsigned. In this way the police found out that his name was Schramm and not 'Bamberger' on whose passport he was staying in Paris. On the other hand the minutes have added to the confusion of Messrs Chief of the City Police Weiss & Co. in that our names thus became mixed up in the dirty business. Since it was Schramm who committed this blunder, it is at least gratifying that this man of honour is himself being punished for it.

So the £160 sent from America has been used by Kinkel to go collecting in America in person, accompanied by his saviour, Schurz. Whether he's going at the right time, in view of the present pressure on the American money-market, would seem doubtful. He chose the moment so as to arrive before Kossuth, and likes to imagine that he will have some opportunity of publicly embracing the latter in the land of the future and of seeing the legend 'Kossuth and Kinkel!' in all the newspapers.

On the strength of his clamour over the emancipation of slaves, Mr Heinzen succeeded in forming a new joint-stock company in New York and is continuing to run his paper under a somewhat modified title.

Stechan—never trust a Straubinger—has been here for several weeks in Willich-Schapper's retinue. While the fact remains that the letters he wrote to the cockroach Dietz are now in the possession of the Hanover police, Stechan has written an article

September 1851 carried in a supplement an item datelined 'Cologne, 26 September' in which the arrests of the Communist League members in Cologne were linked with information allegedly received by Baroness von Beck from Marx.

See this volume, p. 457. - ibid., p. 439. - Deutsche Schnellpost
for the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*\(^a\) in which he reports that Mr Dietz's desk was broken into (*quelle bêtise!*\(^b\)) and that was how the letters were purloined. The spy, as has now been established, was Haupt of Hamburg, who had long been in the service of the police. How fortunate that a few weeks ago I forestalled any overt moves in the Dietz-Stechan affair. As for Haupt, I've heard nothing more of him, and am vainly racking my brains to find some way of having a letter conveyed to him in person, for Haupt has got to declare himself. I've already tried to do so through Weerth but Haupt's fellow lodgers always turned him away on the pretext that he wasn't in. *Que penses-tu de Haupt?*\(^c\) I'm convinced that he isn't a spy and never has been.

Edgar Bauer is also said to be here. I have not yet seen him. A week ago Blind and his wife (Madame Cohen) arrived to visit the exhibition and left again on Sunday last. I didn't see him again after the Monday, and this because of the following absurd incident, which will show you how very much henpecked the wretched man is. Today I received a locally posted letter in which he announces his departure. Now, the previous Monday he had come to see me with his wife. Others present were Freiligrath, red Wolff\(^d\) (who, be it said in passing, has crept back again all unobtrusively and has, moreover, *married* an English bluestocking), Liebknecht, and the luckless Pieper. The wife is a vivacious Jewess and we were laughing and chatting quite merrily when the father of all lies\(^e\) brought the conversation round to religion. She was showing off on atheism, Feuerbach, etc. I attacked Feuerbachus, but very civilly, of course, and in a most affable way. At first it seemed to me that the Jewess was enjoying the discussion which, of course, was the only reason why I had engaged in this boring topic. In between whiles my dogmatically obtrusive echo, Mr Pieper, held forth—but not exactly in a tactful manner. Suddenly I noticed that the woman was in floods of tears. Blind was casting sorrowfully expressive glances in my direction, she decamped—and was not seen again;\(^f\) *né lui non plus.*\(^g\) It was something the like of which I had never seen before in all my long experience.

Pieper has set sail for Frankfurt am Main with the house of Rothschild. He has acquired a most disagreeable habit of butting

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\(^a\) G. L. Stechan, *Hannover, 28 September*, *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*, No. 544, 29 September 1851. - \(^b\) what a stupidity! - \(^c\) What do you think of Haupt? - \(^d\) Ferdinand Wolff - \(^e\) the devil—see Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, *Hell*, XXIII. - \(^f\) Goethe, *Der Fischer*. - \(^g\) and neither was he
in on my conversations with other people in a very fatuous, pedantic tone.

What they have just learnt, they must needs teach others forthwith.
Ah me, what a short gut these gentry have!¹

The honourable Göhringer has sent me a summons for the 22nd of this month because of the old demand. At the same time the great man set off for Southampton to welcome Kossuth. It would seem that I am to pay for the reception ceremonies.

I have had 2 letters from Paris, one from Ewerbeck and one from Sasonow. Mr Ewerbeck is publishing an immortal work: L'Allemagne et les Allemands. Ranging from Arminius the Cheruscan (his actual words) to the year of Our Lord 1850. He asks me for biographical-literary-historical notes on 3 men: F. Engels, K. Marx and B. Bauer. The muck's already printing. Que faire?² I fear that if we don't send the fellow any answer at all, he will spread the most arrant nonsense about us. Write and tell me what you think about this.

The most interesting thing about Sasonow's letter at any rate is the postmark, 'Paris'. How does Sasonow come to be in Paris just when things are so difficult? I shall ask him to explain this mystère. He, for his part, goes into long complaints about Dronke's being a fainéant³ and allowing himself to be enjôler⁴ by a few bourgeois. He says he has translated half the Manifesto.⁵ Dronke had apparently undertaken to translate the other half but, because of his customary negligence and idleness, the whole thing had come to naught. This last is, indeed, just like our Dronke.

After the rejection by Mr Campe of my offer regarding the anti-Proudhon pamphlet, and by Mr Cotta and, later, Löwenthal of the one (transmitted through Ebner in Frankfurt) concerning my Economy, there would at last appear to be some prospect for the latter.⁶⁷ I shall know in a week whether anything will come of it. It's a publisher in Dessau⁸ and through Ebner too. This man Ebner is a friend of Freiligrath's.

I haven't yet had a letter from the Tribune, which I have not so much as seen, but I don't doubt that the thing is going ahead.⁹ At any rate it's bound to resolve itself in a few days' time.

By the way, you must at long last let me have your vues⁹ on

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¹ F. Schiller, 'Die Sonntagskinder'. ² What's to be done? ³ lazybones ⁴ cajoled ⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party. ⁶ Friedrich Suchsland ⁷ the publishing of Engels' Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany. ⁸ views
Proudhon, however brief. They are of particular interest to me since I am now in the throes of working out the Economy. Incidentally, during my recent visits to the library, which I continue to frequent, I have been delving mainly into technology, the history thereof, and agronomy, so that I can form at least some sort of an opinion of the stuff.

Qu’est ce que fait la crise commerciale? The Economist is full of the anodynes, assurances and appeals which regularly precede a crisis. However, one senses its fear as it seeks to dispel the fears of others. If you happen to come upon the following book: Johnston, Notes on North America, 2 vols., 1851, you will find all manner of interesting information in it. For this Johnston is the English Liebig. An atlas of physical geography by 'Johnston', not to be confused with the above, may perhaps be had from one of Manchester’s lending libraries. It is a compilation of all the most recent as well as earlier research in this field. Costs 10 guineas. Thus not meant for private individuals. Not a word from our dear Harney. He would seem to be still living in Scotland.

The English admit that, at the industrial exhibition, the Americans carried off the prize and beat them at everything. 1. Gutta-percha. New materials and new industries. 2. Weapons. Revolvers. 3. Machines. Reapers, seed drills and sewing-machines. 4. Daguerreotypes, used for the first time on a large scale. 5. Shipping, with their yacht. Finally, to show that they are also capable of producing luxury articles, they exhibited an enormous lump of Californian gold ore and beside it a golden service of virgin gold.

Salut!

Your

K. Marx

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a P. J. Proudhon, Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle. b How is the commercial crisis going?
Dear Marx,

Herewith Post Office Order for two pounds. Particulars as before. The business with Göhringer is a great nuisance. You'll have to pay; the gentlemen of the County Court make short work of it, and the handwriting is there. If I were you, I'd raise the money along with the cost of the summons as soon as possible, and send it to the fellow. *Il n'y a rien à faire* and to go to court and be sentenced only increases the costs and isn't exactly pleasant. What is the total amount, and how much can you raise? Let me have as exact a figure as possible and I shall certainly do everything in my power to keep the brokers away from your door, short though I myself am just now.

The business with Schramm is not very pleasant and it would have been better had we been kept out of this beastly mess altogether. That the minutes concerning those edifying squabbles over Bauer's and Pfänder's trust funds should be in the hands of these gentlemen is far from pleasant, and Schramm deserves to have his backside kicked for carting such things around with him. At any rate, it serves him right if, as a result, he's locked up for a time and gets six months for using a false passport.

As for Haupt, I shall not regard him as a spy until I have the actual proof before my eyes. The fellow may have done some stupid things while in clink and there's admittedly something fishy about the business with Daniels, who is said to have been arrested on the strength of his denunciation. But all this journeymen's club chatter from Windmill Street is the more fatuous for coinciding with the story of the forcing of Dietz's desk. Doubtless it was actually from Hamburg that Haupt broke into the cockroach's desk! And then, why doesn't the precious Dietz complain to the English police? It would, by the way, be a very good idea if Haupt could be induced to make a statement about the matter. If you send Weerth a letter for him, I would imagine that Weerth would be bound to find some opportunity of handing

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a There's nothing you can do - b See this volume, p. 473.
it to him personally within the fortnight and, if needs be, could even call on him at the office. A merchant can always be found.

The affair of Blind and spouse\textsuperscript{a} is truly inimitable. To shed tears and push off because Monsieur Pieper maligned Feuerbach, \textit{c'est fort}.\textsuperscript{b}

When you use the word ‘married’ of red Wolff,\textsuperscript{c} is it in the English, respectfully bourgeois sense? I’m inclined to believe this, since you underline it. That would really beat everything hollow. M. Wolff \textit{bon époux, peut-être même bon père de famille!}\textsuperscript{d}

I think you’d be well-advised to fob Ewerbeck off with a few meagre notes and keep him in tolerably good humour; no purpose would be served by the fellow’s spreading something altogether too idiotic about us in France. By the way, the tenacity this fellow evinces in his endeavours to become a great man is unbelievable considering that it actually gets the better of his avarice; for this new piece of ‘immortality’\textsuperscript{e} is undoubtedly again being paid for out of his own pocket, with a sale of 50 copies in prospect.

I’d like to hear more about Sasonow should you hear from him. This episode is piquant and Mr Sasonow is becoming extremely suspect.

I am at present engaged in making what summaries I need from the Proudhon. Wait until the end of this week, and it’ll be returned to you, with my comments.\textsuperscript{f} Once again the fellow’s calculations are capital. Wherever there’s a figure there’s a howler.

What course the crisis will take here cannot be foreseen. Nothing was done last week because of the Queen.\textsuperscript{g} Not much this week either. But the market has a \textit{downward tendency}, with raw material prices still firm. Both will fall considerably within a few weeks and probably, to go by current prospects, the industrial product relatively further than the raw material; hence the spinners, weavers and printers will have to work on lower margins. That in itself is suspect enough. But the American market threatens to expire, the reports from Germany are not too favourable and, if markets continue moribund, we might see the beginning of the end in a few weeks’ time. In America it’s hard to say whether \textit{pressure} and bankruptcies (debts of 16 million dollars in all) really are the beginning, or are merely straws in the wind. Here, at all events, there are already some very significant straws.

\textsuperscript{a} Cohen - \textsuperscript{b} is preposterous - \textsuperscript{c} Ferdinand Wolff - \textsuperscript{d} a good husband, perhaps even a good pater familias! - \textsuperscript{e} H. Ewerbeck, \textit{L’Allemagne et les Allemands}. - \textsuperscript{f} F. Engels, ‘Critical Review of Proudhon’s Book \textit{Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX\textsuperscript{e} siècle}’. - \textsuperscript{g} In mid-October 1851 Queen Victoria visited Manchester.
The iron trade is totally paralysed, and 2 of the main banks which supply it with money—those in Newport—have gone broke; now, besides the recent failures in London and Liverpool, a tallow speculator in Glasgow and, on the London stock exchange, Mr Thomas Allsop, a friend of O'Connor's and Harney's. I haven't seen today's reports from the woollen, silk and hardware districts, _cela ne sera pas trop brillant non plus._ At any rate there will no longer be any question of mistaking present indications, and there is the prospect, if not actually the certainty, of next spring's convulsions on the Continent coinciding with quite a nice little crisis. Even Australia seems incapable of doing very much; since California, the discovery of gold has become an old story and the world has grown _blasé_ about it; it's beginning to be a _regular trade_ and the surrounding markets are themselves so overstocked that, without making very much impression on their own _glut_, they are capable of bringing about an _extra glut_ among the 150,000 inhabitants of New South Wales.

So Mr Louis Napoleon has _enfin_ decided to give Mr Faucher the boot. It was only to be expected that, this time, he would not allow the prorogation to go by without repeating the previous year's coup with Changarnier—whether with equal success, we shall see. He has, to use an expression from the hunting field, at last been _brought to bay_ by the royalists, has turned on them and is threatening them with his antlers. It remains to be seen, however, when he will tuck his tail between his legs again. At all events, the miserable adventurer is fallen so low that, do what he will, _il est foutu_; but the affair is now beginning to become interesting. In one respect it's a pity that the splendid Faucher-Carlier repression, the progressive state of siege, the gendarmerie's tyranny, etc., is so soon threatened with interruption and, should the cowardly Napoleon really be brave enough to launch a serious attack on the electoral law, he could even now bring about its repeal, which would also be a pity as it would again provide a lawful basis for these jackasses, the legal progressives of 13 June—but who knows what is good and what is bad where these Frenchmen are concerned? What do you make of the dirty business? You see more newspapers there.

Your

F. E.

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*a* they won't be very wonderful either - *b* at last - *c* he is done for - *d* A law of 31 May 1850 which abrogated universal suffrage.
MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

London, 16 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Not only have I myself written to A. Charles Dana, one of the editors of the New-York Tribune, but I have sent him a letter of introduction for you from Freiligrath. So all you have to do is to call on him and mention our names.

You ask about a statistical manual. I would recommend—since it also contains economic expositions—the Commercial Dictionary by MacCulloch, 1845. There are more recent things, e.g., by MacGregor, whose works on statistics are, generally speaking, probably the best so far as Europe as a whole is concerned. But they are very dear. However, you will certainly find them in one of the New York libraries. MacCulloch, on the other hand, is a manual which every journalist ought to possess.


On the history of commerce generally:


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\(a\) Reference to the terms for publication of Notes to the People. \(b\) but what can I do? \(c\) J. MacGregor, Commercial Tariffs and Regulations, Resources, and Trade of the Several States of Europe and America; The Resources and Statistics of Nations.

On France: Moreau.a

Now I have another commission for you. At the request of Koch, a former German Catholic priest, whom you may inquire after at the *Staatszeitung*, for which he writes from time to time, I sent him 20 *Manifestos* (in German) and one English translation of the same, instructing him to have it—the English translation—printed in pamphlet form, along with Harney's introductory note.c Since that time there hasn't been a word from Mr Koch. Please ask him, 1) for an explanation of this most suspect silence, after he had written to me so urgently, and 2) get him to give you the English translation and see if you can dispose of it in pamphlet form, i.e. if you can publish, distribute and sell it. Needless to say, any proceeds there may be will go to you, but we should like to have 20-50 copies for ourselves.

Dronke is coming here on the 23rd inst.196

Write soon. Regards to you and your wifed from my wife, myself and all friends.

I hope that you have weathered the voyage successfully and that things will go well with you in the United States.

Your

K. Marx

[From Mrs Jenny Marx]

Tell your dear wife that, during this time, I have been thinking of her with heartfelt sympathy and concern. What must she have endured on the long sea voyage with two small children! I hope these lines will not reach New York too long before yourselves. I feel sure that you will manage to make a provisional home for yourselves there.

We have had no news of Edgar e since his departure in April. He left Bremen on the sailing vessel *Reform*, Captain Ammerman, intending to disembark at Galveston and stay, to begin with, in New Braunfels. Perhaps, dear Mr Weydemeyer, it might be possible for you to track him down somewhere from New York. His silence is all the more incomprehensible as he knows that, because of the

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paralysis of her right hand, our poor, lonely little mama has been deprived of the last solace fate has left her—to communicate in writing with those she loves most. Farewell, and warm regards from

Jenny Marx


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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 October 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

A few days ago I received a letter from Dronke wherein—ostensibly on account of his expulsion—he announces that he will be arriving in London on the 23rd or 24th of this month. The question of subsistence will loom larger for him here than ever before.

A still more baleful piece of news is this: Of late my correspondence with Cologne has been carried on in such a way that letters for me are brought to Liège by Schmidt, a railway guard, and I, for my part, sent a letter to him in Liège under cover through a third person. Well, this man Schmidt was arrested and later released, but the investigation is still going on. This would seem to be a case of outright betrayal. In accordance with the arrangement, Pieper should, by the way, have long since sent news from Cologne, where the Rothschilds stopped for a day, and from Frankfurt. Instead, I see from one of Ebner's letters (from Frankfurt) to Freiligrath that, although he has already spent a week in Frankfurt, he has not yet been to see Ebner, to whom he was to deliver a letter from me. It is our great misfortune that our agents should always go about their business in so very slipshod a

a Caroline von Westphalen
manner, and invariably as though it were of secondary importance. The others are unquestionably better served.

Kinkel, to whom it seemed that the ground had been cut away under his feet by that boor Heinzen, and who in any case feels able to take the floor only when unanimously hailed as a saviour, did not hold a meeting in New York, nor did he sell any ‘interest-bearing notes’ on the future German republic. In Philadelphia, on the other hand, as he writes and tells the emigration club, he sold 4,000 dollars’ worth. Throughout Pennsylvania he found the inevitable crowd of light-loving German-Catholics. All Kinkel did was to enter into the inheritance of Johannes Rönge. The latter was John. He is Christ.

This evening I shall be meeting Göhringer. The whole thing’s the fault of Willich & Co. For at the urgent request of these oafs, he allegedly gave them the sum I owed him. I shall give him a promissory note payable in 4 weeks’ time. I think he will agree to this. If not, let him go to court. I have, in the interim, every prospect of concluding the contract with the Dessau publisher, who will, of course, have to pay me a sum in advance.

Weerth is in Bradford again. *Il importe* that you should write and ask him whether he can take a letter to Haupt in person. The entire calumny seems to me to emanate from 2 sources, on the one hand, Stechan-Dietz, on the other, Willich the beadle, who was the first person here to bru it it about among Schärttner’s customers that Haupt might be a spy. For Willich associated regularly with Berthold, the ex-Prussian corporal. Haupt had managed to place this beast with a merchant in Hamburg. Berthold stole from the merchant and was charged by the police. Haupt, of course, gave evidence against the rascal, who may, perhaps, have shared the proceeds with his friend Willich. Whereupon the latter began to yelp about the betrayal of ‘a poor, fugitive patriot’. If this story is made public, the ‘noble’ Willich will be all eyes. Now it would be important, not only for us to call on Haupt for an explanation regarding the suspicions overtly and covertly cast upon him, but for him, if innocent, to make a public statement, declaring that the whole business is based on Willich’s calumny and at the same time hinting at the latter’s association, maybe as partner, with the rascally Berthold. For Haupt doesn’t yet know about this dirty trick of Willich’s, which was the actual source of the suspicions cast upon him. If Weerth is willing, you could give him a letter to Haupt couched in these

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*a* the Baptist - *b* Friedrich Suchsland (see this volume, p. 475) - *c* It’s important
terms. *La chose presse.* In his statement Haupt should also refer to 'Dietz' and the equivocal matter of the forcing of his desk.

Now, as regards Ewerbeck, you must let me have a line or two concerning yourself, at least up to the year 1845.\(^b\)

Mr Louis Bonaparte's sudden about-face, whatever its consequences may be, is a master-stroke of Girardin's. As you know, this gent had allied himself in London with Ledru-Rollin and his paper\(^c\) really became, for a time, as stupid as might be expected from an ally of Ledru's and Mazzini's. Unexpectedly he adopted the ploy of *suffrage universel*, determining Bonaparte in its favour with the aid of his articles, Dr Véron and personal *entrevues*\(^d\). In this way the royalist conspiracy was smashed. The fury of the normally so diplomatic *Journal des Débats* is the clearest proof of this. The whole lot were hand-in-glove, Faucher, Carlier, Changarnier, and even the noble Berryer and Broglie, who had ostensibly rallied to Bonaparte. At any rate the 'revolution'—in the sense of triggering it off—has been juggled away. With *suffrage universel* there can be no question of it. But Mr Girardin doesn't care for a revolutionary *mise en scène*. He has duped both royalists and professional revolutionaries, and it may even be asked whether he is not intentionally duping Louis Bonaparte. For *suffrage universel* once restored, who will guarantee Bonaparte revision, and revision once achieved, who will guarantee that it will turn out as he wants?\(^420\) Nevertheless, in view of the native stupidity of the French peasantry, the question arises whether the *élu du suffrage universel*\(^e\) will not be re-elected out of gratitude for having restored the said suffrage, more especially if, by and by, he nominates liberal ministers and with the help of ingenious pamphlets, puts the blame for all the mischief on the royalist conspirators, who kept him prisoner for 3 years. It will depend on his ingenuity. At all events, Bonaparte now knows that, with the *parti de l'ordre*,\(^267\) he's not in clover.

One of the most comical interludes in this game of intrigue is the melancholy mien of the *National* and the *Siècle* which, as every one knows, have for some considerable time been howling for *suffrage universel*. Now that France is in danger of being presented with it again, they cannot conceal their chagrin. For as the royalists had counted on *suffrage restreint*,\(^f\) for Changarnier's election, so they counted on the same for Cavaignac's. Girardin told them bluntly that he knew that beneath their republican horror of

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\(^{a}\) The matter is urgent. \(^{b}\) See this volume, pp. 475, 478. \(^{c}\) *La Presse* - \(^{d}\) interviews - \(^{e}\) electee of universal suffrage - \(^{f}\) limited suffrage
revision—with its prospect of re-election for Bonaparte—they were merely concealing their hatred of _suffrage universel_, which would exclude their man, Cavaignac, and their entire coterie. The _National_, poor thing, _s'était déjà consolé du départ du suffrage universel_.

So much is certain. This coup will have thwarted the May 1852 uprising, which at best might now break out earlier should one of the ruling coteries attempt a coup d'état.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1851

Dear Engels,

Did you get my letter of last Monday? You’re so meticulous about writing that your silence disturbs me.

I have heard nothing from Pieper up to the present. If nothing has happened to him, he is being unpardonably irresponsible. Dronke has not yet arrived. Have heard nothing from Cologne.

Enclosed a letter from Fischer who writes like a true democratic philistine. For the time being, _il faut le laisser faire_, since nothing further can be done about it. If only he doesn’t do anything silly where Kinkel is concerned. His letter rather gives the impression that he might.

Well, as we now learn, Kinkel had arranged matters as follows. Part of the £160 sterling was used to send Schurz on a secret mission to Belgium, France and Switzerland. He induced all the

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*a* had already consoled itself for the demise of universal suffrage - *b* he must be given his head
great men there, including the Parliamentarians\(^a\) (and not excluding the late Raveaux), to confer plenary powers on Kinkel and, at the same time, to guarantee the debt to be contracted in respect of the future German republic.\(^b\) Hence the vast majority are now united and E. Meyen was able to promulgate in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* the great secret that the meaning of the future movement in Germany had now been discovered, namely, the principle of nationhood. Even at the time of his finest flowering, this individual never wrote as foolishly as he does now. Intellectually, these fellows are completely bankrupt.

*Addio!*

Your  
K. M.

I have for the time being postponed the Göhringer business. Unfortunately the jackass is leaving for Spain on 1 November, having sold his public house here. Meanwhile, I need not fear any further hostile moves from him.

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**ENGELS TO MARX**  
IN LONDON  
[Manchester, about 27 October 1851]

**Dear Marx,**

If I didn’t at once reply to your letter of the 19th inst., this was because I was expecting Weerth here within a few days and wanted to settle matters with regard to Haupt; and also because I wanted to be done with the Proudhon screed.\(^b\) That will be today

\(^a\) i.e. the members of the Frankfurt National Assembly  
\(^b\) F. Engels, ‘Critical Review of Proudhon’s Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX\(^{e}\) siècle*’. 
and tomorrow evening, and Weerth was here on Saturday and Sunday; he will be remaining in Bradford for some time yet, and hence cannot take the letter over himself and refuses to do so even if he could, present conditions in Germany being so brilliant that one is liable to summary arrest on the slightest provocation, and he has no desire to be in any way mixed up in this League matter.\textsuperscript{a} This cannot \textit{au fond}\textsuperscript{b} be held against him. He will, however, certainly see for me that a letter reaches Haupt, and only asks to be kept out of the thing completely. He told me, moreover, that he had come across Haupt on several occasions of late, but that, each time he had gone up to him, the man had, with a considerable show of embarrassment, suddenly avoided him and made off. It could be that, while in jug, Haupt was to some extent talked round by his family, etc., etc., and made certain admissions which now weigh heavily upon him. For the rest, Weerth is also of the opinion that those other stories emanating from Willich-Stechan are downright calumnies, since Haupt could have had no reason to sell himself.

I shall now write to Haupt anonymously,\textsuperscript{500} since he knows my hand, and leave the conveyance of the letter to Weerth. I shall call upon him to declare himself openly and shall suggest that the Berthold business may well have been the cause of all the rumours. However, I shall omit the further suggestion that Willich might have gone shares with Berthold, because 1) Haupt will take care not to put his name to such insinuations, 2) the story is too improbable, Mr Berthold not being the man to go shares with distant acquaintances, particularly with Willich whom \textit{au fond}\textsuperscript{c} he detests, and 3) within the week the others would write to all the newspapers, describing this as a fresh calumny put about by Mr Marx, and appealing to philistine sentiment on behalf of that calumniated worthy Willich. The fellow's already enough of a rogue without our trying to make him into a greater one, or spreading lies about him which he can refute.

I must say that the Fischer letter is the stupidest thing I have seen in a long while. But I was expecting something of the kind and believe, moreover, that it will get no further than \textit{promises} of money. The democratic jackasses can hardly be asked to send us money when their own people are coming in person to beg it from them, and the most they can be persuaded to do is, as Fischer himself says, to accord us some say in the disposal of the money, if

\textsuperscript{a} the impending trial of the Communist League members - \textsuperscript{b} really - \textsuperscript{c} at bottom
we are prepared to consent to sit in conclave with such rabble and as a minority at that. The borrowing scheme à la Mazzini, with an imperial guarantee⁴ (the German Empire guarantees the Republic!), isn't bad at all, and it did at least require the combined efforts of all the most exemplary mendicants to produce it. Now that this has been invented, no other course remains open to our party than to withdraw completely from the democratic money market. 

This impudence beats us hollow. Such money as we have received from the democrats for political purposes has in any case come our way purely per abusum⁵ and, now that the great men have themselves appeared on the market as a joint stock company, this illusion entirely ceases to be. All we should incur by our requests would be refusé Authors and humiliation unless, of course, Weydemeyer should succeed in achieving something in New York, and even then it would only be among the workers.

Weerth will be writing to you shortly. He is very undecided about what he should do. He has had some splendid offers, but none of them really suit him.

Like the Apostle Paul, Mr Kossuth is all things to all men.⁶ In Marseilles he shouts Vive la République, in Southampton God save the queen. What remarkable and hyper-constitutional moderation the fellow now parades! But Mr Pettie and the Harney clique are happy enough that he should have no intention whatever of attending their banquet. Even Mr Mazzini would be given a very cool reception—at least in public. Yet another one about whom we weren't mistaken. Should there be no secousses⁷ next year, how long before Mr Kossuth, too, stoops to common, tub-thumping demagogy à la Mazzini?

Proudhon tomorrow or the day after. If possible, I shall send Fischer the Revue but only of the last issue have I more than one copy. Can you still get hold of Nos. 1-4 for me?

Your

F. E.

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⁴ See this volume, p. 486. ⁵ here: irregularly ⁶ refusals ⁷ 1 Corinthians 9:22 ⁸ convulsions
Dear Weydemeyer,

I am sending yet another letter to America in your wake. For after mature consideration with Lupus, I believe that we might do some business together.

Firstly. The erstwhile Neue Rheinische Zeitung was not widely distributed in America. If you could manage to ferret out some bourgeois or other, or even just the necessary credit with a printer and paper merchant, I believe it would pay to create out of the N.Rh.Z. a kind of pocket library in the form of small booklets such as those produced by Becker in Cologne.\textsuperscript{501} E.g. the Schlesische Milliarde by W. Wolff, Hungary by Engels,\textsuperscript{a} the Prussian bourgeoisie by myself\textsuperscript{b} and some of Weerth's feuilletons, etc. I would send you the things from here if they are not to be found there, at the same time indicating the most suitable for selection. You would have to write a short general introduction to this 'N.Rh.Z. Pocket Library', and notes or a postscript to individual volumes where circumstances seemed to demand it.

Secondly. Similarly, you could bring out in the same form and with explanatory remarks Engels' and my anti-Heinzen pieces from the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung:\textsuperscript{c} I think they should sell well.

We would share the profits after deducting production costs.

Thirdly. I have had all kinds of inquiries and orders from America for the 6 numbers of my Revue that have appeared, but have not responded to any of them as I could not trust the rascals there. You could announce that the thing is to be had from you, but obviously a fair number of orders would have to be received before we would dispatch anything from here.

Fourthly. You as well as ourselves could, if the moment demanded it, include in the small library referred to above

\textsuperscript{a} F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle', 'Hungary' and other articles. \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, 'The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution'. \textsuperscript{c} F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'; K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality'. 
pamphlets written in response to that demand. Commercially it is, of course, safer and more convenient to start off with material that is ready to hand. In your short forewords and postscripts you could conduct the necessary polemic, both to the left and to the right.

I therefore suggest that you should turn publisher. There's less to it than to a newspaper, and politically you achieve the same end. You avoid the long, time-consuming preparations attaching to a journal.

I believe that if you put the matter properly to Reich, who has money, he will join you in the enterprise.

Warm regards to your family from my family, Freiligrath, Lupus, etc.

Your
K. Marx


Dear Frederick,

You must understand that, if I have not written to you before, it is because my household is all at sixes and sevens.

You will remember that in his last letter Pieper wrote that the contract for my anti-Proudhon was about to be concluded. From his letter, enclosed herewith, you will see that there is no further mention of this manuscript. This is typical of the way in which I have been kept on tenterhooks by our dear henchmen these six months past. On the other hand, Ebner has written to say that

a K. Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy—German translation planned but not then published.
Löwenthal is willing to try out one volume but didn't mention whether I am to start with the 'history of economy'.\textsuperscript{a} If so, it would mean upsetting my whole scheme. Ebner further said that Löwenthal could only pay 'a little'. This I am prepared to accept, provided he publishes what I want published first. But if he forces me to ruin my whole scheme, he will have to pay me as though I were directly commissioned by him. However, I shall for the time being let Ebner do as he thinks fit. He has informed me that he won't conclude anything without my consent. 

Qu'en penses-tu?\textsuperscript{b}

I am glad that our people in Cologne\textsuperscript{c} are at last to appear before the assizes and indeed, or so I was assured yesterday by Schüller, the Düsseldorf publisher, will do so this very December when there are to be extraordinary assizes.

Apropos, don't forget to let me have the New York \textit{Schnellpost} back \textit{by return}. Bamberger is pressing me, and it's the only way of extracting from him the subsequent numbers which are said to contain all manner of curious things.

I know that you yourself are now feeling the pinch and that my sudden descent, my razzia, on Manchester\textsuperscript{d} has made things even tighter for you, at least so far as this month is concerned. Nevertheless, I must ask you whether, in an emergency, you could lay your hands on another £2. For before leaving London I borrowed £2 and at the same time stated \textit{in writing} that I'd repay it \textit{before} December. At all events I would ask you to write by return to let me know whether or not this is possible.

Eccarius' brother\textsuperscript{e} has arrived here. He and all the other Straubingers\textsuperscript{f} arrested in Hamburg have been set free and given their marching orders. That Haupt originally had no treacherous intentions is apparent from the following: Bürgers' letter to him fell into the hands of his old man, who taxed him with it and proposed to hand it over to the police. This he prevented, tore the thing up and later took the pieces to Eccarius, etc., first to reassemble and read them, and then to burn them in their presence. This fact is important. It is pressure from his family that has ruined the unfortunate fellow.

A few days ago at the library I read Mr Proudhon's lucubrations on \textit{Gratuité du crédit} against Bastiat. In terms of charlatanism, poltroonery, bluster and ineffectuality it exceeds anything this man has done before. \textit{Exempli gratia,} the French believe that on

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 476. \textsuperscript{b} What do you think? \textsuperscript{c} the Communist League members arrested and under investigation \textsuperscript{d} Johann Friedrich Eccarius \textsuperscript{e} For example}
average they are paying 5-6 per cent interest. They are paying 160 per cent. *Comment donc*? a Well, like this. Interest on mortgage, unsecured, state, etc., debts amounts to 1,600 millions. Now in France there is only 1 thousand million of capital in existence, i.e. gold and silver. Hence, q.e.d. A further example: When the Banque de France was set up, its capital amounted to 90 millions. At that time it was legally empowered to take 5 per cent on this sum. It is now operating (deposits, etc., included) on a capital of 450-460 millions, of which \( \frac{3}{4} \) belong not to it, but to the public. If the bank, therefore, \( (90:450=1:5) \) takes only 1 per cent instead of 5, it will be making a legitimate profit. And because the Banque de France could, in an emergency (2), content itself (i.e. the stockholders) with 1 per cent, the interest rate for France can therefore be reduced to 1 per cent. And 1 per cent, *c’est la presque gratuité du crédit*. b

And you should see how the fellow flaunts his *dialectique hégélienne* c vis-à-vis Bastiat.

I have been through your critique again here. d It’s a pity qu’il n’y a *pas moyen* e of getting it printed. If my own twaddle were added to it, we could bring it out under both our names, provided this didn’t upset your firm in any way.

As you know, Kossuth left on the 20th, but what you don’t know is that he was accompanied by Lola Montez and caballero Göhringer.

Schramm, f with an officious obstinacy wholly *sans pareil* g is endeavouring to attach himself to me again. *Il n’y parviendra pas*. h

How goes it with K. Schnapper’s i ‘tippling jaunts’? 503

Your

K.M.

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a How so?  
 b is almost free credit.  
 c Hegelian dialectics  
 d F. Engels, ‘Critical Review of Proudhon’s Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle*’.  
 e that there’s no means  
 f Conrad Schramm  
 g unparalleled  
 h He won’t succeed.  
 i Snapper, i.e. Schapper
Dear Marx,

You will have received the few lines I wrote you the day before yesterday. If Weerth can't raise the necessary forthwith, I shall see to it that the thing's cleared up the day after tomorrow or by Monday at the latest. In any case you will be able if needs must to keep the matter in suspense until Tuesday.

I return Master Pieper's letter herewith. Heine seems to have come in very handy in helping him fill up the requisite 4 pages. You have, I hope, written him a letter about the Proudhon that will spur him on to action, for once he's back here again you'll neither see nor hear anything of the manuscript for some time to come. Pieper and Ebner give very conflicting reports about Löwenthal, but the second is at any rate the more trustworthy. As regards what Pieper says about starting off with the history of economy, I believe that, if Löwenthal really has this in mind, it would be best for Ebner to object that it wouldn't do to upset your whole scheme, that you had already begun to elaborate the critique, etc. But if there's no other alternative, Löwenthal should undertake to contract for two volumes and, indeed, you would need something of this length, partly on account of the critical section to be anticipated, partly to make the proposition reasonably economic for you, the fee being in no way commensurate with the price of things in London. Next would come the socialists as 3rd volume, and as 4th the critique—ce qu'il en resterait—and the much-vaunted 'positive', being what you 'really' want. In such a form the thing may have its difficulties, but it has the advantage of not divulging the much coveted secret until the very last and of keeping bourgeois curiosity whetted throughout 3 volumes before revealing the fact that what one is producing isn't Morison's Pills. For those with a modicum of intelligence the allusions in

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a See this volume, p. 490. b what would remain of it
the first volumes, the anti-Proudhon\textsuperscript{a} and the Manifesto\textsuperscript{b}, will suffice to put them on the right track; the common run of buyers and readers will lose interest in the history, etc., if the great mystery has already been revealed to them in Volume I; they will, as Hegel says in his Phänomenologie, have read the 'preamble', where the general outline is to be found.

Undoubtedly your best course is to conclude an agreement with Löwenthal in any case—with decorum, but on any acceptable terms, and to strike while the iron is hot. The best for you would be to do the opposite of the Sibyl. For every louis d'or he cuts you down per sheet, you force him to take the number of extra sheets required to extract it from him again, and you fill those additional sheets with quotations, etc., which cost you nothing. 20 sheets at £3, or 30 sheets at £2 amount after all to £60, and to put together 10 sheets, at no expense in time or money, from Petty, Stewart, Culpeper and other such fellows is, after all, easy enough and your book will be all the more 'instructive'...

The main thing is that you should once again make a public debut with a substantial book, and preferably with the most harmless, the history. Germany's mediocre and lamentable literati know perfectly well that they would be ruined if they did not present the public with some kind of trash 2 or 3 times yearly. Their tenacity sees them through; although their books sell only moderately, the booksellers finally end up by believing that they must be great men because their names appear several times in every Fair catalogue. Again, it's absolutely essential to break the spell created by your prolonged absence from the German book market and, later, by funk on the part of the booksellers. But once one or two instructive, erudite, well-grounded and withal interesting things of yours have appeared, alors c'est tout autre chose\textsuperscript{c}, and you can snap your fingers at booksellers who offer you too little.

Another thing is that you can do this history only in London, whereas you can do the socialists and the critique anywhere. Hence it would be a good idea if you were to take advantage of the opportunity now, before the crapauds\textsuperscript{d} get up to some sort of nonsense and again deposit us on the theatrum mundi\textsuperscript{e}.

The New York Schnellpost will arrive tomorrow.

\textsuperscript{a} K. Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy. \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party. \textsuperscript{c} then it will be quite a different matter \textsuperscript{d} philistines (here: French political circles) \textsuperscript{e} world stage
As I have already said, stick to Löwenthal so long as circumstances are at all propitious. If it's no go with him, then Ebner's resources, Pieper writes, will be exhausted. In any case, we should subsequently be able to do more with Löwenthal than with the others, because we have Ebner in Frankfurt who can be forever at his heels. Should he fail to achieve anything with Löwenthal, upon whom he can bring pressure to bear day in day out, the thing becomes much more problematical in the case of the other ones who are not in Frankfurt. You should write to Ebner telling him that he has full authority to act and should at once conclude an agreement; the longer the thing drags on, the sooner Löwenthal will tire of it, and political fears about 1852 intervene. Should there be the slightest curtain raiser in Paris, any prospect of a publisher will go to pot, and if the Federal Diet passes press laws before a contract has been drawn up in black and white, it will also be all up with you. You must cast a sprat to catch a mackerel, or else—*te résigner, ce qui n'est pas trop agréable.*

The more I think about the matter, the more practical it seems to me to start off with the history. *Sois donc un peu commerçant, cette fois!*

So far as my Proudhon commentaries are concerned, they are too insignificant to warrant much being done with them. The same thing would happen as in the case of the *Critical Criticism* for which I similarly wrote a few sheets because a pamphlet was envisaged, and you turned it into a full-blown book of 20 sheets in which my trifle looked strange indeed. Once again you would assuredly do so much to it that my contribution, in any case hardly worth mentioning, would quite disappear before your heavy artillery. Otherwise I should have no objection, save that your business with Löwenthal is far more important and urgent.

Your

F. E.

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a resign yourself, which isn't too pleasant  
b Do be a little businesslike this time!  
c F. Engels, 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXᵉ siècle*'.  
d K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*.  

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1918

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
... One of our best friends, Joseph Weydemeyer, has now arrived in New York. Make contact with him straight away; I do not yet know his address. But if you send a letter to the Staatszeitung or the Abendzeitung it will no doubt reach him. He can enlighten you on all matters relating to the party. He will be useful to you in the gathering in New York and you can help him to arrange his living in America. Write and tell him that I asked you to write to him....

Printed according to Adolf Cluss' letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 20 December 1851
Published in English for the first time

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Dear Engels,

I enclose herewith: 1. Extract from Cluss' letter (from Washington) to Wolff*; 2. Letter from Pieper from Brussels.

As to No. 1, Lupus forgot to extract two more items of information which you will find not uninteresting. Firstly: the

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* Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus)
article ‘Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany’ has appeared in German in the New-Yorker Abendzeitung, has been reprinted in various papers and has created a furore. Cluss doesn’t say whether or not this is a translation from the Tribune. I’ve written direct to Dana about it. Secondly: Mr Wiss, Kinkel’s principal tool, has publicly declared that ‘economically’ he shares our views. You can see how the curs operate.

As for Mr Tupman, he mentions neither our letter from Manchester nor a subsequent letter written him from here by my wife at my behest.

But as to the people in Cologne, it is typical of these dastardly émigré swine, who root about in all the cess-pits of the press, that they should maintain la conspiration du silence in this matter so as not to detract from their own importance. This must now be counteracted. Today I have sent letters to Paris attacking Prussian justice, in order to raise the matter in the press there. Lupus has undertaken to do the articles for America and Switzerland. Maintenant you must hammer out for me something for England, along with a private letter to the Editor of The Times, to which the thing must tentatively be sent. If The Times, which at present is seeking to regain its popularity and would certainly feel flattered if treated as the only influential paper on the Continent and which is in any case hostile to Prussia—if The Times were to accept the thing, we could exert some influence in Germany. Stress should be laid on the state of the judicial system generally in Prussia.

Should this attempt not succeed—it can in any case do no harm—then write from Manchester direct to The Sun. If they receive the thing before The Times, the latter would not accept it under any circumstances.

You can hardly be aware that addresses have reached O’Connor from almost every city in England and have been published in The Northern Star and Reynolds’s Newspaper in which Thornton Hunt was described as ‘INFAMOUS’ and the scene at ‘Copenhagen Fields’ roundly denounced. In addition there was a meeting of all the Chartist sections in London at which abuse was heaped upon Th. Hunt, who was present. When the executive committee is renewed, he will definitely be thrown out. In his desperation, this allié of the great Ruge now publicly proclaims himself a ‘communist’.
E. Jones—drawing on my letter—has attacked Kossuth sans miséricorde. 

* 'I tell him that the revolutions of Europe mean the crusade of labour against capital, and I tell him they are not to be cut down to the intellectual and social standard of an obscure semi-barbarous people, like the Magyars, still standing in the half-civilisation of the 16th century, who actually presume to dictate to the great enlightenment of Germany and France, and to gain a false won cheer from the gullibility of England.'* 

You'll have seen that Kinkel will, tout bonnement, set himself up here, after the pattern of the provisional government in France. I, for my part, believe it would be a good idea if, as soon as we know that Weydemeyer is editor of the Abendzeitung, you were to communicate, initially in the form of pamphlets, fragments from K. Schnapper, whose first confessions I long to see. (See continuation after Pieper's letter.)

Apropos! I'd almost forgotten an important item in the chronique scandaleuse. Stechan, Hirsch, Gümpel, etc., in short the working men who have arrived from Germany, have announced their intention of calling on me. I shall receive them today. They have already considerably fallen out with Schapper and Willich. Stechan has publicly denounced Dietz as a spy before the Workers' Society and, though a few voices declared him to be an agent of Marx, effected the establishment of a committee in which, however, the chief role is played by the friends and patrons of Dietz-Schapper and Willich. At all events I shall use these Straubingers to precipitate fresh crises in the wretched hostel for tailors and idlers.

I herewith acknowledge receipt of the £3.

Salut.

Your
K.M.

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a mercilessly  b E. Jones, 'What is Kossuth', Notes to the People, Vol. II, No. 31, 1851.  c quite simply  d Snapper, i.e. Schapper  e The continuation is on the third page of Pieper's letter to Marx sent from Brussels on 27 November 1851.
...You know that Mr Kinkel is continuing his tour of the United States. So far he has raised some 12,000 dollars, but has taken very good care not to give any inkling of the true party positions of the various émigré fractions, as you will realise if only from the fact that he even addresses himself to personal friends of mine and has even inveigled them into collaborating with him. He has sent the press the following fatuous manifesto:

*"To the friends of the People

The shameful tyranny and injustice of the German despots have reached the highest point. Every free institution gained during the revolutionary struggle of 1848, has been destroyed by the brutal power of the Monarchs. The time has arrived when it becomes a right as well as a duty of the oppressed people to draw their swords and fight for the most sacred rights which the supreme being has granted all men alike. The hatred against the despots who cowardly murder or imprison every man, whoever raised his arm or tongue for a republican reform and for the freedom of the downtrodden, is on the point of a tremendous outbreak, and it is most likely that next spring the sun will rise over the most desperate struggle ever waged by men against their oppressors. Italy will set the ball in motion, until tyranny is swept away and liberty proclaimed in every province of the Old World. America having set the noble example in 1776, Europe is ready to follow in the footsteps of her young and noble sister on Columbia's shores. To bring about this much desired aim, more especially in Germany, the leading German republicans (?), now refugees in London, have united for the purpose of creating a national loan, with the promise to use every effort, after the establishment of the republic, to liquidate the same with full interest. All friends of liberty in this country are now called upon to lend their willing aid for this purpose. Without money nothing can be accomplished. It rests in a high degree with the sympathisers of Republicanism whether the project shall be accomplished.

'Baltoimore, October, 1851. Dr. G. Kinkel. In behalf of the London Committee.'*

In the United States Mr Gottfried found only one ardent adversary, namely K. Heinzen, who represents the Ruge-Fickler clique. But the enmity of a base blusterer like Heinzen cannot but be beneficial to anyone against whom it is directed. Among those who figure publicly as guarantors of Kinkel's loan are the 3 Prussian ex-lieutenants, Schimmelpfennig, Willich, Techow, the *studiosus* Schurz, Count Oskar Reichenbach and the mediocre

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* student
Berlin literatus, Meyen. Privately, however, Kinkel has also secured the signature of Löwe of Calbe (better named Kalb of Löwe\textsuperscript{a}), ex-President of the Imperial Rump Parliament in Stuttgart.\textsuperscript{516} This Löwe is in possession of a document from Stuttgart empowering him to convene the Imperial Parliament when and where he will. To Kinkel, who hopes to move into Germany as provisional government, the accaparation\textsuperscript{b} of this man, in order to place his ‘rule’ on a ‘legal basis’, was therefore of moment.

The second secret guarantor is Dr d’Ester. His numerous creditors in Germany will assuredly learn with satisfaction that he is guaranteeing the interest on Kinkel’s 2 million loan and that, as Finance Minister, he will at the same time administer the 20,000 dollars so far received. Mr d’Ester, as a country doctor in Switzerland, intends to go on fleecing the peasants (he is said to be in better circumstances there than in Cologne where he was swamped, not by patients, but by debts) while at the same time keeping a foot in the great door that leads to the heaven of revolutionary government. That is why he would give his guarantee only under the seal of secrecy. It could do no harm if he were compelled to advocate in public what he is, after his usual fashion, ‘adumbrating in private’:

From the material once sent to you by Freiligrath,\textsuperscript{d} you will be familiar enough with Mr Gottfried Kinkel’s character. Hence it will not surprise you to learn that ‘lies’ were his ‘chief’ and, come to that, his sole recourse in the United States. Thus a friend writes, \textit{inter alia}:

‘Kinkel is vigorously coquetting with Ledru-Rollin who has promised some esteemed friends from Germany that, as soon as Kinkel takes over the helm and, with him, Löwe, he will send armies across the border to wage a war of propaganda. Kinkel, he says, will establish contact with Mazzini as soon as he is flush and thereby (!) has become his equal (!).’

Now, as you know, Ledru maintains contact with the committee hostile to Kinkel, and he sent Kinkel’s emissary away with a flea in his ear. But as for Mazzini, the following will be explanation enough: Some 14-15 months ago the great Gottfried Kinkel sent the very insignificant Prussian ex-lieutenant Schimmelpfennig to Mazzini to say that he, Schimmelpfennig, would be undertaking a missionary tour of Germany on Kinkel’s behalf. For this, much

\textsuperscript{a} Kalb—calf - \textsuperscript{b} monopolising - \textsuperscript{c} Goethe, ‘Die Spinnerin’. - \textsuperscript{d} See this volume, pp. 426-33.
was wanting, money included. Mazzini gave him 1,000 fr. in cash, and 4,000 fr. in Mazzinian government bonds on condition that the 1,000 fr. be paid back without 12 months and half the placed government bonds within the same period. Schimmelpfennig returned from Germany where he had downed a great many bottles of wine but scarcely one ‘tyrant’. The 12 months went by. Whoever may have visited Mazzini, it was not Kinkel or Kinkel’s emissary. A few weeks later this same Schimmelpfennig again presented himself to Mazzini, not in order to pay up, but rather to invite Mazzini yet again to ally himself with Gottfried. For Gottfried had just received £160 sterling from New Orleans and since, in his view, only a few more pounds were needed to make him a ‘great man’, he now believed himself to be Mazzini’s equal. Mazzini was of a different opinion and declared that he had his own people (Ruge & Co.) in Germany and that he would have none of Mr Gottfried’s alliance. Kinkel, however, is imperturbable and profondément convaincu that, if £160 were still not enough to make him Mazzini’s ‘equal’, this miracle could not fail to be effected by 20,000 dollars. Blessed are they that ... have believed.

Kinkel’s success in the United States is explained partly by the fact that he was no less hazy about the movement than the masses over there, and hence is sympathetic to them, and partly by his lies and prevarications about what he really stands for. Messrs Kinkel & Co. want to elect a revolutionary committee of 7 men, each of whom will be given a special ministry, e.g. d’Ester finance, Kinkel the ministry of rhetoric and higher politics, Techow ministry of war, Willich minister for requisitioning, at which he is a past master, Meyen minister for education, etc. One of the seven will occupy a seat on one of these committees in order to keep the supreme body, the Septarchy, thoroughly posted on with everything. Exactly after the pattern of the French provisional government, you see, except that the Septarchy have their seat outside Germany while their people consists of a club 50-100 strong.

Mr Kinkel has expressly stated that he will not use for the support of refugees the money raised in America. He has actually entered into an obligation to that effect. As you will understand, this is no more than a way of dodging the obligation to allow inferior refugees to share the cash, and of gobbling it up oneself instead. This is already happening now and, as the hoard

a deeply convinced - b John 20:29 - c the Refugee Club in London
increases, will happen to an ever greater extent, and in the following way:

1. The 7 septarchs and their 7 ministries, i.e. all the creatures of Kinkel, Willich, etc., must be paid, and thus these gentlemen, on the pretext of working for the revolution, secure for themselves the lion's share of the funds. Mr Willich, for one, who for the past two years has been living here by public begging.

2. The gentlemen publish lithographed reports and distribute them free to the newspapers. A further share of the funds goes to those wretched literati, Meyen, Oppenheim, studiosus Schurz, etc., for their services as writers.

3. Others of the great men such as Schimmelpfennig, Schurz, etc., receive further payment as 'emissaries'.

Thus, you see, the whole plan has a twofold aim: to exclude the mass of exceedingly needy refugees (workers, etc.) from a share in the funds and, on the other hand, to provide Mr Kinkel and his creatures with safe, and at the same time politically profitable, sinecures, all this on the pretext of using the money solely for revolutionary purposes. It would certainly be very fitting if these financial speculations, cooked up by studiosus Schurz, were brought to the knowledge of the public at large.

Before I close, I have a few brief comments to make about Kossuth. Kossuth gave evidence of considerable talent and generally showed tact in handling the British public. However, the situation was not as simple as the man from the East had supposed. On the one hand he fawned over-much on the middle-class and was oriental in his praise of institutions such as, for example, the City of London and its municipal constitution which even The Times castigates daily as public nuisances. On the other hand he has made an enemy of the Chartist party which, through its most talented representative, Ernest Jones, is attacking him with all the virulence they might accord a Haynau. And it was, indeed, tactless of Kossuth, after forbidding all demonstrations of partisanship, to turn partisan himself. Finally Kossuth has become convinced that enthusiasm and ready cash are in inverse proportion to one another. So far, no amount of enthusiasm for his loan has succeeded in bringing him in more than £800 sterling.

On this occasion our democratic emigration has yet again made a fool of itself as is its wont. Kossuth has not deigned to answer its addresses. That foppishly vain and importunate dwarf, L. Blanc,
was lucky enough to receive a reply to his address, but it was a reply in which Kossuth disavowed socialism outright.

I remain your truly

K. Marx

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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 December 1851

'Représentants de la France, délibérez en paix!" And where can the gentlemen deliberate more peacefully than in the Caserne d'Orsay, guarded by a battalion of *chasseurs de Vincennes*!

The history of France has entered a stage of utmost comicality. Can one imagine anything funnier than this travesty of the 18th Brumaire, effected in peacetime with the help of discontented soldiers by the most insignificant man in the world without, so far as it has hitherto been possible to judge, any opposition whatsoever? And how beautifully have all the old jackasses been caught! The slyest fox in the whole of France, old Thiers, the astutest advocate of the *barreau,* Mr Dupin, caught in the trap set for them by the most notorious blockhead of the century; caught as easily as Mr Cavaignac's inflexible republican virtue and as that braggart of a Changarnier! And to complete the tableau, a rump parliament with Odilon Barrot as 'Löwe of Calbe' \(^{518}\); and, in view of this violation of the Constitution, the said Odilon demands to be arrested and cannot contrive to get himself hauled off to Vincennes! The whole thing is as if expressly invented for the

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\(^{a}\) 'Representatives of France, hold your deliberations in peace!'—from Changarnier's speech in the Legislative Assembly on 3 June 1851 in reply to one by President Louis Bonaparte in Dijon on 1 June containing concealed threats to the Assembly.  

\(^{b}\) at the Bar
benefit of red Wolff\textsuperscript{a}; henceforward he alone will be capable of
writing the history of France. Has ever a coup been effected with
more fatuous proclamations than this one? And the ludicrous
Napoleonic apparatus, the anniversary of the coronation and of
Austerlitz,\textsuperscript{b} the provocation against the consular Constitution and
so on—the fact that anything of this kind could succeed even for
a day—does indeed lower Messieurs les Français to a level of
puerility that is without parallel.

Wonderful, the arrest of those great, loud-mouthed advocates of
order,\textsuperscript{c} of little Thiers first and foremost, and of the bold
Changarnier. Wonderful, the sitting of the rump parliament in the
10th Arrondissement, with Mr Berryer yelling ‘Vive la République’,
out of the window, until finally the whole lot were apprehended
and shut up in a barrack square among the soldiers. And then the
stupid Napoleon, who at once packed his bags to move into the
Tuileries. Even though one racked one’s brains for a whole year,
one couldn’t think up a prettier comedy.

And that evening, when the stupid Napoleon at last flung
himself down on the long coveted bed in the Tuileries, the
numskull must really have been at a loss to know what he was
about. Le consulat sans premier consul!\textsuperscript{d} Internal difficulties no
greater than they had been, generally speaking, for the past three
years, no exceptional financial straits, not even as regards his
private purse, no coalition on the borders, no St Bernard to be
crossed, no Marengo to be won.\textsuperscript{e} It’s enough to make one
despair. And now there’s no longer even a National Assembly to
foil the great schemes of this unappreciated man; nay, for the
time being at least the jackass is as free, as untrammelled, as
absolute as the old man on the night of the 18th Brumaire, so
completely unrestrained that he can’t help coming the jackass on
each and every occasion. Appalling, a prospect devoid of conflict!

Mais le peuple, le peuple!—Le peuple se fiche pas mal de toute cette
boutique,\textsuperscript{f} are happy as children over the franchise accorded to
them and which, indeed, they will probably make use of like
children.\textsuperscript{g} What can result from these ridiculous elections a week
on Sunday, if in fact it ever comes to that? No press, no meetings,
martial law enough and to spare and, on top of it all, the order to
produce a deputy within 14 days.

\textsuperscript{a} Ferdinand Wolff\textsuperscript{b} The consulate without the First Consul!\textsuperscript{c} But the people,
the people! The people don’t care a damn for all this business
What is to come of the whole business? 'If we adopt the standpoint of world history',\(^a\) we are presented with a splendid subject for declamation. Thus, e.g.: it remains to be seen whether the Praetorian regime of the time of the Roman Empire, for which the prerequisite was an extensive state organised on strictly military lines, a depopulated Italy and the absence of a modern proletariat, is possible in a geographically compact, densely populated country such as France, which has a large industrial proletariat. Either: Louis Napoleon has no party of his own; having spurned the Orleanists and Legitimists, he must now turn towards the left. Turning towards the left implies an amnesty, an amnesty implies a collision, etc. Or else: Universal suffrage is the basis of Louis Napoleon's power, he cannot attack it, and universal suffrage is now incompatible with a Louis Napoleon. And other suchlike conjectural theses which would lend themselves splendidly to prolixity. But, after what we saw yesterday, there can be no counting on the *peuple*, and it really seems as though old Hegel, in the guise of the World Spirit, were directing history from the grave and, with the greatest conscientiousness, causing everything to be re-enacted twice over, once as grand tragedy and the second time as rotten farce.\(^5\) Caussidière for Danton, L. Blanc for Robespierre, Barthélemy for Saint-Just, Flocon for Carnot, and the moon-calf\(^b\) together with the first available dozen debt-encumbered lieutenants for the little corporal\(^c\) and his band of marshals. Thus the 18th Brumaire would already be upon us.

The people of Paris have behaved with childish stupidity. *Cela ne nous regarde pas; que le président et l’assemblée s’entre-tuent, peu nous importe!*\(^d\) But that the army should presume to foist a government—and what a government!—on France, *that* undoubtedly does concern them, and the mob will wonder what kind of a ‘free’ universal suffrage it is they are now to exercise ‘for the first time since 1804’!

How much longer the World Spirit, clearly much incensed at mankind, is going to continue this farce, whether within the year we shall see Consulate, Empire, Restoration and all pass by before our eyes, whether, too, the Napoleonic dynasty must first be thrashed in the streets of Paris before it is deemed impossible in

\(^a\) Engels quotes the Left-wing deputy Wilhelm Jordan (cf. also Engels’ article ‘The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question’).  
\(^b\) Louis Bonaparte  
\(^c\) Napoleon Bonaparte  
\(^d\) That is no concern of ours; that the President and the Assembly should massacre each other is of small moment to us!
France, the devil only knows. But it strikes me that things are taking a remarkably lunatic turn and that the crapauds\(^a\) are heading for an astonishing humiliation.

Even assuming that Louis Napoleon momentarily consolidates his position, such stuff and nonsense can hardly endure, despite the fathomless depths to which the French have sunk. But what then? There’s damned little red in prospect, that much is clear, and if Mr Blanc and Ledru packed their bags at midday yesterday, they may as well begin unpacking them again. \textit{La voix tonnante du peuple ne les rappelle pas encore.}\(^b\)

Here and in Liverpool the affair suddenly brought business to a standstill, but today in Liverpool they are already briskly speculating again. And French funds have only fallen by 2 per cent.

In the circumstances any attempt to intercede for the Cologne people\(^c\) in the British press must, of course, be postponed.

With regard to the articles for the \textit{Tribune},\(^d\) which have obviously already appeared in it, write to the \textsc{Editor} of the \textit{Tribune} in \textit{English}. Dana may well be away, and a \textsc{Business Letter} will certainly be answered. *Tell him that he must distinctly state per next returning steamer what has become of these papers, and in case they have been made use of, he is requested to send by the same opportunity copies of the \textit{Tribune} containing them, as no copy has been kept here and without having the articles already sent, again before our eyes, we cannot, after such a lapse of time, undertake to go on with the following numbers of the series.*

The news from France must have had a jolly effect on the European émigré rabble. I’d like to have witnessed it.

\textit{En attendant tes nouvelles}\(^e\)

Your

\textsc{F. E.}

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\(^a\) philistines \(^b\) The thunderous voice of the people is not recalling them yet. \(^c\) the Communist League members arrested and under investigation (see this volume, p. 497) \(^d\) F. Engels, \textit{Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany} \(^e\) Awaiting your news
DEAR Frederic,

I have kept you waiting for an answer, QUITE BEWILDERED by the tragi-comic sequence of events in Paris. Unlike Willich, I couldn't say: 'Strange, we've had no advice from Paris!' Nor, like Schapper, declare myself and my pot of beer a permanent fixture at Schärttner's. To save the fatherland, Schapper and a few of his satellites slept two nights at Schärttner's on the pretext of holding a vigil. These gentlemen, like Löwe of Calbe and his like, had packed their malles\(^a\) but, discretion being the better part of valour,\(^b\) decided not to move there until the issue had been 'decided'.

Have you read Louis Blanc's Miserere?\(^c\) The other day Bernard le Clubiste protested that he had not been a co-signatory of this jeremiad.

Enclosed a letter from Reinhardt from Paris and the 'drunken gossip' I spoke to you about when I was in Manchester.\(^d\)

Pieper is here again, highly delighted with himself. He is leaving the Rothschilds but continuing to give German lessons there; Madame has given him notice as resident private tutor. Since writing to me last he has done nothing, seen nothing and heard nothing in connection with my Proudhon business.\(^e\) It seems to me that he has treated the translation as his own work, ce qui n'est pas.\(^f\)

Maintenant, what can I tell you about the situation? This much is clear, the proletariat has spared its strength. For the time being Bonaparte is victorious because, overnight, he transformed the open ballot into a secret one. With the million £ sterling purloined, despite all d'Argout's posthumous protestations, from the bank, he has bought the army. Will his coup again succeed if the vote goes against him? Will the majority vote at all? The Orléans have left for France. It is difficult, indeed impossible, to

\(^{a}\) trunks - \(^{b}\) Cf. Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part One, Act 5, Scene 4. - \(^{c}\) Address of the French Exiles to Their Countrypmen, by Bernard le Clubiste, Louis Blanc and others, The Daily News, 5 December 1851. - \(^{d}\) See this volume, p. 492. - \(^{e}\) The planned publication of The Poverty of Philosophy in German - \(^{f}\) which is not so - \(^{g}\) Now
make any prognostication in a drama with Krapülinski\textsuperscript{a} for its hero. At all events it seems to me that the situation has improved rather than deteriorated as a result of the coup d'état. It is easier to deal with Bonaparte than it would have been with the National Assembly and its generals. And the dictatorship of the National Assembly was imminent.

Capital, the disappointment of Techow & Co., who, without more ado, saw in the French army les apôtres de la trinité démocratique, de la liberté, de l'égalité, de la fraternité. Les pauvres hommes!\textsuperscript{b} And Messrs Mazzini and Ledru can also now sleep easy. The catastrophe was the downfall of the émigrés. It has been shown that they are pour rien\textsuperscript{c} in the revolution. For these gentlemen had resolved to suspend world history until Kossuth's return. Apropos, the penny subscription for the latter in London yielded exactly 100d., pronounced pence.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Apropos, didn't I send you a letter from Pieper to me, written in French? If so, let me have it back by return.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 December 1851

Dear Marx,

What are the great men doing in this eventful crisis? It is said that L. Blanc has been arrested in France, but this cannot alas be true; nous connaissons notre petit bonhomme.\textsuperscript{d} By the way, since nothing has

\textsuperscript{a} a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter', here Louis Bonaparte - \textsuperscript{b} the apostles of the democratic trinity, of liberty, equality, fraternity. The poor chaps! - \textsuperscript{c} of no account - \textsuperscript{d} we know our little fellow
come of the Paris insurrection. I'm glad that the first storm is over. On such occasions, tout blasé qu'on est, one is always to some extent gripped by the old political fever and one always has some personal interest in the upshot of such a business. Now I can at least resume my ethnological study upon which I was engaged at the onset of this great coup.

By the way, in spite of all this there's no sign of a return of confiance, either here or in Liverpool, and P. Ermen alone is as cocksure and as faithful to Napoleon as 4 days ago he was dejected and chapalén. By and large the bourgeois here are too shrewd to regard this Napoleonic farce as anything other than ephemeral. But what is to come of the whole dirty business? Napoleon will be elected, no question of that, the bourgeoisie has no choice, and who is to verify the ballot-papers? To make a wrong count in favour of the adventurer is too much of a temptation, and the full measure of the French property-owning class's turpitude, its servile abjection in the face of the slightest success, its habit of crawling before a pouvoir quelconque, have this time come more splendidly to light than ever before. But how does the jackass propose to rule? He will receive fewer votes than in 1848, c'est clair, perhaps 3 to 3 1/2 million in all; that is already a dangerous setback so far as credit is concerned. Any financial and taxation reform is impossible 1. because of shortage of money, 2. because it can only be effected by a military dictator who wages successful wars abroad, où la guerre paie la guerre, whereas in peacetime any surplus, and a great deal more besides, inevitably finds its way into the pockets of the army, 3. because Napoleon is too stupid. What remains for him? La guerre? Against whom, against England perhaps? Or simple military despotism, which in peacetime must necessarily lead to a fresh military revolution and call into being the parties of the National Assembly within the army itself? Here there is no way out, the farce is bound to collapse. And what if a trade crisis comes!

That Louis Napoleon has something 'big' up his sleeve, I do not for a moment doubt. But I shall be curious to see what sort of foolishness it will be. The développement of the Napoleonic ideas will fly exceeding high and come a cropper over the most ordinary obstacles.

What emerges pretty clearly from the whole transaction is that

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a however blase one may be - b confidence - c any kind of power - d that's clear - e where war pays for war - f War? - g An allusion to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's Des idées napoléoniennes.
the reds\(^a\) have abdicated, completely abdicated. To attempt to vindicate them now for not having defended themselves \textit{en masse} would be nonsensical. The next few months will show whether prostration in France is such that several years' peace and quiet will be needed before the reds are capable of another '48. But where, on the other hand, is that peace and quiet to come from?

I see only 2 ways out of this beastly mess:

Either the factions of the party of order, as reflected in the army, now take the place of the 'anarchists', i.e. bring about such a state of anarchy that ultimately the reds and Ledru-Rollin will appear as saviours just as now Louis Napoleon; or Louis Napoleon abolishes the tax on drinks and lets himself be inveigled into introducing one or two bourgeois reforms—though where the money and power are to come from is hard to say. In this highly unlikely event he might be able to maintain his position.

\textit{Qu’en penses-tu?}\(^b\)

Your

F. E.

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a i.e. democrats and socialists of various trends

b What do you think?
*Daily News* is, even if allegedly not in London, at least for the time being in safety. The first jeremiad was divine by comparison with today’s. Peuple français—noble fierté—courage indomptable—
éternel amour de la liberté—honneur au courage malheureux—and thereupon the little fellow makes a demi-tour à droite and preaches trust and union between the people and the bourgeoisie. Vide Proudhon: Appel à la bourgeoisie, page 2. And such reasoning! If the insurgents were beaten, it was due to the fact that they were not the vrai peuple; the vrai peuple cannot be beaten; and if the vrai peuple failed to fight, this was due to the fact that it didn’t wish to fight for the National Assembly; true, it may be objected that, once victorious, the vrai peuple would itself have been a dictator, but it was taken so much by surprise that it could never have thought of that and, after all, it had so often been duped before!

It’s the old, vulgar, democratic logic of the kind disseminated whenever the revolutionary party suffers defeat. *Le fait est,* in my opinion, that if, this time, the proletariat failed to fight en masse, it was because it was fully aware of its own prostration and impotence and was prepared to submit with fatalistic resignation to a renewed cycle of Republic, Empire, restoration and fresh revolution, until such time as it regained fresh strength from a few years of misère under a rule of maximum order. I’m not saying that this will be so, but it seems to me to have been at bottom the instinctive attitude which prevailed among the people of Paris on Tuesday and Wednesday, and after the introduction of the secret ballot and the resulting retreat of the bourgeoisie on Friday. It is nonsense to say that this was not an opportunity for the people. If the proletariat wants to wait until confronted by the government with its own question, until a collision occurs in which the conflict will assume a sharper and more definite form than in June 1848,488 it may have to wait a long time. The last time the question between proletariat and bourgeoisie was posed with any degree of precision was on the occasion of the 1850 electoral law, and then the people chose not to fight. This and the perpetual references to 1852 were of themselves proof enough of inertia for us to make a

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fairly gloomy prognostication for 1852 also, always assuming that no trade crisis supervened. Universal suffrage having been abolished and the proletariat elbowed off the official stage, it is asking rather too much to expect the official parties to pose the question in a way that will suit the proletariat. And how did matters stand in February? At that time the people were just as hors de cause as they are now. And there can be no denying that if, at a time of revolutionary development, a revolutionary party begins by allowing things to take a decisive turn without itself having any say in them, or if it does intervene and fails to win, it can be regarded with some certainty as temporarily done for. Witness the insurrections after Thermidor and after 1830. And the gentlemen who now so loudly maintain that the vrai peuple is biding its time, are in danger of gradually finding themselves in the same boat as the powerless Jacobins of 1795-99 and the Republicans of 1831-39, and of making thorough fools of themselves.

Nor is there any denying that the effect which the establishment of the secret ballot has had on the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and, au bout du compte, upon many proletarians as well (as all the reports go to show), casts a curious light on the courage and insight of the Parisians. It has clearly never occurred to many of them how fatuous is the question posed by Louis Napoleon, or to ask what guarantees there were that the votes would be correctly recorded, yet the majority must have seen through this humbug and have nevertheless persuaded themselves that everything was now ALL RIGHT, merely in order to have a pretext for not fighting.

According to Reinhardt's letter, according to the fresh revelations each day brings about the infamies perpetrated by the soldiery and in particular their outrages on the boulevards against any and every pékin quelconque, n'importe whether worker or bourgeois, red or Bonapartist—according to the accumulating reports of local insurrections even in the remotest places where no one expected any resistance, according to the letter in yesterday's Daily News from a French ex-deputy and commerçant: it would indeed seem that the appel au peuple is taking an undesirable turn for Bonaparte. The mass of the bourgeoisie in Paris would not appear very much to relish this new régime and the deportation laws it has imposed. Military terrorism is increasing too rapidly and too brazenly. 2/3 of France is in a state

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Footnotes:

a February 1848  b uninvolved  c in the end  d civilian of any description, no matter  e businessman  f appeal to the people
of siege. I believe that after all this the bulk of the bourgeoisie won't vote at all, that the whole electoral farce will come to nothing; for in all the doubtful localities, where Louis Napoleon's opponents will turn up in crowds to vote, the gendarmes will stir up trouble with the voters, and then the whole electoral procedure will be declared null and void there. Then Louis Napoleon will declare France to be en état d'aliénation mentale* and proclaim the army the sole saviour of society and then the whole dungheap will be plain to all and Louis Napoleon in the middle of it. Yet it is precisely through this business of elections that things could take a very nasty turn, if by then any really serious resistance to an established government could still be expected.

The fellow's assured of a million votes from officials and soldiers. There are also half a million Bonapartists in the country, maybe more. Half a million, maybe more, irresolute townspeople will vote for him. Half a million stupid peasants, a million mistakes in adding up, that makes 3 1/2 millions already—more than the old Napoleon could boast in an empire which included the entire left bank of the Rhine and Belgium, i.e. certainly 32 million inhabitants. Why shouldn't he be content with that to start off with? And were he to get them with, perhaps, 1 million against him, the bourgeois would soon fall into his lap. But maybe he won't get the 2 1/2 millions and maybe—though this might be asking too much of the probity of French officials—he will not succeed in having himself credited with mistakes in adding up to the tune of 1 million. At all events a great deal depends on the measures he is forced to take in the meantime. Anyhow, what's to prevent the officials from chucking a few hundred oui's* into the ballot box before the voting starts? Il n'y a plus de presse—nobody can verify it.

At any rate it's unfortunate for Krapülninski* that funds should be falling again, and for L. Blanc that he should now have to recognise England as a free country.

In a few months' time the reds are bound to be given another opportunity of proving their mettle, perhaps actually when the voting takes place; but if they again hang back, then I shall give them up, and then, even with the finest of trade crises, all that they can hope for is a sound thrashing which will most assuredly eliminate them for several years to come. What is the rabble worth if it has forgotten how to fight?

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*a non compos mentis  
*b Ayes  
*c There's no longer any press  
*d a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter'; here Louis Bonaparte
Is Pieper back in London? I wanted him to do something for me about books in Frankfurt and don’t know whether he is still in Brighton.

The worst of it is that you will now run into difficulties with Löwenthal. It would have been best had the contract already been concluded.

* Liverpool Market—quiet at yesterday’s prices; Manchester Market—firm. Some overtrading going on to the Levant. German buyers continue keeping out of the Market.*

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK
IN LONDON
Manchester, Monday, 15 December 1851

Dear Marie,

I got your letter on Saturday, the only day of the week on which I can never manage to write a private letter because we then shut up the office as early as noon; otherwise you’d have had an answer sooner.

I’m sorry that you should have had so much illness in the house of late, but am glad to hear that things are now taking a better turn; I hope to see Hermann as well as little Titi fully recovered by the time I arrive. You should really have written to tell me all about it for, so long as I don’t hear, I have to assume that all is well; and besides you also owed me a letter in reply to the one in which I returned you your latch-key last summer.525

I have as usual been well all this while, and am merely somewhat vexed by the onset of bad weather which prevents me going out into the country, this being a real necessity here in Manchester. For the past few days I have been aware of certain premonitory symptoms which lead me to believe that there may be a recurrence of the disagreeable tooth-ache I suffered from last
Dear Marx,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer which reached me at midday today. So far, the news is quite good, Heinzen's paper about to expire and Weydemeyer already in a position to bring

Winter, the more disagreeable in that it interferes with my customary bathing, etc. I hope, however, that the thing will pass off without too much inconvenience—at any rate I don't intend to fret in advance about pain which I'm not yet suffering.

By the end of this week I shall probably have put my current business in order and, this being a quiet time for us anyway, I shall see to it that I leave here on Saturday evening and, since the trains all arrive in London either too late at night or too early in the morning for one to drive across to Camberwell directly, I shall recuperate a while in the Euston Hotel and arrive at your place before dinner time on Sunday. At any rate you can expect me at the Grove for dinner on Sunday, unless you get a letter to the contrary from me on Saturday morning.

As for the French, the jackasses can do what they like, it's all one to me.

My warm regards to Emil and Hermann and your children. Your description of your new maids has made me eager to see them. Nota bene, should you have too much bother in the house on Sunday, thus making my company and any further inconvenience seem undesirable just now, you have only to write and send me an army order instructing me when to present myself, and I shall not fail to be punctual.

Toujoursyour
Friedrich

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ENGL S TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 December 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer which reached me at midday today. So far, the news is quite good, Heinzen's paper about to expire and Weydemeyer already in a position to bring

a Ever - b Deutsche Schnellpost
out a weekly. But the demand to send off an article to him by Friday evening is rather too much—particularly under present circumstances. And yet this is just the moment when people there are pining for arguments and cogent facts about the French business, and if one could say something sensational about the situation, the success of the enterprise would be assured in the very first number. But that’s just the snag, and as usual I shall again pass on the difficulty to you and, whatever I may write, it will not at any rate be about Krapūlinski’s coup de tête. You, at any rate, can write a diplomatic non-committal-epoch-making article for him. What I shall do, I don’t know yet, but shall at any rate attempt something or other. I cannot send the Schnapper, firstly because the first chapter is weak, and secondly because I have dropped the thing altogether now that History is starting to write comic novels—a rather too dangerous form of competition. Meanwhile I’ll introduce a few more comic scenes into the plot and then begin the thing again—but it would be quite unsuitable for them over there and in any case Weydemeyer wants stuff with our names at the bottom. Write and tell me by return what you propose to do; le temps presse, Saturday’s steamer won’t reach New York before the New Year and that’s bad; even worse is the short respite still left us.

Weydemeyer must really keep his fingers out of the American pie until he is able to get the local names right. It’s a pity he hasn’t the time to orient himself first and learn a little English. The ‘abolitionists’ would make a splendid tidbit for Heinzen. As for Weerth, I shall see him here tomorrow or the day after and find out what he can do. Next week, or maybe even on Saturday evening, I shall be in London, when we can discuss matters further; meanwhile there remains only the question of what is to be done for the first number; this cannot be put off, so you must write and tell me by return what you propose to do.

To judge by this letter Weydemeyer certainly appears to be still somewhat ‘green’ in regard to business matters; I shall drop him such hints on the subject as are necessary. As yet he knows nothing whatever about his readers.

Lupus might also bestir himself and see what he can produce for the first number. Weydemeyer will be very hard put to it to find material.

What do you think of the French funds, which yesterday were

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a impulsive act of Louis Bonaparte (called Krapūlinski after a character in Heine’s ‘Zwei Ritter’) · b time is short · c Engels refers to a mistake made by Weydemeyer when he used this word instead of ‘abolitionists.’
standing at 101.50 c.,—1 1/2 per cent above par—and which, better than any venal lies in the press, will pull in a mass of votes for Louis Napoleon. He's even being helped by the excesses of the peasantry in the south and central parts of France. Some did undoubtedly occur, nor could anything else be expected of this race of barbarians. The fellows don't give a rap for the government, etc., etc., but think only of tearing down the tax collector's or notary's house, raping his wife and killing the man himself if they can lay hands on him. In itself the matter is au fond of scant significance and serves these gentlemen perfectly right, but it drives into Napoleon's camp everyone who has anything to lose. In fact, the invasion of native barbarians, should it ever come to pass, promises to be an amusing spectacle, and happy are those under whose governance such agreeable events take place. The present rise in the funds is assuredly no longer a mere government manoeuvre but the expression of the fear—translated into confidence in Louis Napoleon—felt by haute finance of being flayed alive, as depicted in such vivid colours by the truthful Constitutionnel.

Write to me at once, then, about Weydemeyer.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JENNY MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday evening
[18 December 1851]

Dear Mrs Marx,

I have received both your letters and hasten to write and tell you that it goes without saying that each of us will send off his article separately, as there is otherwise every prospect of none of

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a See this volume, pp. 512-13. b basically c high finance d See this volume, pp. 562 and 563.
them catching the steamer. In London the letters should be at the post office by 5 or 6 o'clock on Friday evening. I shall see what I can do—for some time now the fatherland has bored me so dreadfully that I know nothing about anything. Anyway I shall send off something. The English Manifesto together with such New York Schnellposts as are still available here, I shall be bringing with me. Tell Marx to be sure not to forget to write to Weydemeyer, asking him to obtain the relevant numbers of the Tribune immediately from Dana and send them on to me here so that I may proceed.

When I shall be able to leave—maybe not until Saturday morning—I don't yet know exactly. But I think I shall arrive at the latest at 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, perhaps as early as 11 in the morning. Until then, my warm regards to you and all your family from your

F. Engels

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

[London.] 19 December 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

The day before yesterday I received your letter, sent on to me by Engels.

First, my best New Year wishes to your wife and yourself. Ditto from my wife.

a the English translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party - b with the Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany - c Louise
I am at this moment sitting here working on an article for you. Your commission arrived too late for me to be able to carry it out today. On Tuesday (23 December) the following will go off to you

1. *Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* by K. Marx. 2. *Der Staatsstreich in Frankreich* by F. Wolff. 3. *Nemesis* by Wilhelm Wolff. Engels will send you his article—on Prussia, I believe—possibly even by today's mail. Freiligrath has nothing ready but authorises you to name him as one of your collaborators. We are negotiating with Weerth. Likewise with Eccarius.

You can now settle down in the United States for *du moins* a year. 'It' is not going to begin on 2 May 1852.530

I suppose that you will hold back your first number b until the above articles arrive. After all, it will only make a difference of 5 days. For the following numbers you can announce a serialised work of mine, to appear article by article, namely, *Neuste Offenbarungen des Sozialismus, oder 'Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle' par J. P. Proudhon.—Kritik von K.M.*531

Write forthwith to 'Adolf Cluss, U.S. Navy Yard, Washington D.C.' We've already told him you are coming. He is one of our best and most talented men and could be of the greatest use to you both generally and for the preparation and founding of your paper in particular.

Don't forget the following:

Go and see Dana; ask him to give you the numbers of the *Tribune* in which my articles appeared, and send them to me forthwith. Hearing nothing from him, I had stopped writing, and there's been such a long interval that I must see the paper itself in order to write the sequel, which I must do, if only for pecuniary reasons.

As soon as your paper appears you must not only send it to us regularly, but let us have a sufficient number of copies so that we can send them out as samples.

*Tout à toi*

K. Marx

Unless you are contractually committed, don't buy the *Arbeiter-republik* from the wretched Weitling. While you might gain 200

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a at least - b of *Die Revolution* - c See this volume, p. 496. - d first articles from *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* by Engels - e All yours - f *Die Republik der Arbeiter*
Moorish Prince\(^{b1}\)

Enclosed a letter from Ebner.

Today I also received another letter from Weydemeyer in which, among other things, he says:

'Not long ago an emissary arrived from the London "agitation club"\(^{473}\) for the purpose of opposing Kinkel's loan.\(^{497}\) These people probably imagine that here in America all are split into Kinkelians and anti-Kinkelians simply because a handful of refugees have made much ado about nothing. The stir over Kossuth has long consigned Kinkel to oblivion and the couple of thousand dollars he is collecting are, indeed, hardly worth making a fuss about.

'In any case, I can see to the sale of the *Revue* for you over here. Similarly it would be possible to dispose of some more of Freiligrath's more recent poetry.'

After dunning us once again Weydemeyer goes on:

'But above all, a poem from Freiligrath: that is the most popular of all.'

Take that to heart and hammer out a New Year's ode to the New World. As things are now, it seems to me really more feasible to write in verse than in prose, whether sentimental or humorous. If, by the by, you were some time to attempt to render as art the humour that is peculiar to Your African Majesty in private life, I

\(^{a}\) General rule - \(^{b}\) From the title of Freiligrath’s ballad ‘Der Mohrenfürst’.
feel sure you would play a role in this genre also, since you are, as your wife\(^a\) has rightly remarked, rather a rogue.

I would enclose Weydemeyer’s letter if I hadn’t first to show it to Engels, who will probably be staying here until Thursday and who had hoped last Tuesday to find you ensconced in the ‘synagogue’.

The Association has now moved its quarters to ‘Farringdon Street, City, Market House, c/o W. J. Masters. Wine and Spirit Merchant.’ Meetings henceforward on Thursdays, 9 o’clock. The Association rightly claims that its quarters are now within your district.\(^b\)

Palmerston has been dismissed by Russell,\(^{533}\) 1) in order that the latter may act the constitutional hero vis-à-vis Bonaparte, 2) in order to make a concession to Russia and Austria. While I do not share the view that this fact will in any way affect the fate of the refugees generally or our own in particular, I believe that for Britain it presages a most lively year politically. From what Engels tells me, the City Merchants now also share our view that the crisis, held in check by all kinds of factors (including, e.g., political misgivings, the high price of cotton last year), etc., must blow up at the latest next autumn. And, après les derniers événements je suis plus convaincu que jamais, qu’il n’y aura pas de révolution sérieuse sans crise commerciale.\(^b\)

Regards from my family to yours.

Expiring,

The Moor

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\(^a\) Ida - \(^b\) since the latest events I am more than ever convinced that there will be no serious revolution without a trade crisis.
APPENDICES
...partment. He is coming tomorrow to give the order to the concierge. It was a terrible blow and I leave you to imagine what I’m going to do with my 200 francs, now that I’ve had to give him 380 fr. as a deposit, half of which he will return when he has found a tenant.

Such are the delightful consequences of that governmental, Guizotian, Humboldtian disgraceful trick. I don’t know what we’re going to do. This morning I traipsed all over Paris. The Mint was closed and I shall have to go again. Then I visited the carriers and the agent of a furniture auctioneer. I had no success anywhere. And in the course of these wearisome excursions, what’s more, Ewerbeck forced me to call on Mme Glaise, who, however, is quite an amiable, artless and kindly woman who pleased me much. At this moment I’m amusing myself with the infant and the grumbler while writing to you. Little Jenny never stops saying papa. She still has a very bad cold and her little teeth are very painful. However I hope she’ll soon be herself again. The person is in good spirits, though this morning she felt quite ‘lausig’.a I heard from mama today. Edgarc will be sitting his exam shortly. Aren’t you astonished, my good Karl, at my addressing you in French? But it happened without my thinking about it. I intended to start off with a few sentences in French and then, just as the appetite comes with eating, I was unable to part company with this language. I find it so easy to write to you and chat with you. I am writing as fast as I would in German and, although it may not be classical French, I trust it will amuse you to read it, faults,
inexpressible beauties and all. I shall not send off these lines until
I get your first letter. Say lots of nice things to our good friend
Bürgers on my behalf. A thousand kisses from mama to papa, and
a little kiss from Munsterchen. Adieu my friend. I long to see you
again. By now you will already be in Brussels. Best greetings to
our new fatherland. Adieu.

10 February

Heine was at the Ministry of the Interior where he was told they
knew nothing at all about it; Ledru-Rollin will be raising the
matter in the Chamber as soon as everyone has escaped. Have you
read the Réforme? What a silly, pitiful thing it is. Everything it says
is offensive, more so than the most violent attacks launched by the
others. There you have the work of that great man, such as he
should be—Mr Bakunin, who, however, came and gave me a
lesson in rhetoric and drama in order to unbother himself to me.
Herwegh is playing with the child. Ewerbeck is talking incessantly
about the continual distractions of Mr Bürgers and the son of the
people. Mr Weill, my special protector, came to my aid....

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JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BRUSSELS

[Trier, after 24 August 1845]

Although our letters may have crossed on this occasion, my
beloved Karl, I nevertheless look on yours as furnishing a reply to
my last letter, since it in fact anticipates and answers in advance all
the questions concerning which my mind was unsettled and in
doubt.

Only one big vital question, the one of the tailor's and
dressmaker's bills, still awaits a favourable solution, which I hope
will soon be forthcoming. You, sweetheart, weigh up every circumstance with such loving concern that when I read your dear letter I felt quite comforted. But my heart is still irresolute in the matter of leaving or staying or at any rate of fixing a definite date and, if I am to be honest, it inclines more and more toward staying. If only I could draw out each day to twice its length, if only I could attach leaden wings to the hours that they might not hasten by so fast—oh, if only you knew what bliss it is for my mother, our living together, what unending happiness and joy of life she derives from the contemplation of the lovely child, and what consoling elation from my presence! And am I to deprive her of all this with one cold word, am I to take all this away, leaving her with nothing but the forlorn loneliness of long, dreary winter days, anxious worry concerning my life and Edgar's future, nothing save gentle, kindly memories? She herself urges me with rare courage to depart but, having one day secretly fixed the date, I vacillate again on the morrow and grant myself one day more—and then another and still another. And yet my days here are already numbered and it will soon behove me to eke out the time, for it is drawing inexorably closer. Besides, I feel altogether too much at ease here in little Germany! Though to say so in the face of you arch anti-Germans calls for a deal of courage, does it not? But that courage I have and, for all that and all that, a one can live quite happily in this old land of sinners. At all events it was in glorious France and Belgium that I first made acquaintance with the pettiest and meanest of conditions. People are petty here, infinitely so, life as a whole is a pocket edition, but there heroes are not giants either, nor is the individual one jot better off. For men it may be different, but for a woman, whose destiny it is to have children, to sew, to cook and to mend, I commend miserable Germany. There, it still does one credit to have a child, the needle and the kitchen spoon still lend one a modicum of grace and, on top of that, and by way of reward for the days spent washing, sewing and child-minding, one has the comfort of knowing in one's heart of hearts that one has done one's duty. But now that old-fashioned things such as duty, honour and the like no longer mean anything, now that we are so advanced as to consider even old watchwords such as these outmoded, now that we actually feel in ourselves an urge towards sentiments of positively Stirnerian egoism, we no longer feel any inclination for the lowlier duties of life. We, too, want to enjoy ourselves, to do things and to

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a An allusion to Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!'
experience THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND in our own persons. But for me, what really turns the scales in favour of Germany is my having seen, me Hercule,\(^a\) that prince of men, the model man—let no one say a word against a Germany in which men such as these stand up on their little legs and turn somersaults. But now joking apart. I shall probably be leaving after the middle of September. Weydemeyer may accompany me as far as Cologne; Schleicher is also going to Brussels and told me yesterday that he might manage to be there at the right moment for me. Fiddlesticks, stout Sir, nothing will come of it. We shall probably have to stick to Breyer. The little house should do. In winter one does not need much room anyhow. My mother thought it might be best if we were to lodge Edgar elsewhere throughout that period, perhaps in the \(\text{bois sauvage}\).\(^b\) Anyhow that would be cheapest. Then, having concluded my important business\(^c\) on the upper floor, I shall remove downstairs again. Then you could sleep in what is now your study and pitch your tent in the \(\text{salon immense}\).\(^d\)—that would present no difficulty. The children’s noise downstairs would then be completely shut off, you would not be disturbed upstairs, I could join you when things were quiet and the living-room could, after all, always be kept reasonably tidy. The two rooms on the second floor would be of little or no use to us. At all events we must instal a good, warm stove and appurtenances in the living-room at the earliest opportunity. That again is Breyer’s business, for one doesn’t let out unheatable rooms. It would be as well to tackle Master Braggart in really good time, otherwise it will be the same as in the case of the kitchen table of hallowed memory. After that I shall see to everything else. Such preparations as could be made here, have been made. It would be wonderful for me if you could come and meet me. It is too far to Verviers and there wouldn’t be any point. Maybe as far as Liège. Do make inquiries about an inn there at which we could meet. Wilhelm the Pacific, anti-pauper and metal-hard, strongly advised me against making the trip from here to Cologne in one day. It’s simply that I detest the idea of spending the night at Coblenz. Nor should I like to spend a whole day at Cologne, but shall travel on to Aix. Then on to Liège the following day. However, I shall have to break the train journeys often for the joggling might well have unpleasant consequences. But I shall let you know more definitely about the journey itself later. What a colony of paupers there is going to be in Brussels!

\(^a\) by Hercules \(^b\) the Bois Sauvage boarding house \(^c\) forthcoming labours; in September 1845 Jenny Marx gave birth to Laura \(^d\) immense drawing room
Has Engels come back alone or à deux? Hess has written and told Weydemeyer he intends to marry. Is Bourgeois living in Cologne, or does he have to be in Elberfeld on account of the Spiegel? I should also like to ask Daniels to come and see me, but how? Little Jenny is sitting beside me and is also writing to her papa about whom she constantly talks. She is too sweet for words. Mrs Worbs gave her such a lovely little blue frock. Everyone is quite besotted with the child who has become the talk of the town, so that every day people come to see her. Her favourite is the chimney sweep, by whom she insists on being picked up. Tell Edgar that the woollen stockings are in the big box on the right in the attic, not immediately beneath the window. He will probably find them if he rummages about a bit amongst the children's clothes. If only the great catastrophe did not take place at the very time when you are finishing off your book, the publication of which I anxiously await. More about this and one or two personal rencontres with your mother when we meet. Such things are better talked of than written about. Goodbye, sweetheart. Give my love to Edgar and the others, and cherish fond thoughts of mother and daughter. Write again soon. I am so happy when you write.

Your
Jenny

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JENNY MARX TO KARL MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Trier, 24 [March 1846]

A thousand thanks, my dearly beloved Karl, for your long, dear letter of yesterday. How I longed for news of you all during those days of anxiety and sorrow when my heart scarcely dared to
hope any more, and how long, how very long, did my yearning breast remain unsatisfied. Every hour contained in itself an eternity of fear and worry. Your letters are the only gleams of light in my life just now. Dear Karl, pray let them shine for me more often and cheer me. But maybe I shall not need them much longer, for my dear mother's condition has taken such a turn for the better that the possibility of her recovery has become almost a probability. This time we all of us hope that the improvement that has set in is not an illusory one as is so often the case in insidious afflictions such as nervous disorders. She is recovering her strength and her mind is no longer oppressed by worries and fears, real or imaginary. I had composed myself for any eventuality and, had the worst happened, should have found comfort and solace enough, but nevertheless my heart is now jubilant with all the joy and rapture of spring. It's a strange thing about the life of someone you love. It is not so readily relinquished. You cling to it with every fibre of your being and, when the other's breathing falters, feel as though those fibres have been abruptly severed. I believe that recovery is now on the way and will rapidly accomplish its task. Now it is a matter of banishing all gloomy thoughts while constantly conjuring up cheerful images before her mind's eye. I now have to think up all kinds of tales which must nonetheless have about them some semblance of truth. All this is most difficult and is rendered easier only by the love I bear my dear mother and the blessed hope that, when all this is over, I shall be able to hasten back again and rejoin you, my darling, and my dear, sweet, little ones. Stay fit and well, all you my dear ones, and keep a careful watch over their sweet little heads. How I look forward to seeing the children's little faces again!

It seems that murder and mayhem has broken loose among you! I am glad that this radical breach should not have taken place until after my departure. Much of it would have been attributed to the machinations of that ambitious woman, Lady Macbeth, and not without reason. For I have, to be sure, for too long again been carping at circumstances and exercising la petite critique. But it is better thus. Now as regards this critical woman, Engels was perfectly right, as opposed to yourselves, in finding such a woman 'as she ought to be', as the eternal antithesis, very arrogant and hence in

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a Jenny and Laura - b i. e. Mary Burns - c petty criticism - d an adaptation of Weitling's *Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte* (Mankind as it is and as it ought to be)
making a great fuss about very little. I myself, when confronted with this abstract model, appear truly repulsive in my own eyes and would like to be sure of finding out all its faults and weaknesses in return. Moreover, it is quite false, or at any rate very mistaken, to speak, in respect of Engels, of a 'rare exemplar'. Then he is right in maintaining that 'such is not to be found'. But that is precisely where the argument falls to the ground. There is an abundance of lovely, charming, capable women, they are to be found all over the world and are only waiting for a man to liberate and redeem them. Any man can become the redeemer of a woman.

Present-day women, in particular, are receptive to all things and very capable of self-sacrifice. True, one would have to acquire a somewhat wider knowledge of one's wares if one was not to renounce all taste which, more than anything else, is reprehensible in a salesman who has long been dealing in such articles. Who could accuse Rabbi Rabuni\(^a\) of a blunder, a display of ignorance, in respect of a commercial transaction? To him, all cats are of the same colour and he is satisfied at that. On the other hand, when he sees rosy tints appear in far-away Poland, he forgets that the colour of these blood-red roses is not genuine; they are pleasing to the eye and necessary and have, 'for all that and all that',\(^b\) created a great stir, but how can one establish any connection between this attempt and attempts to attempt an attempt? Who can understand that? Things have come to such a pass that, along with the perfectly justified aim and intention of conceiving the real flesh-and-blood human being, with all his needs and desires, as the be-all and end-all, of seeing man as humankind—that, along with this, almost all idealism has gone by the board and been replaced by nothing but fantasticism. Once again the mania for practical reality is firmly in the saddle. And when men like Hess, who are, in fact, nothing but ideologists, who actually have no real flesh and blood but only, as it were, an abstraction of the same, when such men suddenly parade the knife and fork question as their mission in life, then they are bound to plunge neck and crop into fantasticism. Hess will constantly beguile himself with bogus projects while still continuing to exercise a mysterious, inexplicable, magical, personal sway over the weak. Such is indeed his calling—to act, as it were, the prophet and high priest. So let him go to Babel-Jerusalem-Elberfeld if he will. Weitling's hullabaloo about his fantastical projects is also quite

\(^a\) A reference to Moses Hess. - \(^b\) An allusion to Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!'
explicable. Just as he, coming from the artisan class, is perforce incapable of anything more elevated than to herald drinking bouts in popular poetry, so too he is capable of nothing more elevated than ill-fated undertakings which are obviously foolhardy and fail. He has no sense of the ridiculous, and what a fiasco it would have been on this occasion. That is now plain for all to see. I am happy beyond words, my dear Karl, that you are still keeping your spirits up and continuing to master your impatience and your longings. How I love you for this courage of yours. You are my husband, and I am still thankful for this! To remain calm and clear-headed in the midst of the hurly-burly and to be in harmony with the times! The most repulsive thing about the ill-starred insurrection\(^5\) is that wretched Prussia, with its spinelessness and pseudo-humanism, is again acclaimed by those idiots the French and all the rest of its admirers as against crude, brutish Austria. This besottedness with progress is truly repulsive. But now, my beloved Karl, I shall dwell on the subject of progress and enlarge on it as regards you, my dear master. How are you getting on with Stirner and what progress have you made?\(^6\) Above all, apply yourself to your book.\(^5\) Time marches inexorably on. I myself am besieged with inquiries here. Schleicher has already asked after it twice and complained bitterly about the literature that comes their way. And it’s true, they are very badly off.

They are all having to grapple with Grün and Ruge and do not know which way to turn. Schleicher asked whether the Rabbi was by any chance Hess.\(^b\) Even Schleicher is prepared to swallow anything. But there is altogether too great a lack of knowledge. The false prophets have done so much to queer the pitch....


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\(^a\) A reference to ‘Saint Max’, an important part of *The German Ideology*. - \(^b\) This presumably refers to A. Ruge’s article 'Der Rabbi Moses und Moritz Hess' in the collection *Die Opposition*. 

GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN BRUSSELS

For Engels  London, March 30, 1846

My dear E.,

I am your debtor for two or three letters, and I fear must have offended you by my silence, particularly through not answering before this time the one very important letter to which I shall presently more particularly allude. I am always busy, but the Polish Insurrection\(^539\) has found for me additional occupation. Night and day I have been working to rouse public feeling—not altogether without success. At length the great London meeting has been accomplished\(^541\)—I breathe again, and devote the first moment to write to you.

I first notice a very long letter I received through *Weerth* several weeks ago, the letter was without a date. I was glad to hear of your arrangements for the publication of your *Quarterly*.\(^57\) Has the result answered your expectations \([?]\) When I informed my wife\(^a\) of your very philosophical system of writing in couples till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning,\(^542\) she protested that such philosophy would not suit her, and that if she was in Brussels she would get up a 'pronunciamento' amongst your wives. My wife has no objection to the manufacturing of Revolutions, provided the work is done on the *short time* system. She recommends your wives to form an 'Anti-3- or 4 o'clock-in-the morning-Association', she will volunteer her services as 'English Correspondent' and she thinks that *Mrs Caudle*\(^b\) might also be induced to join the sisterhood.

Your speculations as to the speedy coming of a revolution in England, I doubt. Revolutionary changes in Germany I think certain and likely to come soon. Such changes are not less certain in France and likely to ensue soon after the death of that old scoundrel Louis Philippe, but I confess I cannot see the likelihood of such changes in England, at least until England is moved from *without* as well as within. Your prediction that we will get the Charter\(^543\) in the course of the present year, and the abolition of

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\(^a\) Mary - \(^b\) A character in Douglas Jerrold's *Mrs Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, a series of humorous sketches published in *Punch* in 1845.
private property within three years will certainly not be realized; —
indeed as regards the latter, although it may and I hope will come,
it is my belief that neither you nor I will see it. As to what
O'Conner has been saying lately about ‘physical force’. I think
nothing of it. The English people will not adopt Cooper's slavish
notions about peace and non-resistance, but neither would they act
upon the opposite doctrine. They applaud it at public meetings,
but that is all. Notwithstanding all the talk in 1839 about
‘arming’, the people did not arm, and they will not arm. A long
immunity from the presence of war in their own country and the
long suspension of the militia has created a general distaste for
arms, which year by year is becoming more extensive and more
intense. The body of the English people, without becoming a
slavish people, are becoming an eminently pacific people. I do not
say that our fighting propensities are gone, on the contrary, I
believe that the trained English soldiery is the most powerful
soldiery in the world, that is, that a given number will, ninety
times out of a hundred, vanquish a similar number of the trained
troops of any nation in the world (I hope I shall not offend your
Prussian nationality). Wanting, however, military training, the
English people are the most unmilitary, indeed anti-military people
on the face of the earth. To attempt a ‘physical-force’ agitation at
the present time would be productive of no good, but on the
contrary of some evil—the evil of exciting suspicion against the
agitators. I do not suppose that the great changes which will come
in this country, will come altogether without violence, but
organised combats such as we may look for in France, Germany,
Italy and Spain, cannot take place in this country. To organise, to
conspire a revolution in this country would be a vain and foolish
project and the men who with their eyes open could take part in
so absurd an attempt would be worse than foolish, would be
highly culpable.

I must next notice what you say about my ‘leadership’. First let
me remark that you are too hard upon O' Con. You find fault
with his ‘leaders’, but you say the ‘week’s summary’ affords you
entertainment—fun. You speak as though you credited me with
the ‘summary’, but the ‘summary’ is prepared by O'Connor, as you
might have known by the Irish jokes and very Irish poetry
continually introduced into the commentary. You are wrong in
supposing that he prevented my continuing the remarks on Cabet.
The discontinuance was the result first of my own neglect, and

3 in The Northern Star
second that Hetherington has never completed the translation, and I have deferred further comment until the publication was complete. I must do O'C. the justice to say that he never interferes with what I write in the paper, nor does he know what I write until he gets the paper. You have thought proper in the letter I am now commenting on to credit me with all the revolutionary virtues. You say I am 'anti-national', 'revolutionary', 'energetical', 'proletarian', 'more of a Frenchman than an Englishman', 'Atheistical, Republican, and Communist'. I am too old a soldier to blush at this accumulation of virtues credited to my account, but supposing it to be even as you say, it does not follow that I am qualified for 'leadership'. A popular chief should be possessed of a magnificent bodily appearance, an iron frame, eloquence, or at least a ready fluency of tongue. I have none of these. O'C. has them all—at least in a degree. A popular leader should possess great animal courage, contempt of pain and death, and be not altogether ignorant of arms and military science. No chief or leader that has hitherto appeared in the English movement has these qualifications, we have never had a Barbés for instance. In these qualifications I am decidedly deficient, I know nothing of arms, have no stomach for fighting, and would rather die after some other fashion than by bullet or rope. From a knowledge of myself and all the men who have, and do figure in the Chartist movement, I am convinced that even in this respect was O'C. thrown overboard, we might go further and fare worse. Amongst my revolutionary virtues you give me credit for 'energy'. I know I do possess a sort of energy, which when occasion demands enables me to rouse others to exertion and direct their exertions, myself setting the example, but this is moral energy, the physical energy which makes Cromwells, Napoleons, etc. I possess, I fear, not an atom of. Placed in certain circumstances I should, I fear, fall like Robespierre, through want of the necessary courage to save myself. This is not all, the very qualities you give me the credit for possessing, and which you emphatically sum up in the sentence 'You are the only Englishman who is really free of all prejudices that distinguish the Englishman from the Continental man', are sufficient of themselves to prevent my being a leader. If I am 'the only Englishman, etc.', it follows that I would be a chief without an army, a leader without followers. To myself my proper position appears clear, I am a 'pioneer', the teacher of 'strange doctrines', the proclaimer of principles which startle the many, and are but

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\(^a\) into English of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*
timidly acknowledged even by the few; and the office of the pioneer is surely useful, and as surely not inglorious. You see I am perfectly candid. I speak of myself as perhaps few men would speak, but I wish you not to be deceived, not to deceive yourself, not to deceive others. I am but one of the humble workers in the great movement of progress, as such I desire to be considered.

The letter I am commenting on came to me through W[eerth] opened. Now I have every confidence in W. but it is possible that, without meaning any harm, some points of your letter might come to be known, particularly as W. wrote me that he approved and agreed with all you had said about my leadership. Now if what you did say had become known it would place me in a very awkward position with O'C. I do not wish to prevent you criticising O'C. in your letters, or any other person (myself included), only I would wish that every necessary precaution should be taken by you in transmitting your letters.

If you find fault with this egotism, this talk about myself, you have only yourself to blame for it.

I now come to your letter of the 5th of March, which letter exists not. it has gone the way of all flesh, in accordance with your expressed wishes.

It is not necessary that I should go through all the points of your (5th of March) letter seriatim. I cannot pretend to judge of the policy and practicability of your scheme; of these you and your compatriots must be the best judges. For myself I have confidence in your discretion as well as your zeal, and as far as my humble abilities, and time will permit I am willing to aid you in the manner you suggest, you bearing in mind what I have said of my own deficiencies, and consequently that while competent to serve the cause in some ways, I am not competent to do so in others. But before I regularly commence the duties you expect of me, there is one point I must be assured of,—namely,—that your scheme has the sanction of the long-trusted, incorruptible, and martyr men of the German movement. I must inform you that I have been a member of the German Society\(^a\) for some weeks past (several Englishmen have joined the Society lately which adds to its members every week), now should your scheme not be made known to the Society, or at least to one or two of its most trusted members, I should hesitate to join you, because if your arrangements came to be known I should be placed in a false position,

\(^a\) the London German Workers' Educational Society
perhaps regarded as a conspirator against the popular interests. I have great faith in Schapper, and if he is not consulted I do not see how I could join you. But are you sure your scheme is not already known in London? I have acted as you directed, no one but myself knows the contents of your letter of the 5th March, but two or three weeks before that letter reached me, I heard that you (the literary characters in Brussels) had formed a society, confined to yourselves into which you admitted no working man. If by this society is meant the society respecting which you have written to me, you will see that it is already known and has excited prejudice amongst the good men. If this ‘society’ be not your present scheme but something else, still whatever it may be it has excited prejudice here which you must endeavour to dispel before you can hope to have the views expressed in your 5th of March letter adopted by the Germans here. As regards Weitling he may have friends in the London Society, but certainly not the majority. S. is the man who leads, and properly so. He repudiates ‘leadership’, but nature forms some men for chiefs and she has given him the necessary qualifications.

On Saturday I received a long letter from you through Weerth, or rather two letters. The one for the Star I like very much, it will appear this week. I have altered the date from February 20 to March 20th, it will thereby not look so stale.

The private letter accompanying your public letter I read with much interest, the facts connected with France are very important, and down to the line you indicate I shall use them in the Star though perhaps not this week. Do not be surprised if I use those facts in a ‘leader’. All that you say about the middle-class in England and France I fully accord with. All that you say about ‘Merry England’ is true. You say ‘I am just in time to include some resolutions which we thought proper to pass against Cooper’. There are no ‘resolutions’ in the letter I received from you.

A few words on the state of things in England. The anti-Corn Law agitation is drawing to a close. Whether or no Peel carries his measure through the Lords, the Corn Laws are doomed and the day of their final extinction is drawing nigh. Then comes complete middle-class domination, an increased agitation for the Charter, complete estrangement between the proletarians and the middle-class, and the beginning of that conflict which will be a social as well as a political one.

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The Chartists as Chartists are doing nothing, the 'Chartist Convention' at Manchester, and the 'Chartist Message' resulted in nothing—a mere flash in the pan. The Land Society goes on prospering, at least so I learn by the account of monies received, for I am not a member. Some land has been purchased and more will be almost immediately. The Land scheme may do as a passing experiment but is unworthy of the energies of a national movement. I have told you that the German Society is advancing, I am glad that the report of their annual supper pleased your friends. I have seen the German paper published in New York. You will have seen that the 'Fraternal Democrats' are progressing. After a deal of trouble and discouragement I think I shall succeed in this. We were for some time regarded with much prejudice and jealousy by the Chartists but this is wearing away. The Polish affair has done a good deal towards bringing this about. Seeing that no other party would move, we determined to begin. Our efforts excited the Chartist-Executive, who feared we would take the popular leadership out of their hands. Hence they came to us. As soon as they came, we said 'You lead, we will follow'. Our policy is not to push ourselves, but our principles, and compel others to adopt them. Thus the two parties worked harmoniously, forming a joint committee to get up the meeting. To me was left the drawing up of the resolutions and petition, and I determined to make both ultra-democratic. I had all my own way in the Committee and at the public meeting the resolutions were passed unanimously. Schapper was received with great enthusiasm, and just in proportion as we were democratic in our sentiments we were applauded. Several Polish aristocrats present left the meeting in a rage, grinding their teeth, and denouncing me as a 'sans-culotte' for my onslaught on them. The meeting was a glorious one, at least three thousand persons present. The humbugs (Lovett and Co.) were plotting to get up a genteel Polish-nationality meeting, when we stepped in and settled their hash for them. It is not likely that they will now hold a meeting at all. The meeting was reported in the Times, Chronicle, Advertiser, D. News, Globe, and Sun. It was editorially praised by the Advertiser, and Sun, and denounced by the Times, and D. News. Did you see the Times denunciation? It was capital, especially as

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* Der Volks-Tribun.  
* 'Meeting of the Friends of Poland', *The Times*, No. 19194, 26 March 1846.
following within a few days a ‘leader’ in which the *Times* man had asserted that the ‘delusion of Chartism’ was dead and gone.\(^a\) This meeting will be the commencement of a new era in English agitation, henceforth mere Chartism will not do, ultra democracy, social as well as political, will be the object of our propaganda. Tonight a meeting is to be held in South London, but that of course [will] not be reported in the daily papers. I must conclude. Write again soon. I will myself write again in a week or two. Mary’s love to Mrs E.\(^b\) [and] yourself. Remember me to Marx, Gigot, etc.

Thine fraternally—

Julian

(Henceforth ‘J.’)

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\(^a\) ‘The painful impression...’, *The Times*, No. 19188, 19 March 1846. 
\(^b\) Mary Burns - Judging by the mention made in the second paragraph of the Paris workers’ demonstration, which took place on Friday, 17 March, the letter must also have been written on that date.
German Democratic Society headed by Börnstein, Bornstedt, Herwegh, Volk, Decker, etc., a society which flies the black, red and gold flag\(^2\) (wherein it had already been anticipated by the Federal Diet\(^4\)) and babbles of Father Blücher and is drilled in sections by retired Prussian officers. It is of the utmost importance that, in the eyes of France and Germany, one should dissociate oneself completely from that society, since it will bring the Germans into disrepute. If the Dampfboot comes out too late, use the information provided above for a short article in any German newspapers you choose, these being more readily at your command in the South. Try and get as much as you can into German papers.

I would like to write and tell you a great deal more about the interesting goings-on here which grow livelier by the minute (tonight 400,000 workers are meeting in front of the Hôtel de Ville\(^3\)), while attroupements\(^b\) are again on the increase; however I am so busy with house and home and the three mites\(^c\) that all I have time for is to hail you and your dear wife\(^d\) from afar with a few friendly words of greeting.

Greeting and fraternity.

Your Citoyenne and Vagabonde

Jenny Marx


6

ELISABETH ENGELS TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN BRUSSELS

Barmen [after 4 October 1848]

Dear Friedrich,

You will have received your father’s letter; I should have liked to add a few words to it, but I felt too sick at heart. Now you have really gone too far. So often have I begged you to proceed no

\(^a\) town hall - \(^b\) unlawful assemblies - \(^c\) Jenny, Laura and Edgar - \(^d\) Louise
further, but you have paid more heed to other people, to strangers, and have taken no account of your mother's pleas. God alone knows what I have felt and suffered of late. I was trembling when I picked up the newspaper and saw therein that a warrant was out for my son's arrest.

I can think of nothing else but you and then I often see you as a little boy still, playing near me. How happy I used to be then and what hopes did I not pin upon you. Dear Friedrich, if the words of a poor, sorrowing mother still mean anything to you, then follow your father's advice, go to America and abandon the course you have pursued hitherto. With your knowledge you will surely succeed in finding a position in a good firm and if, later on, you should not like it, you could always take to something else. For so many years now I have never been able to think of you without a pang; pray send me for once some piece of news that will gladden my heart a little. You are now separated from your friends—why not break away from them too now and go your own way for once, or listen for once to what your mother has to say. Nobody, surely, can mean so well by you as I do, so why have you refused to listen to my plea?

Do write to me soon, dear Friedrich, and let me have good news of you, I beseech you. May God have mercy on you and not forsake you.

But believe me when I say that your father, no less than I, will bless the day when you return to us again and once more consent to be our child and walk the same path with us. May God soon grant us that joy. Then we shall forget all the worry and distress we have endured on account of you.

Write soon to your deeply grieving mother

Elise Engels

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HERMANN EWERBECK TO MOSES HESS
IN PARIS

Cologne, 14 November 1848

My dear Hess,

Here I sit—not in a bower of roses, far from it—at half past one in the morning side by side with Marx at the newspaper's editorial table correcting proof-sheets, but still find time to write to you, especially since, newly arrived and due (I hope) to depart for Paris tomorrow, I have heard that the philosopher Wolf is in Paris. There is, I presume, no need for me to advise you as to how our club should act vis-à-vis this man. My presence in Paris might be needed at this moment, lest the philosopher should prove troublesome with his nagging and taunting. So I am hastening thither. I could not come any sooner. Berlin has held me in thrall and I have got to spend one day in Cologne, especially since Marx has been summoned to appear in court tomorrow and is in danger of being arrested.

The city of Berlin, in state of siege, will be severely wrangled. It is a matter either of a republic or of Cossack rule.

Do not let Wolf exert any influence. Neither Worcell nor anyone else must be allowed to listen to him. He seems to be corresponding with Marx. The latter is very enthusiastic about Engels, whom he describes as outstanding 'intellectually, morally and from the point of view of character'. The said Engels is in Switzerland for the good cause, says Marx.

Farewell.

NB. Post the enclosed without delay.

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a Neue Rheinische Zeitung - b Probably Ferdinand Wolff - c Ewerbeck coins a verb from the name Wrangel. - d A pun on Napoleon's words: ‘In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack’, cited by Las Cases in Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.
Dear Friedrich,

Yesterday a letter arrived from you at long last and although I was grieved by the tone in which it was written, I was nevertheless glad to hear that all was well with you and that you had received the money. I shall not hark back to your speech at the Eiser Hall except to say that we first read it in the Deutschen Zeitung, which they take at the Concordia, and only later did it also appear in the Elberfelder.

Now as to the suspicions your friends have incurred, let me tell you quite simply how matters stood. When the disturbances broke out in Cologne and the Rheinische Zeitung was suspended, we heard immediately that you had already earlier left for Verviers. For what reason, no one knew. But nobody, ourselves included, doubted that the meetings at which you and your friends spoke, and also the language of the Rh. Z., were largely the cause of these disturbances. You, too, will be perfectly well aware that this led to bitter feeling, since most of the country desires a return to peaceful and orderly conditions. We then got your letter from Liège and I could not but agree with your father when he expressed the hope that, if you were compelled to fend for yourself, you might perhaps decide, or have to decide, to turn to activities other than those which you have been pursuing in recent years and which have already caused us so much distress. You must not imagine, dear Friedrich, that, when your father made his proposals to you in the letter he sent to Brussels, he did so without my assent. I was in complete agreement with him and hoped that you would either fall in with the proposal that you go to America or, should you cease to receive money from us, that you would make up your mind to take up something else so as to be able to exist.

Just at the time when we received your letter from Liège, our Emil arrived here from Engelskirchen via Cologne, where he had inquired at the editorial office of the Rh. Z. whether they knew

a 'Eine demokratische Volksversammlung', Deutsche Zeitung, No. 262, Supplement, 27 September 1848. - b Neue Rheinische Zeitung
anything about you, and was told in reply that the editors were all expected back on the following day and that the paper would be reappearing within the next few days.\(^a\) As you yourself know, it was not long before this happened, so what could be more natural than that I should imagine that Marx and the others were back in Cologne? A little later, your father went to Cologne where he heard from Plasmann, as I told you in my letter, that several letters had arrived from you, in which you asked for money but that none had yet been sent to you—I mentioned this in an earlier letter. A few days later Plasmann actually sent us a letter of yours, addressed to one Schulz and written, if I am not mistaken, in Brussels, in which you complain that they have not replied to your letters, including one to Mrs Marx. About this time we read of your expulsion from Brussels and, not having heard at all whether you had received the money in Brussels, we grew anxious and your father wrote to Gigot, who soon replied, saying he had handed you the money and giving us the address to which I wrote to you in Paris. We then got your letter from Geneva in which you told us that, for the first fortnight, you could expect nothing from your friends as ‘they had all been dispersed’. Was I not forced to conclude from this that you did not know that the *Rh. Z.* was again appearing and hence that the editors must also be there?

I do not wish to say anything further about Marx; if he acted in the way you describe, and I do not doubt this for one moment, he did what he could and in my heart I thank him for it. As to your other Cologne friends, I do not wish to discuss them further, for you yourself say little about them, so we shall let the matter rest. Time will tell who is most dependable. They were, by the way, at great pains to send us your address when they heard from Gigot that we had been making inquiries about it. We got it from three sources\(^b\) at the very time your letter arrived from Geneva.

I am sorry to see from your letter that you imagine us to be responsible for the hard time you had in Geneva. But that often happens to people. They willingly blame others for things for which they are themselves responsible. Why did you have to leave Cologne? You know yourself, dear Friedrich, how often I expressed concern that one day you might again come to such a pass, but you always said that that was out of the question. We

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\(^a\) The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* suspended on 26 September, when the state of siege was introduced in Cologne, resumed publication on 12 October 1848.  
\(^b\) Marx, Gigot and Dronke
then had no word from you for five weeks, neither a letter nor your address, so how could you expect us to send you money? No sooner did we receive word from you, than we sent you some. It is surely not our fault if you received it so belatedly.

There is many a thing I could say in reply to your letter, but what purpose would it serve? We cannot, after all, agree on everything, so it is better to hold one's peace. Except for one thing, dear Friedrich. I have learned from a fairly reliable source a thing or two about your plans in Cologne, and I must say that when one plans to build barricades one is not so far from murder. Thank God such plans are not all carried out. Later, perhaps, we can discuss this affair, you had best not reply concerning it. Now for another matter. Plasmann sent us your things, which arrived, I am happy to say, while your father was still away, for amongst them I discovered various letters which I would rather did not find their way into your father's hands. I prefer to withhold from him matters which may distress him or cause him anxiety, for I consider it unnecessary to tell him everything I know, but if asked I do not knowingly tell anything but the truth, as you too will have discovered. Amongst the letters in your trunk I found one addressed to 'Madame Engels' and one from a lady to yourself, written in French though from Cologne. Both these letters I burnt unread and at once put all the other letters together in the leather brief-case, so that there is little probability of your father seeing them. Those two letters might perhaps have given me the explanation why last spring, when we had that talk together in the garden, you were not being truthful with me.Whatever your relations may have been at the time and may perhaps still be, it is as well to let the matter rest. Do not write to me about it, for I am most anxious that your father should hear nothing of the matter. Later on, perhaps, you might give me an explanation by word of mouth. But I only wish to hear the truth. If you cannot tell me that, it would be better for us not to speak at all on the subject.

Now that you have got the money from us, I entreat you to buy yourself a warm overcoat so that you will have it when the weather turns colder, as it soon will; also to provide yourself with drawers and a bed jacket so that you will be warmly clad should you catch a cold; as can very easily happen. I only wish I had occasion to send you some warm socks. Your father, however, thinks it would cost more than they are worth and says I ought to keep them and everything else until you are closer to us again.

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*a during Engels' stay in Barmen from mid-April to 20 May 1848*
What more can I say to you, dear Friedrich? That I love you as only a mother can love her child, you know. May God shine His light upon your heart that you may know what will bring you peace. It is already one o'clock in the morning and I too shall now go to bed. May God’s grace and mercy go with you.

With much love
Your mother Elise

Your father returned from his trip last Friday\(^a\) but left again today for Engelskirchen.
Hermann, Hedwig, Rudolf and Elise send their love.

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My dear Lina,

You will have received my two letters from Trier and will have seen from them that on this occasion I did not feel at ease there. Everything has changed too much there and one does not, of course, always remain the same oneself. I felt an intense nostalgia for Paris and so, together with all my baggage, I returned posthaste via Aix and Brussels; we got back here last Saturday, fit and well.\(^{263}\) I found very pretty, convenient lodgings in a salubrious district where we have already set up house, including kitchen, quite cosily.

At this moment Paris is splendid and luxurious in the extreme. The aristocracy and bourgeoisie suppose themselves safe since the ill-starred 13th of June and the fresh victories their party has

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\(^a\) 1 December 1848
won. On the 14th all the grandees, together with their carriages and their liveried retainers, were already creeping out of the holes in which they had been hiding and thus the marvellous streets are awash with magnificence and splendour of every description. Paris is a gorgeous city. How often during the past few days have I not wished you were here beside me as, filled with admiration and amazement, I walked along streets that were alive with people. Once we have settled in properly you must pay us a visit here and see for yourself how lovely it is.

Until 15 August we shall remain in these lodgings which, however, are too dear for us to stay in for any length of time. In Passy, a very pretty place an hour's distance from Paris, we have been offered a whole cottage with garden, 6-10 rooms, elegantly furnished throughout, and having four beds, at the unbelievable rent of eleven thalers a month. If it were not too remote we should remove there at once.

We have still not made up our minds whether we should have our things sent or not. So I shall have to make yet further calls upon your kindness and good nature.

Could you not find out from Johann and my packing-case maker, Hansen [Kunibert], approximately how many cwt. the whole amounts to, i.e. including only one of the boxes of books, No. 4, and how much it costs to transport a cwt. from Cologne to Paris? That would enable us to make an estimate of sorts. Before winter sets in you would in any case have to unpack out of the trunks and dispatch to me here some of the linen, clothing, etc. I shall be sending you further details later on. Johann would be of very great service to you in this.

At the end of August our things will have to be removed from the place where they are now. Perhaps you could have a word with Johann or Faulenbach about cheap storage for them later on. These are all very tiresome affairs, but unavoidable in view of our vagabond existence. I am only sorry that I should have to place this additional burden on you, the more so since you yourself will surely have had a great deal to arrange and see to of late. For I feel sure that your next dear letter will bring me the joyous tidings of Bertha's marriage. Whether that day is already past or whether it is yet to come, do please convey to her my most cordial wishes for her future prosperity and happiness. I wish it were within my power to make you all really happy and more than anything else I should like to see you, my dear Lina, as cheerful and contented as

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a Caroline Schöler's sister
you deserve and have every right to be, considering the many cares, troubles and disappointed expectations that have already clouded and embittered your young life. Rest assured that in me you will always find a loyal and loving friend.

I shall not write anything about politics today. There is no telling what may happen to a letter.

My dear husband sends you his warm regards and wonders whether you could, perhaps, find out from Stein, the banker in the Neumarkt, or from his mother, etc., etc., the address of Jung, the assessor, and then forward the enclosed letter to him, the matter is one of some urgency. I am not franking these letters because the franking office is much too far away—I beg you not to frank your letters either and, in fact, to get yourself a cash book for your outlays on my behalf. If you fail to keep strict accounts, I shall have to have recourse to coercive measures.

The children, who can hardly open their eyes wide enough to take in all these marvels, often babble about their dear Aunt Lina and send you their love, so does Lench, qui est toujours la même.

My love to your sisters, to Roland et femme and to the Eschweilers should you happen to see them, etc., etc.

Yours ever

Jenny

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10

CONRAD SCHRAMM TO JOSEPH WEYDEMeyer

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 8 January 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

I am writing to you at the request of Marx, who is up to his eyes in work completing the first issue of the Revue. The Revue will be distributed through booksellers and besides, in larger cities,

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*a* Jenny, Laura and Edgar *b* Helene Demuth *c* who is still the same as ever *d* Roland Daniels and his wife (Amalie) *e* Postscript by Marx see on p. 202.
through agents. It will be printed, etc., in Hamburg and dispatched from there to the agents. The first issue will come out a bit late, but will be quickly followed by the next ones, so that the March issue will probably appear at the beginning of the month. If the Revue does at all well, it will appear twice a month. I would urge you to insert the announcement straight away, even supposing the Kölnerin has not yet had it. As regards your South German article, Marx would like to have it as soon as possible for the February issue; the point is not so much to report the most up-to-date facts, which is not in any case feasible; it would be best, I think, to conclude the reports on the 15th of each month; and send off the manuscript soon enough for it to get here by the 19th or 20th of each month. One more thing; please alter the price in the announcement from 24 to 25 Sgr. or 20 ggr., this latter price having been suggested by the booksellers as being more convenient. It is to be hoped that in Frankfurt you will take the lead in promoting the Revue, in which case you must charge to us the cost of sub-agents, delivery boys, etc. How many copies should I let you have?

Little that's new today over here. Struve and Heinzen are doing all they can to create a commotion and are, to the best of their ability, making asses of themselves and the German emigration. These two dictators, by the by, have fallen out, Struve having allegedly stolen an idea (?) of Heinzen's! I shall shortly be writing to Bruhn, to whom kindly give my regards, and shall then provide a detailed account of what is going on here.

Do you not require a correspondent over here? I could always send you prompt reports on the most important events in Parliament, which, in any case, promises to be interesting. I regularly follow the English movement for financial reform and can keep you au courant. In the next day or two I shall send you a sample article and you could then let me know at your convenience whether you would like to have my letters and what you would give for them. Here in England one has got to have something with which to pay for one's steaks and beer.

The young communist who has installed himself chez Marx is called Henry Edward Guy Fawkes. He was born on the anniversary of the Gun Powder Plot, 5th Nov., and for that reason

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a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue' (The Neue Deutsche Zeitung, edited by Weydemeyer, carried it in Nos. 14, 23 and 31, 16 and 26 January and 5 February 1850). - b The Kölnische Zeitung published the announcement in the supplement to No. 24, 27 January 1850. - c silver groschen - d good groschen
has been named Guy Fawkes.324 Just now the little fellow is getting on everyone's nerves with his bawling; however, he will no doubt become more reasonable in due course.

All your acquaintances send their kind regards.

With cordial regards,

Yours

C. Schramm


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11

FROM PETER RÖSER'S EVIDENCE

... Immediately after the New Year of 1850 I received a letter from Marx in which he asked me to set up a community\(^b\) in Cologne and to do my utmost to start communities in other Rhine towns, because, now that freedom of speech and of the press has been all but suppressed, he too considers it necessary to reorganise the League, as in the near future, clandestine propaganda will alone be possible. I replied that I was prepared to do this but demanded, before proceeding further, Rules to which we [must] conform and such as would preclude any kind of conspiracy. Marx replied that the Rules of 1847\(^c\) were no longer in keeping with the times, that the Rules of 1848 were no longer approved in London\(^557\) and that new Rules were to be drafted; also that, as soon as the League had been organised, a Congress was to be held to which the Rules would be submitted for approval. Up till then, he said, I was to organise things on the basis of the Manifesto\(^d\) of 1847 which was sold openly in Cologne in 1848 as printed in The Hague and had been in my possession ever since. In both letters he urgently recommended that I hold discussions with Dr Daniels and Bürgers with a view to recruiting them into the League...

...In the letter I received from Marx, he repeated that his brother-in-law, von Westphalen, a lawyer resident in Trier, had formerly been admitted by him into the League and had subsequently set up a community in Trier, but that he was a lazy man and had of late failed to reply to his letters. Marx asked me to write to this von Westphalen, since it was less dangerous for me to correspond with him from Cologne.

I received no reply to two letters conveyed to von Westphalen through Schlegel...

...At the end of July Wilhelm Klein, a knife grinder and a native of Solingen, who had hitherto lived in London as a refugee, having been compromised by his participation in the uprising in Elberfeld in 1849, returned from London to Germany after the trial relating to the Elberfeld uprising was over and there was no longer any fear of his being prosecuted. I had known Klein since the time of the 1848 and 1849 congresses in Cologne. He arrived in Cologne at the end of July 1850, lodged there with his uncle, whose name and address I do not know, and brought me a letter from Marx in which the latter gave vent to his anger at Willich & Company and said it was a great pity that Schapper should have attached himself to this bunch of frauds. He said that during the winter of 1849/50 he had lectured to the London Workers' Society on the Manifesto and had explained that communism could only be introduced after a number of years, that it would have to go through several phases and that generally its introduction could only be effected by a process of education and gradual development, but that Willich had violently opposed him with his rubbish—as Marx called it—saying that it would be introduced in the next revolution, if only by the might of the guillotine, that the hostility between them was already great and he [Marx] feared it would lead to a split in the League, General Willich having got it firmly into his head that, come the next revolution, he and his brave men from the Palatinate would introduce communism on their own and against the will of everyone in Germany. Finally he recommended the said Klein to me as a capable worker who did not as yet have any clear idea of social and communist principles. Here I must repeat what I said during the trial—that we did not receive the second London Address, or at any rate I was not given it by the said Klein...

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a Edgar von Westphalen  
b 1850  
c the communist trial in Cologne in the autumn of 1852  
d K. Marx and F. Engels, Address of the Central Authority to the League. June 1850.
...One afternoon during the second half of September 1850 Dr Daniels and Bürgers turned up at my lodgings accompanied by a young man whom they described as Haupt, a salesman and native of Hamburg, who was on his way home from London. Whether it was Daniels or Bürgers who told me that Haupt had brought with him a letter from Marx addressed to Daniels, I cannot recollect, but either one or the other told me this. We went together to Bürgers' lodgings which Daniels left immediately afterwards and where I remained alone with Bürgers and Haupt. At this point the letter was handed to me and, having read it, I found that the contents tallied with the letter previously received from Marx. In it Marx said that it was no longer possible to go along with Schapper and Willich, that there had been a formal split and that the majority of the London Central Authority had decided to remove the Central Authority to Cologne and that, should the people in Cologne accept that resolution, they, as the new Central Authority, would shortly have to draft new Rules, which might possibly have to remain provisionally in force until the next Congress, and that they would have to communicate the said Rules to the districts and communities.

Haupt gave us detailed information on the London conflict and stressed in particular that the split had occurred because Marx and Engels, the opposing party maintained, were not going forward resolutely enough and refused to abandon the illusion that it would not be possible to introduce communism already in the next revolution. The conflict had become so embittered that Schramm called Willich a liar at a committee sitting. The result was that Willich challenged Schramm to a duel, which took place on Belgian territory. Willich is said to have left Schramm lying severely wounded at the place of the duel while he himself returned to London and said that he had bumped Schramm off. There were no seconds at the duel, Schramm was found by a peasant, in whose house he was attended to, and later he returned to London. This Schramm is a Krefeld merchant.

We explained to Haupt that we would submit the resolutions of the Central Authority to the community for discussion, but must first await the arrival of the relevant minutes which, Haupt had said, would follow. Haupt told us that he had fought in the Baden campaign and had taken refuge in Switzerland, and had gone from there to London. It was only very recently that he had been

a of the insurgent Baden-Palatinate army in the summer of 1849
admitted into the League by Marx. I was surprised at his admittance and subsequently also expressed my disapproval of it to Bürgers, because I did not trust Haupt.

...A few days later, I received through the cashier Zimmermann a letter from Eccarius together with a copy of the London minutes, if I am not mistaken, of the 15th of September 1850. I had recommended Zimmermann to Marx as a reliable man. I gave him the letters and took the letters from him. Police Sergeant Quelting of Cologne saw me frequently visit Zimmermann at his tax collector's office. Through whom Zimmermann forwarded the letters I do not know, but at all events through guards or other employees of the Cologne-Aix-la-Chapelle Railway. Marx must have had similar connections in Belgium and on the Calais-Dover or Ostend-London crossings, through whom letters were forwarded.

The letter was signed by Eccarius. At that time Engels must already have been living in Manchester and Eccarius have been secretary of the Central Authority. I knew of Eccarius, partly through Moll and partly from an earlier letter which, as secretary of the London Workers' Society, he had addressed to the Cologne Workers' Association in the autumn of 1848. This last-mentioned letter is among the documents relating to the case. I obtained the most reliable information on Eccarius during a visit I paid to Schapper in Cologne in February 1850.

There was nothing in Eccarius' letter save a note to the effect that the minutes of the London Central Authority were enclosed. The minutes contained the resolutions already communicated to us by Marx, namely the removal of the Central Authority to Cologne and the drafting of new Rules. The minutes had been signed by the majority of the now dissolved London Central Authority—that is, if I am not mistaken, by Marx, Eccarius, Schramm, Harry Bauer, Pfänder and by Engels or else by Friedrich Wolf (Lupus)—I can no longer say for certain—and the signatures were, moreover, original ones. Hence I cannot say whether the minutes sent to Cologne were the original ones, or a duplicate of the same, or a copy with original signatures. This document remained in Bürgers' possession and only after we had been arrested was it burnt with all the other papers, as stated by

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a Meeting of the Central Authority. 15 September 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-29). b Röser was wrong here, it should be Wilhelm Wolff; but he was in Switzerland at the time and did not sign the minutes.
Bürgers during the final hearing. Bürgers had placed the said papers in safe hands—whose, I do not know, nor could I hazard a guess...

...Finally, I would further remark that we—both parties, that of Marx as well as that of Schapper—have been reproached for wanting communism. Yet it was on the question of the introduction of communism that the two parties became declared opponents, even enemies. Schapper-Willich propose to introduce communism on the basis of the present state of education, if necessary in the next revolution and by force of arms. Marx considers it to be feasible only by a process of education and gradual development and, in a letter to us, cites four phases through which it must pass before it is introduced. He says that as things are now, the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat will combine against the monarchy until the next revolution. That revolution will not be of their making but will arise out of the force of circumstances, of the general distress. It will be accelerated by periodically recurring trade crises. Only after the next revolution, when the petty bourgeoisie is at the helm, will the communists’ activities and opposition really begin. This will be followed by a social and then a socio-communist republic which will finally make way for the purely communist republic...

After the Central Authority had removed to Cologne, Marx told me in a letter that there was a very good community in Göttingen and that Liebknecht, a student, maintained correspondence with it, for which there were very favourable opportunities. For this reason he held that it was better for the time being to correspond with this community from London. I presume that this community consisted or still consists of students. Liebknecht studied in Giessen and Göttingen and does not come from Hanau, as I mistakenly testified today. My testimony in this instance must therefore be corrected. But one of the members of the London League is from Hanau, his name will be easy to ascertain. I can give no further testimony on the community in Göttingen, we never corresponded with it...

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1964

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Published in English for the first time
Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

Almost a year has gone by since I was accorded such a kind and cordial reception by you and your dear wife, since I felt so happy and at home in your house, and throughout that long time I have sent you no word; I remained silent when your wife wrote to me so kindly, I even remained mute when news reached us of the birth of your child. I have myself often felt oppressed by this silence, but for much of the time I have been incapable of writing, and even today find it difficult, very difficult.

Circumstances, however, compel me to take up my pen—I beg you to send us as soon as possible any money that has come in or comes in from the Revue. We are in dire need of it. No one, I am sure, could reproach us with having made much ado about what we have been obliged to renounce and put up with for years; the public has never, or hardly ever, been importuned with our private affairs, for my husband is very sensitive about such matters and would sooner sacrifice all he has left rather than demean himself by passing round the democratic begging-bowl, as is done by the official great men. But what he was entitled to expect of his friends, especially in Cologne, was active and energetic concern for his Revue. He was above all entitled to expect such concern from those who were aware of the sacrifices he had made for the Rh. Ztg. Instead, the business has been utterly ruined by the negligent, slovenly way in which it was run, nor can one really say which did most harm—the bookseller's procrastination, or that of acquaintances and those managing the business in Cologne, or again the whole attitude of the democrats generally.

Over here my husband has been all but crushed by the most trivial worries of bourgeois existence, and so exasperating a form have these taken that it required all the energy, all the calm, lucid, quiet self-confidence he was able to muster to keep him going during these daily, hourly struggles. You, dear Mr Weydemeyer, are aware of the sacrifices made by my husband for the sake of

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* Louise * Neue Rheinische Zeitung*
the paper; he put thousands in cash into it, he took over the paper's property, talked into doing so by democratic worthies who otherwise must themselves have assumed responsibility for the debts, at a time when there was already small prospect of being able to carry on. To save the paper's political honour and the bourgeois honour of his Cologne acquaintances, he shouldered every burden, he gave up his machinery, he gave up the entire proceeds and, on his departure, even borrowed 300 Reichstalers so as to pay the rent for newly hired premises, the editors' arrears of salary, etc.—and he was forcibly expelled.

As you know, we saved nothing out of all this for ourselves, for I came to Frankfurt to pawn my silver—all that we had left; I sold my furniture in Cologne because I was in danger of seeing my linen and everything else placed under distrain. As the unhappy era of counter-revolution dawned, my husband went to Paris where I followed him with my three children. Hardly had we settled down in Paris than he was expelled, I and my children being refused permission to stay for any length of time. Again I followed him across the sea. A month later our 4th child was born. You would have to know London and what conditions are like here to realise what that means—3 children and the birth of a 4th. We had to pay 42 talers a month in rent alone. All this we were in a position to defray with our own realised assets. But our slender resources ran out with the appearance of the *Revue*. Agreements or no agreements, the money failed to come in, or only by dribs and drabs, so that we found ourselves faced with the most frightful situations here.

Let me describe for you, as it really was, just one day in our lives, and you will realise that few refugees are likely to have gone through a similar experience. Since wet-nurses here are exorbitantly expensive, I was determined to feed my child myself, however frightful the pain in my breast and back. But the poor little angel absorbed with my milk so many anxieties and unspoken sorrows that he was always ailing and in severe pain by day and by night. Since coming into the world, he has never slept a whole night through—at most two or three hours. Latterly, too, there have been violent convulsions, so that the child has been hovering constantly between death and a miserable life. In his pain he sucked so hard that I got a sore on my breast—an open sore; often blood would spurt into his little, trembling mouth. I was sitting thus one day when suddenly in came our landlady, to

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*a* Jenny, Laura and Edgar — *b* Heinrich Guido
whom we had paid over 250 Reichstalers in the course of the winter, and with whom we had contractually agreed that we should subsequently pay, not her, but her landlord by whom she had formerly been placed under distress; she now denied the existence of the contract, demanded the £5 we still owed her and, since this was not ready to hand (Naut's letter arrived too late), two bailiffs entered the house and placed under distress what little I possessed—beds, linen, clothes, everything, even my poor infant's cradle, and the best of the toys belonging to the girls, who burst into tears. They threatened to take everything away within 2 hours—leaving me lying on the bare boards with my shivering children and my sore breast. Our friend Schramm left hurriedly for town in search of help. He climbed into a cab, the horses took fright, he jumped out of the vehicle and was brought bleeding back to the house where I was lamenting in company with my poor, trembling children.

The following day we had to leave the house, it was cold, wet and overcast, my husband went to look for lodgings; on his mentioning 4 children no one wanted to take us in. At last a friend came to our aid, we paid and I hurriedly sold all my beds so as to settle with the apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and milkman who, their fears aroused by the scandal of the bailiffs, had suddenly besieged me with their bills. The beds I had sold were brought out on to the pavement and loaded on to a barrow—and then what happens? It was long after sunset, English law prohibits this, the landlord bears down on us with constables in attendance, declares we might have included some of his stuff with our own, that we are doing a flit and going abroad. In less than five minutes a crowd of two or three hundred people stands gaping outside our door, all the riff-raff of Chelsea. In go the beds again; they cannot be handed over to the purchaser until tomorrow morning after sunrise; having thus been enabled, by the sale of everything we possessed, to pay every farthing, I removed with my little darlings into the two little rooms we now occupy in the German Hotel, 1 Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we were given a humane reception in return for £5.10 a week.

You will forgive me, dear friend, for describing to you so exhaustively and at such length just one day in our lives over here. It is, I know, immodest, but this evening my heart has flowed over into my trembling hands and for once I must pour out that heart to one of our oldest, best and most faithful friends. Do not

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*a Conrad Schramm*
suppose that I am bowed down by these petty sufferings, for I know only too well that our struggle is not an isolated one and that, furthermore, I am among the happiest and most favoured few in that my beloved husband, the mainstay of my life, is still at my side. But what really shatters me to the very core of my being, and makes my heart bleed is that my husband has to endure so much pettiness, that so little would have been needed to help him and that he, who gladly and joyously helped so many, has been so bereft of help over here. But as I have said, do not suppose, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that we are making demands on anyone; if money is advanced to us by anyone, my husband is still in a position to repay it out of his assets. The only thing, perhaps, my husband was entitled to ask of those who owe him many an idea, many a preferment, and much support was that they should evince more commercial zeal, greater concern for his Revue. That modicum, I am proud and bold enough to maintain, that modicum was his due. Nor do I even know whether my husband ever earned by his labours 10 silver groschen to which he was not fully entitled. And I don’t believe that anyone was the worse off for it. That grieves me. But my husband is of a different mind. Never, even in the most frightful moments, has he lost his confidence in the future, nor yet a mite of his good humour, being perfectly content to see me cheerful, and our dear children affectionately caressing their dear mama. He is unaware, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that I have written to you at such length about our situation, so do not make any use of this letter. All he knows is that I have asked you on his behalf to expedite as best you can the collection and remittance of the money. I know that the use you make of this letter will be wholly dictated by the tact and discretion of your friendship for us.

Farewell, dear friend. Convey my most sincere affection to your wife and give your little angel a kiss from a mother who has shed many a tear upon the infant at her breast. Should your wife be suckling her child herself, do not tell her anything of this letter. I know what ravages are made by any kind of upset and how bad it is for the little mites. Our three eldest children are doing wonderfully well, for all that and for all that. The girls are pretty, blooming, cheerful and in good spirits, and our fat boy is a paragon of comical humour and full of the drollest ideas. All day the little imp sings funny songs with tremendous feeling and at the top of his voice, and when he sings the verse from Freiligrath’s Marseillaise

\[a\] Freiligrath, ‘Trotz alledem!’
in a deafening voice, the whole house reverberates. Like its two unfortunate precursors, that month may be destined by world history to see the opening of the gigantic struggle during which we shall all clasp one another’s hands again.

Fare well.

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13

JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMeyer
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London, about 20 June 1850]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

My husband is not a little astonished that you could send the money to Naut, and likewise that from the red number to anyone but himself.

There will, of course, have to be a complete overhaul of the way in which the Revue is distributed. Meanwhile my husband requests you not to send anything more to Mr Naut, but rather all of it here, even the smallest amount (in Prussian talers). Conditions here are not as they are in Germany. We live, all six of us, in one small room and a very small closet, for which we pay more than for the largest house in Germany, and pay weekly at that. Hence you can imagine what a position one finds oneself in if so much as 1 Reichstaler arrives a day too late. For all of us here, without exception, it’s a question of our daily bread. So do not await Mr Naut’s orders and so forth. Another thing my husband wishes me to say is that it really is not desirable for Lüning to write a critique, a strong attack would do, only no praise. Nor has my husband ever expected a profound critique, but only a straightforward piece such as all newspapers accord to reviews and

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a Freiligrath, ‘Reveille’. b Neue Rheinische Zeitung of 19 May 1849
pamphlets, and what your paper\(^a\) also does when it wants to make works known and promote them, namely, publish short excerpts of a suitable kind. This involves little work.

Many regards to your dear wife,\(^b\) and my cordial regards to yourself.

Yours

Jenny Marx


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

14

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 December [1850]

Dear Mr Engels,

On Karl's request I send you herewith six copies of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*\(^c\) Harney, who is a little better, wishes you to send one to Helen Macfarlane. Just imagine, that rascal Schuberth will only let Eisen have the 300 copies if he is paid in cash and Naut, the jackass, is now quite beside himself. Hence Karl has masses of letters to write, and you know what that means where he is concerned. The Cologne anathema against Willich and Co. arrived yesterday, together with new Rules,\(^560\) circulars, etc. This time the Cologne people were exceptionally active and energetic and adopted a firm stand vis-à-vis the rotten band. Just imagine, it wasn't enough for Willich to have put his foot in it once, with the Fanon-Caperon manifesto\(^d\)—the leviathans must needs issue another epistle, while Willich has gone so far as to send red Becker\(^c\) 3 decrees for forwarding to the Cologne *Landwehr*\(^385\) in which he gives them orders from here to

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\(^a\) *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - \(^b\) Louise - \(^c\) *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - \(^d\) See this volume pp. 246-47. - \(^e\) Hermann Becker (see this volume, p. 320)
mutiny, to nominate a provisional government in every company
and to overthrow all civil and military authorities and have them
shot if need be. And the Cologne Landwehr, at that, who are now
quite happily talking pot politics in the city of their fathers on the
Rhine's cool strand. If Willich is not ripe for the lunatic asylum,
then I don't know who is. Schapper has obtained a passport from
Hamburg, to enable him to take over in person Haude's
occupation of emissary. Good luck to the hippopotamus!
We have also heard from Dronke. Mrs Moses\textsuperscript{a} has again
persuaded her husband that he is 'pos's of the 'communists'. But
you'll soon be here\textsuperscript{345} and can hear and see for yourself
everything that's been going on. The Caperonians set upon and
beat up red Wolff\textsuperscript{b} one night, and our red friend had Wengler
taken into custody. The next morning, when he had been
sentenced, Willich ransomed him for 20 shillings.
We are all looking forward to seeing you here soon.

Yours
Jenny Marx

[On the back of the letter]
Frederic Engels, Esquire
70 Great Ducie Street, Manchester

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Published in English for the first time

15
JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER


Dear Mr Engels,
On my husband's request I am sending you herewith a letter for
Weerth.\textsuperscript{561} You had agreed to forward it along with your own. Red
Wolff has made a new pair of shoes by machine, citizen

\textsuperscript{a} Sibylle Hess - \textsuperscript{b} Ferdinand Wolff
Liebknecht grows daily more earnest and virtuous, Schramm\(^a\) is down in the dumps and no one has seen anything of him. The children send their love to Engels, and my husband is at the library\(^b\) whiling away his time.

With my warm regards,

Jenny Marx

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16

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 December 1851

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has just asked me to send you in great haste a few words in reply to Weydemeyer's letter,\(^c\) just received. He will himself let you have an article on the French *misère*\(^d\) by Friday\(^e\) and wonders whether you might not be able to dispatch to America a humorous essay on the German nonsense, notably the hoaxing of Prussia by Austria, etc.\(^{562}\) I am also, on the orders of the powers that be, sending Freiligrath a reminder. We all look forward very much to seeing you here soon.\(^{526}\) Colonel Musch and the young ladies, his sisters,\(^f\) send you their warm regards as does your

Jenny Marx

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\(^a\) Conrad Schramm - \(^b\) of the British Museum - \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 518-20. 
\(^d\) K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - \(^e\) 19 December 1851 - 
\(^f\) Edgar, Jenny and Laura
17

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, 17 December 1851]

Dear Mr Engels,

Hardly had I posted my letter to you (yours⁴ not having arrived until four o'clock in the afternoon) when Moor returned from the Museum⁵ and began 'burning his fingers' over the French stuff.⁶ Now he asks me to send you at once this second epistle to tell you that, as he would not be able to post his article until late on Thursday evening,⁷ he proposes to send it off from here, and that, supposing you were in fact to leave on Friday,⁸ everything would cross. If you can send your article⁹ here by Friday, it could travel in company with the rest; but you might consider it preferable to send yours off from Liverpool. So comme il vous plaira.¹ How do you like my husband creating a stir with your article through western, eastern and southern America—and mutilated at that, and what's more under another name? For the rest the whole article is nothing but a source of mystification.

Should you have the English version of the Manifesto¹ to hand, please bring it with you.

Colonel Musch¹¹ writes three letters a day to Frederick in Manchester, sticking used stamps thereon with the utmost conscientiousness. The whole tribe sends its love. Until Saturday, then.

Farewell.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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a See this volume, pp. 515-17. - b the library of the British Museum - c The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - d 18 December - e as you please - f Presumably Engels' series of articles Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany published in the New-York Daily Tribune over Marx's signature. - g K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party. - h Edgar Marx
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 This is the earliest extant letter of Engels to Marx, written soon after Engels' return to Germany from England. On his way back to Germany at the end of August 1844, he stopped in Paris, where he met Marx. During the days they spent together they discovered that their theoretical views coincided, and they immediately began their first joint work, directed against the Young Hegelians. Engels finished his part before leaving Paris, while Marx continued to write his. At first they intended to call the book *A Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* But while it was being printed Marx added *The Holy Family* to the title.

This meeting of Marx and Engels in Paris marked the beginning of their friendship, joint scientific work and revolutionary struggle.

The extant original of this letter bears no date. The approximate time of its writing was determined on the basis of Engels' letter to Marx of 19 November 1844 (see this volume, pp. 9-14).

This letter was published in English in full for the first time in: Marx and Engels. *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—3

2 Karl Bernays, one of the editors of the German newspaper *Vorwärts!*, published in Paris, was sued by the French authorities in September 1844 at the request of the Prussian Government for not having paid the caution-money required for the publication of a political newspaper. The real reason, however, was the article 'Attentat auf den König von Preußen' published in *Vorwärts!*, No. 62, 3 August 1844. On 13 December 1844 Bernays was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and a fine.—4

3 Engels left Germany in November 1842 and lived for nearly two years in England, working in the office of a Manchester cotton-mill of which his father was co-proprietor.—4

4 In July 1844 Marx began to contribute to the newspaper *Vorwärts!*, which prior to that—from early 1844 to the summer of the same year—reflected the moderate liberalism of its publisher, the German businessman H. Börnstein, and its editor A. Bornstedt. However, when Karl Bernays, a friend of Marx, became its editor in the summer of 1844, the newspaper assumed a democratic
character. By contributing to the newspaper, Marx began to influence its policy and in September became one of its editors. Other contributors were Engels, Heine, Herwegh, Ewerbeck and Bakunin. Under Marx's influence the newspaper came to express communist views, and attacked Prussian absolutism and moderate German liberalism. At the behest of the Prussian Government, the Guizot ministry took repressive measures against its editors and contributors in January 1845, when publication ceased.—5

5 Engels is referring to Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie, a work which Marx planned to write. Marx began to study political economy at the end of 1843 and by spring 1844 he set himself the task of writing a criticism of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism. The draft 'Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844' (see present edition, Vol. 3), written at that time, have reached us incomplete. Work on The Holy Family forced Marx temporarily to interrupt his study of political economy until December 1844. In February 1845, just before his expulsion from Paris, he signed a contract for his Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie with the publisher Leske (see Note 27). In Brussels Marx continued to study the works of English, French, German, Italian and other economists and added several more notebooks of excerpts to those compiled in Paris, although his original plan for the book was not carried out.—6, 27, 94, 105, 532

6 The Holy Family by Marx and Engels was published not in Hamburg by Hoffmann and Campe, but in Frankfurt am Main by Z. Löwenthal, founder of the Literarische Anstalt publishing house (owned by Joseph Rütten since the autumn of 1844).—7

7 Heinrich Heine wrote to Marx from Hamburg on 21 September 1844 (see the new Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe—referred to in future as MEGA 2—Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 443-44) telling him that a new collection of his poems, Neue Gedichte, had been published there. It contained romances, ballads and other poems including the satirical poem Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen, which was also published separately by Hoffmann and Campe. Heine sent Marx a copy of this poem for simultaneous publication in Vorwärts! and announcement of his new collection of verse in this and other newspapers (he promised to bring the ballads and other poems to Paris himself).

On 19 October 1844 Vorwärts!, No. 84, carried Heine's preface to the separate edition of his poem. It was dated 17 October 1844 and entitled 'H. Heines neue Gedichte'. It was preceded by an editorial introduction which accorded high praise to the poet's new work and in fact expressed Marx's point of view. The poem was published in full in Vorwärts! in late October-November 1844.—7

8 L. Feuerbach's Das Wesen des Glaubens im Sinne Luthers was published in instalments in Vorwärts! from the middle of August to the end of October 1844.—8

9 This letter without an address on the back of it was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, On Britain, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953 and in full in Letters of the Young Engels, 1838-1845, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—9

10 The letter written by Marx and Bürgers to Engels on 8 October 1844 has not been found.—9
The disagreements between Marx and Engels on the one hand and Arnold Ruge on the other dated back to the time of the publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, under the editorship of Marx and Ruge. These disagreements were due to Ruge's negative attitude towards communism and the revolutionary proletarian movement, the fundamental difference between Marx's views and those of the Young Hegelian Ruge, who was an adherent of philosophical idealism. The final break between Marx and Ruge occurred in March 1844. Ruge's condemnation of the Silesian weavers' rising in June 1844 impelled Marx to criticise his views in the article 'Critical Marginal Notes on the Article “The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian”' (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 189-206).—10

A reference to the Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes formed in a number of Prussian towns in 1844 and 1845 on the initiative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, who were alarmed at the rising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, and hoped that the associations would help to divert the German workers from militant struggle. Despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the government authorities to give these associations a harmless philanthropic appearance, they gave a fresh impulse to the growing political activity of the urban masses and drew the attention of broad sections of German society to social questions. The movement to establish such associations was particularly widespread in the towns of the industrial Rhine Province.

Seeing that the associations had taken such an unexpected direction, the Prussian Government hastily cut short their activity in the spring of 1845 by refusing to approve their statutes and forbidding them to continue their work.—10

*Rationalists*—representatives of a Protestant trend which tried to combine theology with philosophy and to prove that 'divine truths' can be explained by reason. Rationalism opposed pietism, an extremely mystical trend in Lutheranism.—10

At the meeting held in *Cologne* on 10 November 1844 and attended by former shareholders of and contributors to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, liberals Ludolf Camphausen, Gustav Mevissen, radicals Georg Jung, Karl d'Ester, Franz Raveaux and others among them, a General Association for Relief and Education was set up with the aim of improving the workers' condition (the measures to be taken included raising funds for mutual assistance and relief to the sick, etc.). Despite the opposition of the liberals, the meeting adopted democratic rules which provided for the workers' active participation in the work of the Association. Subsequently a definitive split took place between the radical-democratic elements and the liberals. The latter headed by Camphausen withdrew from the Association, which was soon prohibited by the authorities.

In November 1844 an Educational Society was set up in Elberfeld. Its founders had from the very start to fight against the local clergy, who attempted to bring the Society under their influence and give its activity a religious colouring. Engels and his friends wished to use the Society's meetings and its committee to spread communist views (see F. Engels, 'Speeches in Elberfeld', present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 243-64). As Engels had expected, the statute of the Society was not approved by the authorities, and the Society itself ceased to exist in the spring of 1845. (On the meetings in Cologne and Elberfeld, see F. Engels, 'Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany', present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 229-42).—10
Originally Engels planned to write a work on the social history of England and to devote one of its chapters to the condition of the working class in England (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 302). But realising the special role played by the proletariat in bourgeois society, he decided to deal with this problem in a separate book, which he wrote on his return to Germany, between September 1844 and March 1845. Excerpts in Engels’ notebooks made in July and August 1845, and the letters of the publisher Leske to Marx of 14 May and 7 June 1845 (see MEGA₂, Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 465, 469) show that in the spring and summer of 1845 Engels continued to work on the social history of England. Though he did not abandon his plan up to the end of 1847, as is seen from an item in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, No. 91 of 14 November 1847, he failed to put it into effect.—11

Engels did not write a pamphlet on Friedrich List’s book Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1841) though later he continued to discuss this idea with Marx (see this volume, pp. 28 and 79), who in his turn intended to publish a critical analysis of List’s views (see K. Marx, ‘Draft of an Article on Friedrich List’s Book Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie’, present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 265-93). Engels criticised the German advocates of protectionism, and List above all, in one of his ‘Speeches in Elberfeld’ (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 256-64).—11

‘The Free’—a Berlin group of Young Hegelians formed early in 1842. Among its prominent members were Edgar Bauer, Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt). Their criticism of the prevailing conditions was abstract, devoid of real revolutionary content and ultra-radical in form. The fact that ‘The Free’ lacked any positive programme and ignored the realities of political struggle soon led to differences between them and the representatives of the revolutionary-democratic wing of the German opposition movement. A sharp conflict arose between ‘The Free’ and Marx in the autumn of 1842, when Marx had become editor of the Rheinische Zeitung (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 393-95).

During the two years which had elapsed since Marx’s clash with ‘The Free’ (1843-44), Marx’s and Engels’ disagreement with the Young Hegelians on questions of theory and politics had deepened still more. This was accounted for not only by Marx’s and Engels’ transition to materialism and communism, but also by the evolution in the ideas of the Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers. In the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung Bauer and his group denounced the ‘radicalism of 1842’ and, besides professing subjective idealist views and counterposing chosen personalities, the bearers of ‘pure Criticism’, to the allegedly sluggish and inert masses, they began spreading the ideas of moderate liberal philanthropy.

It was to the exposure of the Young Hegelians’ views in the form which they had acquired in 1844 and to the defence of their own new materialistic and communist outlook that Marx and Engels decided to devote their first joint work The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co. (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 3-211).—13, 19

Here Marx writes about the Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Monatsschrift which Heinrich Börnstein planned to publish instead of the newspaper Vorwärts! The prospectus of the monthly published in German and French on 1 January 1845 (its publication date helps in determining the approximate date of this letter) stated that one of the reasons for the reformation of Vorwärts! was that no caution-money was needed for publishing a journal as distinct from a
newspaper. The journal of eight printed sheets was to appear on the 16th of each month. The expulsion of Marx and other contributors to Vorwärts! from France (see notes 4 and 19) prevented the publication of the first issue, the proof sheets of which had already been printed.

As is seen from this letter and that of Engels to Marx written approximately 20 January 1845 (see this volume, p. 16), Marx intended to write a critical review of Stirner’s Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum at the end of December 1844 and originally wanted to publish it in the monthly Vorwärts! There is no information on whether this plan materialised. It is only known that two years later Marx and Engels scathingly criticised Stirner’s book in their German Ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 117-443).—14, 18

19 Marx, Ruge and Bernays were expelled from France for contributing to the newspaper Vorwärts! The French authorities issued the expulsion decree on 11 January 1845, under pressure from the Prussian Government. Hearing about this, Marx hastened to warn Ruge despite the ideological conflict between them (the postmark on the envelope shows that the letter was written on 15 January). The expulsion decree was handed to Marx together with the order to leave Paris within a week. Marx prepared to leave for Brussels on 3 February (see this volume, p. 21).—15

20 The letter is not dated. The postmark shows that it was sent on 20 January 1845, but its contents prove that Engels wrote it over several days.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955; published in English in full for the first time in Letters of the Young Engels. 1838-1845, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—15

21 This letter of Marx has not been found.—16

22 Engels took part in preparing the publication of the Elberfeld journal Gesellschaftsspiegel, in drawing up its programme and in compiling the prospectus published in the first issue in the form of the editorial address (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 671-74). The prospectus reflected Engels’ intention that the journal should expose the evils of the capitalist system and defend the interests of the workers by criticising half-measures and advocating a radical transformation of the social system. But at the same time, not a few abstract philanthropic sentiments in the spirit of ‘true socialism’, emanating from Hess, found a place in the prospectus. Dissatisfaction with the position adopted by Hess was apparently one reason why Engels refused to become one of the editors. Under the editorship of Hess the journal very soon became a mouthpiece of the reformist and sentimental ideas of ‘true socialism’.—16, 23

23 Ein Handwerker (An Artisan) was the pseudonym under which Lebenslieder, a cycle of poems by J. F. Martens, was published in Vorwärts! on 24 August, 4 September and 20 October 1844, and the article ‘Über Handwerksunterricht’ on 25 December.—16

24 Under the press laws existing in a number of German states, only publications exceeding 20 printed sheets were exempted from preliminary censorship. The size of the Rheinische Jahrbücher exempted it from censorship, but the police of the Grand Duchy of Hesse nevertheless confiscated the first volume of the journal which was published in Darmstadt in August 1845 and banned its publication altogether. The second volume was published in Belle-Vue, Switzerland, at the end of 1846.—16

20**
On Engels' intention to write a book on the social history of England (it was also to deal with the history of English social thought) see Note 15.—17

Engels' reference is to the Berlin confectioner who owned a shop in the Gendarmenmarkt where 'The Free' used to have their meetings.—19

The letter has no date. The approximate date of its writing is established on the basis of Marx's mentioning in it his imminent departure from Paris due to the expulsion decree issued against him by the French authorities (see Note 19), and also his meeting with the publisher Leske during which he probably concluded the contract for publishing his *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* (for the text of the contract see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675) which was signed on 1 February 1845.

This letter was first published 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 Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—21

The first English translation of this letter was published in *Letters of the Young Engels. 1838-1845*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—21, 26, 32, 34

On Marx's expulsion, see Note 19.

Soon after his arrival in Brussels from Paris Marx was followed by his wife Jenny Marx and daughter Jenny (born on 1 May 1844). It was with great difficulty that Jenny Marx had managed to get the money for the journey.—21

Engels' apprehensions proved to be well founded. When Marx arrived in Brussels the Belgian authorities demanded that Marx should undertake not to publish anything concerning current politics in Belgium. Marx was compelled to undertake such an obligation on 22 March 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 677 and this volume, p. 31). The Prussian Government, too, did not leave Marx in peace and pressed for his expulsion from Belgium. To deprive the Prussian authorities of the pretext for interfering in his life, Marx officially renounced his Prussian citizenship in December 1845.—22

Feuerbach's letter to Engels and that of Marx and Engels to Feuerbach have not been found.—22

The meetings in Elberfeld on 8, 15 and 22 February 1845 were described by Engels in the third article of the series 'Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany' published in *The New Moral World* in May 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 237-42). Engels' speeches at the first two meetings were published in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform* (ibid., pp. 243-64). Further meetings were banned by the police.—22, 24, 28

The socialist circle in Westphalia and the Rhine Province, with which Engels maintained close contacts and whose members were Otto Lüning and Julius Meyer, was mentioned in the report of the Prussian police superintendent Duncker to the Minister of the Interior Bodelschwingh of 18 October 1845. This report contains the following remark concerning Engels: 'Friedrich Engels of Barmen is a quite reliable man, but he has a son who is a rabid communist and wanders about as a man of letters; it is possible that his name is Frederick.'—23

This refers to the General Association for Relief and Education founded in Cologne in November 1844 (see Note 14).—24
35 Cabinets noirs (secret offices or black offices) were established under the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and a number of other countries to deal with the inspection of correspondence. They had been in existence since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe.—25

36 The Holy Family by Marx and Engels was published about 24 February 1845.—25

37 The projected publication in Germany of the ‘Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers’ was also discussed by Marx and Engels in their subsequent letters (see this volume, pp. 27-28). Engels mentioned it in the third article of his series ‘Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany’ published in May 1845 in The New Moral World. In early March 1845 Marx drew up a list of authors to be included in the ‘Library’ (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 241 and 667). This list shows that ‘Library’ was intended to be an extensive publication in German of works by French and English utopian socialists. The project was not realised because of publishing difficulties. The only work completed was ‘A Fragment of Fourier’s on Trade’ compiled by Engels and published with his introduction and conclusion in the Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44).—25

38 Here Engels has in mind Marx’s Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie and probably his own work on the social history of England (see notes 5 and 15).—25

39 Marx’s letter mentioned here has not been found. Judging by this letter of Engels, Marx expressed there his thoughts about the ‘Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers’.—26

40 Engels means the translation of Charles Fourier’s unfinished work Section ébauchée des trois unités externes published posthumously in the journal La Phalange for 1845. The same journal published Fourier’s manuscripts on cosmogony. Excerpts from his first work in Engels’ translation made up the core of the latter’s ‘A Fragment of Fourier’s on Trade’ (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44).—26

41 This letter adds new aspects to the intention of Marx and Engels to criticise in the press List’s book Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie (see Note 16). Judging by the publisher Leske’s letter to Marx of 14 May 1845, at the latter’s request conveyed to him by Püttmann, Leske had sent Marx the book he needed for this purpose: K. H. Rau, Zur Kritik über F. List’s nationales System der politischen Oekonomie, Heidelberg, 1843 (see MEGA₂, Abt. III, Bd. 1, S. 465). However, the intention of Marx and Engels to criticise List in Püttmann’s Rheinische Jahrbücher did not materialise.—28

42 Engels left Barmen for Brussels early in April 1845.—30

43 This letter was first published 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 Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—30, 207, 212, 216, 285, 297, 322, 401

44 Julius Campe’s letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—34

45 The available sources do not allow us to establish what publication is meant here. It can only be supposed that it was connected with the intention of Marx and Engels to write a critical work against List (see notes 16 and 41). Many
years later Engels recalled in his letter to Hermann Schlüter of 29 January 1891 that in the forties or some years later they simulated a dispute in which Marx defended free trade and Engels protective tariffs. This recollection may have been a late reflection of that intention.—34

46 Queen Victoria already had five children by that time.—35

47 During his trip to England with Marx in July-August 1845 Engels again met in Manchester Mary Burns, an Irish working woman with whom he had become acquainted as far back as 1843. They now began their life together and Mary also left for Brussels.—37

48 This letter has no date. The approximate time of its writing was established on the basis of a letter written to Marx on 8 May 1846 by P. V. Annenkov (see MEGA₂, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 187) who had brought this particular letter from Brussels to Paris. Annenkov wrote that he had already been in Paris over a month.

This letter was first published 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 Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—37

49 The bulk of the letter was compiled by Marx, copied by Gigot and signed by Marx. Without the P.S. by Marx and the additions by Gigot and Engels, it was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—38

50 Having left Paris (see Note 19) Marx arrived in Brussels at the beginning of February. During his three-year stay there he lived mostly in the Hotel Bois Sauvage, where he and his family moved at the beginning of May 1846.—38

51 A reference to the Communist Correspondence Committee formed by Marx and Engels at the beginning of 1846 in Brussels. Its aim was to prepare the ground for the creation of an international proletarian party. The Committee had no strictly defined composition. Besides the Belgian communist Philippe Gigot, Joseph Weydemeyster, Wilhelm Wolff, Edgar von Westphalen and others were equal members at various times. As a rule, the Committee discussed problems of communist propaganda, corresponded with the leaders of existing proletarian organisations (the League of the Just, Chartist organisations), tried to draw Proudhon, Cabet and other socialists into its work, and issued lithographed circulars. On the initiative of Marx and Engels, correspondence committees and groups connected with the Brussels Committee were set up in Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhine Province, Paris and London. These committees played an important role in the development of international proletarian contacts and the organisation of the Communist League in 1847.—39, 53.

52 Marx has in mind members of the League of the Just in Paris and the German Workers' Educational Society in London.

The League of the Just—the first political organisation of German workers and artisans—was formed between 1836 and 1838 as a result of a split in the Outlaws' League, which consisted of artisans led by petty-bourgeois democrats. The League of the Just, whose supreme body—the People's Chamber—was in Paris, and from the autumn of 1846 in London, was connected with French secret conspiratorial societies and had groups in Germany, Switzerland and England. Besides Germans it included workers of other nationalities. The views
of the League's members showed the influence of various utopian socialist ideas, primarily those of Wilhelm Weitling.

The German Workers' Educational Society in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just, its aim being political education of workers and dissemination of socialist ideas among them. After the Communist League had been founded the leading role in the Society belonged to the League's local communities. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work.—39, 551

In his reply to Marx of 17 May 1846 Proudhon refused to collaborate and declared that he was opposed to revolutionary methods of struggle and to communism (see MEGA2, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 205-07).—39

A reference to the fee due to Bernays for an article which seems to have been an extract from his manuscript on crimes and criminal law, then being prepared for printing by the publisher Leske but was demanded back by the author because of careless typesetting. Marx wanted to include this article in the quarterly journal the planned publication of which was discussed with Westphalian publishers in 1845 and 1846 (see Note 57). Thanks to Marx's mediation, Bernays, who was in need of money, received two advances on his article. But as the planned publication of the quarterly did not take place, Bernays' work, in the form he had conceived it, was not published.—40, 43

The visit to Liège in the first half of May 1846 mentioned here by Marx seems to have been his second visit there; there is some evidence that Marx stopped in Liège at the beginning of February 1845 on his way from Paris to Brussels.—41

This seems to refer to the undiscovered reply by the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to Weydemeyer's letter of 30 April 1846.—41

A reference to the two volumes of a quarterly journal the publication of which was negotiated in 1845 and 1846 with a number of Westphalian socialists, the publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel among others. Marx and Engels intended to publish in it their criticism of the German ideology which they started to write in the autumn of 1845. It was also planned to publish a number of polemical works by their fellow-thinkers, in the first place those containing criticism of German philosophical literature and the works of the 'true socialists'.

In November 1845 Hess reached an agreement with Meyer and Rempel on financing the publication of two volumes of the quarterly. Further negotiations were conducted by Weydemeyer, who visited Brussels in February 1846 and returned to Germany in April on the instruction of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. In a letter to the Committee of 30 April 1846 from Schildesche (Westphalia) he wrote that no headway was being made and that he proposed that Meyer should form a joint-stock company in Limburg (Holland), as in Germany manuscripts of less than 20 printed sheets were subject to preliminary censorship. He also recommended that Marx should sign a contract with the Brussels publisher and bookseller C. G. Vogler for the distribution of the quarterly and other publications. The contract was not concluded because vogler could not assume even part of the expenses.

Weydemeyer continued his efforts, but succeeded only in getting from Meyer a guarantee for the publication of one volume. But as early as July 1846 Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being differences in principle between Marx and
Engels on the one hand and the champions of 'true socialism' on the other, whose views both publishers shared.

Marx and Engels did not abandon their hopes of publishing the works ready for the quarterly, if only by instalments, but their attempts failed. The extant manuscript of *The German Ideology* was first published in full in the Soviet Union in 1932.—41, 533

58 The reference is to Joseph Weydemeyer's letters to Engels and Gigot of 13 May, and to Marx of 14 May 1846 with the current information on the negotiations with the publishers Meyer and Rempel on the publication of a quarterly. Weydemeyer wrote to Marx that because of the financial difficulties the Westphalian publishers would be able to pay in the near future only a limited sum of his fee on account.

Engels' reply mentioned here to Weydemeyer's first letter has not been found.—42

59 On 1 February 1845 Marx signed a contract with the publisher Leske (see notes 5 and 27) for the publication of his *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie*. But as early as March 1846 Leske suggested that Marx find another publisher and, in case he did find one, return him the advance received. Therefore Marx hoped to repay Leske either when he signed a contract with a new publisher or out of the sum received for financing the planned publication. But Marx was unable either to sign a new contract or to fulfil his intention to write a work on economics, and in February 1847 the contract with Leske was cancelled.—43

60 Marx has in mind a group of bourgeois-democratic intellectuals, Georg Jung among others, who contributed to the *Rheinische Zeitung* and were already enthusiastic about socialist ideas in 1842. Georg Jung, however, who was on friendly terms with Marx and supported his criticism of the Young Hegelians, left the socialist movement in 1846.—43

61 Marx's letter to Herwegh has not been found.—43

62 Marx writes here about the advance which Hess had probably already received from Meyer and Rempel for his collaboration in preparing the quarterly planned by Marx and Engels. Hess wrote articles on A. Ruge ('Dottore Graziano, der Bajazzo der deutschen Philosophie') and G. Kuhlmann ('Der Dr. Georg Kuhlmann aus Holstein oder die Prophetie des wahren Sozialismus') for the first two volumes of the quarterly. Later Hess tried in vain to have the first article published separately, and finally, on 5 and 8 August 1847, it was printed in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* under the title 'Dottore Grazianos Werke. Zwei Jahre in Paris. Studien und Erinnerungen von A. Ruge'. The article on G. Kuhlmann, edited by Marx and Engels, was included in *The German Ideology* and published as Chapter V of Volume II (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 531-39).—44, 48

63 In 1846 the Government of Frederick William IV began the transformation of the Prussian Bank into a joint-stock company in order to draw private capital to redeem the state debts. The management of the Bank was left in the hands of the Government (see F. Engels, *The Prussian Bank Question*, present edition, Vol. 6, p. 57). The reorganisation of the Bank was completed by 1 January 1847 on the basis of a decree of 5 October 1846.—46

64 Judging by Marx's letter to Leske of 1 August 1846 (see this volume, pp. 49-52), it may be assumed that in the first half of August Marx had a 12 or 14 days' holiday with Engels at Ostend.—46
This letter of Marx has not been found.—48

C. F. J. Leske, with whom Marx had signed a contract for the publication of his Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie on 1 February 1845 (see Note 5; the text of the contract is published in the present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675), wrote to Marx on 16 March 1846 that he doubted the possibility of publishing the book owing to the growing repression in Prussia against opposition literature. Marx's reply (presumably of 18 March 1846) to this letter and his other letters to Leske mentioned below have not been found.

On 31 March 1846 Leske sent Marx a second letter proposing to him to find another publisher who would agree to redeem the advance received by the author. In a letter of 29 July 1846 he asked Marx whether he had found such a publisher and informed him that, if he had not, he could publish the book with the imprint of another publishing house. He stressed the necessity of giving the book a strictly academic character. In reply Marx wrote the letter which is published here according to the extant draft, which has many author's corrections and stylistic improvements. On 19 September 1846 Leske informed Marx that he could not publish the book because of the severe censorship.

This letter was first published 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 Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—48

See Notes 57 and 62.—49

On the formation of a joint-stock company for the publication and distribution of socialist and communist literature, see Note 57.

In the summer of 1846 the project found support among the members of the socialist movement in Cologne (Bürgers, d'Ester, Hess). Some German bourgeois sympathising with socialism were also expected to finance the publication. This and other similar projects were repeatedly discussed by Marx and Engels in their correspondence. The present letter also deals with this below.—50

During his trip to England with Engels in July-August 1845, Marx studied works by the English economists and utopian socialists in the library of the Athenaeum in Manchester.—51

Engels arrived in Paris on 15 August 1846 entrusted by the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee with communist propaganda among the workers, primarily among the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52), and with founding a correspondence committee. After failing to draw Weitling into the activities of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, Marx and Engels broke with him in the spring of 1846, and particular importance was attached to the struggle against the sectarian views of his followers, who advocated crude egalitarian communism, and against 'true socialism', a petty-bourgeois socialist trend which spread between 1844 and 1846 among German intellectuals and artisans, including emigrants in France. 'True socialism' was a mixture of the idealistic aspects of Feuerbachianism with French utopian socialism in an emasculated form. As a result, socialist teaching was turned into abstract sentimental moralising divorced from real needs.—52

A reference to the negotiations which Weydemeyer helped to conduct with Meyer and Rempel on the publication of a quarterly. Marx and Engels wanted to publish in it their manuscripts which later appeared under the title of The
German Ideology (see Note 57). During the negotiations the Westphalian publishers continually twisted and turned, and finally refused to finance the publication.

Joseph Weydemeyer was an artillery lieutenant dismissed from the Prussian army for political reasons.—53

Engels refers here to the critical work against L. Feuerbach which Marx was still writing in the second half of 1846 and which was to be included in the first volume of the planned two-volume edition of polemical works directed also against Bauer, Stirner, Ruge and Grün (see Note 57). Marx did not finish this work and later it became Chapter 1 of The German Ideology written jointly by him and Engels.—54

The letter of Engels and Ewerbeck to Bernays has not been found.—55

Apart from the letters to Marx containing information on his activities in Paris, in the autumn of 1846 Engels sent several letters to other members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (Ph. Gigot, W. Wolff, et al.) c/o Marx, marked 'Comité' and numbered. They differed from official reports to an organisation and rather recalled private correspondence between close friends.—56

On the struggle against the Weitlingians in the League of the Just, particularly in its Paris communities, see Note 70.—56

A reference to a machine invented by Weitling for making ladies' straw hats.—57

The congress of liberal press representatives was held in Paris in 1846. The committee it elected drew up a draft electoral reform which became the main demand of the liberal opposition to the July monarchy. The sponsors of the congress did their utmost to prevent more radical circles, including the workers who supported L'Atelier (a journal of Christian socialists), from attending it and taking part in drafting a constitution. At the same time they simulated its 'unanimous' approval by all opposition press organs.—58

This letter has reached us in the form of an extract quoted in Bernays' reply to Marx of August 1846. Bernays touches on criticism of various alien trends, including 'true socialism', as an ideological prerequisite for the creation of a revolutionary party (see MEGA2, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 294).—60

The letter of Marx and other members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—60

A reference to the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52).—61

Barrière meetings were Sunday assemblies of members of the League of the Just held at the Paris city gates (barrières). As a police agent reported on 1 February 1845, 30 to 200 German emigrants gathered in premises rented for this purpose from a wine-merchant in avenue de Vincennes near the city gate.—61, 83

By 'tailors' communism' Engels means the utopian communism of W. Weitling and his followers (see Note 70).

Karl Grün, who visited Paris in 1846-47, preached 'true socialism' (see Note 70) and Proudhon's petty-bourgeois reformist ideas among the German workers.—61
Adolph Junge, a cabinet-maker from Düsseldorf, was a notable figure in the Paris communities of the League of the Just in the early 1840s. At the end of June 1846, after a short visit to Cologne, he returned to Paris via Brussels where he met Marx and Engels. In Paris he vigorously opposed Grün and other advocates of 'true socialism' and became an associate of Engels when the latter was in Paris. At the end of March 1847, the French police expelled Junge from the country.—62

Grün's German translation of Proudhon's book was published in Darmstadt in February (Volume I) and in May (Volume II) 1847 under the title *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Notwendigkeit des Elends.*—62

By *labour-bazars* or *labour markets* Engels means equitable-labour exchange bazars which were organised by the Owenites and Ricardian socialists (John Gray, William Thompson, John Bray) in various towns of England in the 1830s for fair exchange without a capitalist intermediary. The products were exchanged for labour notes, or labour money, certificates showing the cost of the products delivered, calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary for their production. The organisers considered these bazars as a means for publicising the advantages of a non-capitalist form of exchange and a peaceful way—together with cooperatives—of transition to socialism. The subsequent and invariable bankruptcy of such enterprises proved their utopian character.—63

*Straubingers*—travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels used this term for German artisans, including some participants in the working-class movement of that time, who were still largely swayed by guild prejudices and cherished the petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to petty handicraft production.—63, 80, 138, 154, 161, 249, 346, 388, 394, 467, 471 91, 498, 520

Engels refers to Proudhon's letter to Marx of 17 May 1846, in which he turned down a proposal to work in the correspondence committees (see Note 53).—63

Engels had been misled by Karl Bernays and Heinrich Börnstein as he later pointed out in his letter to Marx of 15 January 1847 (see this volume, p. 109). The item in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* dealt with the tsarist spy Y. N. Tolstoy and not with the Russian liberal landowner G. M. Tolstoy whose acquaintance Marx and Engels had made in Paris.—64

During the campaign for the elections to the local councils in Cologne which started at the end of June 1846, it was obvious at the very first meetings that the Cologne communists had a considerable influence on the petty-bourgeois electors (the Prussian workers were virtually deprived of suffrage). In the course of the election campaign, disorders took place in Cologne on 3 and 4 August, and were suppressed by the army. The people indignantly demanded that the troops should be withdrawn to their barracks and a civic militia organised. Karl d'Ester, a Cologne communist, described these disturbances in an unsigned pamphlet *Bericht über die Ereignisse zu Köln vom 3. und 4. August und den folgenden Tagen,* published in Mannheim in 1846.—65

By *materialists* Engels meant associates of Théodore Dézamy and other revolutionary representatives of French utopian communism who drew their socialist conclusions from the teaching of the eighteenth-century French materialist philosophers. In the 1840s there existed in France a society of
materialist communists which consisted of workers; in July 1847 eleven of its members were brought to trial by the French authorities.—66

By *spiritualists* Engels must have meant the editors of the *Fraternité* who were influenced by the religious-socialist ideas of Pierre Leroux, and by the ‘Christian socialism’ of Philippe Buchez and Félicité Lamennais.—66

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—67

When the Westphalian publishers Meyer and Rempel finally refused to help in the publication of the polemical works of Marx and Engels (*The German Ideology*), of Hess and other authors (see Note 57), Marx demanded, through Weydemeyer, that the manuscripts ready for publication should be dispatched from Westphalia to Roland Daniels in Cologne. This decision was taken because there was a project to start a joint-stock company for the publication of socialist literature, which was supported by a group of Cologne communists (see Note 68). Here Engels asks Marx how the project was faring.—68

In July 1846 *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* published ‘Circular Against Kriege’ written by Marx and Engels. However, the editor of the journal, Otto Lüning, a representative of ‘true socialism’ criticised in the circular, subjected the text to tendentious editing and in a number of places glossed over the sharp principled criticism of this trend. Yet he had to admit in the conclusion that in publishing the circular the journal was criticising itself.—68

Engels’ letter to Püttmann has not been found.

In the summer of 1846 Hermann Püttmann, a radical journalista and ‘true socialist’, put out a prospectus of the journal *Prometheus*, whose publication was planned. Among its probable contributors he included ‘people in Brussels’, i.e. members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. The only issue—a double one—of *Prometheus* appeared at the end of 1846. Neither Marx nor Engels contributed to it.—69

A reference to the joint address of the German Readers’ Society and German Workers’ Educational Society in London (see Note 52) on the Schleswig-Holstein problem. When the Educational Society passed it on 13 September 1846, it was printed as a leaflet; then it was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, No. 77, 18 September 1846 and, translated into English, in *The Northern Star*, No. 463, 27 September 1846.

As early as 17 September the leaflets were delivered to Paris and distributed by the members of the League of the Just. It was then that Engels acquainted himself with the address.

The address to the working people of Schleswig and Holstein emphasised the interests common to the workers of all countries. But the attempt to contrast proletarian internationalism with bourgeois nationalism did not escape the influence of ‘true socialism’, which opposed the struggle for bourgeois-democratic freedoms and the bourgeois-democratic national movements.—69

The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states (initially including 18 states), establishing a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced all the German states except Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some small states. Formed owing to the necessity for an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany’s political unification.—69
An allusion to the Berliner Zeitungs-Halle published by Gustav Julius from 1846 and used by him to attack the liberal bourgeoisie using typically 'true socialist' arguments. By these tactics the Prussian ruling circles wanted to cause clashes between the different opposition groups. During the 1848-49 revolution, however, the Berliner Zeitungs-Halle expressed the views of the left democratic forces.—69

The government of Christian VIII tried in all possible ways to strengthen its rule over the German population in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which had been ceded to Denmark by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. On the other hand, up to 1848 the national movement in Schleswig-Holstein did not go beyond the bounds of moderate liberal opposition and pursued the separatist aim of setting up another small German state. Influenced by the revolutionary events of 1848, however, it assumed a liberation character. The struggle for the secession of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark became a part of the progressive struggle in Germany for the national unification of the country and was supported by Marx and Engels.—70

Dithmarschen—a district in the south-west of present-day Schleswig-Holstein. It was remarkable for its peculiar historical development; in particular, up to the second half of the nineteenth century there were still survivals of patriarchal customs and the communal system preserved among the peasants even after the conquest by Danish and Holstein feudal lords in the sixteenth century.—70

A reference to the Cologne citizens' protest against the official report of the War Minister von Boyen, the Minister of the Interior von Bodeschwigh and the Chief Counsellor of Justice Ruppenthal on the Cologne disturbances of 3 and 4 August 1846 (see Note 89).—70

A reference to the General Synod convened in Berlin in the summer of 1846 on the initiative of Frederick William IV, at which an unsuccessful attempt was made to reduce the differences between the Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) trends of Protestantism, the contradictions between which grew more acute despite their forced union in 1817.—70

Droit d'aubaine (the right of escheat)—a feudal custom widespread in France and other countries during the Middle Ages, according to which the property of aliens dying without heirs reverted to the crown.—71

From 1841 Friedrich Walth published the radical Trier'sche Zeitung, which during the period dealt with was a mouthpiece of the 'true socialists', but he had no influence on the paper's political line.—72

A reference to the numerous anonymous pamphlets (about thirty, as Engels pointed out in his 'Government and Opposition in France', see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 61-63) published in France against Rothschild (one of the authors was the French worker Dainvall). Directed against one of the biggest bankers of France, they testified to the growing opposition to the July monarchy regime which relied on financial tycoons.—73

Only an extract of this letter has survived. In it Engels discusses the project of starting a company for the publication of socialist and communist literature (see notes 57 and 68).

The date of this letter was established by the fact that this extract and Engels' letter to Marx of 18 September 1846 deal with the same project.—73
A reference to assemblies of the estates introduced in Prussia in 1823. They embraced the heads of princely families, representatives of the knightly estate, i.e. the nobility, of towns and rural communities. The election system based on the principle of landownership provided for a majority of the nobility in the assemblies. The competency of the assemblies was restricted to questions of local economy and administration. They also had the right to express their desires on government bills submitted for discussion.—75

This letter is not dated. The time of its writing was established by the fact that at the end of the letter Engels mentions a meeting of the Paris communities of the League of the Just which was to take place 'this evening'. Judging by this letter to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee of 23 October 1846 that meeting was held on Sunday, 18 October (see this volume, p. 82).—75

A reference to the following passage in the preface mentioned: 'The evil is not in the head or the heart, but in the stomach of mankind. But of what help is all the clarity and healthiness of the head and the heart, when the stomach is ill, the basis of human existence spoil' (L. Feuerbach, Sämtliche Werke, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1846, S. XV).—79

Marx's letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—79

Engels probably means a special pamphlet (see p. 28 and notes 16 and 41) in which he intended to develop the criticism of the German protectionists, particularly List, which he had made in his second 'Elberfeld speech' (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 256-64). The manuscript of the pamphlet has not been found.—79

A reference to the polemical material against the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee published in the Volks-Tribun by its editor Hermann Kriege in reply to the 'Circulare Against Kriege' by Marx and Engels. On the demand of the Committee the 'Circulare' was published in the newspaper under the title 'Eine Bannbulle' but was accompanied by insinuations against its authors (Der Volks-Tribun, Nos. 23 and 24, 6 and 13 June 1846).—79

In October 1846 Marx wrote a second circular against Kriege, but it has not been found so far.—80

Engels' intention to use the projected journal Die Pariser Horen for communist propaganda did not materialise. The journal appeared from January to June 1847 and carried works by Herwegh, Heine, Freiligrath, Mäurer and other authors; in general, it was influenced by 'true socialism' and that this would be its line had already been proved by the editorial introduction to the first issue.—81

This letter was published in English in part for the first time in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—81

At the beginning of this letter Engels gives the name Straubingers (see Note 86) to the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just (see Note 52) who supported the 'true socialist' Karl Grün. Further on he uses it to denote advocates of 'true socialism' among the German artisans, including those living in the USA.—81
117 A reference to an uprising in Geneva which began in October 1846; as a result the radical bourgeoisie came to power and rallied the advanced Swiss cantons in their struggle against the Sonderbund, the separatist union of Catholic cantons.—83

118 A reference to the civil war in Portugal which was caused by the actions taken by the dictatorial ruling Coburg dynasty against the popular uprising. It broke out in the spring of 1846 and was crushed in the summer of 1847 with the help of British and Spanish interventionists.—85

119 This letter is not dated. The time of its writing is ascertained by Engels' reference to a letter he wrote almost at the same time to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee on 23 October 1846 and by the Brussels postmark of 24 October.

The letter was published in English in part for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—86

120 Engels refers to the second (October) circular against Kriege (see Note 113).—86

121 Weitling was in Brussels with intervals from February to December 1846, when he left for France and later to the USA.—87

122 Fraternal Democrats—an international democratic society founded in London on 22 September 1845. It embraced representatives of Left Chartists, German workers and craftsmen—members of the League of the Just—and revolutionary emigrants of other nationalities. During their stay in England in the summer of 1845, Marx and Engels helped in preparing for the meeting at which the society was formed, but did not attend it as they had by then left London. Later they kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats trying to influence the proletarian core of the society, which joined the Communist League in 1847, and through it the Chartist movement. The society ceased its activities in 1859.

Engels' letter to Harney mentioned here has not been found.—88, 289

123 This is a postscript by Engels to the letter Bernays wrote to Marx on 2 November 1846 (see text of the letter in *MEGA* 2, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 62-63).—88

124 A reference to Bernays' article on crimes and criminal law (see Note 54). When speaking about printed stuff, Engels seems to have in mind proofs of Bernays' work on the above subject, which the latter demanded back from the publisher Leske.—88

125 Engels' letter to the Swiss publisher J. M. Schläpfer who printed works by opposition writers (F. Freiligrath, K. Heinzen and others), written prior to 2 November 1846, has not been found.—88

126 This letter is not dated. The approximate time of its writing is established from reference to the London Correspondence Committee's letter to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee of 11 November 1846, which was probably sent to Engels in Paris in mid-November. Other evidence for establishing the date of the letter is that it mentions Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère*, which Marx received in Brussels not earlier than 15 December 1846 (see this volume, p. 96). Judging by this letter, Engels did not yet know that Marx had obtained Proudhon's book.—89
127 Disturbances among workers took place in the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris from 30 September to 2 October 1846. They were caused by the intended raising of the price of bread. The workers stormed bakers' shops and raised barricades, there were clashes with troops. Paris members of the League of the Just were suspected by police of participating in the disturbances.

Engels' letter to Gigot mentioned above has not been found.

Straubingers—see notes 86 and 116.—89

128 Ewerbeck had left for Lyons at that time.—90

129 A reference to the complications which arose in the relations of Marx and Engels with the leaders of the League of the Just in London (Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer). The latter maintained contacts with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee and together with Harney formed a correspondence committee in London (below Engels writes about Harney's correspondence with Brussels and his letter of 11 November 1846 in particular). However, Schapper, Moll and Bauer, influenced by certain immature ideas of utopian 'working-class communism', including those of Weitling, were still very cautious at that time in regard to revolutionary theoreticians—'scholars'. They did not approve of Marx's and Engels' attacks on Kriege and other 'true socialists', sought ways of reconciling various trends and, with this aim in view, planned to convene a congress of participants in the communist movement early in May 1847. In this connection they issued an address to the League of the Just members in November 1846. Marx and Engels considered that to convene such a congress without thorough preparation and dissociation from the trends hostile to the proletariat would be premature. The effect of scientific communist ideas, however, proved stronger than sectarian and backward tendencies. At the beginning of 1847 the London leaders of the League of the Just themselves took a step to remove their differences and draw closer to Marx and Engels.—91

130 The address of the German Workers' Educational Society in London to Johannes Ronge, leader of the bourgeois trend of German Catholics, was drawn up by Weitling in March 1845 and testified to the immature views of the leaders of the Society and the League of the Just. The document developed the idea that the Christian religion, 'purified' and reformed, could serve communism.

On the address of the Educational Society in London about Schleswig-Holstein, see Note 96.—91

131 At that time the Verlagsbuchhandlung zu Belle-Vue was owned by Johann Marmor and August Schmid. It is impossible to establish which of the two Engels means. In December 1846 the firm moved to Constance.—93

132 As is seen from the publisher Löwenthal's letter to Engels of 11 March 1847 (included in MEGA₂, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 330), Engels intended to have his 'Die Gegenwart der blonden Race' printed by J. Rütten of Literarische Anstalt publishers. Judging by Engels' letter to Marx of 10 December 1851, Engels returned to this subject after the 1848-49 revolution, which had interrupted his studies (see this volume, p. 509). However, there is no information as to whether he realised his intention.—93, 509

133 The Order of the Dannebrog (Order of the Danish State Banner)—an Order of Danish knights founded in 1671.—94
Engels' report to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee has not been found.—94

Marx wrote this letter in reply to the request of his Russian acquaintance Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov for his opinion on Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*. On 1 November 1846 Annenkov wrote to Marx, concerning Proudhon's book: 'I admit that the actual plan of the work seems to be a *jeu d'esprit*, designed to give a glimpse of German philosophy, rather than something grown naturally out of the subject and requirements of its logical development.'

Marx's profound and precise criticism of Proudhon's views, and his exposition of dialectical and materialist views to counterbalance them, produced a strong impression even on Annenkov, who was far from materialism and communism. He wrote to Marx on 6 January 1847: 'Your opinion of Proudhon's book produced a truly invigorating effect on me by its preciseness, its clarity, and above all its tendency to keep within the bounds of reality' (*MEGA*2, Abt. III, Bd. 2, S. 321).

When in 1880 Annenkov published his reminiscences 'Remarkable Decade 1838-1848' in the *Vestnik Yevropy*, he included in them long extracts from Marx's letter. In 1883, the year when Marx died, these extracts, translated into German, were published in *Die Neue Zeit* and *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

The original has not been found. The first English translation of this letter was published in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—95

Here Marx uses the word 'cacadauphin' by which during the French Revolution opponents of the absolutist regime derisively described the mustard-coloured cloth, recalling the colour of the Dauphin's napkins, made fashionable by Queen Marie Antoinette.—103

Parliaments—juridical institutions which arose in France in the Middle Ages. They enjoyed the right to remonstrate government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth called *noblese de robe* (the nobility of the mantle). The parliaments, which finally became the bulwark of feudal opposition to absolutism and impeded the implementation of even moderate reforms, were abolished in 1790, during the French Revolution.—104

The letter was dated 1845 by mistake. The correct date was established on the basis of the contents and the postmark: 'Paris 60, 15. Janv. 47'.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art*, International Publishers, N. Y., p. 81, 1947.—107

The reference here and below is to Marx's possible removal to Paris and the documents he needed for that move. The text below shows that Marx had the permission of the Belgian authorities to stay in Belgium. It was issued to him after his expulsion from France in February 1845 and signed on 22 March 1845 on condition that Marx would not publish anything concerning current politics. Besides, on 1 December 1845 Marx received a certificate of renunciation of his Prussian citizenship and perhaps permission to emigrate to America for which he had applied in order to deprive the Prussian authorities of any pretext for interfering in his future.

However, Marx was not able to go to Paris until after the February 1848 revolution.—107
An allusion to relations with Hess which deteriorated in February and March 1846 when Marx and Engels started a decisive struggle against 'true socialism' and Weitling's utopian egalitarian communism. In an effort to avoid an open break, Marx and Engels persuaded Hess to leave Brussels in March 1846.— 108


By 'our publication' Engels meant the manuscripts of *The German Ideology* intended for publication.— 109

Here Engels refers to the second part of his and Marx's joint work *The German Ideology* devoted to the critique of 'true socialism' (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 453-539). Engels continued his work on this section up to April 1847 and its results have reached us in the form of an unfinished manuscript 'The True Socialists' supplementing *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 540-81).—109

As is seen from this letter Engels originally intended to work up the article he had apparently written in the autumn of 1846 or early in 1847 on Grün's *Über Goethe* for the second part of *The German Ideology*, devoted to the critique of 'true socialism'. Later this article served as a basis for the second essay in the series *German Socialism in Verse and Prose* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 249-73). It is quite possible that Engels also used the manuscripts of *The German Ideology* for the first essay in that series. The essays on Grün were published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 93-98 of 21, 25 and 28 November and 2, 5 and 9 December 1847.—110

Engels has in mind the time the young Goethe spent among the burghers of his native town Frankfurt am Main, and his service at the Duke of Weimar's court: from 1782 to 1786 Goethe held several high administrative posts, was a member of the Privy Council, Minister of Education, etc.—110

Marx's letter to Zulauff has not been found. Like the letter published here, it apparently concerned the tasks facing the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee and the communist groups close to it when Marx and Engels joined the League of the Just as a result of their negotiations at the end of January and the beginning of February 1847 with Joseph Moll, a representative of the London leaders of the League who was sent to Brussels and Paris specially for this purpose. The negotiations showed that the League leaders were prepared to recognise the principles of scientific communism as a basis when drawing up its programme and carrying out its reorganisation. Marx and Engels, therefore, called on their followers grouped around the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee not only to join the League of the Just but also to take an active part in its reorganisation.—111

See Note 86. Here the reference is to the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just.—112

The reference is to Engels' as yet unfound satirical pamphlet about Lola Montez, a favourite of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. The scandalous influence of
this Spanish dancer on the policy of the Bavarian Government caused in 1847-48 the appearance of numerous pamphlets, articles, cartoons, etc. Further on, the text (see p. 114) shows that Engels tried to have this pamphlet published by Vogler in Brussels and by the Belle-Vue publishers in Switzerland. A letter has survived which Vogler wrote on 3 April 1847 in reply to Engels' letter of 28 March which has not been found. Engels' proposal was rejected because of the censorship existing in the Great Duchy of Baden where the publishers had moved by that time.—112

148 The reference is to the rescripts by Frederick William IV of 3 February 1847 convening the United Diet—a united assembly of the eight provincial diets. The United Diet as well as the provincial diets consisted of representatives of the estates: the curia of high aristocracy and the curia of the other three estates (nobility, representatives of the towns and the peasantry). Its powers were limited to authorising new taxes and loans, to voice without vote during the discussion of Bills, and to the right to present petitions to the King.

The United Diet opened on 11 April 1847, but it was dissolved as early as June because the majority refused to vote a new loan.—112

149 Engels intended to have this work published as a pamphlet by Vogler in Brussels who was printing Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy. However, when Marx received the manuscript, Vogler had been arrested in Aachen (see this volume, p. 117). The part of the pamphlet which has reached us was first published in Russian in the USSR in 1929.—114

150 Communistes matérialistes—members of the secret society of materialist communists founded in the 1840s (see Note 90). The members of this society were tried in July 1847 and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.—114

151 The persecution of the Paris members of the League of the Just by the French police was reported in an item datelined Paris, 2 April 1847, published in the Berliner Zeitungs-Halle, No. 81, 8 April 1847. It said of Engels: “Several police agents have also been to Fr. Engels, who lives here in great retirement and devotes himself only to economic and historical studies; naturally they could find nothing against him.”—115

152 Marx's letter to Bakunin has not been found.—116

153 The reference is to a cartoon by Engels of Frederick William IV of Prussia delivering the speech from the throne at the opening of the United Diet in Berlin on 11 April 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 67). This cartoon was published as a special supplement to the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung of 6 May 1847.—117

154 The reference is to the congress of the League of the Just at which, as agreed between the League leaders in London (H. Bauer, J. Moll, K. Schapper) and Marx and Engels early in 1847, the League was to be reorganised. The congress was held between 2 and 9 June 1847. Engels represented the Paris communities, and Wilhelm Wolff, briefed by Marx, was a delegate of the Brussels communists.

Engels' active participation in the work of the congress affected the course and the results of its proceedings. The League was renamed the Communist League, the old motto of the League of the Just 'All men are brothers' was replaced by a new, Marxist one: 'Working Men of All Countries, Unite!' The congress expelled the Weitlingians from the League. The last sitting on 9 June approved the draft programme and the draft Rules of the League, which had
been drawn up either by Engels or with his help (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 96-103 and 585-88). Both documents and the congress circular to the League members were sent to the local communities and districts for discussion to be finally approved at the next, second congress.

This congress laid the foundation for the first international proletarian communist organisation in history.—117

155 Engels arrived in Brussels about 27 July 1847 and stayed there up to mid-October. He actively contributed to enhancing the influence of the Communist League among the German workers residing in Belgium and to the establishment of international contacts between representatives of the proletarian movement and progressive democratic circles.—118

155a This letter was first published in English abridged in The Letters of Karl Marx, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—119

156 Marx refers here to the prospects of his and Engels' regular collaboration in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung. Previously they had only occasionally contributed to this emigrant newspaper, though they approved of the collaboration in it of W. Wolff, G. Weerth and others of their followers. On the whole up to that time the newspaper's line had reflected the desire of its editor-in-chief, the petty-bourgeois democrat A. Bornstedt, to combine eclectic ideological trends in opposition. But financial and other difficulties compelled him to agree to the collaboration of the proletarian revolutionaries in the newspaper. From 9 September 1847 Marx and Engels were its regular contributors, directly influenced its line and at the end of 1847 concentrated editorial affairs in their own hands. During this period the newspaper became a mouthpiece of the proletarian party then being formed, virtually the press organ of the Communist League.—120

157 Engels wrote this letter to Marx when the latter was on a visit to his relatives in Holland to settle his financial affairs. At the end of September 1847 Marx spent a few days in Zalt-Bommel at his uncle's (on his mother's side), Lion Philips, and returned to Brussels early in October.—122

158 The German Workers' Society was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its most active members belonged to the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. After the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian authorities arrested and banished many of its members.—122, 141, 153

159 The international banquet of democrats in Brussels on 27 September 1847, of which Engels speaks here, adopted the decision to found a Democratic Association. Engels was elected to its Organising Committee.

The Democratic Association united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German refugees and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels took an active part in its establishment. On 15 November 1847 Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat) and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. During the February 1848 revolution in
France, the proletarian wing of the Brussels Democratic Association sought to arm the Belgian workers and to intensify the struggle for a democratic republic. However, when Marx was expelled from Brussels in March 1848 and the most revolutionary elements were repressed by the Belgian authorities, its activity assumed a narrow, purely local character and in 1849 the Association ceased to exist.—123, 132, 141

160 The text of Engels' speech at the democratic banquet on 27 September 1847 is not extant. The recorded speeches of some speakers were published in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, No. 80, 7 October 1847.—124

161 The reference is to the newspaper Correspondence Bureau (Deutsche Zeitungs-Correspondenzbureau), set up by S. Seiler and K. Reinhardt in the spring of 1845. It supplied information and correspondence material to the German newspapers.—125

162 The reference is to Georg Weerth's speech at the International Congress of Economists held in Brussels on 16-18 September 1847 to discuss free trade. Marx, Engels and Wilhelm Wolff also attended the congress, intending to make use of it to criticise bourgeois economics (the free trade doctrine, in particular) and to defend working-class interests. When Weerth made a speech along these lines the congress organisers closed the discussion on 18 September without allowing Marx to speak. Excerpts from Weerth's speech were published in a few German, British and French newspapers. It was published in full in the Belgian Atelier Démocratique on 29 September 1847. A report on the proceedings of the congress is given by Engels in his articles 'The Economic Congress' and 'The Free Trade Congress at Brussels' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 274-78 and 282-90).—125

163 This refers to the agreement reached with Bornstedt in September 1847 concerning Marx's and Engels' regular contribution to the Deutsche-Brüseler-Zeitung (see Note 156).—126

164 The discussion of protective tariffs and free trade which had begun before Marx went on a visit to Holland continued at a meeting of the German Workers' Society on 29 September 1847. To enliven this discussion Marx and Engels started a 'sham battle' which Engels later recalled in a letter to Hermann Schlüter of 29 January 1891: '...I remember only that when the debates in the German Workers' Society in Brussels became dull Marx and I agreed to start a sham discussion in which he defended free trade and I protective tariffs....'—126

165 Engels means the meeting of the Brussels community of the Communist League. The community and the Brussels District Committee of the League were formed on the basis of the Communist Correspondence Committee on 5 August 1847. The District Committee included Marx, Engels, Junge and Wolff (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 601).—129

166 Marx seems to have in mind primarily literary works reflecting local peculiarities in the various shades of 'true socialism' (cf. F. Engels, 'The True Socialists', present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 540-81).—131

167 Marx's intention to start a joint-stock company for the publication of a communist monthly in 1847, about which he also wrote to Herwegen on 26 October 1847 (see this volume, p. 141) like similar earlier plans did not materialise.—132, 141
Engels' letter to Louis Blanc presumably written soon after his arrival in Paris from Brussels in mid-October 1847 has not been found.—133

At that time a civil war was imminent in Switzerland between the Sonderbund (a separatist union formed by seven economically backward cantons which opposed progressive bourgeois reforms and defended the privileges of the Church and the Jesuits) and the other cantons which persuaded the Swiss Diet to declare the dissolution of the Sonderbund in July 1847. Hostilities began early in November, and the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces on 23 November 1847.

Johann Jacoby, a representative of the German radicals since the convocation of the United Diet in Prussia in 1847 (see Note 148), criticised it as a substitute for people's representation. In April and June 1847 he made a trip to Saxony, South Germany, Switzerland, visited Cologne and Brussels where he established contact with the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.

A radical programme of political reforms was adopted at a meeting of representatives of the democratic wing of the opposition movement (F. Hecker, G. Struve, etc.) in Offenburg (Grand Duchy of Baden) on 12 September 1847.—133

The Prussian United Diet (see Note 148) was dissolved in June 1847.

In calling A. Ruge the panegyrist of the Diet Engels refers to the 'Adresse an die Opposition des vereinigten Landtages in Berlin' of 11 June 1847 included by Ruge in the Polemische Briefe published in Mannheim that year.—135

Engels' first article in La Réforme, 'The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 307-09), appeared as early as 26 October 1847. After that the newspaper regularly carried his articles, or summaries of The Northern Star reports on the Chartist movement which he translated into French. As a rule they were published under the headings 'Mouvement chartiste' and 'Agitation chartiste' and introduced by the editorial 'On nous écrit de Londres'. Engels contributed to La Réforme till January 1848. Though Engels' views differed from those of the newspaper's editors (especially Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin), his articles on the Chartist movement to some extent helped to overcome the national exclusiveness of La Réforme and exerted a revolutionary influence on its readers—the French workers and the radical middle classes.—135

Engels contributed to the Chartist Northern Star from the end of 1843 to 1848. From May 1844 he sent in regular reports about European events, primarily about the political and social movement.—135

Here Engels refers to the speech on free trade Marx intended to deliver at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels held between 16 and 18 September 1847 (see Note 162). Not being allowed to speak, Marx published it in the Atelier Démocratique on 29 September. Part of the speech was also published by Joseph Weydemeyer in 1848 under the title 'The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class' and excerpts from it were quoted by Engels in his article 'The Free Trade Congress at Brussels' in The Northern Star, No. 520, 9 October 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-90).

As is seen from this letter the version sent to La Réforme was not printed, and it is not extant.—135, 143
Engels alludes to the case of the Duke of Praslin. In August 1847 the Duchess of Praslin was found murdered in her house. Suspicion fell on her husband and he was arrested. A political scandal broke out which caused the Duke of Praslin to take poison during the investigation.—135

The management referred to is that of the Correspondence Bureau of S. Seiler and K. Reinhardt (see Note 161).—138

In the summer of 1847 the London Central Authority of the Communist League distributed for discussion in the League's local communities and districts the 'Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith' drawn up by Engels and approved by the First Congress (see Note 154). In mid-October, when Engels returned to Paris from Brussels, the League's draft programme written in the form of a catechism was already being discussed in the Paris communities. Hess proposed to the Paris District Committee his own version of the draft, which was rejected after sharp criticism by Engels. But Engels was no longer satisfied with his own version because in drafting it he had to take into account the fact that the delegates to the League's First Congress were still influenced by utopian communism. In a new version—'Principles of Communism'—drawn up by Engels this shortcoming was eliminated and the programme principles of the working-class movement were elaborated in greater detail, but still in the form of a catechism. This new document was later approved by the Paris communities as the draft programme for the Second Congress of the Communist League.—138

Engels refers to Born's intended participation in the Second Congress of the Communist League, but Born did not go to the congress.—139

Neither Engels' letter to the Elberfeld communists nor their reply to it has been found. Presumably they were about the possibilities for publishing Marx's and Engels' works on free trade and protective tariffs (see Note 173).—140

Marx alludes here to Countess Hatzfeldt's divorce case which lasted from 1846 to 1854.—140

Marx presumably has in mind here the refusal of Baron Arnim, Prussian Ambassador to Paris, to give Emma Herwegh, Georg Herwegh's wife, a visa for Berlin. The fact was reported in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung on 21 October 1847. Later Emma Herwegh set out with a Swiss passport without a visa.—141

Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy was published simultaneously by Vogler in Brussels and by Frank in Paris. As is seen from Marx's letter to Engels of 15 October 1868, both Vogler and Frank were mere 'commissioners' (agents de vente), all printing expenses being paid by the author.—142

The reference is to the election of delegates from the Paris district to the Second Congress of the Communist League which was to meet in London on 29 November 1847.—143

The Lille Banquet took place on 7 November 1847 during the campaign for an election reform in France which revealed the extremely anti-democratic stand of the liberal opposition to the July monarchy and of the moderate republicans of the National party (see Engels' 'Split in the Camp.—The Réforme and the National.—March of Democracy', present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 385-87).—144

An international meeting organised by the Fraternal Democrats (see Note 122) took place in London on 29 November 1847 to mark the anniversary of the
Polish insurrection of 1830. Marx and Engels, who had come to London for the Second Congress of the Communist League, made speeches about Poland. The report on the meeting and accounts of the speeches made by Marx and Engels appeared in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, No. 140, 3 December 1847, *The Northern Star*, No. 528, 4 December 1847, and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 98, 9 December 1847. Engels wrote a special item on this subject for *La Réforme*, which published it on 5 December 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 391-92).—144

Proposals to convene an international democratic congress were made both by the Fraternal Democrats and the Brussels Democratic Association. During his stay in London at the end of November 1847, Marx had talks on the subject with the Chartist leaders and representatives of the proletarian and democratic emigrants. Engels had similar talks with French socialists and democrats. In the beginning of 1848 it was agreed to convene the congress in Brussels. It was scheduled for 25 August 1848, the eighteenth anniversary of the Belgian revolution. However, these plans did not materialise because in February 1848 a revolution began in Europe.—145

Engels sent this letter to Marx on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist League for which they both made thorough preparations and expected to reach a final agreement concerning their stand during their meeting on the way to London. What Engels writes here on certain points, e.g. a Communist League programme not in the form of a catechism or confession of faith (see notes 154 and 176) but of a manifesto, found expression in the congress decisions.

The *Second Congress of the Communist League* was held in London from 29 November to 8 December 1847. It was attended by delegates from Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland and Denmark. Marx represented the League's Brussels communities, Engels the Paris communities and Victor Tedesco the Liège communities. During many days of discussion Marx and Engels defended the principles of scientific communism on which the congress based its decisions. It was resolved that in all its external relations the League would come out openly as a communist party. The congress adopted the previously drawn up Rules in an improved form, a clause clearly defining the League's communist aim being included. On the instruction of the Second Congress Marx and Engels wrote as the League's programme the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was published in February 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519).

An excerpt 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, and International Publishers, New York, 1935.—146

187 Marx's letter to Engels written about 22 November 1847 has not been found.—149

188 The working man referred to was Stephan Born, who was to speak at the meeting of the Democratic Association in Brussels held to mark the seventeenth anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830 instead of Marx who at that time was to take part in the Second Congress of the Communist League in London. Below Engels mentions Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus) and Georg Weerth as possible representatives, with Born, of the German Workers' Society at the Brussels meeting. It was held on 29 November 1847, and Born spoke on behalf of the German workers.
A report on the meeting was published in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, No. 96, 2 December 1847.—149

Engels refers to the Congress of Economists in Brussels where Georg Weerth made a speech on 18 September (see Note 162).—150

The reason for Marx’s visit to London was to attend the Second Congress of the Communist League. Marx and Engels profited by this occasion to attend the international meeting (mentioned in this letter) held in London to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830 (see Note 184).—150

Engels returned to Paris at the end of December 1847 after a few days’ stay in Brussels, where he had arrived from England soon after Marx, on about 17 December (Marx and Engels had gone to England to participate in the Second Congress of the Communist League—see Note 186). In Brussels Engels worked with Marx on the Manifesto of the Communist Party. On his arrival in Paris, Engels wished to meet Louis Blanc, as he writes at the beginning of the letter, to get him to write a review of Marx’s The Poverty of Philosophy for La Réforme.—152

In 1843 Jules Michelet was dismissed from his teaching post for his democratic and anti-clerical convictions; his right to teach history at the Paris University was not restored till after the February 1848 revolution.—154

Here Engels means the United commissions, an advisory social-estate body in Prussia elected by the Provincial Diets from their own members. Engels’ article on Prussian finances, mentioned in the letter, has not been found.—155

It is not known whether Engels carried out his intention. The review of Marx’s The Poverty of Philosophy did not appear in La Réforme.—156

Engels’ letter to Bernays has not been found.—157

At the end of February 1848 a revolution took place in France which was enthusiastically welcomed in Belgium. Alarmed by the scope of the democratic movement in the country, the Belgian authorities resorted to arrests and expulsion of German revolutionary emigrants. They arrested the Communist League members Wilhelm Wolff and Victor Tedesco. On 3 March Marx was ordered to leave Belgium in twenty-four hours. However, in the night of 3 March, when he was preparing to leave, the police burst into Marx’s flat, arrested him and then his wife. After 18 hours of imprisonment Marx and his family were forced to leave Belgium at once. On the invitation of Flocon, who had been elected member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, Marx moved to Paris.

Engels, expelled from Paris at the end of January 1848 for his revolutionary activity, was in Brussels from 31 January.

The time of writing of this letter, as well as of many other undated ones, is established on the basis of the chronology of events mentioned, in particular the constitution of the new Central Authority of the Communist League on 7 March 1848, and of Jones’ departure for England, where he arrived not later than 12 March, etc.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in Labour Monthly, 1948, No. 3, III.—158

The Second Congress of the Communist League retained the seat of the Central Authority in London. However, as a revolution had broken out in
France, Schapper, Bauer, Moll and other members of the London Central Authority intended to move to the Continent and decided to transfer their powers of general direction of the League to the Brussels District Committee headed by Marx. But the persecution of revolutionaries by the Belgian authorities impelled the Brussels Central Authority that had been formed to adopt on 5 March 1848 a decision to dissolve itself and to empower Marx to form a new Central Authority in Paris. Marx arrived in Paris on 5 March and took up this appointment. On 7 March the Paris Central Authority mentioned by Marx was formed. Engels was elected in his absence.—158

198 The reference is to the arrest of Marx and his wife by the Belgian police (see Note 196).—159

199 The interpellation on the arrest and expulsion of Marx and his family was made by Bricourt at the sitting of the Chamber of Representatives of the Belgian Parliament on 11 March 1848.—159, 164

200 Marx’s notes on Wilhelm Wolff’s arrest on 27 February 1848, his maltreatment by the police and prison authorities and his expulsion from Belgium on 5 March have survived. Marx published an article on the persecution of revolutionary emigrants in Belgium in La Réforme, 12 March 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 567-68 and 581-82).—159

201 The news of the victory of the February revolution in France caused a widespread popular movement in the Rhine Province of Prussia and other parts of Germany. A demonstration of about five thousand workers and artisans, organised by the local community of the Communist League, was held in Cologne on 3 March before the town hall. A petition demanding universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press and assembly, armament of the people, labour protection, children’s education at the public expense, etc., was presented to the magistrate. The meeting following the demonstration was dispersed by troops, and the leaders of the demonstration—Andreas Gottschalk, August Willich and Friedrich Anneke—were arrested and brought to trial (they were set free on 21 March when a revolution began in Prussia). Gottschalk, Willich and Anneke belonged to a group in the local community of the Communist League which was under the influence of ‘true socialism’ and, in contrast to Karl d’Ester, Roland Daniels and Heinrich Bürgers (below Engels calls them ‘old friends’), displayed sectarian tendencies.—159

202 The information received by Engels concerning d’Ester was inaccurate. D’Ester was present at the sitting of the Cologne city council on 3 March 1848 and spoke for the inclusion of a number of the people’s demands in the liberal memorandum under discussion to be presented to the Berlin authorities. His proposals were rejected.—159

203 A movement for definitive secession from the German Empire and for bourgeois-democratic reforms arose in 1797 in the territories along the left bank of the Rhine seized by the armies of the French Republic. With the approval of the French commander-in-chief, General Hoche, a plan was drawn up in September 1797 to form a filial left-bank Rhine Republic (Cisrhenanische Republik) allied to France. However, as a result of General Bonaparte’s victory over Austria the territories along the left bank of the Rhine were directly attached to France by the Campo Formio Treaty (November 1797).—160

204 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in Labour Monthly, 1948, No. 3, III.—161
The German Democratic Society was formed in Paris after the February 1848 revolution. The Society was headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, Herwegh, Bornstedt and others, who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German refugees, with the intention of marching into Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Marx and his followers in the Communist League opposed to this adventurist plan the tactics of uniting the German emigrants and organising their return to Germany individually to take part in the revolutionary struggle that was developing there. Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden, where it was dispersed by government troops.

Black, red and gold were the colours symbolising German unity; the unity slogan was interpreted by the petty-bourgeois democrats as a call to establish in Germany a federation of autonomous provinces on the pattern of the Swiss Confederation.—162, 540

There is no further information about the letters Marx intended to write to Maynz and Jottrand.—162

Engels moved to Paris from Brussels about 21 March 1848.—164

Neither Engels' letter to his mother nor his mother's letter quoted by Engels below has been found.—166

On 24 February 1848 the people of Paris revolted, overthrew the monarchy and formed a Provisional Government, with the party of the National in the majority. Under pressure from the armed masses, however, the bourgeois republicans were compelled to include in the government four ministers from the list compiled by La Réforme, among them Louis Blanc and a worker Albert, a leader of secret republican societies and participant in the street fighting.

On 17 March there was a 100,000-strong demonstration of Paris workers demanding postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly (see Note 214).—166

The reference is to the organisation of a legion of German refugees to march into Germany (see Note 205).—166

This letter was published in English for the first time in Science and Society, New York, 1940, Vol. IV, No. 2.—167

The reference is to the attempts of Ledru-Rollin, Minister of the Interior, to renew the administrative staff of municipal councils and his decree of 14 March to abolish the privileged National Guard units of bourgeois and aristocrats.—168

This refers to the utopian plans for the 'organisation of labour' with the help of a bourgeois state proposed by Louis Blanc as president of the Labour Commission set up by the Provisional Government on 28 February 1848 (it held its meetings in the Luxembourg Palace). The Commission was dissolved by the Government after the popular action of 15 May 1848.—168

The reference is to the elections to the National Guard, fixed for 18 March, and to the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, which originally were to be held on 5 April 1848. To hold the elections in a short time would have benefited the anti-revolutionary forces. That is why the demonstration of the Paris workers on 17 March, of which Engels writes above, demanded that the Provisional Government, besides withdrawing the troops from the capital,
should postpone the elections to the National Guard till 5 April and to the Constituent Assembly till 31 May 1848. The Government was compelled to comply with these demands, but the elections to the Constituent Assembly were postponed only till 23 April.—168

215 About 6 April 1848 Marx and Engels returned to Germany from emigration to take part in the revolution that was developing there. On their way to Cologne, the centre of the Rhine Province—the most economically developed region in Germany—which they chose as the place for the planned publication of a revolutionary newspaper, they made a stop at Mainz on 8 April. Here they discussed with the local communists (Karl Wallau who had arrived from Paris earlier, Adolf Cluss and others) the plan of actions to prepare for the creation of a mass party of the German proletariat, with the Communist League as its nucleus. Marx and Engels arrived at Cologne about 11 April.

There is no information about the letters which Marx and Engels promised to write to Cabet from Germany.—170

216 In mid-April Engels left Cologne and made a trip to towns of the Rhine Province of Prussia—Barmen, Elberfeld and others—to organise a subscription to the shares for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. During the trip he also acted as an emissary of the Communist League's Central Authority. He returned to Cologne on 20 May 1848.—170

217 On 10 April 1848 a Chartist demonstration in London was dispersed by troops and special constables; the purpose of the demonstration was to present the third Chartist Petition to Parliament.

Engels' letter to Harney has not been found.—171

218 The subject is the prospects of the planned *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the first issue of which appeared on 31 May but was dated 1 June 1848.

Marx and Engels began to prepare for the publication of a German revolutionary newspaper as early as March 1848 when they were in Paris (see this volume, p. 173). They regarded a proletarian periodical as an important step towards creating a mass party of the German proletariat based on the Communist League. Soon after their return to Germany, however, they realised that the conditions for the creation of such a party had not yet matured. Disunity and lack of political awareness made the German workers susceptible to the artisan and petty-bourgeois influences and particularist aspirations. Moreover it was senseless for the League to continue to work underground in the context of the revolution but the League was too weak and numerically small to serve as a rallying centre. Under these conditions the newspaper was to play an especially important role in the ideological and political education of the masses. It was also to become an organ of political guidance for the Communist League members, whom Marx and Engels advised to take an active part in the workers' organisations and democratic societies then being set up in Germany.

It was decided to call the newspaper the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in order to stress that it was to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung* which was edited by Marx in 1842 and early 1843. In view of the specific conditions and the absence of an independent proletarian party, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as the Left, in fact proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This predetermined the stand adopted by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which had as its subtitle *Organ der Demokratie* (Organ of Democracy). The editorial board included Karl Marx
Notes

(editor-in-chief), Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernst Dronke and Heinrich Bürgers. In October 1848 Ferdinand Freiligrath also became an editor.

The consistent revolutionary line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its militant internationalism, its articles containing political accusations against the Government aroused the displeasure of its bourgeois shareholders in the first months of its existence and led to attacks in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. The editors were persecuted by the police and judicial authorities. On 26 September 1848, when a state of siege was declared in Cologne, the publication of the newspaper was suspended and was resumed only on 12 October. Despite all this, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* courageously defended the interests of revolutionary democracy and the proletariat. In May 1849, against the background of the general counter-revolutionary offensive, the Prussian Government issued an expulsion order against Marx on the grounds that he had not obtained Prussian citizenship. This arbitrary act and repressions against other editors led to the paper ceasing publication. The last issue, No. 301, printed in red ink, appeared on 19 May 1849. In their farewell address to the workers the editors wrote that 'their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class*'. (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 467).—171

219 On 6 May 1848 Marx and Weerth arrived in Elberfeld to discuss with Engels problems connected with the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the activity of the Communist League.—172


221 Engels' letter to Wilhelm Blank has not been found.—172

222 Moses Hess, Friedrich Anneke and other sectarians in the Communist League attempted to start a new paper in Cologne to succeed the *Rheinische Zeitung* of the early 1840s. The newspaper's programme, published by Hess and Anneke on 7 April, was very vague and narrowed the tasks of the planned publication, which they conceived as a local, provincial newsheet. Hess and his followers were prevented from realising their plan by the return of Marx and Engels to Cologne.—173

223 There is no other information about the Italian and Spanish translations mentioned here of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. The first Spanish and Italian translations of the *Manifesto* appeared in 1872 and 1889 respectively.—173

224 Engels did not finish this translation. In the autumn of 1850 he helped Helen Macfarlane translate the *Manifesto* into English and it appeared in *The Red Republican*, Nos. 21-24, in November 1850.—173

225 The *Elberfeld political club*, which was formed soon after the March revolution in Prussia, advocated a constitutional monarchy and gradual reforms.—173

226 Presumably Engels means Marx's letter to Ewerbeck concerning the Paris communities of the Communist League; this letter has not been found.—174

227 The shareholders of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were to meet in Cologne in May 1848, before the newspaper started publication. The shareholders from
other towns who could not attend the meeting in person sent in proxies for the newspaper's editors or other persons in Cologne.—174

228 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—175, 210

229 Here and below Engels gives the addresses of the editorial office and the dispatch department of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung which at the beginning was printed by Clouth (12 St Agatha) and from 30 August 1848 by Dietz (17 Unter Hutmacher).—175

230 In the spring of 1848 the Polish national liberation uprising broke out in the Grand Duchy of Posen subject to Prussia. The Prussian General Pfuel ordered that all the insurgents who had been taken prisoner should be shaved and their hands and ears branded with silver nitrate.

In May 1848 a clash took place between the soldiers and the civic militia in Mainz, which the fortress commander Hüber used as a pretext to send troops to disarm the latter. The conflict was discussed in the Frankfort National Assembly which, however, did not take any serious measures to stop the arbitrary actions of the Prussian military authorities.—176

231 The all-German National Assembly, which opened on 18 May 1848 in Frankfurt am Main, was convened for the purpose of unifying the country and drawing up its constitution. The liberal majority of the Assembly turned it into a debating club engaged in fruitless discussions such as on the disarmament of the civic militia in Mainz.—176

232 The editorial office of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was removed at the end of August to 17 Unter Hutmacher (see Note 229).

There is no information about the article by Köppen who might have sent it in after meeting Marx in Berlin in August 1848 when Marx went there on business connected with the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

By the 'sleepless night of exile' Engels presumably meant the time Marx and he spent abroad before the 1848 revolution.—177

233 On 26 September 1848 the Prussian authorities, fearing the growing revolutionary-democratic movement, declared a state of siege in Cologne (it was lifted on 2 October). By order of the military command political organisations and associations were banned, the civic militia disbanded, democratic newspapers, including the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, suspended, and an order issued for the arrest of Engels and a few other editors. Engels and Dronke had to leave Cologne. For a time Engels lived in hiding in Barmen. On 5 October Engels and Dronke arrived in Paris after a short stay in Belgium whence they were expelled by the police. Dronke remained in the French capital and wrote to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung from there, while Engels started on foot for Switzerland via the south-west of France. About 24 October he arrived in Geneva and at the beginning of November moved to Lausanne (these facts served as a basis for establishing the date of this letter and those by Marx which followed and were not dated); Engels arrived in Neuchâtel on 7 November and in Bern on 9 November. He stayed there until mid-January 1849 when it was possible for him to return to Germany.

Engels' letter written to Marx from Geneva has not been found.—177, 185, 192, 541, 542, 543
In 1848 Engels lived at Plasmann's, owner of a stationery firm and a shareholder of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. His address was: Köln, In der Höhle, 14.—178

The discontent of the bourgeois shareholders over the political line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* grew particularly strong after it defended the June proletarian insurgents in Paris. These shareholders refused to finance and support the newspaper any longer. So in August and September 1848 Marx made a trip to Berlin and Vienna to raise funds for the further publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Wladislaw Kósicielski gave him about 2,000 talers on behalf of the Polish democrats.

The interruption in publication caused by the state of siege in Cologne aggravated the newspaper's financial position. Marx was practically compelled to take upon himself most of the expenses and he spent his share of the inheritance from his father—about 7,000 talers—to purchase an expensive quick printing press.—179

Early in July 1848 legal proceedings were instituted against Marx because of his article ‘Arrests’ published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 176-79), exposing the arbitrary actions of the Prussian authorities. At the beginning of October 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor started an investigation against Marx and other newspaper editors for publishing anonymously Georg Weerth's series of feuilletons *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphantski*. At the end of October 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor began another investigation against Marx as the newspaper's editor-in-chief for publishing the proclamation of the republican Friedrich Hecker. The ‘insult’ to the Public Prosecutor and ‘libel’ against the police officers contained in the article ‘Arrests’ were the main accusations levelled at Marx and Engels at the trial held on 7 February 1849. The jury acquitted them.—179, 542

On 1 November 1848 the King of Prussia transferred power to the openly counter-revolutionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government. It decided on a coup d'état which was successful and led to the dissolution of the National Assembly on 5 December. The very first steps of this government aroused a protest campaign in democratic circles, especially in the Rhine Province, which sought to unite the opposition forces. In Düsseldorf, in particular, for 14 November a joint meeting was announced for this purpose of the local People's Club, the Union for the establishment of a democratic monarchy, the General Civil Union, and the civic militia (it was probably this meeting that Marx called the democratic-monarchist club). At this meeting Lassalle put forward Marx's plan of actions.—180

The Central Committee of German Democrats was set up in June 1848 at the first democratic congress in Frankfurt am Main convened with the aim of uniting the local democratic associations. The second all-German democratic congress in Berlin (26-30 October 1848) elected a new Central Committee.—180

This refers to the *Rhenish District Committee of Democrats* set up at the first district congress of democrats of the Rhine Province and Westphalia (13-14 August 1848). The committee directed the activity of the democratic organisations in the Rhineland, Marx playing a prominent role in it.—180
On 14 November 1848 Marx was summoned to the examining magistrate for ‘insulting’ the Cologne Public Prosecutor Hecker in the article ‘Public Prosecutor “Hecker” and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung’ published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 129, 29 October 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 485-89).—180

The Code pénal was adopted in France in 1810 and introduced into the regions of West and South-West Germany conquered by the French. It remained in force in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.—181

In order to give its readers prompt information on events, the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung often put out supplements to the main issue or a second edition. If the news was very important they printed special supplements and special editions in the form of posters.—181

Marx probably made the acquaintance of Eduard von Müller-Tellering during his stay in Vienna in August and September 1848. In October and November the Neue Rheinische Zeitung published a number of articles marked Q which were sent by E. von Müller-Tellering from Vienna. They described the situation in the city after the suppression of the popular rising in October.—182

The arrest of Andreas Gottschalk and Friedrich Anneke, the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association, on 3 July 1848 was the subject of Marx's article 'Arrests' which served as a pretext for accusing Marx and other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung of insulting the Public Prosecutor and libelling police officers (see Note 236). On 23 December 1848, Gottschalk and Anneke were acquitted by a Cologne jury.—183

The reference is to the state of siege declared in Cologne on 26 September 1848 and the persecution of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung's editors, Engels among them (see Note 233). On 3 October, though the state of siege had been lifted, the Public Prosecutor issued a warrant for Engels' arrest. Engels was able to return to Cologne only in mid-January 1849.—183

This is a draft reply to the letter sent from Berlin on 26 December 1848 by Wilhelm Stieber to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. In it Stieber tried to disprove information on his spying activities in Silesia during and after the Silesian weavers' uprising in 1844 (he went there disguised as an artist, under the name Schmidt), and on his secret mission to Frankfurt am Main in September 1848 in connection with a popular uprising there. This information was given in a report from Frankfurt am Main published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 177, 24 December. Marx agreed to make a correction as regards Stieber's visit to Frankfurt (the supplement to No. 182 stated that he went there on private business) but did not disavow the information on his spying in Silesia. Later, in his Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (end of 1852), exposing Stieber as an organiser of police persecution of the Communist League members and disclosing his attempts to blacken the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Marx quoted in full Stieber's letter to the newspaper editors of 26 December 1848. Marx stressed that the reply to Stieber was sent by another editor (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 435-36). It may be assumed that the final version of the letter was signed by Wilhelm Wolff, who was well aware of Stieber's activities in Silesia.—183
247 On the Code pénal see Note 241. The reference is to 'Livre troisième. Titre II. Chapitre I. Section VII. 2. Calomnies....'—184

248 Engels received news, probably on 11 or 12 January, that he could return to Germany without running the risk of being arrested. He immediately undertook all the formalities necessary to obtain an exit permit from Switzerland, and obtained it on 18 January 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 515). Shortly after this Engels returned to Cologne and resumed work as editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—185

249 By 'grace and favour (oktroyierte) Prussia' Engels means Prussia after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état which resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly on 5 December 1848 and the proclamation of the so-called imposed constitution. The Constitution introduced a two-chamber parliament: the First Chamber consisting of privileged aristocrats and the Second Chamber elected in two stages. Under the law of 6 December a considerable proportion of the workers had no right to vote. The King was invested with wide powers, including the right to convene and dissolve both Chambers, to repeal their decisions, to appoint Cabinets and to revise the Constitution itself.—186

250 The March Association, thus named after the March 1848 revolution, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by the Left-wing deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly and had branches in various towns of Germany. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels sharply criticised them.—186

251 Marx's letter to Eduard von Müller-Tellering has not been found.

At the beginning of January von Müller-Tellering was arrested and banished from Vienna (on his reports from that city published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung see Note 243). Later Tellering sent reports from Silesia and Saxony on the situation in Vienna based on the letters of his Vienna acquaintances, and also reports from Leipzig and Dresden (these were marked Δ).—189

252 Threatened with arrest after the state of siege was declared in Cologne on 26 September 1848 (see Note 233), Dronke emigrated to Paris but persisted in the desire to return to Germany. He was kept in Paris only by categorical directions from Marx, who had grounds to fear he would be arrested. It was not till March 1849 that Dronke returned to Cologne and began to work on the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Neither Marx's previous letter to Dronke nor his other letters mentioned below have been found.—190

253 An anonymous item published in the supplement to No. 233 of the Neue Rheinishe Zeitung for 28 February 1849 accused von Uttenhoven, a Captain in the 8th Company of the 16th Infantry Regiment, known for his reactionary views, of misuse of and speculation in army fuel.—193

254 This refers to two lawsuits held in Cologne on 7 and 8 February 1849. The first was instituted by the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office against the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, its editors Marx and Engels and the responsible editor Hermann Korff for publishing the article 'Arrests' (see notes 236 and 244).
The pretext for the second was the charge against Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II of incitement to mutiny in connection with the call of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (see Note 239) of 18 November 1848 for refusal to pay taxes. In both cases the juries acquitted the defendants.—194

From mid-April to 9 May 1849 Marx made a trip to North-Western Germany. He visited Bremen, Hamburg and the neighbouring towns, including Harburg. On his way back to Cologne Marx stopped at Bielefeld and Hamm. The purpose of the trip was to strengthen contacts between the Communist League members and workers' associations in preparation for the creation of a mass proletarian party, to discuss problems of revolutionary tactics with members of the working-class and democratic movements, and to raise funds for the continued publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. In Marx's absence Engels directed the newspaper.

Engels' letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—195

Karl Bruhn participated in the Baden republican uprising in April 1849 and played an active role in the popular uprising in Frankfurt am Main (September 1848) in protest against the ratification by the Frankfurt National Assembly of the capitulatory truce of Malmö. Concluded between Prussia and Denmark, this truce preserved Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein. Since the end of 1848 Bruhn had been working in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein on the instruction of the Communist League and sending reports to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung from there.—196

An allusion to the cruel suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848 by the Austrian counter-revolution. Marx made Andreas Stiftt's acquaintance in August 1848 during his visit to Vienna (see Note 235), where he made a speech at a meeting of the Democratic Society and delivered a report and a lecture at the Vienna Workers' Society. Stiftt was member of both these organisations and a contributor to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—197

After the Neue Rheinische Zeitung had ceased publication on 19 May 1849, Marx and Engels left for Frankfurt am Main where they tried to persuade the Left-wing deputies to the all-German National Assembly to take decisive action in support of the uprising in South-Western Germany at the time in defence of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Assembly but rejected by the German sovereigns. Having failed to achieve their aim they left for Karlsruhe and then Kaiserslautern—capitals of insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. Convinced that the petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the Provisional Governments in Baden and the Palatinate lacked revolutionary energy and were helpless, Marx and Engels left at the end of May for Bingen, where they parted. Early in June Marx went to Paris, and Engels returned to Kaiserslautern to join the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—198

Marx arrived in Paris about 2 June 1849 with the mandate from the Central Committee of German Democrats (see Note 238) issued to him in Kaiserslautern by d'Ester, a member of the Committee and of the Palatinate Provisional Government. Marx decided to go to France when he realised that the petty-bourgeois democrats of Baden and the Palatinate were unable to make the struggle all-German in scale, to launch a resolute offensive and bring the Frankfurt Assembly openly to join the uprising. New great events were expected in France, where the conflict between the democratic party—the so-called Montagne (Mountain)—and the ruling circles was coming to a head.
In Paris Marx hoped to strengthen international contacts between the German and French democrats, for this would have been of major importance in the event of a new revolutionary upsurge in both countries.—198

260 Montagnards—during the French revolution of 1848-49 representatives in the Constituent and subsequently Legislative Assembly of a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists grouped around the newspaper La Réforme. They called themselves the Montagne by analogy with the Montagne in the Convention of 1792-94.

On 13 June 1849 the Montagne staged a peaceful demonstration to protest against the sending of French troops to suppress the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by the army and the bourgeois detachments of the National Guards and there followed a counter-revolutionary offensive, persecution of democrats and proletarian activists, including emigrants. Many Montagnards were arrested or emigrated.—199, 211, 283, 309, 360, 409, 547

261 Engels’ ‘article in French’ on the national liberation struggle in Hungary was probably never written.—200

262 The last issue, No. 301, of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung for 19 May 1849, printed in red, was published in a greater number of copies than usual. Later it was reprinted several times and used by the Communist League members, who remained in Germany, for propaganda purposes.—201, 237

263 Jenny Marx spent June 1849 in her native town of Trier. On July 7 she joined her husband in Paris accompanied by her three children and Hélène Demuth (the Marxes’ housekeeper).—201, 207, 546, 555

264 At the beginning of June 1849, when in Kaiserslautern, Engels entered into close contact with d’Ester, the most energetic member of the Palatinate Provisional Government, but refused, however, to accept any civil or military post.

On 13 June Engels left for Offenburg, where he joined Willich’s volunteer corps of 800 men, mostly workers, which was part of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army. Engels fought the whole campaign as Willich’s adjutant. Willich’s corps covered the retreat of this army under pressure from numerically superior counter-revolutionary forces and was among the last units to cross the Swiss border on 12 July 1849. On 24 July Engels arrived at Vevey (Canton Vaud) where he stayed for a month. He described the operations of the insurgent army in The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239).

Engels’ letter to Marx from Kaiserslautern has not survived.

An extract from Engels’ letter to Jenny Marx was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934, and International Publishers, New York, 1935.—202, 370

265 On 17 June 1849 Engels fought in the battle of Rinnthal. He commanded a flank group of Willich’s corps which covered the retreat of the Palatinate army and fought the advance guard of an enemy division for many hours.

On 21 June Willich’s men, with the active participation of Engels, checked the advance of a Prussian battalion at Neuchart near Karlsdorf and forced it to retreat.

On 28 June 1849 Engels took part in an engagement at Michelbach in which the advance guard of the division to which Willich’s corps belonged after the reorganisation of the insurgent army defeated a Prussian force.

21*
On 29 and 30 June at Rastatt the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army fought and lost its last battle against the Prussian army. At certain critical moments of the battle Engels assumed command of the vanguard.—203, 215

The subject is Lassalle's intention to raise funds to help Marx.

The letters to Lassalle mentioned by Marx have not been found.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in:

These were the two factions in the so-called Party of Order—a conservative bloc of the monarchist groups formed in 1848 which had the majority in the Legislative Assembly of the French Republic (opened at the end of May 1849).

The Philippists or Orleanists were supporters of the House of Orleans (a lateral branch of the Bourbon dynasty) overthrown by the February revolution of 1848; they represented the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie; their candidate for the throne was Louis Philippe Albert, Count of Paris and grandson of Louis Philippe.

The Legitimists, supporters of the main branch of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners and the claim to the French throne of the Count of Chambord, King Charles X's grandson, who called himself Henry V. Some of the Legitimists remained outside the bloc of monarchist groups.—205, 360, 484

According to a decision of the Constituent Assembly the wine tax was to be abolished before 1 January 1850. But, as Marx predicted, it was retained by a decision of the Legislative Assembly on 20 December 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 117-19).—205, 211

The Peace Society—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in 1816 in London. It was actively supported by the Free Traders who assumed that in peace time free trade would enable Britain to make better use of its industrial superiority and win economic and political supremacy.—205, 211, 219

The Corn Laws (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing worker's wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.

The Navigation Acts were passed by the British Parliament in 1651 and subsequent years to protect British shipping companies against foreign rivals. They were repealed in 1849.—205, 211, 261, 376, 537

Marx mentions the Holy Alliance in connection with the attempts of feudal-monarchical circles in Prussia, Austria and tsarist Russia to form a coalition similar to the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance founded in 1815 by the European monarchs, and which ceased to exist after the 1830 revolution in France.—205, 288, 329, 357

On 19 July 1849 in an atmosphere of repression against democrats and socialists following the events of 13 June in Paris (see Note 260), the French
authorities notified Marx that an order had been issued for his expulsion from Paris to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy département in Brittany. Marx protested and the expulsion was delayed, but on 23 August he again was ordered by the police to leave Paris within 24 hours.

Marx compares the département of Morbihan with the Pontine marshes in Italy, mentioned by Strabo in his *Geography*, Book 5, Ch. 3, § 5, and other ancient authors, which are a breeding-ground of malaria and other diseases.—207, 212

Marx's suggestion was approved and subsequently put into practice by Engels. However, Engels started writing his work, which was later published under the heading, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10), not earlier than mid-August 1849 after he had moved to Lausanne (see this volume, p. 215) and did not finish it until February 1850, after his arrival in London from Switzerland.—207

The negotiations mentioned here ended in December 1849 in the foundation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. The periodical was planned as a continuation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published by Marx and Engels during the 1848-49 revolution. Altogether six issues appeared from March to November 1850, one of them a double one (5-6). The journal was edited in London and published in Hamburg. Most of the articles and literary and international reviews were written by Marx and Engels, who got their followers Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Weydemeyer and Johann Georg Eccarius to contribute to the *Revue*. The works published in the journal assessed the results of the 1848-49 revolution and developed further the theory and tactics of the revolutionary proletarian party. The publication of the *Revue* was discontinued due to police persecution in Germany and lack of funds.—207

The date of writing of this letter was established on the basis of Marx's mentioning in it the receipt of Engels' letter to Jenny Marx of 25 July 1849. In English this letter was first published abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—208

The reference is to a contract signed between Leske and Marx on 1 February 1845 for the publication of Marx's work *Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie* (see Note 59).—208

An allusion to the setback of the Montagne on 13 June 1849 (see Note 260). In the battle of *Waterloo* (18 June 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces commanded by Wellington and Blücher.—209, 332

There is no information about this article except a mention in Marx's next letter to Weydemeyer.—209

This seems to refer to Rühlf's offer to participate in publishing a series of pamphlets (see this volume, p. 208) planned by Marx. The offer was conveyed through Weydemeyer on the basis of whose letter to Marx of 28 August 1849 the approximate date of this letter was established.—209

It is not known whether Marx wrote to Naut or not.—210

This letter written in the first half of August 1849 has not been found.—210
Marx's protest to the French Ministry of the Interior against the decision to expel him from Paris has not been found. When he wrote this letter Marx did not know that his protest had been rejected. But he soon received a notification by the commissioner of police, dated 16 August 1849, stating that Minister of the Interior Dufaure had upheld the decision on Marx's expulsion (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 527).—211

The reference is to the home situation in France in the summer of 1849 which was characterised by intensified repressions against democrats and socialists and by discord and friction within the ruling circles themselves—between the various factions in the Assembly majority (see Note 267), between these factions and the Government, and between the Assembly and Louis Bonaparte's entourage.

The addition of 45 centimes to every franc of all direct taxes was introduced by the Provisional Government on 16 March 1848. It aroused particular discontent among the peasants, who formed the bulk of tax-payers.

In mid-August 1849 under pressure from the monarchist deputies, a two months' adjournment of the French Legislative Assembly was decreed. The Assembly met again in October 1849.—211

At the meeting on 13 August 1849 in the London Drury Lane Theatre of the National Association for Parliamentary and Financial Reform (founded by the bourgeois radicals in 1849 with the aim of achieving a democratic electoral system and changes in the tax system) O'Connor advocated a union of the middle and working classes. His speech was supported by the Free Trader Thomas Thompson.—211, 219, 272, 279, 549

On 23 August 1849 Marx and his wife were ordered by the police to leave Paris within 24 hours. Jenny Marx got permission to stay in Paris till 15 September with her children, but Marx was obliged to make leave in haste. According to the Boulogne stamp in the passport issued to him by the French police on 24 August, he was in this port on his way to London on 26 August (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 529-30). Presumably he arrived on the same day in London, where he was based for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile Engels had left Vevey for Lausanne.—212

The Elberfeld uprising of workers and petty bourgeoisie in defence of the Imperial Constitution, which flared up on 8 May 1849, served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of towns in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others). Engels arrived in Elberfeld on 11 May and took an active part in the uprising, in particular directing the erection of street barricades. However, his efforts to secure the disarmament of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie, the formation of the nucleus of a Rhenish revolutionary army out of armed workers' detachments and to unite localised uprisings, met with opposition from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of the movement. Under pressure from bourgeois circles Engels was expelled from the town on 15 May. The uprising in Elberfeld, as in other towns of the Rhine Province, was a failure.

On Engels' participation in the revolutionary struggle in Baden and the Palatinate see notes 264 and 265.—213, 551

The date of writing has been corrected after a more exact deciphering of the original.—213

288 At the end of May 1849, returning from insurgent Baden and the Palatinate (see Note 258), Marx and Engels were arrested on the way to Bingen by Hesse soldiers, who suspected them of being insurgents, and were deported to Darmstadt and thence to Frankfurt am Main. There they were released and resumed their journey to Bingen.

Early in June 1849 Engels was arrested in Kirchheimbolanden by the Palatinate Provisional Government on a charge of anti-government propaganda. The day after his arrest he was released on the insistence of d’Ester, a member of the Provisional Government.—213

289 Jenny Marx and her three children arrived in London about 17 September 1849.—216

290 Accepting Marx’s suggestion to move to London Engels had to go via Piedmont, as he risked being arrested in France and more so in Germany. On 5 October 1849 he arrived in Genoa, and on the following day left for England on a British schooner via Gibraltar and the Bay of Biscay. The voyage lasted nearly five weeks. About 12 November, Engels arrived in London as was reported in the item: ‘London, 14. Nov.’ by the Westdeutsche Zeitung, No. 154, 20 November 1849.

The English original of the present letter was first printed in the Harney Papers, Assen, 1969.—217

291 This letter has not been found.—217

292 Societies referred to are the German Workers’ Educational Society (London) (see Note 52) and the Democratic Association formed by a group of petty-bourgeois democrats headed by Kallenberg in London early in November 1849, and joined later by some former members of the Educational Society, Ludwig Bauer among them. Engels also wrote to Jakob Schabelitz on the collision between the two organisations (see this volume, p. 222).

The German Political Refugee Committee was set up on Marx’s initiative under the auspices of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London on 18 September 1849. Besides Marx and other members of the Communist League it included some petty-bourgeois democrats. At the meeting of the Educational Society on 18 November the Committee was transformed into the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, the aim being to dissociate the proletarian section of the London refugees from the petty-bourgeois elements. The new Committee included only members of the Communist League. Marx was elected its chairman. Engels, who after his arrival in London was included in the Central Authority of the Communist League restored by Marx, also became a member of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee.

Besides rendering material aid to the proletarian refugees, the Committee played an important role in reorganising the Communist League and reestablishing ties between its members. In September 1850, Marx, Engels and their adherents withdrew from the Committee because the followers of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group were in the majority in the Educational Society to which the Refugee Committee was accountable.

Early in November 1849, the petty-bourgeois democrats of the Democratic Association formed their own Refugee Committee headed by Ludwig Bauer, Friedrich Bobzin and Gustav Struve.—218, 442, 445
293 In English this letter was first published abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, 
Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.— 218, 405

294 On Marx’s plans to write and publish a work on political economy see notes 5
and 59.—219

295 Marx’s intention to enlist Joseph Weydemeyer as a regular contributor to the 
Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue was never realised. About
mid-January Weydemeyer wrote his first article ‘From South Germany’ but it
was not published in the first issue of the Revue owing to lack of space, and
later lost its topical interest.—219, 225, 228, 549

296 In a series of articles published in the Voix du Peuple from 10 November 1849
to 18 January 1850 Proudhon polemicised bitterly with Louis Blanc,
particularly against the latter’s idea of using the existing State for solving the
social problem, and censured his activity as a member of the Provisional
Government of the French Republic (see Note 213) calling him a pseudo-
socialist and pseudo-democrat.

Proudhon criticised from anarcho-reformist positions Louis Blanc’s ‘state
socialism’ and other French socialists’ ideas close to Blanc’s.—219

297 After their defeat in 1848 (dispersal of their demonstration of 10 April, etc.)
the Chartists resumed agitation in the autumn of 1849: mass meetings in
factory districts were held in support of the imprisoned Chartists and an
amnesty of political prisoners was demanded. At the beginning of December
1849 a new wave of meetings swept over London and the towns of Northern
England on the occasion of the nomination of delegates to the Chartist
Convention which was to reorganise the movement.—220

298 Karl Heinzen’s statements in his pamphlet, Lehren der Revolution, that during
the future revolution millions of reactionaries would be beaten up, were used
by some conservative European press organs for launching a campaign against
political refugees. As The Times of 23 November 1849 tried to lay the
responsibility for these ‘hellish doctrines’ on all German socialists and described
Heinzen as one of their leading figures, Marx and Engels deemed it necessary
to dissociate themselves from his utterances. With this aim in view Engels
published a note ‘The German Social Democrats and The Times’ in the Chartist
Northern Star, 1 December 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 5-4).—220

299 The first issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue
published on 8 March 1850 carried the first part of Marx’s The Class Struggles
in France, 1848 to 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 45-70), two chapters
of Engels’ The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution (see present
edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-85) and Karl Blind’s article ‘Österreichische und
preussische Parteien in Baden’.

The general introduction mentioned in this letter was not published. The
review of events written by Marx and Engels appeared only in the second issue
of the journal (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 257-70). Wilhelm Wolff’s article
was only published in the fourth issue under the heading ‘Nachträgliches “aus
dem Reich”’: it discussed the final stage in the work of the Frankfurt National
Assembly (see Note 231) after the majority of the liberal deputies had
withdrawn and it had been transferred to Stuttgart (end of May 1849).

The lectures on political economy which Marx delivered in the London
German Workers’ Educational Society (see Note 52) at the end of 1849 and in
1850 were not published in the Revue.—222
The club referred to by Engels is the emigrant *Democratic Association* (see Note 292).

In 1848-49 the republican democrats in Germany called the moderate bourgeois constitutionalists 'wailers' (Heuler). In this particular instance the reference is to petty-bourgeois democrats who left the London German Workers' Educational Society and took part in setting up the Democratic Association.—222, 384

In a letter of 30 December 1849 addressed to Marx and Engels and other refugees, Louis Bamberger (editor of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*), Eduard von Müller-Tellering and Rudolf Schramm invited them to attend a German refugees' meeting which was to be held on 3 January 1850 with the alleged aim of uniting the German refugees. Actually the organisers wanted to bring the proletarian elements under petty-bourgeois influence.—223

Marx's letter to Jung has not been found.

Besides raising funds for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Politisch-ökonomische Revue and the projected resumption of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Conrad Schramm's trip to the USA was aimed at raising funds for other activities of the Communist League, which was being reorganised by Marx and Engels. The trip did not take place for lack of funds.

For his participation in the revolutionary movement Conrad Schramm (presumably a Communist League member since the beginning of 1849) was sentenced in Cologne on 15 June 1849 to two years' imprisonment in the fortress of Jülich. On 8 September 1849 he escaped from prison and emigrated to London, where he was elected to the Central Authority of the Communist League.—225

In his note of 5 February 1850 Eduard von Müller-Tellering asked for a ticket to the ball organised by the London German Workers' Educational Society. Engels' refusal was used by Tellering as a pretext for intrigues against Marx and Engels. See also this volume, pp. 229-30, 234.—227

The printing of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Politisch-ökonomische Revue by Köhler's printshop in Hamburg turned to be of poor quality. Because of this and of the disagreements between Köhler and the publisher Schuberth, from the second issue the Revue was printed at H. G. Voigt's in Wandsbeck near Hamburg.—229

While the Revue was being printed, disagreements arose between the proof-reader Theodor Hagen and the publisher Schuberth, who wanted to accommodate the Revue to the censorship standards existing in Germany at the time. Hagen proposed to assume responsibility to the censors for the content, and Marx and Engels insisted that Hagen's name should appear as 'responsible editor' on the title page. However Schuberth succeeded in having Hagen's proposal rejected.—229

On 3 March 1850 the court of honour, presided by Willich, expelled Tellering from the London German Workers' Educational Society. Tellering wrote a new letter of protest, slandering Engels. This letter of Marx was in reply to Müller-Tellering's intrigues and slander (see also Note 303).—229

Marx presumably has in mind Müller-Tellering's unprincipled behaviour in connection with a translation of the memoirs of György Klapka, a participant in the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution. When Klapka had declined Tellering's offer
to translate the memoirs, early in January 1850 Telling tried in vain to have material compromising the Hungarian general published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* of which Marx was an editor. At the same time Telling proposed his services to Klapka in the struggle against Karl Heinzen, but having been exposed in this intrigue, he helped Heinzen to spread insinuations against Marx and Engels.—230

The Refugee Committee in Frankfurt am Main was founded by the Frankfurt Workers' Association at the end of 1849. At its meeting on 28 September 1849, presided by Joseph Weydemeyer, the Association decided to make weekly allocations to refugees.—231, 236

In April 1850 the petty-bourgeois democrats Gustav Struve, Rudolf Schramm and others tried to gain influence among the German political refugees in London to counterbalance the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee. They spread false rumours, which got into the German press, alleging a biased approach on the part of the Committee in distributing material aid among the refugees. The London Refugee Committee's statement mentioned at the beginning of this letter refuted the rumours.—232

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—233, 489, 539

Engels' letter to Dronke has not been found.—233

The letter of Marx and Engels to Naut has not been found.—234

The society referred to is that of the French Blanquist refugees in London (Société des proscrits démocrates socialistes) with whom Marx and Engels, and also representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Chartists, concluded an agreement in mid-April 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 614-15) to set up a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists (Société universelle des communistes révolutionnaires). However, the Blanquists soon violated the agreement by contacting the emigrant 'Society in Greek Street'—the petty-bourgeois Democratic Association (on this see Note 292). Subsequently, the leaders of the Blanquist refugees took an openly hostile stand towards Marx and Engels and their supporters by making a bloc with a sectarian faction within the Communist League. In these circumstances Marx and Engels considered it appropriate to cancel their agreement with the Blanquists early in October 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 484).—235

This is an allusion to the campaign against German political refugees launched by the Prussian conservative newspapers and taken up by the English press. This campaign grew in intensity especially after an attempt on the life of King Frederick William IV of Prussia in Berlin on 22 May 1850 by the retired non-commissioned officer Max Sefeloge (he died in a lunatic asylum). The reactionary press, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* in particular, spread the lie that the attempt had been prepared by Marx and other leaders in London of an extensive conspiracy. The Prussian authorities urged the British Government to deport the political refugees. Marx and Engels unmasked the organisers of this slander campaign in their letter to the Prussian Ambassador in London Bunsen and in other statements in the press (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 370, 378 and 386).—237
Two excerpts of this letter are extant: one is quoted by Roland Daniels in his letter to Marx of 28 June 1850, the other in the letter of 10 July 1850 from the Cologne leading district of the Communist League to the London Central Authority of the League.

The letter reflects the disagreement which arose in the summer of 1850 between the London Central Authority and the leaders of the Cologne organisations of the Communist League (Heinrich Bürgers, Roland Daniels, Peter Röser and others). The Cologne people's claim to become the Communist League's leading centre for the whole of Germany was contrary to the League's Rules, which were inspired by democratic centralism and provided for equality of the district organisations in individual provinces and countries and their equal responsibility to the Central Authority.—237

This letter was first published in English with abridgments in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, New York, 1953.

However, a slip of the pen on the part of the author, substituting July for June, was not taken into account and in the present edition it has been corrected on the basis of Weydemeyer's reply to Marx of 3 July 1850.—238

Marx's intention to reply to Lüning's criticism remained unfulfilled. However, in a statement to the editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung (published on 4 July 1850) Marx and Engels protested against Lüning's attempts to distort their views on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung as the mouthpiece of the working class.—238

The foreign policy of the Russell cabinet was debated in the House of Commons on 24-27 June 1850. Despite strong Tory opposition the Whig Government was given a vote of confidence by majority of 46.—238

This refers to the proposed convocation of a congress of the Communist League (see also present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 375-76) which did not take place, however, owing to the split in the League in September 1850 caused by the disruptive activity of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.—239

Marx may have had in mind the situation in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein in the summer of 1850, when Communist League members conducted intense propaganda among the military units there. During the 1848 revolution the population of the duchy staged a national liberation uprising against Danish rule, demanding union with Germany. Prussian circles launched a phoney war against Denmark, but a truce was signed on 26 August 1848. The Prusso-Danish war was resumed at the end of March 1849 and it ended with a new betrayal by Prussia signing a peace treaty with the Danish monarchy on 2 July 1850. As a result the insurgents were compelled to continue the war on their own and on 24-25 July 1850 the Schleswig-Holstein army was defeated by Danish troops, and ceased resistance.—239

In the summer of 1849, after the closing down of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Jenny Marx on her way to Trier with her children stopped for a few days in Frankfurt am Main where, badly needing money to continue her journey, she pawned, with the help of Joseph and Louise Weydemeyer, the silver plate she had inherited from her family's Scottish relations.—240

Weydemeyer did not carry out his plan to write a popular outline of political economy until after his arrival in the USA in October 1851. This work was published in New York in April-August 1853 in the German newspaper Die Reform under the title 'National-ökonomische Skizzen'.—241
In mid-November 1850 Engels left London for Manchester, where he worked in the Ermen and Engels firm first as a clerk and later as a partner until June 1869. He took up this work, in spite of his dislike for it, mainly to provide material assistance for Marx and his family, so that Marx could continue to work on the theory of political economy. Henceforth Marx and Engels maintained regular and frequent correspondence.

This letter was first published 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 Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—241

Marx's son Heinrich Guido was nicknamed Fawksy by the family because he was born on 5 November 1849, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The conspirators, Guy Fawkes among them, wanted to blow up the Houses of Parliament and James I on 5 November. In Britain this anniversary is celebrated with fireworks.—241, 550

Engels' letter to Jenny Marx mentioned here has not been found.—242

*Stamp duty* on newspapers introduced in 1712 was a source of state revenue and the means of fighting the opposition press. In 1836 Parliament was compelled to reduce it and in 1855 to abolish it altogether.

Harney was accused of not paying stamp duty on *The Red Republican*.—243

The reference is to the legal proceedings against the weekly *Household Words* founded by Charles Dickens in March 1849. They ended on 1 December 1851 in favour of the weekly.—243

In mid-September 1850 the Communist League split due to the adventurist activities of the Willich-Schapper separatist group, which, contrary to the majority of the League's Central Authority, stood for the tactics of immediately launching a revolution without due consideration of the real conditions in Europe. On 17 September Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the London German Workers' Educational Society which fell under the influence of the group. The spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper group brought a suit on behalf of the Society against Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, supporters of the majority of the League's Central Authority, who held some of the Society's money as trustees to cover the needs of the League and help political refugees. Bauer and Pfänder were willing to return the money in instalments, provided it was not spent by the separatists to the detriment of the Communist League. However, the separatists insisted on the immediate return of the entire sum. On 20 November 1850 the court rejected the Society's suit, but the followers of Willich and Schapper did not halt their insinuations and started a press campaign against Bauer and Pfänder, accusing them of embezzlement. Marx and Engels helped to refute this slander (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 533).—243, 245, 477

Engels' letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—243

*Pulteney Stores*—apparently the premises where the members of the London district of the Communist League held their meetings. At the meeting of the Central Authority held on 15 September 1850 Marx, in an effort to avert a split and with the support of the majority, suggested to transfer the seat of the Central Authority to Cologne, to authorise the Cologne district committee to form a new Central Authority, and to set up in London two independent district committees, one of the followers of Marx and Engels, and the other of those of Willich and Schapper. The separatists refused to submit to this
decision and formed their own Central Committee in London. Marx's followers in London grouped around the London district committee, while a new Central Authority was formed in Cologne in October 1850, and expelled the members of the separatist organisation from the Communist League.—245

331 The London German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 52) had its premises in Great Windmill Street.—245, 280, 283, 285, 287, 289, 298, 334, 356, 359, 362, 385, 442, 477, 498

332 The meeting between the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the head of the Prussian Government, the Count of Brandenburg, took place in Warsaw on 28 October 1850. At it Nicholas I resolutely took the side of Austria in the Austro-Prussian conflict and brought pressure to bear upon the Prussian Prime Minister, demanding that Prussia should abandon all plans to unite Germany under her hegemony.—246

333 The leaders of the refugee organisations listed signed this document. Among them were in particular the organisation of the French Blanquist refugees—Société des proscrips démocrates socialistes (see Note 313), the London German Workers' Educational Society and the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee (see Note 292). The last two fell after the split in the Communist League under the influence of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.

Subsequently, in their satirical pamphlet The Great Men of the Exile, Marx and Engels noted that this group was formed from the lower strata of the emigrants and took part in the squabbles among the political refugees. They also made fun of its Fanon-Caperon manifesto, as the conservative press called it (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 294).—247

334 Haude went to Germany as an emissary of the Willich-Schapper group after the split in the Communist League.—250

335 Marx apparently has in mind Engels' work for a quarterly planned by him as a continuation of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue whose publication was discontinued after the double No. 5-6 issue (see pp. 257, 266 of this volume). The plans of publishing a quarterly were never realised.—250

336 This, presumably, refers to a refugee meeting held in London on 20 November 1850.—251

337 The German translation of The Poverty of Philosophy was not published during Marx's lifetime. It appeared only in 1885.—252

338 Engels compares the grouping of refugee organisations whose representatives signed the address 'To the Democrats of All Nations!' with the Central Committee of European Democracy set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini. The Committee included, besides Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin from the French democrats, Arnold Ruge from the German, and Albert Darasz from the Polish democrats. The Central Committee members held sharply differing ideological views, and the strained relations between the Italian and French democrats led to its dissolution in March 1852.—255, 309, 440

339 By educational movement Engels means the attempts of the Christian socialists and bourgeois radicals in Britain in the late 1840s and early 1850s to divert the working class from independent political struggle by means of various educational and associated institutions (schools, libraries, etc.).
Moral force—the name given in the political vocabulary of the time to peaceful, non-revolutionary methods of carrying out social and political reforms. From the 1830s to the 1850s the moral force supporters included Right-wing Chartists oriented towards collaboration with the bourgeois radicals.

Engels made the acquaintance of John Watts during his stay in England in 1842-44 and assessed his part in disseminating Robert Owen's socialist ideas in his 'Letters from London' (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 385-89).—255, 405

Dissenters were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who rejected the dogmas and rites of the official Anglican Church.—255

Engels' letter to Dronke mentioned here has not been found.—256

This refers to the Communist League Rules drawn up by the Cologne Central Authority in the autumn of 1850 after the split in the League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 634-36). The Rules were received in London on 18 December 1850 and were approved on 5 January 1851 by a London district committee meeting, at which Marx was present.—257, 552

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, London, 1934. The letter was published in fuller form but without the last paragraph in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—258

At the end of 1850 the German democratic refugees Gross, Hine and Wilhelmi in Cincinnati wrote to Marx and Engels asking them to contribute free of charge to so-called ‘progressive pamphlets’ and to the planned periodicals Social-Demokrat and Republik der Bauern. However, Marx and Engels ignored their offer because of their differences of views with the petty-bourgeois democrats and the commercial interests behind the offer.—262, 271

At the end of 1850 Engels stayed with Marx's family in London for a whole week and on 30 December he made a speech at a New Year party organised by the Fraternal Democrats. Marx and his wife were also present (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 637).—263, 561

On 5 January 1851 a public meeting was organised at the People’s Institute by the Manchester Chartist Council in which reformist elements (James Leach, Daniel Donovan), supporters of O'Connor, who had favoured collaboration with the bourgeois radicals since 1848, were in the majority. The initiators of the meeting wanted to counteract the influence of Ernest Jones and George Harney, representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Chartists, who played the leading role in the London Executive of the National Charter Association and were working to reorganise the Chartist Party on the basis of open recognition of the movement’s socialist aims. On learning of the proposed meeting Ernest Jones went to Manchester. On Harney’s request Engels attended the meeting and supported Jones.

A bitterly contested issue at the meeting on 5 January 1851 was that of the relations between the Manchester Council and the London Executive to which Harney and Jones had been reelected in December 1850. Despite opposition from the reformist leaders, half of those present supported the new Executive.—263

Marx has in mind negotiations concerning publication of his works started with Hermann Becker in December 1850. The first issue of Gesammelte Aufsätze von
Karl Marx was published in Cologne in April 1851. It contained the article 'Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction' and part of the first article 'Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly' (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 109-11 and 132-81), written by Marx in 1842. The edition was discontinued owing to Becker's arrest.—266, 342, 355, 432

348 Marx intended to bring an action against the Hamburg publisher Julius Schuberth to make him continue publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—266

349 This refers to the manifesto of the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338) 'Aux peoples! Organisation de la démocratie' published in *Le Proscrit*, No. 2, 6 August 1850 and signed by Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Darasz and Ruge. Ruge, who posed as an atheist, signed the manifesto, despite the religious slogans it contained. For criticism of the manifesto see: K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review (May to October [1850])' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 528-32).—267

350 *Friends of Light*—a religious trend which arose in 1841. It was directed against pietism which, supported by Junker circles and predominant in the official Protestant Church, was distinguished by extreme mysticism and bigotry. The 'Friends of Light' movement was an expression of bourgeois discontent with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s, which led in 1846-47 to the formation of so-called *free communities*, which broke away from the official Protestant Church.—267, 374, 384, 447

351 Jenny Marx who was extremely grieved by the death of her son Heinrich Guido (Fawksy) was soon to have a baby. On 28 March 1851 she gave birth to a daughter, Franziska, the Marxes' fifth child.—268

352 At this time Engels was working on a series of articles on the European petty-bourgeois democratic leaders which he intended for *The Friend of the People*, a weekly edited by G. J. Harney. His intention did not materialise, however, owing to disagreements with Harney because of the latter's sympathising with opponents of Marx and Engels—petty-bourgeois emigrants and sectarian elements. Later Marx and Engels used this material in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—268, 278, 287

353 Marx's and Engels' statement on Ruge's article in the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* was not published either in the *Weser-Zeitung* or in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* (see this volume, p. 397).—269

354 Marx's letter to Georg Weerth, sent through Engels, has not been found.—269

355 An allusion to what Siegfried Weiss, a petty-bourgeois democrat, wrote to Marx on 2 April 1850, offering to contribute to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*: 'My pen is sharp and spicy.' Below Engels, presumably, plays on words from this letter.—272

356 This refers to the Chartist Conference held in Manchester on 26-30 January 1851 by O'Connor's supporters, despite opposition from the Executive of the National Charter Association. At Harney's request Engels attended the conference in order to inform the revolutionary wing of the Chartists of its proceedings and results. The majority of the participants took a conciliatory reformist stand on the attitude to be adopted towards other parties and the organisation of cooperative societies, etc. However, at the Chartist Convention
which took place in London from 31 March to 10 April the supporters of the revolutionary line of Harney and Jones were in the majority. The Convention adopted the programme of the National Charter Association, which openly proclaimed socialist aims.—272

357 The original of the letter is not extant. The excerpt published here was quoted in the indictment of Hermann Becker and others at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—273, 282, 308, 331

358 Marx’s reference to Joseph, the carpenter, husband of Mary, the mother of Christ, is an ironical allusion to August Willich who resigned his commission in the Prussian army just before the 1848 revolution and worked as a carpenter in Cologne.—273, 282, 284

359 By currency chaps Marx presumably meant the Birmingham school of ‘little shilling men’, so called after the Birmingham banker Thomas Attwood who founded it. This school’s views were expounded in The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters, London, 1844 written anonymously by Thomas Wright and John Harlow, calling themselves the ‘Gemini’.—275

360 Papal aggression here means Pope Pius IX’s interference in Anglican Church matters. On 30 September 1850 the Pope issued a bull establishing several Catholic bishoprics in England and appointing Nicholas Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal. In reply to this, the Whig Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, carried a bill through Parliament in 1851 forbidding any clergyman not belonging to the Anglican Church to assume the title of bishop. The bill in fact remained a dead letter.—279

361 The reference is to the commission of 17 Orleanist and Legitimist deputies to the Legislative Assembly appointed by the Minister of the Interior on 1 May 1850 to draft a new electoral law. Its members were nicknamed burggraves, a name borrowed from the title of Victor Hugo’s historical drama as an allusion to their unwarranted claims to power and their reactionary aspirations. The drama is set in medieval Germany where a Burggraf was governor of a Burg (city) or a district, appointed by the Emperor.—280

362 Church Street—a street in London where the Fraternal Society of French Socialist Democrats had its seat. The Society included different elements of the French emigration in London, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc were among its members. The Society was founded in the autumn of 1850 for the purpose of providing material assistance to French political emigrants (see also this volume, p. 292).

24 February was the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France.—283, 292, 309, 312, 314

363 A reference to Eccarius’ contribution to Harney’s journal The Friend of the People; Nos. 4-7 of 4, 11, 18 and 25 January 1851 carried Eccarius’ article ‘The Last Stage of Bourgeois Society’.—285

364 In February 1851 the Party of Order (a bloc of monarchist parties of Legitimists and Orleanists) in coalition with the Mountain party in the Legislative Assembly rejected by a majority of 102 votes a motion to grant President Louis Napoleon a supplementary provision of 1,800,000 francs.—286, 504

365 A reference to a conflict between Prussia and Switzerland over the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin which prior to 1848 was under Prussian rule, but
which since 1815 had been incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as a
canton. In February 1848 a bourgeois revolution broke out in Neuchâtel and a
republic was proclaimed. However only in 1857 under pressure from France
did Prussia give up its claims to Neuchâtel and Valangin.—288

366 An allusion to Montalembert, a representative of the monarchist coalition
(the Party of Order), who in February 1851 supported in the Legislative
Assembly the motion to grant Louis Napoleon a supplementary provision of
1,800,000 francs. The majority of the Party of Order voted against (see also
Note 364).—288

367 The letter Engels intended to send to Harney on 14 February 1851 has not
been found.
On Engels' planned articles, see Note 352.—289

368 A reference to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note
338).—292

369 The reference is to the Labour Commission which sat at the Luxembourg Palace
from 28 February to 16 May 1848 and was presided over by Louis Blanc (see
Note 213).
The Pre-parliament, which sat at Frankfurt am Main from 31 March to 4
April 1848, consisted of representatives of the German states, mostly
constitutional monarchists. On a motion of the Pre-parliament a Committee of
Fifty was formed which was to provide, in agreement with the United Diet, for
the convocation of an all-German National Assembly. The Pre-parliament
worked out the 'Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People'.
This document proclaimed some rights and freedoms, but it did not actually
affect the foundation of the semi-feudal absolutist regime prevalent in
Germany at the time.—293

370 An allusion to a governmental crisis in Britain. In February 1851 the Prime
Minister, Lord John Russell, resigned after failing in his opposition to
M.P. Locke King's motion to assimilate the county to the borough franchise.
However, the Tory leader Stanley failed to form a cabinet and in March Russell
again became Prime Minister.—296

371 In the original Marx used the term Haupt- und Staatsaktion ('principal and
spectacular action', 'main and state action') which has a double meaning. First,
in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays
performed by German touring companies. Second, this term can denote major
political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical writing
known as 'objective historiography', of which Leopold Ranke was one of the
chief representatives, regarding Haupt- und Staatsaktion as history's main
subject-matter.—297, 437

372 These cries were used at the meeting to get those present to deal with Pieper
and Schramm in the same way as the workers of the Barclay, Perkins & Co. did
with the Austrian Field Marshal Julius Haynau, who directed the suppression
of the revolution in Italy and Hungary. Haynau was attacked by workers
during a visit to Britain in September 1850.—298, 309

373 Engels' letters to Wilhelm Wolff, who was in Zurich (Switzerland) at the time
and did not come to London till early July 1851, have not been found.—301
This may mean Le Constitutionnel, the issue No. 58 of which on 27 February 1851 carried a report of the so-called 'banquet of the equals' held on 24 February on the initiative of Louis Blanc, Willich, Schapper and other emigrants to mark the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution.— 303

Harney joined Marx and Engels in officially breaking with the Blanquists and the members of the Willich-Schapper separatist group who supported them. The result was the cancellation of the previously concluded agreement to establish a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists (see Note 313).— 304

A reference to Ferdinand Wolff's letter sent to Engels from London on 25 February 1851. Wolff wrote about the clearly unrealistic plans to publish, in order to make money, a guide-book in Russian for the Great Exhibition which was to open in May 1851, and asked for Engels' advice.—305

Neither of the two versions—of 26 and 27 February 1851—of Engels' letter to Harney has been found.—306

An allusion to the false accusation made against Marx's and Engels' associates, Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, of appropriating money belonging to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 328).—307

An allusion to a duel between Conrad Schramm and August Willich on 11 September 1850 in Belgium in which Schramm was slightly wounded. Schramm challenged Willich because the latter had insulted him at a meeting of the Communist League Central Authority at the end of August 1850 during heated disputes between supporters of Marx and Engels and adherents of the Willich-Schapper separatist group.—307, 473, 552

The Aliens Bill, enacted by the British Parliament in 1793, was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848 (An Act to Authorise for One Year, and to the End of the Then Next Session of Parliament, the Removal of Aliens from the Realm). In 1850 public opinion obstructed the renewal of this Bill despite Conservative efforts.—308, 312, 358

Marx's invitation to Ernest Jones of 27 February 1851 and another note mentioned earlier have not been found.—312

Early in March 1851 Engels went to London for a few days to improve relations with the Chartists which deteriorated after Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper had been man-handled at the 'banquet of the equals' (see Note 374). Simultaneously, Marx and Engels took steps to expose Louis Blanc, Willich, Schapper and other organisers of the banquet. By that time it had transpired that the latter had deliberately kept secret the text of the toast sent by Auguste Blanqui from the Belle-Isle prison, in which he exposed Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic as traitors to the revolution. However, the text of the toast was published in La Patrie (No. 58, 27 February 1851) and other newspapers. Marx and Engels translated it into German and English. The German version with a short preface written by them was sent to Cologne and printed in leaflet form, giving Berne as the place of publication (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 537-39).

During his stay in London, on 5 March, Engels apparently wrote a letter to the editor of The Times refuting a false declaration of Louis Blanc, published in that day's issue of the paper, that Blanqui's toast was never received by the
organisers of the 'banquet of the equals'. Engels enclosed the English translation of Blanqui's toast for publication in The Times. But neither the letter nor the translation was published.—312, 381

383 This refers to the banquet organised in London on 13 March 1851 by a group of emigrants to mark the anniversary of the March revolution in Vienna. Marx and Engels gave their assessment of the banquet in The Great Men of the Exile (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 297).—317

384 Vidil was one of the six members of the organising committee of the banquet held on 24 February 1851 who voted for Blanqui's toast to be read out. Seven committee members voted against. Yet the statement in La Patrie, No. 67 of 7 March, denying reception of Blanqui's toast, was also signed by six committee members, including Vidil. Marx drew attention to this in his letter to Engels of 22 March 1851 (see this volume, p. 321). Later Marx and Engels described in detail in The Great Men of the Exile how the attempts to keep Blanqui's toast secret had been exposed. They also included in the pamphlet a passage from La Patrie, No. 71 of 12 March 1851 (see present edition. Vol. 11, p. 296) which Marx quoted in his letter of 17 March.—319

385 Landwehr (the army reserve) in Prussia was formed at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s it was made up of persons up to forty years of age who had served three years in the army and been on the reserve list for at least two years. As distinct from the regular troops, the army reserve was mobilised only in special emergencies (war or threat of war). In the autumn of 1850, in connection with the aggravation of the Austro-Prussian conflict, the Prussian Government mobilised the army reserve.—320, 382, 460, 560

386 During the liberation war of the Spanish people against Napoleonic rule the French twice laid siege to Saragossa: from 15 June to 14 August 1808 and from 20 December 1808 to 20 February 1809. The city withstood the first siege but fell after resisting the second heroically for two months.

Engels' remark about the second siege of Saragossa is his own interpretation of an episode described by W.F.P. Napier in his History of the War in the Peninsula...; Vol. II, London, 1832, p. 51.—320

387 The beginning of this letter was written on the last page of Wilhelm Pieper's letter to Engels of 22 March 1851 in which Pieper on Marx's request cites the full text of the proclamation 'To the Germans' issued by Ruge, Struve, Haug, Ronge and Kinkel on 13 March 1851 on behalf of the Committee for German Affairs (Der Ausschuss für die deutschen Gelegenheiten) set up by them at the time.

An abridged version of the proclamation was quoted by Marx and Engels in The Great Men of the Exile (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 297-98).—321

388 Marx has in mind the Weltgeschichte which Struve was working upon at the time and which was published by him in 9 volumes in New York, beginning in 1856. In 1864 it was published in 6 volumes in Coburg.—322

389 Neither of Marx's two letters to his mother mentioned here, or the notification of the bill on her he had made out to Simon Bamberger, has been found.—323

390 This presumably refers to the will of Jenny Marx's Scottish relative who died in the early 1850s. Under this will Jenny inherited about £200.—324

391 An ironical allusion to Proudhon's assertion in La philosophie de la misère that 'since in society time is value itself, the railway would, prices being equal,
present an advantage of 400 per cent over road transport'. For criticism of this proposition see Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 153-55).—325

392 Marx visited Engels in Manchester in the second half of April 1851 and stayed from about 17 to 26 April.—325, 335

393 Exactly what was Marx's plan mentioned here and in Engels' letter to Marx of 3 April 1851 has not been established. Most likely Marx intended to prepare publication in two volumes of works summing up the experience of the 1848-49 revolution in Europe. This seems to emerge from Marx's suggestion that Engels should write a survey of the revolutionary war in Hungary in 1848-49 for this publication.

*Blue Books*—periodical collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. The first were published in the seventeenth century.—325

394 The letter to Roland Daniels, containing Marx's analysis of Daniels' manuscript *Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie* which the author sent to Marx in mid-February 1851 requesting his opinion of it and a preface to it, is not extant. Judging by Daniels' reply of 25 March 1851 (which Marx forwarded to Engels), Marx's letter containing critical notes on the manuscript was dated 20 March.—326

395 In the battle of Jena on 14 October 1806 a considerable Prussian force was defeated by Napoleon's army and another was beaten on the same day at Auerstadt by Marshal Davu's army.—329

396 In the battle at Marengo (Northern Italy) on 14 June 1800 the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte defeated the Austrians. This battle decided France's victory over the forces of the second anti-French coalition (1798-1801).—329, 504

397 The *Thirty Years' War*, 1618-48—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp.—329

398 Engels compares the policy of some Tory leaders who made forced concessions to the bourgeoisie, with the military tactics of Wellington in the Peninsular war of 1808-14, when the Anglo-Portuguese army under his command retreated to the fortified line at Torres Vedras (near Lisbon) in the autumn of 1810. Wellington left covering forces along the French line of advance which the enemy could overcome only after stubborn fighting. As a result, when the French troops reached Torres Vedras they were so exhausted that they could not attack the fortifications and were compelled to withdraw to the Spanish border in March 1811.—333

399 Marx's letter to Wilhelm Wolff of 11 April 1851 has not been found.—333

400 *Parliamentary trains*—name given in England in the nineteenth century to trains, which under a law of 1844 each railway company had to run once a day at a speed of twelve miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny per mile.—335

401 On Marx's stay in Manchester see Note 392.—336
In the battle of Austerlitz (now Slavkov in Czechoslovakia) on 2 December 1805 the French army under Napoleon defeated the allied Russo-Austrian forces thus predetermining the defeat of the third anti-French coalition.—336

On 25 April 1851 Cologne's deputy burgomaster Schenk, welcoming Prince William of Prussia on his arrival there, expressed gratitude on behalf of the City Council for suppression of the 1848-49 revolution in Prussia. In reply the Prince declared that his army was prepared to suppress any revolutionary movement at any time, but that the Cologne press should 'reform'. Schenk's speech aroused the dissatisfaction of the City Council.—337

Engels refers to Wolff's plans to emigrate from Switzerland to the USA. In March 1851 Wolff received through Anneke an offer of a post as editor of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, while his Silesian friend Voidechovsky invited him to teach at a high school for girls at St. Louis (Missouri). Meanwhile, on 13 March an expulsion order was issued against him. In his letter to Marx of 5 April Wolff asked for assistance in getting a passport and money to go to England and on to the USA via Liverpool. Engels did his utmost to get passports and money for Wolff and Dronke through the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League. About 9 June 1851 Wolff arrived in London and remained in England.—339, 342

On Engels' journey from Switzerland to England see Note 290.—340

Engels may have in mind Marx's and his prospective crossing the Atlantic to settle in the USA. No documents have been found to prove this, but the perspective may have occurred to them in the summer of 1850. That was when Marx wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer that if the Whig ministry were to fall they would be 'the Tories' first victims', in which case 'long-intended expulsion' would become a probability (see this volume, p. 240).—341

This apparently refers to the so-called Committee for German Affairs (see Note 387).—342

Marx's letter to Roland Daniels written on about 4 May 1851 has not been found.—343

A reference to Notes to the People (at first the title was intended to be Poems and Notes to the People)—the Chartist weekly published in London from 1851 to 1852 and edited by Ernest Jones. Since Harney had then drawn closer to the petty-bourgeois democrats, the publication of this periodical—the mouthpiece of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the Chartists—assumed exceptional importance.—346

Despite this conjecture Freiligrath moved from Cologne to London in the second half of May 1851 (see this volume, pp. 355, 359). Of the other members of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung editorial board (not counting Heinrich Bürgers, who was only so in name), Marx and Ferdinand Wolff were already in London; Wilhelm Wolff and Ernst Dronke were expected and Engels planned to go to London in the second half of May, and as emerges from his letters he did arrive there at the end of the month (see this volume, pp. 365, 373). Georg Weerth, then in England, also intended to go to London but did not do so until July.—346, 361, 366

Engels suggests that Wellington, a supporter of the Corn Laws (see Note 270), was compelled, as a minister without portfolio in Peel's Government, to promote their repeal in 1846. Engels compares Wellington's defeat with that of
the Roman legions in the Caudine pass during the second Samnite war in 321 B.C. The Romans were compelled to pass under the yoke which was the greatest disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the expression 'to pass under the Caudine yoke', meaning to undergo extreme humiliation. — 347

412 An allusion to Mazzini's exposure of Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary, on whose order letters of Italian revolutionary emigrants, including the Bandiera brothers and Mazzini, were opened. The letters of the Bandiera brothers contained the plan of their expedition to Calabria to spark off an insurrection in Italy against the Bourbons of Naples and Austrian rule. In June 1844 the participants in the expedition were arrested. The Bandiera brothers were shot. — 349

413 The members of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League planned to start a periodical in Cologne. On 5 April 1851 Hermann Becker informed Marx that he, Bürgers, Daniels, Weydemeyer and others intended to publish a monthly, the *Neue Zeitschrift*, and asked for articles. Marx agreed to contribute and on 8 April he asked Georg Weerth (who was in Hamburg at the time) to write an article against Gottfried Kinkel. Early in May, on Becker's request, Marx sent his *Poverty of Philosophy* for him to publish excerpts from it in the *Neue Zeitschrift*. But as early as mid-May Becker was compelled to abandon the idea of starting a periodical because of lack of funds and harassment by the police. The subsequent arrests of Communist League members in Germany made its publication impossible. — 351

414 Engels' letter written on about 12-13 May 1851 has not been found. — 354

415 Marx's letter to Engels apparently in reply to Engels' letter of 9 May 1851 (see this volume, pp. 350-53) has not been found. — 354

416 In this letter and the reply to it written on 19 May 1851, Marx and Engels discussed the situation in France and noted that there were two ways in which the bourgeoisie could succeed in its attempt to maintain the existing very unstable state of affairs: either by prolonging Louis Bonaparte's powers, which were to expire in May 1852 or by electing Cavaignac, another pretender to dictatorship, to the presidency. A section of the bourgeoisie favoured the second solution (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 172). — 355

417 Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, Prince William of Prussia and Emperor Francis Joseph I of Austria and their ministers met in Warsaw in October 1850 (see Note 332). — 355

418 The reference is to an uprising which began in April 1851 against the reactionary dictatorial regime established in Portugal by the Costa Cabral Government representing the extreme monarchist bourgeoisie and the landowners. The uprising ended in May, with Costa Cabral fleeing from the country and Marshal Saldanha, a representative of the liberal-constitutional section of the big bourgeoisie, coming to power. — 356, 358

419 'German Catholicism' — a religious movement which arose in a number of German states in 1844 and spread to a considerable section of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. 'German Catholicism' did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the German bourgeoisie. — 357
In 1851 Bonapartist circles strongly advocated a revision of the Constitution of the French Republic adopted on 4 November 1848, in particular the articles defining the presidential powers. Under that Constitution the president of the Republic was elected for four years and could not be re-elected till four years after his term of office had expired. For details see Marx's 'The Constitution of the French Republic Adopted November 4, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 567-80).—357, 363, 367, 484

This refers to the law adopted by the French Legislative Assembly on 31 May 1850 abolishing universal suffrage. It introduced a veiled property qualification of three years' permanent residence in the given locality and payment of personal tax.—358

The Manchester School—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders (the centre of their agitation was Manchester), advocated free trade and non-interference by government in the economy. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders formed a separate political group which later constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party.—358

Engels visited Marx in London presumably on 31 May 1851 and stayed for two weeks, till about 15 June.—361, 365, 373

Wasserpolackei—a name denoting Silesia, and derived from Wasserpolacken—original name of the Oder ferrymen who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.—362

Frederick William IV in his New-Year Greeting 'To My Army' (1 January 1849) gave this name to the troops who suppressed the 1848-49 revolution and helped to carry out the coup d'état in Prussia on 5 December 1848 (see K. Marx, 'A New-Year Greeting', present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 222-26).—362

Below Engels analyses German policy towards Poland not in an abstract way but from a definite perspective which might have opened up if a revolutionary democratic movement had taken shape and prevailed in Germany, and a people's revolution against tsarism had simultaneously developed in Russia. It is clear from the letter that Engels considered the political line he recommends here to be appropriate only on condition that the national movement in Poland proper did not go beyond the limits of landowners' (szlachta) demands and, as had often happened in the past, ignored the task of emancipating the peasantry from the feudal yoke. This letter therefore reflects the striving of Marx and Engels to consider the nationalities question from the concrete historical standpoint and to link its solution with the general interests of the revolutionary movement.

When, some years later, Marx and Engels realised that the situation in Central and Eastern Europe had not changed and that counter-revolutionary regimes continued to reign supreme in Germany and Russia, whereas in the Polish national movement there was a continual strengthening of the influence of the revolutionary-democratic elements which had played a prominent part in the 1863-64 uprising, they were as Lenin put it 'treating the Polish movement with the most profound and ardent sympathy' (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 436).—363

Engels enumerates here Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian lands which formed part of the Polish state (Rzecz Pospolita) and were ceded to Russia after
the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795, between Russia, Prussia and—apart from the second partition—Austria.

Below Engels uses the term by which West-European scholars denoted the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovina who came under the Habsburg rule as a result of Poland's partitions. In this particular case Engels calls all Ukrainians Ruthenians.—364

428 For details on the arrest of Hermann Becker and Heinrich Bürgers see Note 430.—366

429 Marx's letters to Daniels mentioned here have not been found.—366

430 Peter Nothjung was arrested in Leipzig on 10 May 1851 during his tour of Northern Germany as emissary of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League. Marx was informed of this by Hermann Haupt in a letter from Hamburg of 22 May 1851. Haupt for his part referred to information sent to him by Heinrich Bürgers in Berlin. The police discovered on Nothjung a mandate of the Central Authority, the March 1850 Address of the Central Authority and the new Rules of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87 and 634-36). In the same letter Haupt wrote about the arrest of Hermann Becker and Peter Röser in Cologne on 19 May 1851. Documents compromising Heinrich Bürgers were found on them. At the time Bürgers was away, having gone to Hamburg and then on to Berlin. The police did not find anything incriminating when they searched his apartment in Cologne on 19 May. Bürgers was arrested in Dresden on 23 May 1851 according to a report in the Kölnische Zeitung on 27 May, to which Freiligrath drew Marx's attention.

Arrests of the League's Central Authority members in Germany were followed by police repression against participants in the working-class movement.—366

431 The reference is to the false information which Minister of the Interior Léon Faucher sent by telegraph to the prefects during the elections to the Legislative Assembly in May 1849. In it he intimidated the voters with a possible repetition of the events of June 1848 to make them vote for the Right-wing candidates.

On the law of 31 May 1850 see Note 421.—367

432 In The Great Men of the Exile, in which this article from Der Kosmos was quoted, Marx and Engels note that it was written by Johanna Mockel, Kinkel's wife (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 258).—368

433 All that remains of this letter is an excerpt quoted by Roland Daniels in his letter to Marx of 1 June 1851.—368

434 Roland Daniels was arrested on 19 June 1851. During the search the police did not find any documents compromising him.—369

435 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, New York, 1953.—370, 375, 518

436 Engels was promoted to bombardier in the autumn of 1841 when he was doing his twelve months military service as a volunteer in an artillery brigade in Berlin.

Landwehr—see Note 385.—370
Engels uses the words 'persecution of Jews' here, for security reasons, meaning the arrests of Communist League members which had begun in Germany. Marx uses the same formulation with the same meaning in his letter to Engels of 13 July 1851. Similarly, Freiligrath when writing to Marx called the London district of the League the 'synagogue'.—372, 384

The reference is to the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850, which was discovered by the police during the arrests of Communist League members in Dresden and published in the Kölische Zeitung and other bourgeois papers in June 1851. On the whole, the authors of the Address, especially Bürgers, supported Marx and Engels in their condemnation of the splitting activities of the Willich-Schapper group. They stated in the Address that the Cologne Central Authority was expelling from the League all the members of the separatist union set up by Willich and Schapper. However, instead of disclosing the real causes of the split in the League, the Address put the blame partially on Marx and his followers. Some propositions set forth in the Address were vague and obscure.—374, 384, 390

On the new Rules of the Communist League see Note 342. The first paragraph of the Rules said: ‘The aim of the Communist League is to bring about the destruction of the old society— and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—the spiritual, political and economic emancipation of the proletariat, the communist revolution, using all the resources of propaganda and political struggle towards this goal...’ (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 634).—374

Marx hints that Ruge was a member of the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—376

Engels has in mind the split in the Communist League and Marx’s, his own and their followers’ withdrawal from the German Workers’ Educational Society in London (see Note 328).—380

This refers to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—380

In the autumn of 1850 the struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany was aggravated as a result of a conflict between them over Hesse-Cassel. Revolutionary actions in Hesse-Cassel were used by Austria and Prussia as a pretext for interfering in the electorate’s internal affairs each party claiming the right to suppress them. The Prussian Government reacted to the entry of Austrian troops into Hesse-Cassel by mobilising and sending its own troops there in November 1850. But under pressure from Nicholas I Prussia yielded to Austria without offering any serious resistance.—381

Marx’s letter to Louis Schulz, written on about 17 July 1851, has not been found. It follows from the text below that Marx may have used this address when writing to the lawyer Adolph Bermbach on matters concerning the Cologne accused.—388

No information is available on Engels’ letter to Klose, presumably written on 17 July 1851.—389

J. F. Martens was soon released for lack of evidence and emigrated to London.—389

Engels has in mind the following passage from the March (1850) Address of the Central Authority to the League: ‘Far from opposing so-called excesses,
instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the lead in them must be taken' (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 282).—389

This letter was published in English for the first time with abridgments in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, London, 1934, and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—392

Haupt in fact played an unseemly role in the legal proceedings against the Communist League members in Germany. Arrested on 22 or 23 May 1851, he gave evidence which was used as incriminating material against the accused by investigators and the police, who were preparing a case of 'communist conspiracy' (it came up for trial in Cologne in the autumn of 1852).—392

This letter was first published in English abridged in The Letters of Karl Marx, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.—396, 397

Friedrich Lessner was arrested in his tailor's shop in Mainz on 18 June 1851, and made an abortive attempt to escape. While searching his flat the police discovered a large library of communist literature including such books as the Manifesto of the Communist Party, 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany' and the Rules of the workers' educational societies in London, Cologne, Mainz. Lessner was detained in the Mainz prison till July 1852, when he was transferred to Cologne and soon included in the group of the accused in the Cologne communist trial.—399

An allusion to Wilhelm Wolff's articles and statements of the 1848-49 revolution period in which he castigated the enemies of the revolution, and also to the series of articles Die Schlesische Milliarde, published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung from 22 March to 25 April 1849, in which he exposed the plundering of the peasants by the Junkers in his native Silesia, which he represented at the Frankfurt National Assembly.

Marx and Engels did not carry out their plan to put out lithographed bulletins.—400

Engels could prepare an article for Ernest Jones only in the beginning of 1852. His article 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last' was published in Notes to the People, Nos. 43, 48 and 50 of 21 February, 27 March and 10 April 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 212-22).—401

In May and June 1850 the Prussian Government tried through Baron Bunsen, its envoy in London, to get the British Government to deport Marx, Engels and other emigrants it considered hostile to its interests. For this purpose Prussian police agents organised the shadowing of emigrants (see K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Prussian Refugees', 'Prussian Spies in London', present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 378-79, 381-84). In 1851 the Prussian Government again tried to get the Hauptrevolutionäre ('chief revolutionaries') deported from Britain to the colonies. In March 1851, at the request of the Minister of the Interior—Ferdinand von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's stepbrother—the Prussian Prime Minister, Otto Manteuffel, inquired of Bunsen whether the British Government would consent to such a deportation. Bunsen replied that, fearing public opinion, the English authorities hesitated to take such measures. Nevertheless,
Ferdinand von Westphalen did not abandon his intention to persuade the British Government to deport the emigrants, in the first place Prussians, and continued using police agents to collect material compromising them.—401

An allusion to the German Emigration Club set up in London on 27 July 1851 on the initiative of Kinkel, Willich and the groups of refugees supporting them. In August 1851 the rival German Agitation Club, headed by Ruge, Tausenau, Fickler, Haug and others, was set up to counter it. The rivalry between these two refugee associations and the vain attempts to achieve agreement between them are described in satirical form in Marx's and Engels' *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 317-25).—403

Weydemeyer met the Swiss officer Gustav Hoffstetter, author of *Tagebuch aus Italien 1849* (Zurich-Stuttgart, 1851), in Zurich at the time.—405

On the Baden-Palatinate military campaign in the summer of 1849 and Engels' participation in it see notes 264 and 265.—406

Engels ironically gave this name to the deputies of the all-German Frankfurt National Assembly, who took part in drawing up the Imperial Constitution which was adopted by the Assembly on 27 March 1849, but was rejected by the German princes and their governments.—407

Informing Weydemeyer of the break-up of the community of Willich's supporters formed according to the principles of barracks communism, Engels hinted at Willich's earlier experiments along this line in forming a military unit out of German émigré workers and artisans in Besançon (France) in November 1848. The members of this unit received an allowance from the French Government but it was stopped at the beginning of 1849. Later the unit was incorporated in Willich's detachment which took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in May-June 1849.—407

On the Hamburg affair and Haupt's unseemly behaviour during the investigation see notes 430 and 449.—407

About 8 August 1851 Marx was invited by Charles Dana, editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, to contribute to that paper. Because of the progressive orientation of the newspaper and its wide circulation Marx agreed. He contributed from August 1851 till March 1862; at Marx's request many of the articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* were written by Engels (beginning with the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, the first of which was dispatched to New York in August 1851). Marx began to send his own articles to the newspaper in August 1852.

Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with major questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, economic development in the European countries, colonial expansion, and the national liberation movement in oppressed and dependent countries. The articles at once attracted attention by the amount of information they conveyed, the clarity of their political analysis and their literary qualities. Many of the articles were reprinted in the *Tribune*'s special editions, the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, and were quoted by other American newspapers.

The editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* arbitrarily printed some of Marx's and Engels' articles without the author's signature as editorial leading articles, and occasionally made insertions and additions which were sometimes at variance with their content. Marx repeatedly protested against this. In the
autumn of 1857, as a result of the economic crisis in the USA, which also affected the newspaper's finances, Marx had to reduce the number of his contributions. His final break with the newspaper occurred during the Civil War in the United States, and was largely due to the fact that its editorial policies increasingly supported compromise with the slave-owning states, and to its decline in support for progressive views. — 409

462 An allusion to an episode in the struggle between the plebeians and patricians in Ancient Rome described by Livy in his *Ab urbe condita libri*. Tradition has it that Menenius Agrippa persuaded the plebeians who had rebelled and withdrawn to the Mons Sacer in 494 B.C. to submit by telling them the fable about the other parts of the human body revolting against the stomach because, they said, it consumed food and did no work, but afterwards realising that they could not exist without it. — 417

463 *American Whigs* were members of a political party in the USA mainly representing the interests of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie and supported by some of the plantation owners. The American Whig Party existed from 1838 to 1854, when the intensified struggle over slavery gave rise to splits and regroupings in the political parties of the country. In 1854 the majority of the Whigs, together with a section of the Democratic Party and the farmers' party (Free-Soilers), formed the Republican Party, which opposed slavery. The Right-wing Whigs joined the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of the slave-owning planters. — 419

464 At Marx's request Engels prepared the 'Critical Review of Proudhon's Book *Idée générale de la révolution au XIXe siècle*' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 545-70). Engels worked on it in August (approximately from 16 to 21) and from mid-October. He sent the material to Marx at the end of October 1851 (see this volume, pp. 488, 495). Marx's attempt to publish a pamphlet against Proudhon with Hoffmann and Campe, book-sellers in Hamburg, failed but he did not give up his plans to produce a critique of Proudhon's work. At the end of 1851 he hoped to publish this in the USA, because in the autumn of 1851 Weydemeyer moved to the United States and intended to publish the weekly *Die Revolution* in New York from January 1852 (see this volume, p. 519). But Marx's plans did not materialise because publication of the journal ceased. — 423

465 At Marx's request Engels wrote in thirteen months (from August 1851 to September 1852) a series of 19 articles about the 1848-49 German revolution—*Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*—for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 3-96). Engels used a file of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the main source apart from some additional material given to him by Marx, whom he constantly consulted. Marx read all the articles before mailing them to the newspaper.

The series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, was printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* from 25 October 1851 to 23 October 1852 over the signature of Karl Marx, the paper's official correspondent. Only in 1913, when the correspondence of Marx and Engels was published, did it become known that this work was written by Engels. — 425

466 Marx sent this document to the German journalist Hermann Ebner, apparently through Freiligrath. A copy with the beginning and the end missing and written in an unknown hand is extant. Ebner, it transpired later, was a secret agent of the Austrian police to whom he delivered material emanating from
Marx, including this letter and that of 2 December 1851 published below, the original of which has survived but with the beginning missing (see this volume, pp. 499-503). Both documents found their way, via the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, into the Austrian state archives where they were discovered in the mid-1950s.

In his letter to Ebner of 2 December 1851 Marx called this document a 'communication' and in fact in some passages it is more like an article than a private letter. Marx chose this form purposely. Having no idea of Ebner's spying activities he hoped to use the latter's journalistic connections to have published in the German press documents revealing the intrigues of the German and other petty-bourgeois emigrants, refuting their slander of the proletarian revolutionaries. The letters to Ebner, especially the first one, were therefore written so as to form parts of articles for eventual publication. For Marx himself these letters were the first draft of The Great Men of the Exile which he later wrote together with Engels; in some places the texts coincide.

The extant part of the letter has no date. The approximate date of writing has been established by the mention made in the letter of the emigrants' meetings in London on 8 and 15 August 1851 but not of the third meeting, which took place on 22 August and about which Marx wrote to Engels on 25 August 1851 (see this volume, pp. 440-42).—426

467 An allusion to the former deputies to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin during the revolution in May 1848 to draft a constitution by 'agreement with the Crown'. The Prussian liberal bourgeoisie and the moderate democrats used the 'theory of agreement' in an attempt to justify their policy of compromise during the revolution.—426, 437, 446

468 An allusion to Ruge's participation in the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 338).—426

469 The reference is to the Committee for German Affairs (see Note 387).—427

470 From the end of 1850 to February 1851 Joseph Radowitz, then Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in London trying to conclude an official alliance between Prussia and Britain. His attempts met with no sympathy among British ruling circles.—427

471 The London German weekly How Do You Do? published insulting allusions to Marx's family connection with the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's stepbrother). On 19 August 1851 Marx, accompanied by Freiligrath and Wilhelm Wolff, went to the office of the paper and demanded satisfaction of the publisher Louis Drucker and the editor Heinrich Beta.—432

472 The Historical School of Law—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence which emerged in the late eighteenth century. The representatives of this school—Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others—sought to justify feudal institutions and the privileges of the nobility on the grounds of the inviolability of historical tradition.—435

473 A reference to an emigrant organisation—the German Agitation Club—set up in London in August 1851 by Ruge, Fickler, Tausenau and others to counter the Emigration Club (see Note 455) directed by Kinkel and his followers.—439, 520
The Federal Diet—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchical reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution, the Federal Diet was reestablished in its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866.——443, 540

Engels' letter to Fischer has not been found.——444

Marx apparently has in mind the treaty between the USA and Britain (known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty), signed in Washington on 19 April 1850, on the cutting of a navigable canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific across Nicaragua. On 30 August 1851, a day before this letter was written, The Economist (No. 418) carried an item on the project 'New Route Between the Atlantic and the Pacific'.——448

At the end of August 1851 German newspapers reported that the editor of the Kölnische Zeitung, Brüggemann, had been deported from Cologne for opposition articles published in his newspaper. But these reports, based on rumours, turned out to be false.——451

In September 1851 arrests were made in France among the members of local communities belonging to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, which was responsible for the split in the Communist League in September 1850. The group's petty-bourgeois conspiratorial tactics, ignoring realities and aiming at an immediate uprising, enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval (real name Crämer), who headed one of the local communities in Paris, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d'état. Cherval was allowed to escape from prison.

The provocative character of the trial was exposed by Marx in Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne and Herr Vogt (see present edition, vols. 11 and 17).——452

The reference is to the supporters of Weitling's utopian egalitarian communism in the Paris communities of the League of the Just (later, the Communist League), whose sectarian tendencies Engels had to fight (on this see Note 70).——452

This refers to the split in the provisional Italian National Committee formed after the fall of the Roman Republic (July 1849) by members of its Constituent Assembly who had emigrated to England. Mazzini and his followers were in the majority. The Committee was empowered among other things to organise a national movement and to float loans for Italy's liberation.——454, 456

In February-March 1846, simultaneously with the national liberation insurrection in the free city of Cracow, which had been under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia since 1815, a big peasant revolt flared up in Galicia. Taking advantage of class contradictions, the Austrian authorities provoked clashes between the insurgent Galician peasants and the Polish nobility who sought to help Cracow. After quelling the insurgent movement of the nobility, the Austrian Government also suppressed the peasant uprising in Galicia.
In the spring of 1848 in another effort to gain the support of the Galician peasants against the Polish national liberation movement, the Austrian Government abolished corvée and some other services. However, this half-hearted reform did not affect the big landed estates and the whole burden of the redemption payment fell on the peasants.—455, 456

An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, 1934 and also in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—455, 458

Conrad Schramm left for Paris at the end of June 1851 on Louis Bamberger's passport. This journey, the purpose and cause of which cannot be established by the available documents, met with Marx's disapproval. On 3 September 1851 Conrad Schramm was arrested in Paris on a charge of participation in the so-called Franco-German conspiracy (see Note 478). However, he was released from prison for lack of evidence at the end of October 1851 and expelled from France. The Prussian police's attempts to use Schramm's arrest in order to incriminate the followers of Marx and Engels in the Communist League failed.—457, 459

The reference is to the appeal to the members of the separatist organisation set up by Willich and Schapper after the split in the Communist League. (Marx and Engels called this organisation the Sonderbund by analogy with the separatist union of the Swiss Catholic cantons formed in the 1840s.) The appeal adopted at the congress of this organisation in the summer of 1851 was pervaded with adventurist tendencies and voluntaristic-sectarian ideas of carrying out a revolution without any regard for objective conditions. In September 1851 the appeal fell into the hands of the police when they arrested members of local communities of this organisation in France (see Note 478). It was published in French papers under the heading: 'Instructions pour la Ligue, avant, pendant et après la révolution'. Excerpts were also published in the *Kölische Zeitung*, No. 225, 19 September 1851.—458, 459, 463, 468

*Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples, who were repeatedly used by the Government in the struggle against liberal and democratic movements.—459

An allusion to Dronke's letter to Marx written from Geneva in August 1851 and sent by Marx to Engels on 13 September same year (see this volume, p. 459). Among other things Dronke wrote about his duel with a Russian refugee, the journalist N. I. Sazonov, his plans to move to Piedmont because the Swiss authorities wanted to expel him from the country, and his intention to get certain sums of money from his debtors in Hamburg with the help of Weerth, who was there at the time.

As is evident from Marx's letters to Weydemeyer of 11 September and to Engels of 13 December 1851 and also from this particular letter of Engels, Marx intended to reply to Dronke jointly with Engels. But it is not known whether he did so. In mid-October 1851 Marx received news that Dronke intended going to London (see this volume, p. 481), but he did not arrive there until April 1852.—459, 482

In 1851 gold was found in the South Australian colony of Victoria. The Australian 'gold rush', like the discovery of gold in California in 1848, led to a
greater inflow of colonists, the opening of new markets, the development of sea routes, and a growth in world trade and credit.—461

488 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris workers on 22-25 June 1848. Marx assessed its historical importance in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 67-70).—463, 511

489 The reference is to the clash on 29 March 1848 between the Belgian Republican Legion bound home from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout not far from the French border. The Republican Legion was dispersed by the soldiers. The Government of King Leopold used this incident as a pretext for legal proceedings against the Belgian democrats. The case lasted from 9 to 30 August 1848. Seventeen of the accused received the death sentence, which was later commuted to long-term imprisonment; subsequently the accused were pardoned (see Engels' article 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 404-06).—471

490 This was a postscript written by Marx to Jenny Marx's letter to Amalie Daniels. It may be assumed that the reference is to books from Marx's library left in Cologne in Daniels' care when Marx was compelled to leave the Rhine Province after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In the autumn of 1850 Daniels sent a list of these books to Marx in London. Marx marked with asterisks those in which he was most interested and which he wished to be sent to him in England. They included grammar books, dictionaries, works by Hegel, Holbach, and Vico, and books on the history of political economy, and a considerable number of works by utopian thinkers and socialists—Campanella, Morelly, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Dézamy, Louis Blanc, Cabet, Weitling and others.

The end of the letter, where Marx enumerated the books he needed, did not appear in the *Kölische Zeitung*. The text of the letter, which got into the hands of the police, as well as of Marx's postscript has survived only as published in the *Kölische Zeitung* together with other material concerning the communist trial in Cologne in October 1852.—472

491 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—472

492 Hoffmann and Campe in Hamburg rejected Marx's request made in August 1851 to publish a pamphlet containing Marx's criticism of Proudhon's *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle* (see Note 464).

Marx had been trying since the spring of 1851 to find a German publisher for his work on political economy. In particular he asked Freiligrath, while the latter was still in Germany, to act as a go-between. As emerges from Roland Daniels' letter to Marx of 12 April 1851, Freiligrath's attempts to get the book published by J. G. Cotta proved abortive and Freiligrath requested H. Ebner's assistance. Neither Freiligrath nor Marx had any idea of Ebner's secret activities as an informer (see Note 466) and Freiligrath hoped to use his publishing connections in Marx's interest. In August 1851 Freiligrath moved to London and continued to keep Marx abreast of negotiations Ebner was carrying on with various publishers on Freiligrath's instructions. On 2 October he wrote to Marx that Ebner had had a refusal from Löwenthal, but was not abandoning attempts to have the book published by someone else, Suchsland in particular. In early October 1851 Marx asked Pieper, who was going to Frankfurt, to get in touch with Ebner and find out whether there was any pos-
sibility of publishing his work. But all efforts up to December 1851 remained fruitless.—475

493 This refers to French bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats who still harboured constitutional illusions and believed exclusively in peaceful means of political struggle despite the lessons of the defeat suffered by the petty-bourgeois Mountain party who, on 13 June 1849, called upon the masses to organise a peaceful demonstration instead of taking the lead in revolutionary resistance to reaction. On the 13 June 1849 events, see Note 260.—479

494 This letter was published in English for the first time slightly abridged and without the postscript by Jenny Marx in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—480

495 Marx’s letter to Charles Dana has not been found.—480

496 Dronke’s arrival in London from Switzerland was delayed till the end of April 1852.—481

497 A reference to the attempts by Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of the Emigration Club to organise a so-called German-American revolutionary loan, for which purpose Kinkel went to the USA in September 1851. The loan was to be subscribed to by German-born Americans and used to begin an immediate revolution in Germany. The rival Agitation Union headed by Arnold Ruge also sent a representative to the USA to raise money for the revolution. In a number of works and letters Marx and Engels denounced the undertaking as an adventurist attempt to produce a revolution artificially in a period when the revolutionary movement was on the wane.—483, 486, 499, 520

498 See notes 350 and 419.—483

499 In May 1852 Louis Bonaparte’s presidential powers were to expire and according to the Constitution of the French Republic of 1848 new elections were to be held on the second Sunday in May. Major events, popular unrest and attempts at a coup d’État were expected on that occasion owing to the acute struggle between different political groups and the growing contradictions between the president and the royalist majority in the Legislative Assembly. However Bonapartist circles carried out a coup d’état earlier, on 2 December 1851.—485

500 It is not known whether Engels actually wrote an anonymous letter to Haupt.—487

501 Apparently the reference is to the publication of Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx (see Note 347) started by Hermann Becker in Cologne and interrupted by his arrest. The first issues were to contain Marx’s articles from the Rheinische Zeitung.—489

502 Marx arrived in Manchester to visit Engels on about 5 November 1851 and stayed some ten days.—491

503 Despite a temporary break with Harney in whose journal The Friend of the People Engels intended at one time to publish a series of articles criticising the petty-bourgeois emigrants and the Willich-Schapper sectarian adventurist group (see Note 352), he did not give up the idea of denouncing in the press the pseudo-revolutionary illusions and voluntarism of the petty-bourgeois emigrants. At the end of November and beginning of December 1851, Engels was
working on a satirical essay, one of the main characters of which was to be Karl Schapper. It occurred to Marx to have this work published in the USA, in *Die Revolution*, a weekly planned by Weydemeyer, who had moved to New York by that time. But Marx and Engels were busy writing other works until the spring of 1852 and the publication of *Die Revolution* was soon discontinued. By that time the differences between Willich and Schapper had become apparent; the latter was disillusioned with sectarianism and wanted to be reconciled with Marx. So when in May-June 1852 Marx and Engels returned to the subject and started writing *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11), they thought it inexpedient to give a special characterisation of Schapper and concentrated their criticism on Kinkel, Ruge, Heinzen, Struve, Willich and others.—492, 498, 516

504 Engels' letter to Marx written about 25 November 1851 has not been found.—493

505 An allusion to the fact that Pieper's letter to Marx of 17 November 1851 contained excerpts from Heinrich Heine's poems.—493

506 *Morison pills*—pills invented by the English quack James Morison and widely advertised as a cure for all illnesses in the mid-1820s. Their main ingredient was the juice of certain tropical plants.—493

507 The original of Marx's letter to Cluss is not extant. The excerpt published here is translated from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 20 December 1851.—496

508 In his letter to Weydemeyer of 20 December 1851 Cluss explains this passage as follows: 'Kinkel's loan, in which I let myself become involved through lack of knowledge of the state of affairs, and in which, in Marx's view, I should maintain my position for the present.'

On the so-called German-American revolutionary loan see Note 497.—496

509 Marx's letter to Charles Dana has not been found.—497

510 Neither the letter Marx and Engels wrote to Pieper from Manchester during Marx's stay there from 5 to 15 November 1851, nor the letter Jenny Marx wrote to him on her husband's request has been found.—497

511 The statements Marx sent to Paris to be published in the French press did not appear in the papers and their originals have not survived.—497

512 Engels supported Marx's initiative of denouncing in the English press the Prussian Government's arbitrary treatment of the arrested Cologne communists under investigation. At Marx's request he wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* at the end of January 1852 and prepared a similar letter for *The Daily News*, but the newspapers did not publish them. Only a rough copy of the letter 'To the Editor of *The Times*' written by Marx and Engels is extant (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 210-11).—497

513 On 2 November 1851 a meeting was held at Copenhagen House (Copenhagen Fields) in London to mark Kossuth's arrival (in October 1851) in England. The reformist Thornton Hunt, chairman of the Chartist committee responsible for organising the meeting, tried to prevent O'Connor from attending on the pretext that he was insane. This aroused violent protests on the part of the Chartists and O'Connor was admitted to the meeting. To justify himself Hunt made a demagogic declaration in *The Northern Star* on 29 November describing himself as a zealous defender of people's interests and calling himself a
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communist. As Marx foresaw, Hunt was not elected to the new Executive of the National Charter Association.—497

514 Marx's letter to Ernest Jones has not survived.—498

515 This letter, the beginning of which has not survived, and the one written between 15 and 22 August 1851 (see this volume, pp. 426-33) and also sent by Marx to Ebner, show that Marx intended to use the Frankfurt journalist's connections with a view to publishing in the German press material denouncing the pseudo-revolutionary schemes of the petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders. Both letters fell into the hands of the Austrian police through the secret police agent Ebner (see Note 466).—499

516 An ironical allusion to the Frankfurt National Assembly after it had moved to Stuttgart in early June 1849. On 18 June the remnants of the National Assembly were dispersed by troops.—500

517 This letter was written by Engels on the occasion of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 carried out by the supporters of Louis Bonaparte, President of the French Republic, which led to the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and the establishment of the Bonapartist regime (from December 1852—the Second Empire under Napoleon III). Some ideas expressed by Engels in this letter were developed by Marx in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11), in particular the ironical comparison of Louis Bonaparte's coup with that of 9 November (18th Brumaire according to the Republican calendar) 1799, which resulted in the establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte's dictatorship, and also the thought that Hegel was right in saying that historical events occur first as tragedy and then as farce.

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, London, 1934; the letter was published in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—503

518 An allusion to the fact that during the coup d'état some of the deputies to the Legislative Assembly who belonged to the conservative Party of Order gathered in Odilon Barrot's mansion, others went to the municipal hall of the 10th arrondissement about which Engels writes below. In both cases the deputies confined themselves to merely protesting at the president's actions and formally removing Louis Bonaparte from his post. Engels compares Barrot with Löwe von Calbe who was elected chairman of the German Frankfurt National Assembly after its remnants had moved to Stuttgart early in June 1849 (see Note 516) and remained in office until the Assembly was dispersed by Württemberg troops.—503

519 The Bonapartist coup d'état was timed to coincide with the anniversary of two events in the history of the First Empire—the coronation of Napoleon I in Notre-Dame de Paris on 2 December 1804 and the victory of Austerlitz a year later, on 2 December 1805 (see Note 402).—504

520 The Bonapartist circles exploited for demagogical purposes the popular discontent over the abrogation by the Legislative Assembly of the universal suffrage law of 31 May 1849. The suffrage was restored by a presidential decree. The initial system of open ballot was replaced by secret ballot because of the popular discontent. A plebiscite on the new political system proposed by the president was announced for the period 14-21 December 1851. It took place on 21 December 1851 in an atmosphere of Bonapartist terror and
suppression of all opposition and was actually only a show to produce an impression of popular support for the military and police regime.—504

Hegel expressed this idea of the recurrence of historical events in his work Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte (the first edition was published in Berlin in 1837). In the third part of this work, at the end of Section 2, entitled 'Rom vom zweiten punischen Krieg bis zum Kaiserthum', Hegel wrote, in particular, that 'a coup d'état is sanctioned as it were in the opinion of people if it is repeated. Thus, Napoleon was defeated twice and twice the Bourbons were driven out. Through repetition, what at the beginning seemed to be merely accidental and possible becomes real and established'.

Hegel also repeatedly expressed the idea that in the process of dialectical development there is bound to be a transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin (see, in particular, G. W. F. Hegel, Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, Th. 3, Abt. 3, § 347).

Hegel's idea was developed by Marx in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103), 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' (Vol. 3, p. 179) and 'The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty' (Vol. 9, p. 421).—505

An allusion to the attempts of the Left republicans and democrats, supported by certain leaders of the workers' organisations, to offer armed resistance to the Bonapartist coup d'état. A thirty-thousand-strong army was sent against the not more than 1,200 defenders of the barricades erected on 3 and 4 December 1851. Not only insurgents, but all those who happened to be in the streets, were massacred. Scattered uprisings of republicans in the south-eastern, south-western and central départements of France, in which local democratic intelligentsia, artisans, workers, peasants and small traders participated, were also crushed.—509, 512

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—510

An allusion to the workers' uprisings in Paris on 1 April (12 Germinal according to the Republican calendar) 1795 and 20-23 May (1-4 Prairial) the same year against the Thermidor reactionary regime set up on 27 and 28 July 1794 (after the overthrow of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship on 9-10 Thermidor), and to the proletarian uprisings in Lyons in 1831 and 1834 after the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France.—512

Engels' letter to his sister Marie Blank has not been found.—514

Engels went to London on 20 December 1851. He stayed there for about a fortnight, mostly in Marx's company, and returned to Manchester on about 4 January 1852.—515, 516, 518, 562, 563

This refers to Joseph Weydemeyer's intention to publish a communist weekly Die Revolution in New York. Marx and Engels agreed to contribute regularly and intended to get some of their party friends to work for it. Weydemeyer managed to produce only two issues in January 1852, following which publication ceased for lack of funds. In May and June 1852 with the help of Adolph Cluss, Weydemeyer published two more issues of the 'non-periodic journal' Die Revolution; the first issue carried K. Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, the second Freiligrath's poems against Kinkel.—516
This apparently refers to the first in a series of articles on the coup d'etat of 2 December 1851 in France, conceived by Marx and intended for Joseph Weydemeyer's weekly Die Revolution published in America. The articles arrived too late for inclusion in the two January 1852 issues of the weekly. They were published in May in a non-periodic issue under the title The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.—516

The reference is to material intended for Joseph Weydemeyer's Die Revolution (see Note 527). Engels wrote four articles on England for it in December 1851-January 1852; only two, written at the end of January 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 198-209), reached Weydemeyer; the other two got lost on the way. Even the two which reached Weydemeyer were not published in Die Revolution, since it had ceased publication.—518

The Bonapartist coup d'etat of 2 December 1851 shattered all earlier expectations of major revolutionary events in France in May 1852 based on the expiry of the presidential powers that month (see Note 499).—519

In the first issue of Die Revolution Weydemeyer announced Marx's work on Proudhon. But since publication of the weekly was discontinued and there were no other possibilities for publishing the work, Marx did not write it. Other plans connected with the weekly as set forth at the beginning of the letter were not carried out either. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte which Marx finished only in March 1852 exceeded the limits of a mere article. Engels sent Weydemeyer articles on England and not on Prussia; some of them got lost on the way, some arrived too late (see Note 529). The two issues of Die Revolution carried excerpts from Marx's and Engels' 'Review, May to October 1850' published earlier in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue, No. 5-6, and (in issue No. 2) part of Chapter Two of the Manifesto of the Communist Party.—519

This refers to the change in the place and time of the meetings of the London district of the Communist League which Marx above calls the 'synagogue' partly jokingly, partly for reasons of secrecy. Early in 1852 the meetings were moved to premises in Crown Street and were held on Wednesdays, because of suspicions aroused by the appearance in London Communist League circles of Hirsch, a shop assistant, who later turned out to be a police spy (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 426).—521

The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, in a conversation with the French Ambassador in London shortly after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France, approved of Louis Bonaparte's usurpation. He did this without consulting the other members of the Whig Ministry, which led to his dismissal. The British Government was nevertheless the first to recognise the Bonapartist regime.—521

Only part of this letter is extant; the beginning and the end are missing. The year of its writing has been established by the fact that it deals with the expulsion of Marx from Paris by the French authorities early in February 1845 and the worries of his wife, who was forced to sell family heirlooms in a hurry to raise money for her journey with her small child to join Marx in Brussels.

As emerges from the letter, Jenny Marx was convinced that the German scientist, Alexander Humboldt, relative of the Prussian Foreign Minister, had played an unseemly role in Marx's expulsion from Paris, acting as mediator
between the Prussian authorities and the Guizot Government on this issue. Subsequently, Engels confirmed this version in his obituary of Jenny Marx (1881).—525

535 The letter has no date. The date of writing has been established by its mentioning Engels' return to Brussels from England (he had gone there with Marx in the second half of July 1845) on about 24 August 1845. Jenny Marx, who was expecting a second child, was in Trier at the time with her mother, Caroline von Westphalen.—526

536 Marx's letter to Jenny written in August 1845 has not been found.—526

537 Only part of the letter is extant, the end is missing, and neither month nor year of writing is given. Judging by Joseph Weydemeyer's letter to his future wife Louise Lüning of 21 February 1846, Marx accompanied his wife to Arlon on her way to Trier to visit her sick mother. Jenny Marx returned to Brussels in April 1846.—529

538 Marx's letter to his wife written some time before 23 March 1846 has not been found.—529

539 The reference is to the national liberation uprising in the Cracow republic which by the decision of the Congress of Vienna was controlled jointly by Austria, Russia and Prussia. The seizure of power in Cracow by the insurgents on 22 February 1846 and the establishment of a National Government of the Polish Republic, which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services, were part of the plan for a general uprising in the Polish lands. In March the Cracow uprising was crushed by the forces of Austria and Russia; in November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the 'free town of Cracow' into the Austrian Empire.—532, 533

540 George Julian Harney's letter was in reply to several letters Engels wrote to him on his own behalf and that of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (see Note 51); these letters have not survived but Harney's reply gives some idea of their contents.—533

541 On 15 and 17 March 1846 meetings of the Fraternal Democrats (see Note 122) in support of the Cracow uprising (see Note 539) took place in London. A report on them was published in *The Northern Star*, No. 436, 21 March 1846.—533

542 Engels recalled this period of joint work with Marx on *The German Ideology* in a letter to Laura Lafargue of 2 June 1883 (see present edition, Volume 47). He wrote that when he read passages from the manuscript to Hélène Demuth who kept house for him after Marx's death, she said: 'Now at last I know why that time in Brussels you two laughed at night so much that nobody in the house could sleep.' To this Engels added: 'We were bold devils then, Heine's poetry is childlike innocence compared with our prose.'—533

543 The *People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on 8 May 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839 and 1842, petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament.—533
Unlike the supporters of 'moral force' in the Chartist movement (see Note 339), O'Connor called in his speeches not only for peaceful means of struggle but for the use of 'physical force' as well.—534

Presumably an allusion to a resolution adopted by the Chartist Convention in 1839 confirming the people's right to support their demands by force of arms. But the Convention showed inconsistency and lack of determination by failing to organise the masses for energetic action when the Chartist petition was rejected by Parliament on 12 July.—534

Harney refers to plans for establishing an international communist organisation to unite by means of correspondence committees the advanced workers and the revolutionary intellectuals in various countries of Europe, primarily England, France and Germany.—536

The false rumours that when the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee was being formed Marx and Engels intended to restrict the organisers of the international proletarian party to intellectuals were spread by Weitling. This emerges from the letter of the London Communist Correspondence Committee to Marx of 6 June 1846 (MEGA2, Abt. III, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1980).—537

This refers to a resolution of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee censuring Thomas Cooper for disavowing the Chartist movement and preaching the anti-revolutionary doctrine of non-resistance to evil by force (the text of the resolution has not survived). Marx and Engels also censured Cooper in their 'Address of the German Democratic Communists of Brussels to Mr Feargus O'Conner' in July 1846 (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 59).—537

The reference is to the Chartist Land Cooperative Society founded on the initiative of O'Conner in 1845 (later the National Land Company, which lasted till 1848). The aim of the Society was to buy plots of land with the money collected, and to lease them to worker shareholders on easy terms. Among the positive aspects of the Society were its petitions to Parliament and printed propaganda against the aristocracy's monopoly of land. (These aspects were emphasised by Engels in 1847 in his article 'The Agrarian Programme of the Chartists', see present edition, Vol. 6.) However, the idea of liberating the workers from exploitation, of reducing unemployment, etc., by a return to the land proved utopian. The Society's activities were not successful in practice.—538

The German Workers' Club was founded in Paris on 8 and 9 March 1848 on the initiative of the Communist League leaders. The leading role in it belonged to Marx. The Club's aim was to unite the German emigrant workers in Paris, explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and make them join the adventurist march of volunteer legions into Germany. The Club was successful in arranging the return of German workers one by one to their own country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there.—539

Presumably an allusion to the émigré German Union (Réunion allemande) organised in Paris in August 1848. Although it occupied the left flank of the democratic movement and followed on the whole the political line charted by the Communist League, this organisation was not free from petty-bourgeois
influence. Moses Hess, who was in Paris at the time, tried to use it against Marx, Engels and their followers. On his initiative an attempt was made to split and change the organisation directed by the Communist League, in particular to set Marx and Engels at loggerheads. Ewerbeck, who came to Germany to attend the Second Congress of Democrats in Berlin, was to a certain extent involved by Hess in his political intrigues.—542

552 Neither Engels' letter to his mother written about 30 November 1848 nor his letters to his parents from Liège and Brussels mentioned below have been found.—543

553 Concordia—publishers in Vienna, apparently had an office in Berlin.—543

554 Engels and other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung attended the open meeting in the Eiser Hall, Cologne, on 20 September 1848 and he made a speech the text of which has not survived. From newspaper reports of the meeting it emerges that Engels branded as treachery the decision of the all-German Frankfurt National Assembly to ratify the treaty on the Danish-Prussian armistice.—543

555 Marx's letter to Georg Jung has not been found.—548

556 Peter Röser, a member of the Communist League Central Authority in Cologne, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at the Cologne communist trial in November 1852. From December 1853 to February 1854 he was in prison first in Berlin and then in Stettin. Hoping to ease his lot he gave written evidence, which survived in the Prussian police archives, concerning mainly the Communist League activity and the Cologne communities' contacts with Marx and other leaders in London. In particular, he quoted from memory some letters Marx sent to Cologne, which are not extant. Some of the information he gave was inexact, perhaps owing partly to the fact that he himself was not well informed and partly to a deliberate attempt on his part to give a more moderate impression of the Communist League's activity. So he gave an oversimplified account of Marx's idea about the stages of transition to communism, as though Marx reduced the whole process of revolutionary transformation passing through various stages merely to education. Contrary to Röser's assertion, the Cologne community of the Communist League already existed before it received Marx's letter early in 1850 suggesting that organisational activity in the Rhine Province should be intensified. Schramm was slightly and not seriously wounded in the duel with Willich, and seconds from both parties were present.

Despite these and some other inaccuracies, Röser's evidence on the whole presents an objective picture of the state of affairs in the Communist League at the time and throws additional light on the struggle by Marx and his associates against the sectarian adventurists.—550

557 The reference is to the Statute of the Revolutionary Party drafted by the London members of the Communist League at the end of 1848. Marx and his adherents criticised it sharply as early as the spring of 1849. The Statute reflected sectarian and conspiratorial tendencies, while the communist nature of the organisation and the communist aims of the movement were obscured by vague phrases about a 'social republic', etc. The document got no farther than the stage of draft rules, not being approved in Communist League circles.—550
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558 Presumably this refers to the district congresses of democrats of the Rhine Province and Westphalia held in Cologne on 13-14 August and 23 November 1848 and also to the district congresses of democratic societies and workers' unions of the province held in Cologne on 6 May 1849.—551

559 The Cologne Workers' Association—a workers' organisation founded on 13 April 1848 by Andreas Gottschalk. Most of the leading figures in the Workers' Association were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest on 6 July, Moll was elected President of the Association, and on 16 October the presidency was temporarily assumed by Marx at the request of the Association members. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

From the very outset, Gottschalk's sectarian position was opposed by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their impact the Workers' Association became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers and the peasants. It maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations. After the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was suppressed and Marx, Schapper and other leaders left Cologne, the Association gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society.—553

560 The reference is to the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League to the League of 1 December 1850 censuring the splitting activities of the Willich-Schapper group. Together with the Address and other documents, the Central Authority also sent to the London district the Communist League Rules which had been drawn up in Cologne (see notes 342 and 438).—560

561 Jenny Marx's letter to Georg Weerth written at Marx's request has not survived.—561

562 Instead of an article on Prussia, Engels soon wrote a series of articles on England for Joseph Weydemeyer's weekly Die Revolution: however, they were not published (see Note 529).—562, 563
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* Asterisks are placed before names of correspondents of Marx and Engels.—Ed.
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*Becker, Hermann Heinrich (Red Becker) (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, editor of the Westdeutsche Zeitung from May 1849 to July 1850; member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial in 1852; subsequently a national-liberal.—185, 230, 251, 266, 267, 273, 282, 284, 308, 310, 314, 320, 342, 355, 365, 366, 432, 489, 560

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland and in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—222, 334

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Bernays, Josephine—wife of Karl Ludwig Bernays.—55

Bernays, Karl Ludwig (Lazarus Ferdinand Coelestin) (1815-1879)—German radical journalist, an editor of Vorwärts! (Paris) in 1844; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution.—4, 18, 25, 32, 40, 43, 53, 56, 60, 62, 64, 68, 72-73, 88-89, 90, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 135, 157

Berryer, Pierre Antoine (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—484, 504

Berthold, Otto—Prussian ex-non-commissioned officer; was connected with Willich and Schapper in the early 1850s.—483, 487

Bettschich, Heinrich (pseudonym Beta) (1813-1876)—German journalist, refugee in London, supported Gottfried Kinkel.—432

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899)—Prussian officer, member of the committee of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the
Neue Kölnische Zeitung (September 1848-February 1849); delegate to the Second Democratic Congress in Berlin (October 1848); took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—191

Biedermann, Friedrich Karl (1812-1901)—German historian and liberal journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—66

Biringer, Carl—subscriber to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue in Höchst.—226


Blank, Friedrich (b. 1846)—son of Marie Blank (née Engels) and Karl Emil Blank.—35

Blank, Fritz—brother of Karl Emil Blank.—37

Blank, Hermann—brother of Karl Emil Blank.—171, 254, 515

Blank, Karl Emil (1817-1893)—German merchant in London, closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—3, 19, 33, 35, 36, 46, 165, 175, 176, 207, 252, 265, 515, 543

Blank, Marie—see Engels, Marie

Blank, Wilhelm (1821-1892)—schoolmate of Frederick Engels, subsequently a merchant.—5

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots: adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution.—285, 313, 314, 318, 319, 343, 381

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London in the 1850s; became a national-liberal in the 1860s.—199, 216, 239, 474, 478

Bloss, Rudolph Cuno—German engraver, took part in the democratic movement in the 1840s.—163, 165

Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht von (1742-1819)—Prussian field marshal; took part in the war against Napoleonic France.—540

Bodelschwingh, Ernst, Baron von (1794-1854)—Prussian conservative politician, Minister of Finance from 1842; Minister of the Interior from 1845 to March 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) from 1849.—70

Böhler—German refugee in London in the 1850s.—437

Bohnstedt—German lawyer, democrat; a shareholder of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848.—174

Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig (1826-1885)—German journalist; founder of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution.—139, 149, 153, 539

Born, Stephan (real name Buttermilch, Simon) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution.—38

Börne, Ludwig (1786-1837)—German critic and writer; advocated Christian socialism towards the end of his life.—38

Bornstedt, Adalbert von (1808-1851)—German journalist; founder and editor of the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung (1847-48); a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris;
member of the Communist League until his expulsion in March 1848; a secret agent of the Prussian police in the 1840s.—120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 138, 145, 153, 154, 155, 156, 162, 165, 540

Börnstein, Arnold Bernhard Karl (1808-1849)—German democrat; a leader of the volunteer legion of German refugees in Paris.—540

*Börnstein, Heinrich (1805-1892)—German democratic journalist; founder and editor of Vorwärts! (Paris); emigrated to the USA in 1849, editor of the Anzeiger des Westens (St. Louis).—8, 14, 15, 31, 55, 88, 107, 108, 114, 115, 135

Bourbons—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15 and 1815-30).—116

Boyen, Leopold Hermann Ludwig von (1771-1848)—Prussian general, Minister of War (1814-19 and 1841-47).—70

Bracht—member of a political club in Elberfeld (1848).—175

Bray, John Francis (1809-1897)—English economist; utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, developed the theory of 'labour money'.—109

Brehmer, Hermann—founder of the Workers' Association in Breslau in 1848-49; correspondent of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; editor of the Schlesische Volkszeitung (October 1849-March 1850).—196

Bremer, Fredrika (1801-1865)—Swedish novelist.—94

Brentano, Lorenz Peter (1813-1891)—Baden lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA.—426

Breyer, Friedrich Albert (1812-1876)—German liberal; physician in Brussels in the 1840s, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—118, 162, 164, 528

Bricourt, Jean Joseph (1805-1857)—Belgian legal officer; democrat; member of the Chamber of Representatives (1847-48).—164

Brockhaus, Heinrich (1804-1874)—publisher and bookseller, owned a big publishing and bookselling business in Leipzig from 1850.—68

Broglio, Achille Charles Léonce Victor, duc de (1785-1870)—French statesman, Prime Minister (1835-36), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), Orleanist.—484

Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal; editor-in-chief of the Köl nische Zeitung (1846-55).—337, 451

Bruhn, Karl von (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws and subsequently of the Communist League, from which he was expelled in 1850; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, later a Lassallean.—196, 197, 407, 549

Brunswick, Duke of—see Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm

Brutus, Marcus Junius (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, republican; an initiator of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—285, 338, 456

Bucher, Lothar (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a refugee in London; later a national-liberal and supporter of Bismark.—296, 317, 321, 440, 446

Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian socialist.—58

Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist.—169

Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz (1814-c.1882)—German journalist; Young Hegelian; editor of the Berliner Monatsschrift in Mannheim (1844).—11

Bülow, Dietrich Heinrich, Baron von (1757-1808)—Prussian officer and military writer.—329
Bülow, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von Dennewiss (1755-1816)—Prussian general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—329

Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer and theologian; ambassador to London (1842-54).—401

Bürgers, Heinrich (1820-1878)—German journalist, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, member of the Communist League and of its Central Authority (from 1850); one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852).—9, 14, 25, 28, 49, 61, 69, 111, 128, 159, 171, 185-86, 251, 341, 346, 351, 365, 366, 373, 384, 390, 491, 526, 529

Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, sister of Mary Burns; Frederick Engels' second wife.——266

Burns, Mary (c. 1823-1863)—Irish working woman, Frederick Engels' first wife.——37, 153, 266, 273, 369, 530

Butz, Gustav—publisher in Hagen in the 1840s.——16

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of Voyage en Icarie.——53, 114, 136, 169, 423, 534

Caesar, Gaius Julius (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.——288

Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, from 1823 co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House, Hamburg.——7, 34, 343, 475

Camphausen, Ludolf (1803-1890)—German banker; a Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie leader; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).——176

Canute (Cnut), 'Canute the Great' (c. 995-1035)—King of Denmark (1014-35) and also of England (from 1017) and of Norway (from 1028).——93

Capet, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond (1801-1872)—French journalist and historian; monarchist.——116

Caperon, Paulin—French émigré, member of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s.——247, 249, 254, 560

Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph (1799-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1849-51); Bonapartist.——479, 484

Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.——4, 461

Carnap, Johann Adolph von (born c. 1793)—Prussian official, Chief Burschomaster of Elberfeld from 1837 to 1851.——24

Carnot, Lazare Nicolas (1753-1823)—French mathematician; political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.——505

Cassel—Brussels banker.——158, 164

Castiaux, Adelson (1804-1879)—Belgian lawyer and politician; democrat; member of the Chamber of Representatives (1843-48).——159, 164

Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Elder) (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.——442

Caussidière, Marc (1808-1861)—French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris police after the February 1848 revolution; deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.——337, 505

Cavaignac, Louis Eugène (1802-1857)—French general, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848; directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).——355, 357, 360-61, 363, 367, 466, 469, 484-85, 503

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.——397
Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; commander of the Paris garrison and the National Guard after June 1848; took part in dispersing the demonstration of 13 June 1849 in Paris.—357, 360, 363, 479, 484, 503, 504

Christ, A.—German journalist, author of a pamphlet on protective tariffs.—376, 402

Christian VIII (1786-1848)—King of Denmark (1839-48).—70

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—316

Clark, Thomas (d. 1857)—a Chartist leader, Fraternal Democrat (1847), reformist after 1848.—272, 285

Clausewitz, Karl von (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—372

Clouth, Wilhelm—owner of the Cologne printshop where the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was printed from 1 June to 27 August 1848.—175

Cluss, Adolph (1825-1905)—German engineer; member of the Communist League; emigrated in 1848 to the USA, where he was a member of German-American workers’ organisations; one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America.—496, 519

Cobbett, William (c. 1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—140

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—205-06, 211, 281, 347

Cohen—wife of Karl Blind.—474, 478

Confucius (550 or 551-479 B.C.)—Chinese philosopher and statesman.—429

Considérant, Victor Prosper (1808-1895)—French journalist, utopian socialist, disciple and follower of Fourier.—94, 411

Cooper, Thomas (1805-1892)—English poet and journalist; Chartist in the early 1840s; subsequently a non-conformist preacher.—537

Costa Cabral, António Bernardo da (1803-1889)—Portuguese statesman, leader of the bourgeois-monarchist party, head of government (1842-46 and 1849-51).—358

Cotta, Johann Georg (1796-1863)—German publisher.—398, 476

Crémieux, Isaac Moïse (called Adolphe) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician; liberal; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—167

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution; Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—284, 323, 535

Crüger, Friedrich (1820-c. 1857)—member of the Communist League and the German Workers’ Society in Brussels.—122, 123, 124, 127-28

Culpeper, Sir Thomas (1578-1662)—English economist, advocate of mercantilism.—494

D

Damm—German democrat; President of the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; emigrated to England.—436

Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-1897)—American journalist, an editor and editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the New York Daily Tribune.—403, 457, 480, 497, 506, 518, 519

Daniels, Amalie (née Müller) (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels.—472, 548

Daniels, Roland (1819-1855)—German physician; member of the Communist League and of its Cologne Central Authority from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist
trial (1852); friend of Marx and Engels.—48, 61, 68, 110, 159, 217, 302, 326, 330, 338, 341, 343, 365, 366, 368, 369, 372, 384, 393, 477, 529, 548

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—474

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—58, 505

Darasz, Albert (1808-1852)—active in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic organisations of Polish emigrants; member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—255

Darbeck—police inspector in Brussels in 1848.—159

Daul, A.—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—222

Davoine—Bern bookseller.—221

Decker—German democrat, an organiser of the German refugees' legion in London.—540

Decker, Karl von (1784-1844)—German general and military writer.—331, 405

Delessert, Gabriel Abraham Marguerite (1786-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1836-48).—90, 91

Dembiński, Henryk (1791-1864)—Polish general, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army in February-April 1848; emigrated first to Turkey and then to France.—206, 328

Demidov, Anatoly Nikolayevich (1813-1870)—Russian aristocrat, owner of a number of mines and steel works.—363

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—315, 548

Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—296

Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Be noist (1760-1794)—French journalist, figure in the French Revolution, Right-wing Jacobin.—73

Dickens, Charles John Huff am (1812-1870)—English novelist.—243

Dietz, Bernhard (d. 1850)—German journalist, democrat, editor of the Cologne Freie Volksblätter (1848-49), was persecuted by the authorities.—195

Dietz, Oswald (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; refugee in London; member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; subsequently took part in the American Civil War.—247, 255, 265, 442; 467, 473-74, 477, 483, 484, 498

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—296

Döbler, Ludwig (1801-1864)—Austrian conjurer, showed 'misty images'.—367

Doherty, Hugh—Irish philologist and philosopher, follower of Fourier, editor of the Démocratie pacifique in 1846.—55

Dolleschall, Laurenz (b. 1790)—police official in Cologne (1819-47), censor of the Rheinische Zeitung.—355

Dominicus, Adolf—German merchant, uncle of Ernst Dronke.—173

Donovan, Daniel—Lancashire Chartist leader in the 1840s-50s.—263, 264

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German writer, at first a 'true socialist', later a member of the Communist League and editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England.—163, 164, 172, 173, 178, 179, 190, 191, 200, 201, 203, 207, 208, 212, 233, 235, 237, 250, 256, 263, 271, 296, 301, 304, 319, 336, 342, 347, 380, 457, 459, 475, 481, 482, 561

Dronke, Ernst Friedrich Johann (1797-1849)—father of Ernst Dronke, teacher, gymnasium headmaster in Fulda from 1841.—173
Drucker, Louis—German journalist, democrat, publisher of the London humorous weekly How Do You Do? (1851).—418, 432
Dubourg-Butler, Frédéric, comte (1778-1850)—French general, took part in the 1830 revolution.—319
Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—90, 154
Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government.—211
Dulon, Rudolph (1807-1870)—German minister, a leader of the Friends of Light movement opposing the official church; emigrated to the USA in 1853.—267, 268, 398
Dumas, Alexandre (Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie) (1802-1870)—French novelist and dramatist.—294
Dumon, Pierre Sylvain (1797-1870)—French lawyer and statesman, Minister of Public Works (1843-47) and Minister of Finance (1847-48).—54
Dumouriez, Charles François du Périer (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—470
Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—503
Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Charles (1767-1855)—French liberal politician, participated in the French revolutions of 1789-94 and 1830; close to the moderate republicans in the 1840s; President of the Provisional Government in 1848.—167
Dureau de la Malle, Adolph Jules César Auguste (1777-1857)—French philologist and archaeologist.—425, 435
Dust—non-commissioned officer in the Cologne garrison.—192

E

Ebner, Hermann Friedrich (1805-1856)—German journalist; secret agent of the Austrian police in the 1840s-50s.—398, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 475, 482, 491, 493, 495, 499-502, 520
Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—German tailor; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; member of the General Council of the First International; subsequently joined the British trade-union movement.—250, 266, 285, 491, 519
Eisen, Franz Carl—Cologne bookseller, distributed the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.—229, 232, 560
Eisermann—German joiner, member of the League of the Just in Paris in the 1840s.—61, 63, 71, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 90, 115
Elsner, Karl Friedrich Moritz (1809-1894)—Silesian radical Moritz, an editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung in the 1850s.—321
Enfantin, Barthélémy Prosper (nickname Père Enfantin) (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, disciple of Saint-Simon; after his death headed the Saint-Simonist school.—57
Engels—Prussian colonel, after 1851 general, commandant of Cologne in the 1840s-50s.—192, 194, 347
Engels, Anna (1825-1853)—sister of Frederick Engels.—23, 171
Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia (née van Haar) (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—19, 23, 29, 35, 36, 166, 171, 181, 452, 540, 541, 543-46
Engels, Elise (1834-1912)—youngest sister of Frederick Engels.—35, 546

Engels, Hedwig (1830-1904)—sister of Frederick Engels.—23, 29, 546

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—brother of Frederick Engels.—5, 36, 449, 451, 452, 455, 546

Engels, Marie (1824-1901)—sister of Frederick Engels, married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—3, 32, 33, 167, 171, 176, 254, 514

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—brother of Frederick Engels.—29, 546

Ermen, Anton—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—170

Ermen, Gottfried—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—250, 253, 281, 378

Ermen, Peter (Pitt) (b. 1810)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—250, 253, 255, 281, 325, 378, 395, 509

Ernst, Augustus (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—389, 392

Eschweilers—an acquaintance of Mrs Marx in Cologne.—548

Esselen, Christian (1823-1859)—German writer, democrat; a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848; emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—214, 222

Esselens, Prosper Joseph Antoine (1817-1878)—Belgian democrat, publisher and editor of the Liège newspaper Le People.—154, 163

Esser, Christian Joseph (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association.—450

d'Estier, Karl Ludwig Johann (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; became a member of the Central Committee of Democrats in Germany (October 1848), played a prominent part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later emigrated to Switzerland.—6, 17, 69, 159, 174, 200, 215, 301, 500, 501

Ewerbeck, August Hermann (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters; leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, later member of the Communist League (till 1850).—3, 6, 18, 52-53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 65, 69, 71, 72, 80, 83, 89, 90, 111, 115, 116, 119, 170, 173, 190, 435, 475, 478, 484, 525, 526, 542

Fabricius, Franz—Frankfurt merchant, democrat.—375

Faider, Victor—Belgian lawyer and politician, moderate democrat.—163, 164

Fanon—French émigré, member of the committee of the Société des procríts démocrates et socialistes in the early 1850s.—247, 249, 254, 560

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German journalist and economist, Young Hegelian; professed individualistic, anarchist views in the early 1850s; an emigrant in England in 1850-51.—355-56, 358, 418, 425, 426, 431

Faucher, Léon (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849) and 1851); later Bonapartist.—367, 479, 484

Faulenbach—an acquaintance of Mrs Marx in Cologne.—547

Fenner von Fenneberg, Daniel (1820-1863)—Austrian officer, commanded the Vienna National Guard in 1848, later commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Palatinate insurgent army, emigrated.—191, 400

Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—12, 22, 23, 54, 68, 75-76, 77, 78, 79, 251, 448, 474, 478
Fickler, Joseph (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated to Switzerland and then to England and the USA.—385, 386, 391, 403, 408, 428, 436, 437, 438, 439-40, 499

Fieschi—refugee in London in the 1850s.—251

Fischer—German democratic journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to the USA.—334, 336, 339, 433, 438, 443, 444, 446, 485, 487, 488

Fischer, F.—member of the Communist League and the German Workers' Society in Brussels.—127

Fix, Théodore (1800-1846)—French economist and journalist, contributor to the Journal des Économistes.—66, 67

Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat; an editor of La Réforme; member of the Provisional Government in 1848.—135, 136, 137, 139, 143, 152, 156, 158, 161, 166, 168, 169, 382, 505

Florencourt, Franz von (François Chassot de) (1803-1886)—German writer, editor of a number of periodicals; first liberal and later conservative.—338

Foucault, Léon (1819-1868)—French physicist.—343

Fould, Achille (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times from 1849 to 1867.—166

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—13, 25, 26, 27, 55, 57, 95, 104

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—355

Franck, Gustav (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat, a refugee in London in the early 1850s.—436, 440

Franck, Paul—German democratic journalist; emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s.—347

Frank, A.—Paris publisher.—8, 142, 143, 144, 149

Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—329

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—70, 141, 160, 249, 355, 376


Freiligrath, Ida (1817-1899)—wife of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—206, 217, 521

Fröbel, Julius (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher.—19, 49, 74

G

Galeer, Albert Frédéric Jean (1813-1851)—Swiss teacher and man of letters, democrat; took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—319, 380

Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate Republican; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris in 1848.—167

Gebert, August—Mecklenburg joiner, member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850.—247, 320, 334, 374, 382

Gehrke—German refugee in London in the 1850s.—437

Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold—Prussian police official; in 1848 examining magistrate, then Chief of Police in Cologne.—189, 192

Gigot, Charles Philippe (1819-1860)—participant in the Belgian working-class and democratic movement, member of the Communist League
and of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. — 38, 39, 89, 118, 126, 130, 153, 158, 159, 162, 165, 178, 179, 544

Girardin, Émile de (1806-1881) — French journalist and politician, editor of La Presse; notorious for his lack of principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution, later Bonapartist. — 357, 360, 363, 444, 448, 484

Glaize — an acquaintance of Mrs Marx. — 525

Godwin, William (1756-1836) — English writer and philosopher, one of the founders of anarchism. — 27

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897) — German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution. — 240, 356, 358, 385, 391, 403, 428, 436, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 446

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832) — German poet. — 18, 68, 110, 264, 474, 500

Göhlinger, Carl (born c. 1808) — Baden innkeeper, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group. — 334, 343, 359, 437, 475, 477, 483, 486, 492

Goldheim — Prussian police officer, a secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s. — 349

Görgy, Arthur (1818-1916) — a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army; War Minister from May 1849; voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs, and later capitulation. — 206, 328

Gottfried — see Kinkel, Gottfried

Gottschalk, Andreas (1815-1849) — German physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); exponent of 'Left' sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement. — 142, 159, 183, 352

Goulet — French émigré, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrips démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s. — 247, 249, 254

Graham, Sir James Robert George (1792-1861) — British statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his career and later a Peelite; Home Secretary in Peel's Cabinet (1841-46). — 349

Greppo, Jean Louis (1810-1888) — French socialist, took part in the Lyons uprisings in 1831 and 1834; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic. — 310

Grey, Sir George (1799-1882) — British Whig statesman, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1854-55). — 349

Gross, Magnus — German democratic journalist; emigrated to the USA in the 1850s. — 262, 269, 271

Grouchy, Emmanuel, marquis de (1766-1847) — Marshal of France, took part in the Napoleonic wars. — 169

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (pseudonym Ernst von der Haide) (1817-1887) — German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; petty-bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly. — 9, 39, 52, 53, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 71, 72, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 384, 532

Gsell — the Marxes' landlady in Paris. — 56, 65, 161

Gubitza, Friedrich Wilhelm (1786-1870) — German writer and wood engraver; editor of Gesellschafter from 1817. — 432

Guerrier — French socialist. — 6, 18

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874) — French historian and statesman; practically directed France's foreign and home policy
from 1840 up to the February rev-
olution of 1848.—54, 199, 525

Günther, Georg—German democratic
journalist; a refugee in London in the
early 1850s.—284

Gutenberg, Johann (c. 1400-1468)—
German inventor of printing.—447

Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand (1811-1878)—
German writer, member of the
Young Germany literary group.—38

H

Habburg—see Francis Joseph I

Hagen, Theodor (1823-1871)—
Communist League member in Ham-
burg, took part in publishing and
distributing the Neue Rheinische
Zentung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue.—
222, 228, 230, 231-32

Hain, August—German refugee in
London, member of the Communist
League.—397, 404

Hansen, Heinrich—Cologne joiner,
member of the Communist
League.—547

Hauny, George Julian (1817-1897)—
prominent figure in the English
labour movement, a leader of the
Chartist Left wing; editor of The
Northern Star, Democratic Review,
Friend of the People, Red Republican.—
88, 91, 92, 135, 144, 158, 171, 211,
217, 242, 243, 244, 251, 264, 266,
268, 272, 279, 285, 287, 289, 291,
292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299, 302,
303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 311,
313, 314-15, 346, 360, 380, 399, 476,
479, 481, 488, 533, 534, 535, 536-38,
539, 560

Harney, Mary (née Cameron) (d.
1853)—wife of George Julian Har-
ney.—266, 285, 295, 302, 346, 533

Hassenpflug, Hans Daniel Ludwig Fried-
rich (1794-1862)—German states-
man; Minister of Justice and the
Interior of Hesse-Cassel (1832-37),
head of the Hesse-Cassel Ministry
(1850-55).—405

Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess von (1805-
1881)—German aristocrat; broke
with her husband and later became a
friend and follower of Lassalle.—
140, 204

Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count
von (b. 1798)—husband of Sophie
Hatzfeldt.—140

Haude—participant in the German
democratic movement in the 1840s,
member of the Communist League,
belonged to the sectarian Willich-
Schapper group, was its emissary in
Germany in 1850.—250, 251, 374,
382, 561

Haug, Ernst—Austrian army officer,
democrat; took part in the 1848-49
revolution in Italy; emigrated to En-
gland; an editor of the weekly Der
Kosmos.—319, 342, 345, 355, 359,
425, 427, 428, 437, 440

Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm (born c.
1831)—German business clerk,
member of the Communist League;
was arrested with other Cologne
communists, gave evidence com-
promising them and was released
before the trial; fled to Brazil.—266,
399-93, 407, 474, 477, 483, 484, 486,
487, 491, 552, 553

Haussy, François de—Belgian Minister
of Justice in 1848.—164

Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von (1786-
1853)—Austrian general; took part
in suppressing the revolution in Italy
(1848-49) and Hungary (1849-50).—
298, 502

Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis (1799-
1887)—French lawyer and states-
man, Orleanist; Chief Public Pro-
secutor from 1841, Minister of Just-
tice (1847-February 1848).—114

Hecker, Karl—German democrat, a
leader of the Elberfeld uprising in
1849.—171, 174

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-
1831)—German philosopher.—12,
13, 97, 251, 422, 494, 505

Heilberg, Louis (1818-1852)—German
journalist, refugee in Brussels,
member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846 and later of the Communist League.—122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 144, 245

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—21, 30, 31-32, 37, 65, 107-108, 112, 139, 145, 153, 211, 265, 418, 430, 493, 508, 513, 516, 526

Heine, Mathilde (née Mirat) (1815-1883)—wife of Heinrich Heine.—21, 31

Heinemann—Prussian police agent in England.—450

Heimen, Karl (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.—48, 122, 126, 139, 153, 181, 220, 222, 296, 317, 341, 342, 343, 362, 376, 388, 399, 402, 407, 408, 417, 439, 447, 448, 458, 473, 483, 489, 499, 515-16, 549

Heise, Heinrich (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to England.—284

Henricus—see Bürgers, Heinrich

Hentze, A.—German army officer, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—220

Hertle, Daniel (b. 1824)—German journalist, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—440

Herwegh, Emma (née Siegmund) (1817-1904)—wife of Georg Herwegh.—121, 142

Herwegh, Georg Friedrich (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, an organiser of the German legion in Paris in 1848.—21, 31-32, 43, 118, 119, 120, 121, 140, 142, 154, 162, 526, 540

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a 'true socialist', member of the Communist League, was associated with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 64-65, 66, 68, 79, 81, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 117, 121, 126, 127, 138, 153, 154, 155, 158, 164, 173, 382, 529, 532, 542

Hess, Sibylle (née Pesch) (1820-1903)—wife of Moses Hess.—46, 47, 56, 64, 153, 382, 561

Hetherington, Henri (1792-1849)—American publisher.—535

Hill—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—253, 326

Hine, L. A.—German democrat, refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—271

Hirsch, Wilhelm—Hamburg business clerk; Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—498

Hochstetter—German refugee deported from Belgium.—192

Hody, Alexis Guillaume, Baron (1807-1880)—chief of political police in Brussels in the 1840s.—32, 33

Hoff, Heinrich (1810-1852)—German publisher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to the USA.—447, 454

Höffgen, Bernhard Robert—founder and owner of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung (from 1848).—339

Hoffstetter, Gustav von (1818-1874)—Swiss army officer and military writer; took part in the war against the Sonderbund, fought in Garibaldi's force in 1849.—405

Hollinger—German refugee in London.—441, 442

Homer—semi-legendary epic poet of ancient Greece, author of the Iliad and the Odyssey.—444

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—78, 357

Hover—non-commissioned officer in the Cologne garrison.—194

Howitt, William (1792-1879)—English writer.—367

Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm (born c. 1817)—German
tailor, member of the Communist League; took part in the Elberfeld uprising in 1849.—306

**Hunt, Thornton Leigh** (1810-1873)—English radical journalist; took part in the Chartist movement in the 1840s-50s.—497

**Hurst, Ambrose**—Chartist; a reformist after 1848.—272

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**Imandt, Peter** (b. 1824)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1852; supporter of Marx and Engels.—191

**Imbert, Jacques** (1793-1851)—French socialist, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; a refugee in Belgium in the 1840s; Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association; commandant of the Tuileries after the February 1848 revolution.—123, 124, 126, 129, 169

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**Jacobi, Abraham** (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852), acquitted; later emigrated to the USA.—369

**Jacoby, Johann** (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a Left wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—135, 393

**James I** (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—70

**Jenni, Samuel Friedrich** (1809-1849)—radical journalist and publisher in Bern.—88

**Jerrold, Douglas William** (1803-1857)—English writer and dramatist.—533

**Johnston, Alexander Keith** (1804-1871)—British traveller, geographer and cartographer.—476

**Johnston, James Finlay Wier** (1796-1855)—British chemist, author of works on agricultural chemistry.—476

**Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, Prince de** (1818-1900)—Duke of Orleans, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February revolution of 1848.—169

**Jomini, Antoine Henri, baron de** (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the service of France and then Russia; military theoretician and historian.—372

**Jones, Ernest Charles** (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—158, 243, 244, 251, 263-65, 272, 285, 294, 297, 304, 307, 312, 322, 346, 380, 399, 401, 498, 502, 539

**Jottrand, Lucien Léopold** (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847).—123, 124, 129, 132-33, 160, 162

**Julius, Gustav** (1810-1851)—German democratic journalist, publisher of the daily Berliner Zeitungs-Halle (1846-49).—67, 69, 296, 317, 398, 432

**Jung, Georg Gottlob** (1814-1886)—German democratic writer, Young Hegelian, a manager of the Rheinische Zeitung; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—9, 21, 22, 225, 548

**Junge (Jungen), Adolph Friedrich**—German worker, member of the League of the Just in Paris, member of the Communist League (from 1847); emigrated to the USA early in 1848.—62, 71, 83, 85, 90, 111, 126, 127, 130

**Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)** (c. 60-c. 140)—Roman satirical poet.—285, 440
K

Kapp, Friedrich (1824-1884)—German lawyer, historian and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—190, 191, 404, 447, 454

Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick (from 1823), was deposed and emigrated to England in 1830; maintained contact with democratic refugees in the 1840s-50s; financially supported the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung.—251, 427

Kats, Jacob (1804-1886)—Belgian worker, prominent figure in the working-class movement, influenced by utopian socialism.—123, 125

Kendall—headmaster of a school in Manchester.—404

Kiessling—Brussels bookseller.—79


Kinkel, Johanna (née Mochel) (1810-1858)—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—355, 359, 362, 427, 428

Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von (1802-1884)—German lawyer and philosopher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; later member of the Progressist Party.—357

Klapka, György (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848-49, emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—230

Klein, Johann Jacob (born c. 1818-d. between 1895 and 1897)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852), acquitted.—551

Klein, Karl Wilhelm—German worker, member of the Communist League, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of workers' associations, later a prominent figure in the First International.—239

Kleist-Retzow, Hans Hugo von (1814-1892)—Prussian conservative politician, a founder of the Neue Preussische Zeitung.—390

Klose, G.—German refugee in London, member of the Communist League.—387, 389

Koch, Eduard Ignaz—German Catholic priest, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in the 1850s.—481

Köhler, J.—Geneva banker in the 1840s.—178

Köhler, J. E. M.—owner of the Hamburg printing-house where the first issues of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue were printed in 1850.—219, 228

Köppen, Karl Friedrich (1808-1863)—German writer and historian, Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—177

Korff, Hermann—Prussian ex-officer, democrat; manager of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—181, 190

Körner, A. F.—German artist, acquaintance of Engels in Paris in the 1840s.—91, 116, 145

Kossuth, Lajos (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement, head of the Hungarian revolutionary government; emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA.—325, 328, 473, 475, 488, 492, 498, 502-03, 508, 520

Köttgen, Gustav Adolph (1805-1882)—German artist and poet, took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s, was close to the 'true socialists'.—24, 30, 108
Kriege, Hermann (1820-1850)—German journalist; 'true socialist'; founder and editor of the New York refugees' newspaper Der Volks-Tribun.—22, 23, 25, 79-80, 84, 86, 87
Krug, Wilhelm Traugott (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—316
Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm (1796-1868)—German preacher, Calvinist minister, leader of the Wuppertal pietists.—4
Kühtmann—German publisher.—79, 93, 109, 112, 114

L

Ladenberg, Adalbert von (1798-1855)—Prussian official, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—186
Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtually head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—134, 137, 146, 165, 166, 167-68
Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de (1782-1854)—French priest, writer, Christian socialist.—448
Lamoy, Jean Baptiste (b. 1790)—owner of the hotel in Brussels where Marx stayed on several visits to Belgium.—52
Laroche—see Lehmann, August Friedrich Gottlieb
La Sagra, Ramon de (1798-1871)—Spanish economist, historian and naturalist, liberal.—156
Las Cases, Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné, comte de (1766-1842)—French historian, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-16); published Mémorial de Sainte Hélène (1822-23).—464
Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—204, 216
Lautz—banker in Trier.—323
Laverrière—acquaintance of Engels in Barmen.—174
Leach, James—English weaver; took part in the labour movement, a leader of the Chartists in Lancashire in the 1840s; later a reformist.—263, 264, 272
Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of La Réforme; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Montagnards); emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—152, 166, 168, 249, 254-55, 279, 282, 283, 287, 292, 293, 294, 304, 309, 337, 360, 380, 411, 437, 439, 448, 484, 500, 506, 508, 510, 526
Lehmann, Albert—German worker resident in London, member of the League of the Just and of the Communist League, member of the Central Committee of the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—245
Lehmann, August Friedrich Gottlieb (b. 1819)—German shoemaker, democrat; was connected with Willich; convicted on a charge of high treason in 1851.—362
Lenchen—see Demuth, Helene
Leopold I (1790-1865)—King of the Belgians (1831-65).—107, 471
Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871)—French journalist, utopian socialist; deputy to the Constituent (1848-49) and Legislative (1849) Assemblies.—57, 219
Leske, Karl Friedrich Julius (1821-1886)—owner, from 1845, of the publishing house founded by C.W. Leske in 1821 in Darmstadt.—16, 21, 26, 48-52, 68-69, 74, 86, 87, 88, 208

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—German tailor, member of the Communist League, where he was known as Karstens; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne communist trial (1852); member of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—399

Liebig, Justus von, Baron (1803-1873)—German chemist.—476

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; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—257, 317, 330, 385, 387, 391, 397, 433, 442, 457, 474, 562

Lièvre Eugène—French democrat; refugee in the USA; supported Hermann Kriege in the 1840s.—406

List, Friedrich (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—11, 28, 79

Löllgen (Löllchen), Johann Adam—innkeeper in Cologne in the 1840s.—6

Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48).—68, 120, 169, 316, 533

Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne.—205

Lovett, William (1800-1874)—English radical, Chartist; advocated the theory of 'moral force' and collaboration with the bourgeoisie.—538

Löwe, Wilhelm (1814-1886)—German democrat; Vice-President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (known as Löwe von Calbe after the Prussian district of Calbe in which he was elected); leader of the Assembly's 'rump' in Stuttgart; emigrated; later a Progressist.—500, 503, 507

Löwenthal, Zacharias (pseudonym Carl Friedrich Loening) (1810-1884)—German publisher in the 1840s-50s.—18, 31, 68, 475, 491, 493, 494-95, 514

Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone (1796-1888)—English banker, economist, leader of the 'Currency Principles School'.—270, 274

Lubliner, Ludwik Ozeasz (1809-1868)—Polish lawyer, revolutionary, refugee in Brussels; member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—159

Lucius—German lawyer and journalist.—359

Lüders, Wilhelm—German democratic journalist, refugee in London.—439

Lüning, Louise—see Weydemeyer, Louise

Lüning, Otto (1818-1868)—German physician and writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; editor of Das Westphälische Dampfboot and the Neue Deutsche Zeitung; later a national-liberal.—68, 163, 201, 212, 213, 233, 238, 246, 539, 559

Lupus—see Wolff, Wilhelm

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer; leader of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—400

M

MacCulloch, John Ramsay (1789-1864)—British economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's doctrine.—480

MacFarlane, Helen—Chartist on the staff of the Democratic Review (1849-50) and the Red Republican (1850); translated the Manifesto of the Communist Party into English.—295-96, 560

McGrath, Philip—Chartist, member of
the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association.—272

MacGregor, John (1797-1857)—British statistician, Free Trader.—480

Majer (Mayer), Adolph (born c. 1819)—member of the Communist League in London, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, its emissary in France.—247

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, founder of a misanthropic population theory.—258, 261, 425

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—418

Mantle, George Joseph—Chartist, delegate to the Chartist Conference in Manchester and the Chartist Convention in London (1851).—272

Maria II, da Gloria (1819-1853)—Queen of Portugal (1826-28 and 1834-53).—358

Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, member of the Provisional Government (1848).—167

Marrast, Armand (1801-1852)—French writer and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans; editor of Le National; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848), President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—85, 116, 167, 169

Martens, Joachim Friedrich (1806-1877)—German joiner, member of the League of the Just in Paris, a leader of the Workers’ Educational Society and the Communist League community in Hamburg.—389, 436

Martin du Nord, Nicolas Ferdinand Marie Louis Joseph (1790-1847)—French lawyer and politician, Minister of Justice and Religious Worship from 1840.—114

Marx, Edgar (Musch) (1847-1855)—son of Karl Marx.—251, 361, 365, 540, 556, 558, 562

Marx, Franziska (1851-1852)—daughter of Karl Marx.—326

Marx, Heinrich Guido (Fawksy) (1849-1850)—son of Karl Marx.—220, 241-42, 250, 549-50, 556, 557

Marx, Henriette (née Pressburg) (1787-1863)—mother of Karl Marx.—151, 314, 323, 529


Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx’s eldest daughter; journalist, active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—241, 525, 529, 530, 540, 556, 557, 558, 562

Marx, Laura (1845-1911)—Karl Marx’s second daughter, married Paul Lafargue in 1868, active in the French working-class movement.—42, 530, 540, 556, 557, 558, 562

Masters, J. W.—innkeeper in London.—521

Mäurer, Friedrich Wilhelm German (1811-1885)—German democratic writer, member of the League of the Outlaws and later of the League of the Just.—53, 66, 80, 112

Maynz, Karl Gustav (1812-1882)—German lawyer, Professor of Brussels University, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—159, 162-63, 164

Mellinet, François Aimé (1768-1852) — Belgian general, took part in the Belgian revolution of 1830, Honorary President of the Brussels Democratic Association.—125

Menenius, Agrippa (d. 493 B.C.)—Roman patrician.—417

Mettternich, Germain (1811-1862)—army officer from Mainz, man of letters, political refugee in Switzerland from 1842, returned to Germany in 1848, member of the Communist League, headed the people’s militia during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—247, 407

Mettternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—247

Meyer (Mayen), Eduard (1812-1870)—German writer, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution.—19, 212, 355-56, 358, 360, 382, 418, 425, 426, 437, 438, 441, 446, 486, 500, 501-02

Meyer—innkeeper in Elberfeld in the 1840s.—5

Meyer, Julius (1817-1863)—Westphalian businessman and writer; ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s.—48, 49, 53, 68, 72, 75.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo (Jacob Liebmann Beer) (1791-1864)—composer, conductor and pianist, one of the creators of French opera.—190

Michel, Louis Chrysostome (1797-1853)—French democratic lawyer and politician.—448

Michelet, Jules (1798-1874)—French historian.—154

Mieroslawski, Ludwik (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830-31 and in the 1848-49 revolution; later a leader of the moderate Polish democratic émigrés.—222

Mignet, François Auguste Marie (1796-1884)—French historian.—116

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—270

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician, banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a national-liberal.—345, 352, 374, 384, 388, 389, 392, 393

Mirbach, Otto von (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat; took part in the revolution of 1848-49; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—306

Molikoy, P.—Hungarian refugee, member of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London in the early 1850s.—247, 255

Moll, Joseph (1813-1849)—German watch-maker; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; was killed at the battle of the Murg.—73, 158, 539

Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de (1810-1870)—French politician and journalist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); Orleanist; supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d’état of 2 December 1851, but soon joined the opposition.—288

Montecucculi (Montecucoli), Raimondo, Count of, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Duke of Melfi (1609-1681)—Austrian general and military writer.—371

Montez (Montiès), Lola (1818-1861)—Spanish dancer; favourite of Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1846-48; after his abdication emigrated to London and in 1851 to the USA.—112, 114, 492

Moras, Cäsar—German refugee in Brussels in 1847.—122-24, 128

Moreau de Jonnès, Alexandre (1778-1870)—French economist.—481
Morelly (18th cent.)—French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—27
Moses—see Hess, Moses
Müsin—see Hess, Sibylle
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—109
Müller, Wilhelm (pen-name Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter) (1816-1873)—German poet; physician in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.—5, 23
Müller-Tellering, Amalie von—German actress, wife of Eduard von Müller-Tellering.—182, 189
Müller-Tellering, Eduard von (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and writer, democrat; contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England; slandered Marx and Engels in the press.—182, 189, 223, 227, 229, 230, 234, 263, 268
Musch—see Marx, Edgar
Neubeck, Philipp—teacher in Mainz, member of the Communist League (1848).—154, 173
Neuhaus, Karl (1818-1866)—physician from Thüringia; commanded a detachment in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army in 1849.—337
Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—247, 355, 462
Niggeler, Niklaus (1817-1872)—Swiss lawyer and politician, radical; editor of Berner-Zeitung (1848-50).—186
Nohl, Eduard—Barmen merchant, shareholder in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—175
Nothjung, Peter (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—366, 389, 436

Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—301, 302, 316, 333, 371
Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—301, 323, 329, 332, 336, 337, 347, 351, 370, 467, 471, 504, 505, 535
Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—205, 280, 288, 293, 357, 360-61, 363, 367, 411, 479, 484, 504, 505, 507, 509, 512, 513, 516, 517, 519, 521
Naut, Stephan Adolf—Cologne merchant, manager of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49.—26, 196, 198, 210, 228, 229, 232, 234, 238, 557, 559, 560
Nauwerck (Nauwerk), Karl Ludwig Theodor (1810-1891)—German writer, Young Hegelian.—19
Obermeyer—owner of a house in Elberfeld where communists held their meetings in 1845.—24
Oehlenschläger, Adam Gottlob (1779-1850)—Danish writer.—94
Ohnemans, Engelbert (born c. 1819)—German craftsman, member of the Communist League in Brussels.—130
Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; refugee in 1849 and 1850; subsequently a national-liberal.—284, 317, 342, 425, 426, 437, 438, 502
Osy—Belgian aristocrat, speculated in corn in the 1840s.—120
Ottowrber, W.—German democrat from Barmen, member of the German
Workers’ Society in Brussels in 1847.—122, 337
Otto—German refugee in New York, an editor of the Deutsche Schnellpost in the early 1850s.—447
Overstone, Samuel—see Loyd, Samuel Jones, Lord Overstone
Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—27, 255, 360

P
Palafox y Melci, José de Rebollo, Duke of Saragossa (1776-1847)—Spanish general, directed the defence of Saragossa in 1808-09.—320
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman; Foreign Secretary (1850-34, 1855-41 and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); at the beginning of his career a Tory and from 1830 onwards a Whig.—171, 211, 288, 325, 349, 521
Pardigon, François—French socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to England; a leader of the Société des proscrips démocrates et socialistes in London in the early 1850s.—235
Paris, Count of—see Louis Philippe Albert d’Orleans
Passos, Manuel da Silva (1801-1862)—Portuguese politician, Left-wing liberal leader.—358
Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—333, 537
Pellering, Jean (1817-1877)—shoemaker; participant in the working-class movement in Belgium, member of the Brussels Democratic Association.—124, 125, 159
Peto, Sir Samuel Morton (1809-1889)—English businessman and politician, MP, liberal.—279
Pettie, John—English Chartist.—488
Petty, Sir William (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of political economy in Britain.—261, 494
Petzler, Johann (d. 1898)—German democrat; refugee in London in the 1850s.—437
Pfänder, Karl (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; refugee in London from 1845, member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—236, 243, 245, 249, 265-66, 477
Philips, Jacques—cousin of Karl Marx.—149
Philips, Lion (1794-1866)—maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—132, 239
Pinto, Isaac (1715-1787)—Dutch stock-jobber and economist.—376
Pitt, William (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—211
Plasman (Plasmann)—owner of a Cologne stationery firm in the 1840s; shareholder of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—178, 190, 196, 544, 545
Porter, George Richardson (1792-1852)—English economist and statistician.—480
Post, Carl (b. 1819)—public prosecutor in Iserlohn, Karl Marx’s acquaintance in the 1840s, leader of the uprising in Iserlohn (10-12 May 1849), emigrated to the USA in 1850.—201
Pottier, Eugène (1816-1887)—French revolutionary and poet, later member of the Paris Commune (1871); author of the proletarian anthem the Internationale (June 1871).—246
Pralin, Altarice Rosalba Fanny (née Sébastiani) (1807-1847)—wife of Charles Praslin, Duke of Choiseul.—135
Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; his trial in 1847 for murdering his wife had political repercussions; committed suicide.—135, 157
Price, Richard (1723-1791)—English radical journalist, economist and philosopher.—423
Pützmann, Hermann (1811-1894)—German poet and journalist; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—16, 23, 28, 30, 68, 70, 87, 89, 93, 109

R

Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement in 1848-49; Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—464
Radovitz, Joseph Maria von (1797-1853)—Prussian general and statesman; Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—360, 427
Ramboz—the name Karl Marx used to receive his mail in Paris in 1849.—200, 208, 209, 212, 213
Raucourt, François Chevalier Wyns de—Burgomaster of Brussels (1848).—160
Raveaux, Franz (1810-1851)—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial Regents; member of the Baden Pro-
the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—251

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; later member of the German Social-Democratic Party.—411

Roberts, William Prowting (1806-1871)—English lawyer; connected with the Chartist and the trade union movement.—243

Robertson—English Chartist, friend of George Julian Harney.—264

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin leader, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—409, 425, 505, 535

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875)—German economist; Left Centre leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); subsequently theoretician of 'state socialism'.—357, 403

Rogier, Charles Latour (1800-1885)—Belgian statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of the Interior (1848-52).—160

Rohde, Johann Karl Adolph (b. 1818)—German merchant, participant in the democratic and working-class movement in Hamburg in 1848-49.—196

Rollin—see Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste

Ronge, Johannes (1813-1887)—German clergyman, initiator of the 'German Catholics' movement; participant in the revolution of 1848-49, after its defeat emigrated to England.—91, 267, 345, 355, 357, 377, 385, 427, 428, 437, 440, 446, 483

Rösing, Johannes (b. 1791)—Bremen merchant; leader of the Democratic Society in Bremen from 1848.—195

Roth, Richard (1821-1858)—Elberfeld friend of the young Engels, later a factory owner.—5

Röthacker, Wilhelm (1828-1889)—German democratic journalist; member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1850; an editor of Der Hochwächter and from 1853 of the weekly Die Menschenrechte (Cincinnati).—334

Rother, Christian von (1778-1849)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1836-48).—69

Rothschild, Jacob (James), baron de (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—71, 73, 109, 144

Rothschilds—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—474, 482, 507

Rotteck, Karl Wenzel Rodecker von (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—322

Rousseau, Jean Jacques (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—409, 425, 435

Rovigo, Duke of—see Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, du de Rovigo


Rühl—acquaintance of Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt.—209

Rumigny, Marie Hippolyte Gueyli, marquis de (1784-1871)—French diplomat, envoy to Switzerland, Piedmont and Belgium.—115
Rumpf, E.—German tailor, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851; supporter of Marx and Engels.—442
Russell, John Russell, Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—279, 296, 521
Rutenberg, Adolf (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the Rheinische Zeitung in 1842.—19

Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de (1767-1794)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—505
Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—57, 358, 434
Saldanha, Joäo Carlos, Duke of (1790-1876)—Portuguese statesman, marshal, member of the big bourgeoisie, Prime Minister (1847-49, 1851-56 and 1870).—358
Sandkuhl—railway employee, member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847).—122, 127
Sarrans, Bernard (1795-1874)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican.—279
Sasonow, Nikolai Ivanovich (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat and radical, emigrated in the early 1840s.—475, 478
Savary, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo (1774-1835)—French general, politician and diplomat, took part in the wars of Napoleonic France, Minister of Police (1810-14).—336, 337
Sawaszkiewiecz, Leopold—Polish émigré, member of the Permanent Committee of the London section of Polish democrats in the early 1850s.—247, 254
Schabelitz, Jacob Christian (1804-1866)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, father of Jakob Lukas Schabelitz.—215, 221
Schabelitz, Jakob, Lukas (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Communist League; was connected with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s-early 1850s.—214, 216, 221-22, 266, 409, 438, 446
Schapper, Karl (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leader of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the sectarian group that broke away from the Communist League in 1850; later member of the General Council of the First International.—73, 203, 247, 251, 255, 282, 283, 284, 285, 292, 305, 304, 310, 311, 313, 320, 321, 334, 343, 374, 375, 376, 380, 381, 382, 385, 391, 402, 403, 407, 442, 443, 445, 452, 459, 467, 473, 492, 498, 507, 516, 539, 561
Schärtl (Scherttner), August (1817-1859)—cooper in Hanau; active in the 1848 revolution and the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London; member of the Communist League; belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group (1850), member of its Central Committee.—247, 388, 407, 437, 483, 507
Scheidler, Karl Hermann (1795-1866)—editor of the Preussische Lithographische Correspondenz in the 1850s.—437
Schenk, Michael (1783-1867)—notary in Cologne, then Counsellor of Justice, Deputy Burgomaster of Cologne.—357
Scherzer, Andreas (1807-1879)—German tailor; member of a Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group in 1850; later emigrated to London, contributed to Das Volk.—161
Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramat-
ist, historian and philosopher.—66, 475
Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849, emigrated to France; member of the First International.—203
Schimmelpfennig, Alexander (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849 and later emigrated to the USA, joined the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—334, 359, 361, 362, 437, 439, 442, 499-502
Schlüpfer, Johann Michael (1822-1885)—Swiss publisher.—88, 93, 109, 114
Schleicher, Robert (d. 1846)—physician in Trier, contributed to the Trier'sche Zeitung.—528, 532
Schlöpfer, Gustav Adolf (1828-1849)—German student and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolutions in Germany and in Hungary; killed in action.—184
Schmidt—railway guard.—482
Schmidt, Simon—German tanner, an organiser of the League of the Just in Switzerland, supporter of Weitling.—59
Schmolze, Karl Heinrich (1823-1859)—German cartoonist and poet; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated after its defeat.—437
Schneke (Schnaake), Friedrich (b. 1822)—German writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, editor of the Gesellschaftsspiegel.—173
Schnauffer, Karl Heinrich (1823-1854)—German democratic poet and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; emigrated, lived in the USA from 1851, editor of the Baltimore Weber.—334
Schöelcher, Victor (1804-1893)—French politician and journalist, Left republican.—448
Schöler, Bertha—sister of Caroline Schöler.—548
Schöler, Caroline (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne, friend of the Marx family.—202, 546-48
Schöler, Julia—sister of Caroline Schöler.—548
Schramm, Rudolf (1813-1882)—brother of Conrad Schramm, democratic journalist, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s.—234, 242, 244, 267, 296, 317, 397, 403, 409, 441, 442, 443, 446
Schuberth, Julius—German publisher; published the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue in Hamburg in 1850.—228, 231, 252, 266, 560
Schüller, Carl Maximilian—publisher in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.—491
Schulz, Louis—Cologne merchant, democrat, publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—178, 384, 388, 394
Schurz, Karl (1829-1906)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to the USA, later a US statesman.—428, 437, 438, 441, 473, 485, 499, 502
Schuster, Theodor—German socialist, follower of Sismondi; a leader of the League of the Outlaws in the 1830s; gave financial aid to German ref-
ugees in the 1850s.—236, 240, 319, 380, 408, 457, 459
Schütz, Jacob Friedrich (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, represented the Baden Provisional Government in Paris, later lived as an émigré in England, Switzerland and the USA.—199
Seel, Johann Richard (1819-1875)—German cartoonist, an acquaintance of Engels in the 1840s.—5
Seiler, Sebastian (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, refugee in London in the 1850s.—47, 59, 122, 123, 125, 128, 138, 144, 223, 242, 244, 245, 316, 323, 402
Semmig, Friedrich Hermann (1820-1897)—German writer, a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—109
Semper, Gottfried (1803-1879)—German architect, took part in the May 1849 uprising in Dresden, refugee in London in 1851-55.—446
Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—140, 283, 507
Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792-1822)—English romantic poet.—23
Sigel, Albert (1827-1884)—Baden army officer, journalist; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; a refugee in London in the 1850s and later in the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—436, 441
Sigel, Franz (1824-1902)—Baden army officer; democrat; a military leader of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; then a refugee in Switzerland, England and, from 1852, in the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—334, 359, 362, 385, 409, 418, 425, 428, 437-41, 445, 446, 456
Simonyi, Ernő (1821-1882)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, member of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London in the early 1850s.—247, 255
Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—98, 325
Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie (1769-1851)—French marshal and statesman, War Minister (1830-34 and 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40) and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40 and 1840-47).—169
Southey, Robert (1774-1843)—English poet and writer; Tory.—302
Soyer—restaurant owner in London.—361
Spanoghe, E.—examining magistrate in Brussels.—120
Spithcoorn, Charles Louis (1804-1872)—Belgian lawyer; republican, member of the Brussels Democratic Association, President of the Ghent Democratic Association.—124
Stanley—see Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of
Stechan, Gottlieb Ludwig (born c. 1814)—joiner in Hanover, member of the Communist League, belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, but in December 1851 went over to Marx and Engels; headed the Workers' Society in London from January 1852.—467, 468, 473-74, 483, 487, 498
Stehely—owner of a Berlin café where members of 'The Free' used to meet in the 1840s.—19
Stein, Karl—Cologne banker, witness for the defence at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—548
Steuart, Sir James, afterwards Denham (1712-1780)—English economist, one of the last representatives of mercantilism.—494
Stevens—captain of the schooner Cornish Diamond, in which Engels sailed from Genoa to London in 1849.—217
Stewart—see Steuart, Sir James
Stiebel—a creditor of Marx in London.—236, 323
Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne communist trial (1852); later chief of the Prussian political police.—183, 349
Stieler, Adolf (1775-1836)—German cartographer.—372, 406
Stifft, Andreas (1819-1877)—Austrian democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Austria; Vienna correspondent of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1849.—197
Stirner, Max (real name Schmidt, Johann Caspar) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 109, 113, 393, 397, 422, 444, 532
Strodtmann, Adolf (1829-1879)—German democratic writer, took part in the revolutionary movement in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848; emigrated in 1850, admirer and biographer of Gottfried Kinkel.—428, 437
Strücker, F. W.—Elberfeld friend of Frederick Engels.—5, 6, 14
Struve, Amalie (d. 1862)—wife of Gustav Struve, took part in the democratic movement in Germany in 1848-49.—334
Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a leader in the Baden uprisings in 1848 and 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—222, 233, 234, 265, 296, 317, 322, 334, 341, 427, 436, 549
Stumpf, Paul (1826-1912)—German mechanic, member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International.—154, 467
Stupp, Heinrich Joseph (1793-1870)—Prussian official, clerical, in the early 1850s Chief Burgomaster of Cologne.—338, 347
Suchsland, Friedrich—publisher in Dessau.—476, 483
Sue, Eugène Marie Joseph (1804-1857)—French writer, author of sentimental social novels.—7

T
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Foreign Minister (1797-99, 1799-1807 and 1814-15), represented France at the Vienna Congress (1814-15).—247, 347
Tausenau, Karl (1808-1873)—Austrian democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution in Austria, emigrated to London in 1849.—285, 317, 426, 437, 441
Teschow, Gustav Adolf (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to Australia.—437, 438, 441, 446, 463-66, 468, 469, 470, 471, 499, 501, 508
Tedesco, Victor André (1821-1897)—Belgian lawyer, socialist, a founder of the Brussels Democratic Association; associate of Marx and Engels in 1847-48; member of the Communist League.—143, 146, 160, 163
Tellering—see Müller-Tellering, Eduard von
Tessier du Monthay—French socialist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the 1850s.—292, 294
Thieme—German publisher in Hagen in the 1840s.—16
Thierry—French refugee, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London in the 1850s.—247
Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin (1795-1856)—French historian.—116
Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—85, 108, 144, 205, 301, 337, 363, 372, 503, 504

Thomas, Albert Theodor—owner of a publishing house in Leipzig, agent of Carl Georg Vogler.—42

Thomas, Clément (1809-1871)—French general, moderate republican, publisher of *Le National*; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; shot by Paris insurgents on 18 March 1871.—85

Thomis—member of the German Workers’ Society in Brussels in 1847.—126

Thompson, Thomas Perrenet (1783-1869)—English politician and economist, Free Trader.—211

Tolstoi (Tolstoy), Grigori Mikhailovich (1808-1871)—Russian liberal landowner, acquaintance of Marx and Engels in Paris in the 1840s.—64, 73, 107, 141

Tolstoi (Tolstoy), Yakov Nikolaevich (1791-1867)—Russian émigré in Paris; secret agent of the Tsarist government from 1837.—64, 73

Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—275, 480

U

Uhmer, Johann—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—388, 440-43, 467

Uttenhoven, von (d. 1849)—Prussian army officer, killed during the May 1849 uprising in Elberfeld.—193

V

Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de (1633-1707)—French marshal and military engineer.—371

Vaulabelle, Achille Tenaille de (1799-1879)—French historian and politician, moderate republican.—116

Veltheim, Werner von (1817-1855)—German landowner related to the Westphalen family, friend of Edgar von Westphalen.—131

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical writer and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—137

Véron, Louis Désiré (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until 1848, then Bonapartist; owner and publisher of *Le Constitutionnel* (1844-52).—484

Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878)—Duke of Savoy, King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—471

Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—35, 478

Vidal, François (1814-1872)—French economist, petty-bourgeois socialist, supporter of Louis Blanc.—149

Vidil, Jules—French army officer, socialist, member of the Committee of the Société des proscrits démocrates et socialistes in London; supported the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—247, 304, 310, 318, 319, 321, 381

Virgil (Vergil) (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—197, 219

Vogler, Carl Georg (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels.—42, 47, 79, 114, 117, 162

Voigt, H. G.—publisher.—228

Volk—German democrat, an organiser of the German Legion in Paris in 1848.—540

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—18
Voswinkel, Ernst—physician in Westphalia, correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849.—187

Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo (1802-1870)—German lawyer and radical politician; Left-wing leader and Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848; subsequently a leader of the Progressist Party.—393

Wallau, Karl (1823-1877)—German refugee in Brussels, President of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League Central Authority in 1848, Chairman of the Workers' Educational Society in Mainz.—123-28, 129, 158, 539

Waldr, Friedrich (b. 1810)—German journalist, sided with the 'true socialists' in the 1840s; editor and publisher of the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (1846-51).—72

Warskiroski, Konstantin—Polish émigré, member of the Permanent Commission of the Polish Democratic Section in London in the 1850s.—247

Watts, John (1818-1887)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen.—63, 255, 281, 405, 435

Weber, Georg (1816-1891)—German physician, democrat; contributed to *Vorwärts!*, an organiser of the Communist Correspondence Committee in Kiel (1846); took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—69


Weill, Alexander (1811-1899)—German democratic journalist, emigrated to France in the 1840s.—54, 526

Weiss, Siegfried (b. 1822)—German democratic journalist.—271-72

Weiss, Theodor (1813-1890)—Austrian official, police superintendent in Vienna in the 1850s.—473

Weilting, Wilhelm Christian (1808-1871)—German tailor, one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—56-57, 59, 66, 79, 84, 87, 91, 296, 334, 519, 530, 531, 537

Welcker, Karl Theodor (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal writer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—322

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (December 1834-April 1835).—302, 332, 333, 347, 353

Wengler—supporter of Willich in London.—561

Werres, F.—book-keeper and expedition clerk at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, witness at the Cologne communist trial.—195

Westphalen, Caroline von (née Heubel) (1780-1856)—mother of Mrs Marx.—323, 482, 525, 530

Westphalen, Edgar von (1819-1890)—brother of Mrs Marx; member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846).—6, 117, 323, 481, 525, 527, 528, 529

Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von (1799-1876)—stepbrother of Mrs Marx, Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58).—338, 355, 432

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, 'true socialist' in 1846-47, adopted scientific communism under the influence of Marx and Engels, became their close associate, was a member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, after its defeat emigrated to the USA.—41-
Willisen, Karl Wilhelm, Baron von (1790-1879)—Prussian general and military theoretician, commanded the Schleswig-Holstein army in the war against Denmark in 1850.—372

Winkelried, Arnold von (d. 1386)—hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Habsburgs; sacrificed his life to secure victory in the battle of Sempach (1386).—296, 359

Wiss, Georg Eduard—German physician and journalist, Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, in the early 1850s emigrated to London and then to the USA, editor of Der deutsche Correspondent (Baltimore).—497

Wohl-Straus, Jeannette (1783-1861)—friend of Ludwig Börne.—38

Wolff, Ferdinand (Red Wolf) (1812-1895)—German writer, member of the Communist League, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; emigrated from Germany; associate of Marx and Engels.—126-28, 153, 207, 212, 219, 222, 223, 257, 284, 305, 313, 317, 321, 383, 409, 474, 478, 504, 519, 561

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; a leader of the Communist League; editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—117, 123, 125, 128, 138, 144, 149, 153, 158, 159, 190-91, 207, 213, 222, 301, 333, 336, 339, 346, 361, 373, 380, 385, 386, 391, 397, 398, 400, 402, 404, 406, 418, 431, 435, 453, 467, 489, 490, 496, 516, 519, 539

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Worcell, Stanislaw (1799-1857)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830; a leader of the democratic wing of Polish refugees.—542

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The Times, No. 19188, 19 March 1846: *The painful impression...*—539
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Der Volks-Tribun, Nr. 27, 4. Juli 1846: *An unsere Freunde.*—79
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Abendzeitung—see New-Yorker Abendzeitung

Aftonbladet—a Swedish daily newspaper, published in Stockholm from 1830; mouthpiece of the liberal bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century.—93-94

Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung—a German monthly, published in Charlottenburg from December 1843 to October 1844, organ of the Young Hegelians edited by Bruno Bauer.—28

Allgemeine Zeitung—a German conservative daily newspaper founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—64, 358, 384, 389, 463, 472

Die Arbeiterzeitung—a newspaper published by the German refugees in New York in 1851 and 1852.—400, 404, 406

L'Assemblée nationale—a monarchist (Legitimist) daily published in Paris from 1848 to 1857.—318

L'Atelier Démocratique—a weekly of the Belgian workers published in Brussels from 1846; from 1847 its editor was Louis Heilberg.—124, 125

L'Atelier, organe spécial de la classe laborieuse, rédigé par des ouvriers exclusivement—a monthly of the French artisans and workers who were influenced by the ideas of Christian socialism; published in Paris from 1840 to 1850.—58, 135-37

Athenäum. Zeitschrift für das gebildete Deutschland—a weekly of the Young Hegelians; published under this title in Berlin in 1841.—355

Berliner Monatsschrift—a German magazine published by a Young Hegelian Ludwig Buhl in Mannheim in 1844; only one issue appeared, for it was suppressed by the censors.—11

Berliner Zeitungs-Halle—a daily published by Gustav Julius in Berlin from 1846; in 1848-49 it was a leading democratic newspaper.—113

Berner-Zeitung—a Swiss daily published in Berne from 1845 to 1894; in the 1840s organ of the radical party.—186, 221

Le Bon Sens. Journal de la démocratie—a constitutionalist daily published in Paris from July 1832 to March 1839.—94
Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie—see Tages-Chronik
Brüsseler-Zeitung—see Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung

Le Charivari—a republican satirical newspaper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934; ridiculed the regime of the July monarchy and in 1848 supported Cavaignac's dictatorship.—280

Chronicle—see The Morning Chronicle

Le Constitutionnel—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it expressed the views of the moderate wing of the Orleanists; after the coup d'état of 1851, a Bonapartist newspaper.—114, 301, 313, 517

Le Corsaire-Satan—a satirical newspaper published under this title in Paris from 1844 to 1847.—55, 64

The Daily News—a liberal newspaper, organ of the industrial bourgeoisie; appeared under this title in London from 1846 to 1930.—319, 349, 450, 511, 512

Dampfboot—see Das Westphälische Dampfboot

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Le Débat Social, organe de la démocratie—a Belgian weekly, organ of radical-republican circles, published in Brussels from 1844 to 1849.—162, 164

La Démocratie pacifique—a Fourierist daily edited by Victor Considerant and published in Paris from 1843 to 1851.—13, 54, 94, 156

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by German political emigrants in Brussels; published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper which, under their influence, became the organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—117, 120, 122, 125, 138, 139, 152, 154-55, 157, 418, 489

Deutsche Londoner Zeitung. Blätter für Politik, Literatur und Kunst—a literary and political weekly published by German refugees in London from April 1845 to February 1851. It was edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Louis Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke of Brunswick.—427

Deutsche-Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und soziales Leben Deutschlands—an organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published twice weekly in New York from 1843 to 1851. In 1848 and 1851 its editor was Karl Heinzen; in 1851 Arnold Ruge was also on its editorial board.—296, 317, 345, 399, 402, 417, 428, 429, 447, 448, 454, 458, 491, 494, 515, 518

Deutsche Zeitung—a German daily published in Heidelberg from 1847 to October 1848 under the editorship of Georg Gervinus, then, up to 1850, in Frankfurt am Main; it supported the constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—543

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—4, 19, 34, 49, 59, 61, 271
Deutscher Zuschauer—a German radical weekly published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Gustav Struve from December 1846 to April 1848 in Mannheim and from July to September 1848 in Basle.—296, 428

Deutsches Bürgerbuch—a German annual journal, organ of the 'true socialists'; altogether two volumes appeared; the first (for 1845) was published by Hermann Pützmann in Darmstadt in December 1844; the second (for 1846) was published in Mannheim in the summer of 1846. The Deutsches Bürgerbuch carried two articles by Frederick Engels.—16, 23, 69

Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger—a daily newspaper published in Dresden from 1848 to 1904, initially of a liberal trend; from 1 October 1848, the official organ of the Saxon Government; was taken over by the state on 1 April 1849.—389


Elberfelder Zeitung—a daily published under various names from 1789 to 1904; in 1834 it merged with the Elberfeld Allgemeine Zeitung and assumed the name Elberfelder Zeitung.—543

L'Emancipation—a Belgian daily founded in Brussels in 1830.—159

Die Epigonen—a philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians; published by Otto Wigand in Leipzig from 1846 to 1848.—54, 58, 76-78

Frankfurter Journal—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the seventeenth century to 1903; in the 1840s and 1850s expressed liberal views.—358, 365

La Fraternité de 1845. Organe du communisme—a workers' monthly of the Babouvist trend, published in Paris from January 1845 to February 1848.—66


Gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt des Gewerb-Vereins zu Köln—a German weekly published in Cologne in 1836-53; in 1842 and 1843 appeared as a supplement to the Rheinische Zeitung. In 1845 one of its editors was Karl d'Ester.—17

Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz—a literary newspaper of a liberal orientation; came out in Berlin from 1817 to 1848.—432

Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart—a German monthly, organ of the 'true socialists'; published under the editorship of Moses Hess in Elberfeld in 1845-46; altogether twelve issues appeared; Frederick Engels was one of its founders.—16, 23, 26, 28, 117

How Do You Do?—a humorous weekly published by Drucker and edited by Beta (Bettziech) in London in 1851.—432
Illinois Staats-Zeitung—a German-language daily published in Illinois (USA) from 1851 to 1922.—339

The Illustrated London News—a weekly published from 1842.—355, 358

Illustrierte Zeitung—a German weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the middle of the nineteenth century was of a moderate liberal orientation.—357

L’Indépendance belge.—Journal mondial d’informations politiques et littéraires—a daily of the liberals founded in Brussels in 1831.—245, 249

Jahrbücher—see Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires—a daily founded in Paris in 1789; organ of the Government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution.—114, 280, 318, 357-58, 361, 363, 458, 484


Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd—a semi-official daily published in Vienna in 1836-54.—456

Karlsruher Zeitung—a daily newspaper published from 1757, official gazette of the Grand Duchy of Baden, organ of the Brentano Government in 1849.—200

Kölnerin, Kölner Zeitung—see Kölnische Zeitung


Der Kosmos—a weekly of German refugees in England; it was published by Ernst Haug in London in 1851 (only six numbers appeared). Gottfried Kinkel and other leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy contributed to it.—345, 351, 359, 360, 367, 377, 429, 430

Közlöny, hivatalos lap—a Hungarian daily of the Kossuth revolutionary government published in 1848 and 1849 in Pest, Debreczin and Szegedin.—328

Kreuz-Zeitung—see Neue Preußische Zeitung

Literatur-Zeitung—see Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung

Lithographische Correspondenz—see Preußische Lithographische Correspondenz

Der Lloyd—see Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd

The London Telegraph—a daily published in 1848.—175, 176

Mannheimer Abendzeitung—a German radical daily founded in 1842 by Karl Grün, ceased publication in 1849.—200

The Morning Chronicle—a London daily published from 1770 to 1862, organ of the Whigs, in the early 1850s organ of the Peelites and later of the Conservatives.—317, 431

Le National—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s organ of the moderate republicans.—53, 58, 64, 85, 108, 115, 116, 136, 137, 144, 152, 168, 169, 186, 360, 484-85

National-Zeitung—see Schweizerische National-Zeitung

Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a democratic daily published from 1848 to 1850, initially in Darmstadt (until 1 April 1849) and then in Frankfurt am Main; edited by Otto Lüning and from 1 October 1849 also by Joseph Weydemeyer.—209, 210, 219, 232, 237, 246, 560

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848; the mouthpiece for Junkers and Court circles; also known as Kreuz-Zeitung, because the heading contained a cross bearing the slogan 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland'.—184, 234, 390, 418, 425, 431, 435

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily 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); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—166, 167, 171-72, 175, 176, 182, 183, 190, 193, 194, 196, 199-201, 203, 207-10, 215, 225, 230, 325, 328, 330, 346, 352, 361, 364, 366, 367, 391, 393, 400


New-York Daily Tribune—an American paper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924. Until the mid-1850s, it was an organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs, later—organ of the Republican Party. In the 1840s and 1850s it took a progressive stand against the slave-owning system; Marx and Engels began to contribute to the paper in August 1851.—403, 409, 419, 425, 434, 436, 445, 475, 480, 497, 506, 518, 519

New-Yorker Abendzeitung—a daily newspaper of the German refugees, published by Fenner von Fenneberg in 1851 and 1852.—496, 497, 498


Norddeutsche Zeitung—see Zeitung für Norddeutschland

The Northern Star—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852; first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—135, 139, 144, 152, 160, 164, 497

Notes to the People—a Chartist weekly published in London in 1851 and 1852, edited by Ernest Jones; Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—346, 399, 401, 480, 498
N. Rh. Ztg—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung

Die Pariser Hören. Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Wissenschaft, Politik und gesellschaftliches Leben—a German-language democratic monthly published in Paris in 1847 and edited by German Mäurer and Ferdinand Braun.—80-81, 112

La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts—a daily published in Paris from 1841 to 1871; during the 1848 revolution expressed the views of the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie (the so-called Party of Order) and later of the Bonapartists.—249, 313, 318, 381

Le Père Duchesne—a newspaper published in Paris from 1790 to 1794 by Jacques Hébert; it expressed the views of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French Revolution.—390

La Phalange. Revue de la science sociale—a Fourierist organ published in Paris from 1832 to 1849; it changed its title, frequency of publication, volume and size several times.—55

Le Populaire de 1841. Journal de reorganisation sociale et politique—a journal edited by Étienne Cabet; published in Paris from 1841 to 1850.—170

La Presse—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; organ of the moderate republicans in 1848-49, later a Bonapartist paper.—149, 484

Preußische Lithographische Correspondenz—a semi-official organ of the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs published in Berlin.—418, 425, 426, 431, 437, 449

Prometheus—a German journal started by a 'true socialist' Hermann Pütthmann in Herisau (Switzerland) in the autumn of 1846. Probably only one issue appeared, the journal being suppressed by the authorities of the German states.—68, 69

Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle—a monthly published in Paris in 1850, organ of the Central Committee of European Democracy. Only two issues appeared. In late October 1850 it was turned into a weekly which was published under the title La Voix du Proscrit in Saint-Amand (France) till September 1851.—448

Der Radikale. Abend-Zeitung für das In- und Ausland—an Austrian democratic paper published in Vienna in 1848.—197

The Red Republican—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850; published the first English translation of Marx and Engels' Manifesto of the Communist Party.—243, 244, 251, 255

La Réforme—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists.—58, 85, 134, 136-39, 143, 144, 152, 155, 156, 158, 161, 165, 168, 169, 295

Die Republik der Arbeiter. Centralblatt der Propaganda für die Verbrüderung der Arbeiter—a German-language newspaper published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it expressed the views of egalitarian communism.—334, 519

Die Revolution—a communist journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph
Weydemeyer. On 6 and 13 January two weekly issues appeared; in May and June two 'non-periodic' issues appeared; Marx and Engels were among the main contributors.—519

Revue—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue

La Revue indépendante—a monthly propagating the ideas of utopian socialism, it was published in Paris from 1841 to 1848 under the editorship of Pierre Leroux, George Sand and Louis Viardot.—135

Revue Sociale, ou Solution pacifique du problème du prolétariat—a Christian socialists' monthly published by Pierre Leroux in Boussac and Paris in 1845-48 and by the latter's supporters in Paris in 1850.—57

Reynolds's Newspaper. A weekly journal of politics, history, literature and general intelligence—a radical newspaper published in London from 1850; at the beginning of the 1850s supported the Chartists.—497

Rheinische Beobachter—a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844 to the beginning of 1848.—70; 92

Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform—a German magazine, organ of the 'true socialists', published by Hermann Püttmann; altogether two issues appeared: the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, and the second in Bellevue, a place on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846; the magazine carried Engels' 'Elberfeld Speeches' and 'The Festival of Nations in London'.—16, 21, 23, 28, 34, 69

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a German daily founded on 1 January 1842 as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till 31 March 1843. When edited by Marx (from 15 October 1842 to 17 March 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—17

Schnellpost—see Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und soziales Leben Deutschlands

Schweizerische National-Zeitung—a liberal daily, published in Basle from 1842.—186, 222, 438

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms.—484

Spiegel—see Gesellschaftsspiegel

Staatszeitung—see New-Yorker Staatszeitung

Star—see The Northern Star

The Sun—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—357, 497

Tages-Chronik—a democratic paper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. From January 1851 it appeared under the title Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie. Arnold Ruge contributed to it in 1851.—265, 267, 268, 345, 426

The Telegraph—see The London Telegraph

Telegraph für Deutschland—a literary magazine founded by Karl Gutzkow; in 1837 it appeared in Frankfurt am Main, and from 1838 to 1848 in Hamburg. In the
late 1830s and early 1840s the magazine was the mouthpiece for the 'Young Germany' group. Engels contributed to it from March 1839 to 1841.—18

The Times—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—176, 304, 313, 314, 319, 337, 381, 497, 502

Tribun—see Der Volks-Tribun

Tribune—see New-York Daily Tribune

Trier'sche Zeitung—a daily founded in 1757, appeared under this title from 1815; in the early 1840s expressed radical views, and later came under the influence of 'true socialists'.—53, 109, 117, 384

Veilchen. Harmlose Blätter für die moderne Kritik—a weekly paper of the 'true socialists', it was edited by G. Schlüssel and published in Bautzen (Saxony) in 1846 and 1847.—109

La Voix du Proscrit—see Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle

Der Volks-Tribun. Organ des Jungen Amerika—a weekly newspaper founded by the German 'true socialists' in New York; published from 5 January to 31 December 1846, and edited by Hermann Kriege.—79, 84

Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this paper, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—5-6, 14, 15, 18

Weser-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—268, 269

Westdeutsche Zeitung—a democratic paper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from 25 May 1849 to 21 July 1850.—210, 230

Das Westphälische Dampfboot—a German monthly of the 'true socialists', published under the editorship of Otto Lüning in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846 and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848. Joseph Weydemeyer took part in the editing of this journal. Marx and Engels contributed several articles to it.—540

Zeitung für Norddeutschland—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—474
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