Bakunin himself was not exactly made out to be a saint.\(^3\) Probably *The Morning Advertiser* rejected my riposte\(^{419}\) because less confused than that of the 'Native'. Now the thing is to come out in *The People's Paper*.\(^6\)

It was through a mere *lapsus linguæ*—out of long habit—that I mentioned Mr Dronke in my letter to you. I don't believe that 'little' Blanqui's\(^4\) words are of any consequence, or that we shall gain anything by an appendix.

The worthy little man has stirred up such a mighty pother that 1. Lupus has never said a word to me about his departure,\(^422\) although I had long since learnt of it through you; 2. that this same Lupus is always very guarded in his references to you; 3. that last night I was treated to a scene which was hardly creditable.

I was busy at work. Wife and children in the room. In comes Lupus with portentous tread—to take his leave at last, I supposed, for not once in my house had he let fall a word about his impending departure.

A year earlier I had borrowed a little Spanish grammar from him, by *Franceson*, maybe 120 pages.\(^e\) So far as I could recall, I had returned the trashy object 5 months before. Or else, Dronke had pinched it.

The old gentleman had already asked my wife and Lenchen about the thing on two previous occasions and had been told that they would look for it.

Last night, then—the fellow was snappish from the moment he came in—I told him in as soothing tones as possible that I couldn't find the damned thing, that I had looked for it everywhere and believed I had returned it to him, etc., etc. 'You've *sold* it!' came the boorish, uncouth, insolent reply. (I'd wager a sovereign that nowhere in London could anyone get 2 FARTHINGS for the rubbish.) I, of course, jump to my feet, an altercation ensues, stubborn as a mule he persists in his nonsense, insults me *'au sein de ma famille'*\(^f\). As you know, I'm willing to put up with a great deal from an old man in his dotage who has become venerable as a party tradition. However, there are limits. I believe the old fool was taken aback when at last I bared my teeth at him.

All this is the result of Dronke's intrigues, too constant an

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\(^a\) D. Urquhart, 'Indeed?' [From a native correspondent.] *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19408, 5 September 1853.  
\(^b\) K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The People's Paper*'.  
\(^c\) slip of the tongue  
\(^d\) i.e. Dronke's  
\(^e\) C. F. Franceson, *Grammatik der spanischen Sprache*.  
\(^f\) in the bosom of my family.
indulgence in gin, and the evaporation of the cerebral juices. Perhaps the sea air will have a beneficial effect on his thinking organ. One may, perhaps, lay claim to the privilege of being an ‘old blusterer’, but one should not abuse it. My own lot is no bed of roses, nor can I in consequence regard his worldly worries as an excuse.

The hobby-horse presently being ridden by those wretched Russians, in both the Tribune and the London Advertiser (though differing in person and form), is that the Russian people is democratic through and through, whilst official Russia (Czar and bureaucracy) is exclusively German, likewise the aristocracy.423

So Germany must be fought in Russia, not Russia in Germany.

You know more about Russia than I do,—and if you can find time to challenge this nonsense (it’s just the same as when the Teutonic jackasses blamed the French for the despotism of Frederick II, etc., as if backward thralls haven’t always needed civilized thralls to train them) you would greatly oblige me. In the Tribune, of course.

Your
K. M.

Write to me at greater length about the state of commerce—in English at once.

I have made a diplomatic reply to the enclosed letter from Klein, which I send to you for safe keeping.424 It is impossible to correspond from London. The factory workers should keep themselves entirely to themselves and not make contact with philistines or other handicraftsmen in Cologne, Düsseldorf, etc. If they wish to send someone over here once a year to get good advice, we should have no objection.

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... I have today received the latest number of the *Reform* containing your piece from Quebec,* and Kellner’s apology of the self-same Poesche, ⁵ whose insipid *WOULD-BE* jokes about the ‘cranky’ proponents of the ‘class struggle’ ⁶ appeared in the *Neu-England-Zeitung* of 3 September, which reached me at the same time. You started sending me extra copies of the *Reform* at the very time I began to get them again regularly; on the other hand, I haven’t been receiving the *Tribune* regularly and it is important that I should. For example, I haven’t got the article in which I refer to the exchange of diplomatic notes on Denmark, ⁷ or the article in which I characterise the relationships of landed property ⁸....

I think it is time you made a fresh start in the polemic and picked a few holes in the jejune arguments of Goepp-Poesche, discoverers of the *material view* though their *materialism* is that of the man-in-the-street. Our opponents are becoming uppish, something which could not have happened at least in the days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. That pedant Schläger, who more or [less] took to his heels at the time of the ’48 revolution and hawked his genius in America, still regularly sends me his *N.-E.-Z.*, no doubt in order to demonstrate *ad oculos* ⁹ what fine fellows they are. Has there ever before been a rag in which stupidity and vanity were so nicely coupled with presumption?

Kellner is too much of a slow-coach, he seems unable to understand that polemics are essential to any journal as long as it

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⁴ [A. Cluss,] ‘White Mountains (Summit-House), 21 August 1853’, *Die Reform*, No. 44, 31 August 1853.
⁵ In the article ‘Die neue Welt’ published in the same issue of *Die Reform* G. T. Kellner gave a review of *The New Rome. The United States of the World* by Th. Poesche and Ch. Goepp.
⁶ Th. Poesche, ‘Die „Klassenkämpfer”.
⁷ K. Marx, ‘In the House of Commons.—The Press on the Eastern Question.—The Czar’s Manifesto.—Denmark’.
⁸ K. Marx, ‘The War Question.—Doings of Parliament.—India’.
has to STRUGGLE. On top of that he has an unfortunate proclivity always to praise his enemies 2 days before they regale him with kicks. Thus Heinzen and Poesche; the latter, by the by, used his sorry article on the circulation of money to convey the sort of information one gets from encyclopedias...

At any rate I find that things have begun to move sooner than I should have liked (I think the COMMERCIAL DOWNFALL will begin in the spring as in 1847). I had always hoped that, before that happened, I might somehow contrive to withdraw into solitude for a few months and work at my Economy.\textsuperscript{45} It seems that this isn't to be. I find perpetual hackwork for the newspapers tiresome. It is time-consuming, distracting and, in the end, amounts to very little. However independent one may think oneself, one is tied to the newspaper and its readers, especially when, like myself, one is paid in cash. Purely learned work is something totally different, and the honour of figuring beside an A.P.C.,\textsuperscript{2} a LADY CORRESPONDENT and an archbishop is CERTAINLY not to be envied.

Carl Wilh. Klein (of Solingen, a working man) has asked me to put you in touch with him. His address is———He's a capable chap. He set up a Working Men's Association and, from what he tells me in his letter, the Gradaus has come under its influence.\textsuperscript{42} Pieper writes to him from here and, if you can possibly find the time, you must give him support from Washington.

Papa Blind is continuing his\textsuperscript{5}... articles with much fervour in the N.-E.-Z. and congratulates himself and his EDITOR and vice versa on the unexampled achievements which cannot fail to inspire respect in Brüggemann of the Kölnische Zeitung.

Only a few lines today. Events there have been none, if you except the onset of cholera morbus in London:

Your
K. M.
DEAR Frederic,

You're becoming damned taciturn.

Since I was expecting YOUR ARTICLE yesterday, all I had done was to make up a heading from the most recent news and, since the letter didn't come, one lot of correspondence went by the board. I really must ask for your co-operation for the fortnight beginning today. For today Pieper is going, not into a monastery exactly, but into the German Hospital, a sort of medical prison, where he is to spend a fortnight or 3 weeks being thoroughly cured of the painful consequences of his carnal lust. Since I have in any case forfeited 3 or 4 articles through having to traipse off to that rotten Spielmann,¹ I must now write something every Tuesday and Friday so that the next bill I draw is not too paltry. There is a possibility of Freiligrath's finding a business friend who will regularly discount them for me.

If you can manage to do something in between times, I shall send you the other stuff to look through, in which case you will only have to preface or conclude it with the latest news you may have seen about TURKEY in the Débats, say, or some particularly important telegraphic dispatch, before sending the stuff to Liverpool.

I expect an article⁴²⁷ from you for Tuesday.⁵

I think it important that something be said about the position of the armies, etc. There's a great deal of nonsense in the English papers, e.g. Omer Pasha is said to be crossing the Danube, etc.

I have already sent off two articles about the commercial crisis, 1 last Friday week about the Bank of England, its DISCOUNT and the effect of Peel's Act, or rather intended effect.⁶ I last Tuesday on the price of corn, SIGNS OF OVERPRODUCTION, etc.⁷

¹ See this volume, p. 356. ² 20 September. ³ 20 September. ⁴ 9 September. K. Marx, 'The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act'. ⁵ 13 September. K. Marx, 'Political Movements.—Scarcity of Bread in Europe'.
I think it important to have more details about the manufacturing districts.

Enclosed something further by the *Tribune* man\(^a\) and 'on' him by the Editors of the *Tribune*. It would seem, by the by, that he is not a Russian after all, but a German.

The abolition of the advertisement duty means that Jones' advertisements now bring him in £3 a week—the paper\(^b\) is arriving to the paying point. This could also provide Pieper with a source of income.

When you write, you must also tell me about Lupus' travels. I heard later that he didn't push off from here until last Saturday.\(^c\)

Farewell,

Your

K. M.

Enclosed another cutting from the worthy *Neu-England-Zeitung*\(^d\)

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\(^a\) Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288).  
\(^b\) The People's Paper.  
\(^c\) 10 September.  
and, in view of his curmudgeonly behaviour towards you in London, I would sooner not let him see how the Tribune articles sometimes come into being. There are a few openings here and, after confabulating with Borchardt and me yesterday, he has set out today to look around, which means that I shall have the evening to myself and hence will be able to concoct for you an article on the state of business hereabout, which will go off by the second post. The Russian one will follow as soon as possible—I believe the author to be a German Bait or half Pole; clearly the chap has a great deal of material, so we must be cautious, but all the same we may very well be able to catch him out. Or might it even be Löwe, who wrote to Nesselrode in the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung? To judge by the occasional prolixity and the tittle-tattle, here and there, this could well be so.

The Reform is arriving very irregularly. Have you heard anything from Cluss?

N. B. Since Lupus, as I see from your letter today, made off without any kind of leave-taking, he will naturally not be allowed to set eyes on anything you send me—il reste parfaitement en dehors de tout and, were it not for Borchardt, who got together £10 for his journey and is showing him kindness in other ways, my behaviour towards Monsieur Lupus would be somewhat cooler. Especially since the fellow, though as stubborn as ever, has lost his stoicism and become very dependent on those from whom he derives some advantage. Il est même devenu un peu flattere—and how!

However, we shall see whether a better position, if such is to be found here, doesn't soon bring the old gent to his senses again, in which case he'll have to ask your forgiveness as well.

Now I am off home to work.

Your

F. E.

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a See this volume, pp. 364-65. b Adam Gurowski (see this volume, p. 365). c 'Junius II' [Löwe], 'An den Graf Nesselrode', Deutsche Londoner Zeitung, Nos. 264 and 266, 19 April and 3 May 1850. d See this volume, p. 369. e He's left out of absolutely everything. f He's even become a bit of a flatterer
MARX TO KARL BLIND
IN LONDON
[London,] 26 September 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Blind,

My wife and I were surprised to hear about that piece of infamy in Baden,\(^\text{a}\) although one could hardly expect anything good to come from such a quarter. You may be assured of our deepest concern regarding all matters affecting you and family.

Quant a\(^\text{b}\) Jones, I fear he has gone away. I haven’t seen him for weeks. However, I shall try and find out this very day whether or not and whether he received your letter. More about this tomorrow, I hope. Kind regards from my family to yours.

Your
K. Marx

I should have come out to see you long ago had not a mass of petites misères\(^\text{c}\) invariably intervened.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER
[London,] 28 September\(^\text{d}\) 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer, several from Cluss, a statement of Mr Willich’s,\(^\text{e}\) a letter from Mazzini to Mrs Mott (abolitionist) in America.

\(^{a}\) See this volume, pp. 372-73 and 377-78. \(^{b}\) As for \(\textit{little tribulations}\) \(^{c}\) The original has ‘August’. \(^{e}\) A. Willich, [To the Editors of the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, 28 August 1853], *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 25, 2 September 1853.
I have split your essay into 2 and rewritten it as 2 essays[^1] which I have sent to New York, my wife acting as secretary.

Pieper has had his throat cauterised in the German Hospital. A little board hangs at the foot of his bed bearing the ominous message: Wilhelm Pieper syphilis secundaris. He is subjected to rigorous discipline, which is salutary for him.

W. Wolff has written to his confidant, Rings. He is going to try his luck in Manchester until the end of October. If he hasn’t found anything by then, he will move on. For the time being, he says, he is living at number such and such, Great Ducie Street,[^2] at ‘another’s expense’. He does not name you at all, which will give you an idea how obstinate and petty the OLD CHAP can be. After the way he grumbled about you he is, of course, ashamed to admit that he has any obligation towards you. Quant à nous autres[^3] I don’t know what he may have told Rings in his letter, since the latter says nothing about it.

I should like to clear up the matter with Mr Dronke,[^4] having now learnt that he sold Pieper’s *Ricardo*, likewise a German history of political economy belonging to the working man, Lochner, etc., etc. Needless to say this has reinforced my STRONG SUSPICIONS about him.

Before he left, Mr Wolff gave Imandt also an account—and a very garbled one coloured by philistine indignation—of his insolent onslaught upon me." What annoys me is the excessive consideration I have always shown the old blusterer instead of baring my teeth at him.

*Les choses marchent merveilleusement*. All hell will be let loose in France when the financial bubble bursts.

In the *Reform* there is a melancholic, stylised article by Jacobi about the end of the world.[^5]

Don’t let these lines fall into the wrong hands.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Yesterday I received a few lines from Blind. He will now have to reconcile himself to abandoning his democratic hauteur in the knife and fork question.[^6] He has lost his case and

[^2]: at Engels.
[^3]: As for the rest of us.
[^4]: See this volume, p. 364.
[^6]: Things are going splendidly.
the whole of his wife's fortune has been temporarily sequestered. So there will be no more subsidies. I feel sorry for him, despite the absurd manner he thought fit to adopt.

Have you been following the story about Bakunin in *The Morning Advertiser*? Urquhart wrote an article in this connection in which he suggests that Bakunin is suspect 1. because he's a Russian and 2. because he's 'a revolutionist': he goes on to assert that there are no honest revolutionaries among the Russians and that their would-be democratic writings (a swipe at Herzen and that polisson Golovin) prove absolutely nothing; and finally, he tells the continental revolutionaries that, if they take Russians into their confidence, they are no less traitors than their governments. The Russians, it would seem, then sent into the fray an Englishman (Richards), who nourishes a grudge against Urquhart, the latter having, on grounds of seniority, elbowed him out of the topic 'The Times and Turkey' in *The Morning Advertiser*. Richards maintains that to declare Bakunin a spy is just as preposterous as to impeach Palmerston for being bribed by Russia; he invokes the testimony of both Ruge and myself, praises Herzen's 'idées révolutionnaires', etc. Yesterday it was the turn of A. B., another minion of Urquhart's, who declared that he was acquainted with all the writings of 'la jeune Russie', and that they proved the rightness of Urquhart's views, pan-slavism, etc.

At all events, les intrigants russes will realise that here it isn't as easy as in the pauvre French democracy, to give themselves airs, gain influence and behave as though they were a kind of aristocracy within the revolutionary emigration. Here it supposes hard knocks. What service have the jackasses done Bakunin save to have him seriously accused in public while themselves receiving a slap in the face?

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Dear Marx,

Herewith the article on the Turkish armies.9 If you tell me what you are sending tomorrow on the strikes in Lancashire and the state of trade,439 I shall be able to link on to that and let you have a further report on these matters by Tuesday.440 The local manufacturers and merchants are at great pains to convince one another that things are not too bad, and the Guardian does what it can, but it’s all sham and humbug. Since last week ordinary yarns are down by between 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)d and 2\(\frac{3}{8}\)d per pound, i.e. at 9d a fall in value of 3-4\(\frac{1}{2}\)%, at 8d of 3-6%, at 7d of 4-7%; in the same period cotton fell by about 1\(\frac{1}{8}\). Stocks are accumulating and the home trade demand is also falling off. There has been such frightful overspeculation in the Australian trade that 80,000 barrels of American flour were reconsigned to this country from Australia at a freight charge of 8/- per barrel. In 4 weeks’ time the Australian crash should be well under way. All that the ‘good news’ from India amounts to is that the rise in prices over there and the fall in prices here added together still leave a loss on exports to that market. Nothing is flourishing save trade with America and speculation in corn. In Upbridge, 80/- per quarter is already being paid for first quality wheat. Corn looking up, yarn looking down, and the Turkish rot in the fairest possible way of boring our merchants all winter over.

Manufactured goods are also coming down smartly, and here stocks are far more catastrophic than in the case of yarn. The manufacturers’ decision to stop work thus kills two birds with one stone: 1. it disarms the workers, 2. it cuts down production. The fellows in Preston are sure to receive a general vote of thanks, if not compensation.431 In Ashton, Stalybridge and Glossop, the manufacturers are also considering a stoppage, and some here as well. However there is a snag to it, namely that it only benefits those who don’t stop, and only harms those who do.

If Borchardt is to be believed, Lupus has some prospect of

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9 F. Engels, ‘The Russians in Turkey’. – 4 October
obtaining a post as corresponding clerk. The old gent is studying Russian and the like and is as enthusiastic as ever over the Turkish question, of which I wish him joy.

My regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

What do you think of Jacobi's melancholic and virtuous views about the end of the world?*

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Dear Frederic,

Your piece on the war is capital. I myself had serious misgivings about the westward advance of the Russian forces but did not, of course, dare trust to my judgement in such matters. I have already written a whole series of strike articles, produced at intervals throughout the 6 months during which the thing has been going on. Now, however, the affair has taken a new turn. In the article where I used your strike-generalities, I have mentioned a host of

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*a* A. Jacobi, 'Ueber den Untergang der Erde'.  
*b* F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'.  
*c* K. Marx, 'English Prosperity.—Strikes.—The Turkish Question.—India'.  
*d* K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes'.  

(See this volume, p. 372.)
STRIKE-LOCALITIES by name, also the Preston and Wigan affairs. I couldn’t get hold of any particulars about Manchester. I have depicted the manoeuvring in Preston (very briefly, mind you) 1. as an attempt by the manufacturers to use the operatives, whose demands are forcing the closure of the mills, to cover their retreat from over-production; 2. as an attempt to STARVE THE OPERATIVES INTO SUBMISSION.

As you can see, my HISTORY OF STRIKES goes no further than last Tuesday and doesn’t touch on Manchester.

You might, perhaps, expand somewhat the notes on yarn and COTTON prices and, if possible, the price of GOODS, so that they amount to at least one paragraph of an article.

In each article, besides the subject proper, I naturally have to follow step by step the Russian Notes and England’s FOREIGN POLICY (and right brave it is!), since the jackasses in New York consider this to be of prime importance and, after all, nothing is easier to write about than this business of high politics.

Next Tuesday week I shall have finished an article on the ‘ORIENTAL CHURCH’, and next Friday week the first of three articles on Denmark where next month the various assemblies of estates will be again taking the stage.

Should there be any military MOVEMENT, I shall count on receiving immediate information from the Ministry of War in Manchester, and the same applies to COTTONS and YARNS which are wretchedly covered by the papers down here.

Above all I want to slay the fellows with my pen, the moment being propitious, and if at the same time you keep me supplied with material, I can spin out the various themes over longer periods. What is more, without my secretary I feel a little nervous about my English.

No regards to Lupus.

Your

K. M.
... Blind has suddenly become aware that the knife and fork question is just as important as a South German view of the Turkish question. As you know, this gentleman had grown very grand, very much the homme d'état, very much the superior émigré. You will also know that an article of Pieper’s poking fun at Russia—a frivolous scrawl well-suited to the Neu-England-Zeitung and such as could only have been concocted on the spur of the moment by a homeless waif—caused Blind to loose off in the Neu-England-Zeitung no fewer than 3 articles within 2 months, more or less fraternising (true love never fades) with Heinzen, etc. Hence his relations with us were strained. When I say ‘us’ I except Mr Lupus, who was naturally drawn to Blind by his Morning Advertiser sympathies and who, for some time past, has generally evinced a curious tendency to snarl at his so-called party friends and sympathise with political philistines. A few days ago then, Mr Blind reappears, bringing my wife a letter to Cluss, i.e. for Wolff who had written him a fond letter of farewell in which he invited him to correspond and left him Cluss’ address. Needless to say, my wife informed him that England for the present was still harbouring the great Turkophile. But that was not, of course, the reason why our ex-friend of Falstaffian proportions had called. The court in Baden has sequestered the entire fortune of the children by his first marriage (the 2nd was contracted in the 13th arrondissement) until such time as they are handed over to the Jews in Germany to be given a Jewish upbringing. Thus Mr Blind has been reduced to 1/4 of his or his wife’s income and he now regards the ‘knife and fork question’ as worthy of consideration, even before the Turkish War has been decided and Petersburg taken by

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*a* statesman, *b* Probably Pieper’s report from London of 31 May in Die Reform, No. 22, 15 June 1853, *c* See this volume, pp. 369-70 and 372, *d* Friederike
storm. In these much changed circumstances, and needing the assistance of the advocate Jones (Ernest), he once again remembered that I exist, which, of course, is damned flattering to me...
Die Reform of 2 November 1853 with Marx's article 'Palmerston' translated by Cluss
D'abord, the antithesis between individual kinds of capital determined by the division of labour, and then, the antithesis between individual capitalists, but the antithesis to property would be all the more comprehensive.

2) I am of course aware that, in an attempt to complete his theory, the worthy Carey also reduces profit (interest included) to wages in a different form. D'abord, is not Protestantism, for example, merely a different form of religion from Catholicism? Does the antithesis, the contradiction, the struggle between them cease—and that is what you are dealing with—because they are both religions? Thus, even assuming that profit and wages are simply 2 different forms of the return on labour, the result is not to reconcile them but merely to reduce their difference to a simplified expression.

But how does he define their otherness? Profit is the wages for past labour. Wages are the profit on immediate present labour. Eh bien? How does this avail him? For it is precisely from its thraldom, from its slavery to past, materialised labour that present, i.e. actual labour seeks to emerge, and from its thraldom to the product of labour that labour seeks to be emancipated. The old feudal laws were also at one time the present expression of popular activity. Is that any reason why we should be subjugated by them now?

At best, therefore, he is merely changing the phrase 'oppression of labour by capital', into the phrase 'oppression of present labour by past labour'.

There still remains the question, 'How do I gain possession of past labour?' By labour? No. By inheritance on the one hand and, on the other, by the fraudulent exchange of past for present labour. If past labour were exchanged for an equal quantity of present labour, the owner of past labour could continue to consume only so long as he had aliquot portions to exchange and, at a given moment, would himself have to start working again.

3) Carey has himself wholly failed to understand Ricardo’s theory of rent when he maintains that it is based on the successive deterioration of land. Ricardo—as I have proved in my book against Proudhon—falls into the common error of all other bourgeois economists, when he passes off the form of landed property as an 'eternal natural law' of history in general, whereas it is the product of purely industrial circumstances. His theory is true only of

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a Well! b K. Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon. On critique of Ricardo’s theory of rent see Chapter II, § 4: 'Property or Rent'.
bourgeois society in a condition of full development. Rent, in its commercial form—the only one he mentions—does not otherwise exist at all. It therefore leaves him unaffected to maintain that at various historical epochs it was not the worse, but rather the better, lands that were successively cultivated. The historically better land of one period does not count as land at all for the other[s]. Moreover, Ricardo does not speak only of the natural properties of the soil, but also of its situation, a social product, a social attribute.

The fertility of the soil, as I have likewise already said in the Anti-Proudhon, is something purely relative. Changes in the soil's fertility and its degree in relation to society, and that is the only aspect of fertility with which we are concerned, depend on changes in the science of chemistry and its application to agronomy.

4) Assuming a given condition of society, not any society, but one of full bourgeois development, with a populous countryside [...] etc., even this part of Ricardo's theory—unessential to his system—is correct.

Firstly. Types of land, with an equal infusion of capital and equally well situated for markets; how can their rents be differentiated? Merely by their natural fertility. This constitutes the level of rent.

On this assumption, when will a corn field of inferior quality be cultivated or a less productive coal-mine be exploited? When the price of corn or coal has risen so high as to enable the less productive ones to be cultivated or exploited. Hence the cost of production of the poorer land determines the rent of the richer. (This is Ricardo's Law.)

Secondly. Does this exclude a constant increase in fertility? Hence, does it include Malthus? By no means.

If 1 is the best land, followed by 2, 3, 4, etc., and fertility is increased tenfold, the relation between 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., remains as before. Were fertility to become so great as a result of chemical discoveries that 1, 2 and 3 sufficed, land 4 would no longer be cultivated. The cost of production of land 3 (let it =3) would then determine the rent. When land 4 (let its production costs =4) still had to be brought under cultivation, the rent of land 1 (let its production costs =1) =4-1=3. The rent of land 3 =3-1=2. The rent of land 2 =2-1=1. Now, however, the rent of 1 would =2, that of 2 would =1 and that of 3 would =0. Should the fertility of the land so increase that only 1, the best land, had to be cultivated, rent would disappear completely.
5) Ricardo’s theory is based not on the doctrine of rent, but on the law that the *price of a commodity* is determined by its *cost of production*. That law, however, should not be understood as meaning that the price of *individual* commodities is determined by their cost of production. Rather, the commodity produced under the most unfavourable circumstances, and made *necessary* because of the demand for it, determines the price of all *other commodities of the same kind*. E.g. if demand is so great that flour, the production price of which is 20/- a QUARTER, can be placed on the market, then a qr. of flour costing 19, 18, 17, 15, etc., to produce is also sold at 20/-. The amount by which the market price, regulated by the cost of production of the *dearest* QUARTER to be placed on the market, exceeds the production costs of the less expensively produced flour, regulates the rent. What, then, gives rise to rent? Not the land, as supposed by Ricardo, but the *market price* and the laws by which it is regulated. If the quarter, which costs only 15/- (profit included) were sold, not at 20/-, but at 15, it could not carry a rent of 5. Why, then, does it do so? Because the market price is regulated by the flour the cost of production of which = 20. In order that this may be placed on the market, 20 must be the *general* market price. Hence, if rent is to be overthrown, it must not be interpreted philanthropically; rather the laws of *market price* and thus of prices generally and thus the whole *framework* of the bourgeois economy must be overthrown.

So much for today on this subject.

Your

K. M. 439

On types of land having the same properties and an equally favourable situation, the rent will, however, be determined *merely* by the proportion of capital wedded to the land. Nor does Ricardo deny this. Rent is then merely interest on *capital fixe*. To say that, in cases in which rent does not exist in an actual, *specific* sense, its *specific* antithesis to capital and labour does not exist either, is no less true than to say that, where there is neither labour nor investment of capital, no antithesis between capital and wage labour exists. Instead there is, in the case under consideration, an antithesis between profit and interest, between rentiers (in the ordinary sense) and industrial capitalists. The less the tenant pays

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*fixed capital*
the man whose capital is wedded to the land, the greater will be his profit and vice versa. The tenant and his landlord (even though the latter simply draws interest on the capital employed on the land) would thus be as much at loggerheads as before.

The case most favourable to Carey is as follows:

Let the product of labour, the profit and interest = 2, rent = 1, wages = 2. Now if, as a result of a rise in the productivity of labour, the product doubles and = 10, the rent might = 2, profit and interest = 4, wages = 4. To that extent it could be said that every kind of revenue may increase at no expense to labour and without landowner, capitalist and worker being mutually at loggerheads. But:

1) Assuming this most favourable instance to be real, all it means is that the antitheses—rent, profit, wages—all three, become more marked without losing any of their qualitative position relative to one another;

2) Relatively they can only rise or fall at each other’s expense. In the foregoing example, the proportion = 1:2:2. Does not the ratio remain the same if it = 2:4:4? A change in this relative income would occur if, for example, wages were to = 5, profit = 3, and rent = 2. The profit would then have fallen relatively, although in absolute terms it would have risen.

3) It is par trop naive to suggest that, if the total product of labour rises, the three classes among whom it is to be shared will share equally in that growth. If profit were to rise by 20%, the workers would have to strike to obtain a 2% rise in wages.

4) The conditions that govern an increase in the total product preclude such relatively equal increase from the outset. If the increase is due to a better division of labour, or to a greater employment of machinery, the worker is, from the outset, placed at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the capitalist. If it be due to increased fertility of the soil, the landowner is worse off vis-à-vis the capitalist.


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a altogether too - b The original is kept in the Marx Memorial House in Trier.
Dear Engels,

_D'abord_ I must ask you—if you can—to send by return at least a minimum of money. Two weeks ago Spielmann finally paid up after deducting nearly £2. In the meantime, of course, debts had mounted up so much, so many of our absolute essentials had found their way to the pawnbroker’s and the family had grown so shabby, that for the past 10 days there hasn’t been a sou in the house. I now possess proof that I have been cheated by Spielmann, but _à quoi bon_? At my request the firm in New York returned me the bill together with a letter from which it emerges that payment was made _as early as 22 July_, whereas I didn’t receive the money until the end of September. I now have a further £24 to draw. (Since Pieper’s incarceration I have sent in 6 articles, among them a fulminating _acte d’accusation_ of Palmerston, in which I trace his career from 1808 to 1832. I shall hardly be able to deliver the sequel by Tuesday, since there are a great many Blue Books and _Hansards_ to be consulted and Friday and today were utterly wasted in traipsing around after money. I wrote Friday’s article during the night, dictated it to my wife from 7 to 11 in the morning, then took Shanks’s pony to the City.) Freiligrath has promised—and will do everything he can to that end, i.e. endorse it himself, etc.—to discount the bill for me with Bischoffsheim, but is unable to arrange the matter for another 8 to 10 days. Such is the _casus belli_. I shall have to see how I can get through the next few days. Credit is not available for food (excepting hot drinks and appurtenances). On top of that there’ll

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be Pieper who will probably come out of hospital tomorrow—peut-être. As soon as I got my money I sent him £3, but the jackass entrusted it to Liebknecht for safekeeping and will now find there's not a farthing left.

Of the many pleasures I have experienced during my years here, the greatest have consistently been provided by so-called party friends—red Wolff, Lupus, Dronke, etc. Today Freiligrath told me that Franz Joseph Daniels is in London and had been to see him with red Wolff. He, Daniels, declared he wouldn't come to see me because my association with Bangya had brought about his brother's arrest which would not otherwise have occurred. Bangya first called on me in February 1852, and Daniels was locked up in May 1851! A very retrospective effect, then. All this infamous gossip (the reward for my trouble and loss of time, and such-like agreeable consequences of the trial) is, of course, eagerly seized upon as an excuse for their own lamentable behaviour towards me and their cowardly retreat. However this vile business is attributable solely to the bandying about of ill-natured remarks by Messrs Dronke and W. Wolff who have kept for themselves the easier part, i.e. cancan, being otherwise perfectly content to leave the work to me.

If my life was an easy, or at least a carefree one, I wouldn't, of course, give a fig for these scurrilities. But when, year after year, the bourgeois mire is laced with this and similar kinds of mire, c'est un peu fort. I propose at the next opportunity to declare publicly that I have nothing whatever to do with any party. I no longer feel inclined to allow myself to be insulted by any old party jackass on so-called party grounds.

You can see how necessary it is to get my pamphlet into Germany. Since you can't do it yourself, let me have Strohn's address and I will take the matter up with him.

I would also much like to hear at last what Mr Dronke has to say about the book. As for Mr Lupus, he apparently wishes to make up for his servility towards his bourgeois patrons by being abominably insolent towards myself. I can assure him that he has by no means settled this matter by boasting to Imandt that, on the pretext of coming to say good-bye, he had vented his philistine spleen on me.

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\(^{a}\) perhaps. \(^{b}\) Ferdinand. \(^{c}\) Roland Daniels. \(^{d}\) Cologne communist trial. \(^{e}\) malicious gossip. \(^{f}\) it's a bit too much. \(^{g}\) K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. \(^{h}\) See this volume, p. 364.
Enclosed a letter from Cluss. In his essay against the *New-England-Zeitung* he has—aptly as I think—pieced together sundry passages from my letters about Carey, etc.  

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 October 1853

Dear Engels,

£2 received. It was all the more welcome as Oxford, Freiligrath's principal, is not yet back from his travels, and thus the matter has been delayed.

As regards the *Tribune*, I shall have Article II on Palmerston ready for Friday. Article III, the final one, which covers the period 1848-53, calls for so many Blue Books and parliamentary debates that I can't possibly have it ready by Tuesday, particularly with Sunday falling out as far as the British Museum is concerned. So it would be of enormous use to me and would also save me time if you could supply me with something for Tuesday. But what? I really don't know. Perhaps current affairs, to which I would simply append the most recent news. Perhaps, if you have kept up with the subject—not very much is wanted for Messrs Greeley and Mc Elrath—the influence of the impending crisis on doing away with the Bonaparte regime. I think it high time that attention was drawn to France where, after all, the catastrophe will break out. Failure of

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*a* A. Cluss, 'Das "beste Blatt der Union" und seine "besten Männer" und Nationalökonomien', *Die Reform*, Nos. 48-51, 14, 17, 21 and 24 September 1853.  
*b* See this volume, p. 385.  
*c* K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', Art. II sent on 14 October was published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 3916, 4 November 1853 as a leading article under the title 'II. Palmerston and Russia'.  
*d* 14 October  
*e* 18 October
the corn and grape harvests. Paris, with its lower bread prices, attracting workers from all over France and thus recruiting the revolutionary army, while these new arrivals depress the already falling wages of the Parisians. Bread riots in Alsace-Lorraine, Champagne. Grumbling by the peasants over the preference given to Paris, by the workers over the expensive wooing of the army, by the bourgeois over forcible interference with economic laws for the benefit of the workers. Falling demand, particularly for luxury articles. Closing of workshops beginning. In contrast to the general misère, lavish expenditure and stock-jobbing by the Bonaparte family. HOLLOWNESS of the entire credit system, turned into nothing more or less than a colossal institutionalised racket under the direction of the Lumpenproletariat emperor and the Jew Fould. Bourse, bank, railways, mortgage banks and any other institutionalised racket you may care to name. The last days of the Louis Philippe regime all over again, but with all the beastliness and none of the redeeming features of the Empire and the Restoration.

Pressure of the government on the Bank. Tax collector mulcting the land more rigorously than ever. Vast difference between the advance estimates and the actual budget. All municipal administrations atrociously in debt—because prosperity has to be propped up. Then the influence of the Oriental question on funds, with the court itself dangerously exploiting fluctuations in the stocks. Demoralisation of the army. Special stress should be laid on the fact that none of the manifestos, proclamations, etc., by Ledru, L. Blanc and other kindred spirits of all complexions have succeeded in removing the evil, whereas the social and economic crisis is setting the whole caboodle in motion, etc. etc. I don’t know, of course, whether the subject will appeal to you. At any rate let me know whether or not I can expect an articulum* by Tuesday, so that I can act accordingly.

Your

K. M.

In last week’s Economist—(Saturday’s, so really this week’s) there’s all sorts of stuff in its Paris Correspondence. b

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* article - b ‘Foreign Correspondence’, The Economist, No. 528, 8 October 1853.
London, 13 October 1853
28 [Dean Street], Soho

Dear Blind,

Immediately after you called on me, I went to see Freiligrath in order to secure his good offices in getting my bill discounted. Freiligrath did indeed undertake to do this, but has so far not managed to arrange the thing since his principal—a whom he needs for the transaction and who has been expected back these past 8-10 days—has not yet returned. Thus I am sans sous—although I have almost £30 to draw. Yet the thing must be settled within a few days.

As I was unable to obtain this money against my bill, I looked round elsewhere so that I could send you the £1 forthwith, but was everywhere met with a snub.

So, like myself, you will have to be patient for a few days and will, I am sure, realise that nothing could be more vexing to me than my present inability to settle the matter immediately.

Quant à Jones, I can’t understand anything. Since you were here he has been to see me twice and positively assured me he had written to you. It’s not his way to lie about such things. Can his letter have been intercepted? He’ll be here again tomorrow, when I shall get him to write to you in my presence. Then I shall myself take the letter to the post. He is leaving on Monday.

Warm regards to you and your wife.

Your
K. Marx
Dear Cluss,

You really did [...] too much in going to the trouble of copying out the Chinese thing.* At those expenses I would certainly not have had the impertinence to ask you for the article.** Dana copied my stuff almost word for word, watering down this and that and, with rare tact, deleting anything of an audacious nature. NEVER MIND, IT IS A BUSINESS OF HIS, NOT OF MINE. In one of my Indian articles he also amended the bit where I speak of cholera as 'THE INDIAN'S REVENGE UPON THE WESTERN WORLD' to 'INDIAN'S RAUVAGES' which is nonsense. En passant† Freiligrath solicited that 'revenge' for a poem about cholera upon which he is still at work.

Again, in another of my articles on India, dealing with the princes there, he transmogrified 'THE SKELETON OF ETIQUETTE' into 'THE SECLUSION (PITIFUL!) OF ETIQUETTE'. NEVER MIND! Provided he pays.

My wife has also compromised me by putting Rinaldo for Ruggiero and Alcide for Alcinea in the first article on Palmerston. These are 'les petites misères' of an écrivain whose own handwriting is illegible.† But it's a bitter pill for a man who knows his Ariosto from A to Z in the original. Divino Ariosto!

It's a big jump from Ariosto to Klein, or rather a long fall, and a casus obliquus at that. Papa Klein wrote to me—not a word, of course, about his upsets and rows—asking for recommendations to you and Weydemeyer. In my reply (Pieper has not written him a single line quant à vous) I did not, of course, in any way suggest

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* K. Marx, 'Revolution in China and in Europe'. ** K. Marx, 'The War Question—Doings of Parliament—India' (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 216). † By the way. ‡ K. Marx, 'The Russo-Turkish Difficulty—Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet—Nesselrode's Last Note—The East India Question' (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 296). † Rinaldo Rinaldino—title character in the novel by August Vulpia; Ruggiero and Alcina—characters in L'Orlande furioso by Ariosto. †† little misères †† writer. †‡ sublime. †§ oblique fall. A pun, the German word Fall meaning either 'fall' or 'case'. †‖ concerning you
that Weydemeyer was unfriendly to me. How could anyone suppose me capable of such stupidity and baseness? Mr Klein would have had to conclude from my harmless remark about Cluss' being 'our party's most talented and energetic representative in America', that I was denying all talent and energy to Weydemeyer. However, such sophisticated word-juggling is beyond the reach of Klein's intellect. Hence all his remark amounts to is a piece of nonsense invented in order to give vent to his annoyance. Notwithstanding all this, you are right, Sir, in having written to Mr Snug, d

Klein really does wield some influence over the Solingen workers, and they are the best in the Rhine province. I, pour ma part, have never, either drunk or sober, expressed the view that the workers are fit only for cannonfodder, although the louts, among whom little Klein e is evidently coming to rank himself, are, to my mind, barely fit even for that. It would be as well to treat little Klein with your accustomed discretion as a tool that may perhaps (?), in time of action, be of use to us.

Have forwarded the letter to Pieper. There's nothing doing with the Gradaus for it doesn't pay, and Pieper is too badly off to write gratis.

As regards the Reform, I shall see what I can get the others to do. The only one from whom any real support can be expected is Engels. Red Wolff f is married and a retailer of household words for Prutz, Gutzkow and Cotta, not worth a farthing to us just now. Lupus no longer writes; he's so obstinate that he cannot be made to forget the unfortunate business of Weydemeyer's Revolution. g Dronke, presently a clerk in Bradford, idle as a grisette. Weerth, travelling about South and North America on business for nearly a year now. Engels really has too much work, but being a veritable walking encyclopaedia, he's capable, drunk or sober, of working at any hour of the day or night, is a fast writer and devilish quick in the uptake, so he at least can be expected to do something in this respect.

I was greatly tickled by Heinzen's heroic deed. Should you people give the fellow another dressing down, concentrate on his crass ignorance, and the pains the wretched man is at to

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a See this volume, p. 365. - b Cf. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer, 19 December 1851, present edition, Vol. 38, p. 519. - c Klein, ironically called Snug after a character in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream. - d for my part - e A play on the words klein (little) and Klein (personal name). - f Ferdinand Wolff
appropriate his opponents' catch-words when they're already stale and fit for nothing. Delectable, the chap's aspirations to dignity, and then his scraps! Serves him right!

Rent. In the Miseré I cite an example of how in England, land which, at a certain stage of science, was regarded as barren, is, at a more advanced stage, considered fertile. I can adduce as a general fact that, throughout the middle ages, esp. in Germany, heavy clay soil was cultivated by preference as being naturally more fertile. In the past 4-5 decades, however, owing to the introduction of potatoes, sheep-farming and the resulting manuring, etc., light sandy soil has taken pride of place, esp. since it involves no expenses of drainage, etc., and on the other hand its deficiencies can easily be made good by means of chemical fertilisers. From this, then, it may be seen how relative 'fertility' is, even 'natural' fertility, and at the same time how ill-informed Mr Carey is, even from the point of view of history, when he expresses the opinion that the most barren land is always the first to be brought under cultivation. What leads him to that conclusion? The fact that tropical swamps are damned fertile but reclaimable only by civilisation. A tropical swamp, however, is productive not so much of herbs as of weeds. Civilisation clearly originates in those regions where wheat grows wild, as was the case in part of Asia Minor, etc. Such land is rightly described as naturally fertile by historians—and not land yielding poisonous vegetation and requiring more strenuous cultivation if it is to become fertile for human beings. Fertility is not, after all, absolute but merely a relation of the land to human requirements.

Ricardo's law only holds good within bourgeois society. Hence it is where the relationship of the bourgeois to the land is purely that of a bourgeois, and every peasant—or feudal—or patriarchal, relationship is cast aside that the law applies in its purest form, hence above all in the mining of precious metals, and in colonies where commercial crops, e.g. sugar, coffee, etc., are grown. More about this another time. In both instances the exploitation of the land is regarded and pursued by the bourgeois de prime abord as a purely commercial concern.

Though I'm not afraid of those curs of Russians in so far as

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Europe is concerned—they are going to put us Germans in queer street. Between the Kalmuks and the crapauds\textsuperscript{a} we are in a cleft stick.

Herewith copy of *The People's Paper.*

\textit{Vale faveque,}\textsuperscript{b}

Your

K. M.

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\textsuperscript{a} Marx used this word for French philistines.  
\textsuperscript{b} Goodbye and farewell.  
\textsuperscript{c} The original is kept in the Marx Memorial House in Trier.  
\textsuperscript{d} My thanks for the two articles (F. Engels, 'Movements of the Armies in Turkey' and 'The Holy War').  
\textsuperscript{e} F. Smitt, \textit{Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831}.  
After passing through the Balkans, Diebitsch was not sure whether he had come to conquer or to be miserably cut off and captured. What saved him was bribery, this time of one of the Pashas in command, and the utter dissolution of the Turkish army. Russia began the war when the fleet had been destroyed off Navarino and the Turkish army's traditional organisation had been destroyed by Mahmud and no new one had yet been established. In any case, circumstances are different now.

Over the past 2 weeks the Débats has been publishing articles on the campaigns of '28-'29, which, however, I have not read. I shall look out further material at the library.

Pieper has been out of hospital for a week—and is doubly occupied, 1. as correspondent of the Washington Union, arranged by Cluss and 2. as clerk (from 9-5) at $25/ week with a crapaud in the City. Hence of no further use to me. Tant mieux for him. I'm glad he's out of the mire.

I am sending you the continuation of the Palmerston. Jones has asked me for the next instalment. I have sent an article for this once but with the proviso that he would get no more if he didn't put an end to the abominable printing errors (this time glaring to the point of distortion). The manuscript was written very neatly.

Rings, stricken by madness, has spent several days in the workhouse and is still in a critical condition. Drink was to blame, quorum magna pars the merry-making Lupus who debauched him with gin after he had shut up his shop. Withal the man's too full-blooded to remain idle and has not yet succeeded in finding any fresh occupation. It's damnable the way the fellows all go mad on us.

Herewith Heinzen's tour de force.

Your
K. M.

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\(^a\) philistine. \(^b\) So much the better. \(^c\) K. Marx, Article III of the 'Palmerston' series: 'A Chapter of Modern History', New York Daily Tribune. \(^d\) K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston', Art. III, The People's Paper. \(^e\) a large part being played by Virgil, Aeneid, II)
Dear Engels,

You must let me have something by the day after tomorrow, even if only 1 or 2 pages (if you are short of time) on the crossing of the Danube by the Turks when they took Kalafat. Yesterday I reported the news as very doubtful. But it seems likely to be confirmed and tomorrow's papers will at any rate tell you how things stand. Now that scientific opinions are beginning to be expressed on the subject, I can neither remain silent nor discuss it from the standpoint of 'sound common sense'.

According to the news in the French press, Shamyl has roundly trounced the Russians and is actually threatening Tiflis, while General Vorontsov has written to his government informing it that, once he is threatened from 2 sides, he will not be able to hold Georgia without substantial reinforcements.

Of late the Tribune has been considerably exercising its annexationist policy. To begin with your first military article was annexed as a leader, then my Palmerston, further instalments of which are thus foredoomed to annexation. Strange though it may seem to you, by following exactly in the footsteps of the noble Viscount during the past 20 years, I have come to the same conclusion as that monomaniac Urquhart—namely that for several decades Palmerston has been in the pay of Russia. As soon as you have read the further instalments of my article (especially the bits about the Turko-Syrian conflict) I would like to have your views on the subject. I am glad that chance should have led me to take a closer look at the foreign policy—diplomatic—of the past 20 years. We had very much neglected this aspect, and one ought to know with whom one is dealing.

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* K. Marx, 'War.—Strikes.—Dearth'.  
Diplomacy as a whole is nothing but Stieber, Bangya and Co. reproduced on a large scale.

The *New-York Enquirer*, edited by General Webb (I haven't read the article myself), has attacked the *Tribune* leader got from you. The thing, it says, is scientifically correct, but a Turkish war is waged according to different principles. Turks would go into the attack whatever the circumstances, etc.

How is the Factory Pro-le-ta-ri-at doing?

Your

K. M.

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194

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 November [1853]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith the great Karl Heinzen's invective against myself and communism in his *Herold des Westens*.

Also a letter from Cluss. From it you will see that Willich's fiery rocket is arriving by the next post. The worst of it is that the fellows will be peddling their lampoon throughout the whole of Germany while my pamphlet reposes quietly in Manchester and London—and that in Heinzen they once more possess a vociferous sounding-board, whereas a few months ago the only organ at Willich's disposal was the *Criminal-Zeitung*. When the trash arrives I shall let you have it immediately, so that you can write and tell me what you think we ought to do.

You will see from Cluss' letter how things stand with the *Reform*. Get the 'old man' and Dronke to write for it. They have

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a F. Engels, 'The Russians in Turkey'. b A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine 'Enthüllungen''. c *Belletristisches Journal und New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. d Wilhelm Wolff
plenty of waste time. Whether it would be advisable for us two to contribute direct is a moot point.

Weerth's letter horriblemente insipid, despite all his striving after wit.

Your
K. M.

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195

MARX TO ADOLOF CLUSS

IN WASHINGTON

[London, mid-November 1853]

... As regards the Reform, I shall see what can be done in Germany and Paris. Pieper is now in business and spends from 9 in the morning until 8 at night in the City. So what with his work as correspondent for the Union, has little time. He'll do something. If any money is forthcoming, I would suggest that Eccarius get some first so that he doesn't have to spend all day tailoring. In accordance with an agreement made with me, he will now be sending articles regularly. Do try and see that he gets something, if at all possible. With regard to his French articles, Jones is no longer printing them, nor has he returned me the manuscript, which isn't therefore available dans ce moment, Jones being away on an agitation tour. I have written to him about it, however. I have also asked Heise. Diversity is desirable and, by consorting with us Heise will, I believe, change for the better. I have asked Lupus and Dronke through Engels. Probably little will come of it. In Lupus' case, age and bachelorhood combine to lead him into mischief during this sorry interregnum.

Not yet seen Willich's damp squib. The war news takes up almost my whole attention and there's no time left to think about the great Willich. Despite the electric telegraph, the news arrives late, is very confused and fragmentary and has, moreover, all

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\[a\] at the moment - \[b\] See this volume, p. 396. - \[c\] A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'.

passed through the hands of the Vienna police—i.e. been censored. The news from Constantinople is of course much delayed. The heroes of democracy are preparing to march. An evil omen for the Turks.

Quant à Willich, I should much prefer it if I could be spared personal statements and my contribution be confined to producing, for the feuilleton of the Reform, a psychological—or rather, phenomenological—genre picture of this shabby philistine’s ‘form of consciousness’.

Last Tuesday, at the same time as your letter, I received one from Klein which was, I must say, most delightfully written, witty and considered. He tells me that he, too, will make a statement against Willich, since he can prove that the man was a fraud all the time he was in London. Klein is obsessed with the idea that you people are treating him very much de haut en bas. I shall try and smooth out this difference.

As regards the Tribune, the most ingenious way of handling the thing might have been to make people believe they ‘recognised my style’. I have become very thick with Urquhart as a result of the Palmerston article. To help me, he has sent me several books—with which, however, I was already familiar...

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196

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 November 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Herewith a £2 postal order for Lupus, which I have received for him from Cluss, N.B. in response to my request.

Also Willich’s exceedingly sorry scrawl.

* As regards .
\[a\] Probably 8 November.
\[b\] K. Marx, ‘Lord Palmerston’.
\[c\] A. Willich, ‘Doctor Karl Marx und seine “Enthüllungen”’. 
You and Dronke must let me have, by Friday at the latest, statements on the bits which refer to myself. I shall include them in my general answer—in the form of statements. We must be as quick off the mark with our answer as the noble Willich was sluggish. Mind you make your statement a very humorous one.

Thanks for the Turkish article. When it arrived, news of the Turkish retreat had already reached me, and I altered the thing accordingly. Do write; it's a month since you answered any of my letters with more than half a dozen lines.491

Your
K. M.

Won't you come up to town for Christmas and put up here? I now have a small room for you. You might be able to shake off the old man for once.

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197

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 November 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The People's Paper had been overlooked. Enclosed herewith. The five articles that have so far appeared in Jones' paper have been compressed in the Tribune into three.5

Whatever calls there may be on your time, I must ask you to let me have for Friday at least 2 of (your usual) pages—more is

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unnecessary—written in English so that I waste no time over translation. It seems to me that the campaign is now over for the winter; and in any case the first phase has been concluded, and hence can be disposed of with a few general remarks. So I count on at least 2 pages.

The Willich mess calls for speed—in direct contrast to his six months of shilly-shallying."

Your
K. M.

Did the 'old man'\(^b\) get the postal order for £2?\(^c\)


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**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

London, 2 December 1853
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

*Mes remerciements pour le\(^a\) beautiful article,\(^d\) In America Mr Dana will be making himself a name as a field marshal. That you should be coming here\(^e\) mainly to frequent the philistines again, pleases me not at all. Mr Dronke is behaving like a wretched little mischief-monger. He tells Strohn he has sent you his statement and the newspaper,\(^f\) and gives you to understand that both have gone to me—*have had neither. See to it that the *little man* returns you the newspapers, at

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 396, 397 and 398. 
\(^b\) Wilhelm Wolff. 
\(^c\) Thanks for the. 
\(^d\) F. Engels, 'The War on the Danube'. 
\(^e\) *Belletristisches Journal und New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* containing Willich's article 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'. 
\(^f\)
all events. I have a copy of my own here, but none is required in Bradford. Not having received the trash from Dronke, I was rummaging by chance amongst some old letters when I lit upon the corpus delicti with the incriminating passage which I quote verbatim. The letter was addressed to you. Now, should Mr Dronke use adjectival caustic to obliterate factual accuracy, he'll have only himself to blame if I send his letter to New York as proof that I, du moins, am accurate. It contains some strange passages which would now undoubtedly embarrass him, e.g. concerning that 'fanatical lout Imandt', maintenat an intimate friend to whom he writes twice weekly. Everyone knows how addicted the little man is to mischief-mongering while our backs are turned.

On Tuesday I sent off my rejoinder, The Knight of the Noble Consciousness. He's in for a surprise. Your letter and others from Steffen, Miskowsky (together with Kossuth's testimony), etc., all of them, of course, with your signatures, were included as integral parts of the whole.

Write soon.

Jones is under attack from The Economist and is acquiring fame.

Apropos. Last Tuesday a Polish meeting. Mazzini and Kossuth didn't come. Inane blather from Worcell. Ruge and Ledru showed themselves worthy of the company. My wife was there. Also at Monday's meeting held by Poles of the democratic variety. It was announced that Harney was to be in the chair. Fearsome revolt by the 50 or 60 English working men present. Hisses, TRAITOR, DRYBONES (as he called the Chartists), RENEGADE. A fearsome set-to. Harney did not dare take the chair, was terribly mauled, buffeted, abused and, despite half a dozen attempts, never managed to speak. Needless to say, the stupid Waschlapskis couldn't understand what was going on and interpreted the whole thing as 'reaction'. This spells Nemesis for Father George Julian Harney.

Your
K. M.

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a at least - b now - c 29 November - d Willich - e 'The Labour Parliament', The Economist, No. 535, 26 November 1853. - f See this volume, p. 587. - g Marx calls the petty-bourgeois émigrés who attended the Polish meeting of 29 November 1853 'Waschlapskis' (Dishcloths) after a personage in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'.

From the enclosed letter you will see that Cluss has unfortunately already answered. But since my thing was ready, it had to go off. One should not work for Willich for nothing.


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199

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 12 December 1853]

Dear Engels,

From the telegram I received from you this morning I naturally cannot tell:

1. Whether Cluss', etc., answers and the issues of the *Reform* relating to Willich have reached you from New York. The contrary would seem possible, since Mr Lupus, in a fatuous letter to Cluss, seeks to conceal his laziness by inveighing against Weydemeyer.

2. Has Dronke returned the relevant numbers of the *Criminal-Zeitung*? I asked Steffen to get you to send them to him in Chester, since I can't do without the one copy I have down here. When—induced by you—I came in my last letter to speak of the odd affair of 'the well-known gentleman, Dr Dronke's' statement, it occurred to me that the immediate upshot would be that I would get no private letters from you until the affair could be assumed to have blown over—say a week or two. At least, that is the method which, since Mr Lupus' arrival in Manchester, you have adhered to with unusual consistency in all matters concerning

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myself and the two gentlemen. Hence, if our correspondence is not to be reduced to mere telegraphic exchanges, it would be better if both of us were to omit in future all allusions to your friends and protégés up there.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1853

Dear Frederic,

As you know, everyone gets an occasional bee in his bonnet, and nihil humani etc. Needless to say, there was never any question of 'conspiring' and suchlike nonsense. You are accustomed to some jealousy and, au fond, the only thing that vexes me is our not being able to be together now, to work and have fun together, whereas your 'protégés' have you conveniently to hand.

Enclosed one copy of the Knight. The other arrived in Washington either today or yesterday. I sent the thing to Cluss so that the 2 statements should not conflict, and so that he can delete anything that has already been said. A few small stylistic changes were made in the copy I sent. The last page is missing from the one I sent you; it got mislaid and contains only a few concluding remarks in a humorous vein.

Although we have heard nothing of him, Willich must be back in London again. Did you see in the Reform the splendid minutes of the meeting presided over by Anneke, in which not a single person

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2 Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto (I am a man and I think nothing human is alien to me), Terence, Heautontimorumenos.
3 au fond - at bottom -
4 J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacobi, 'An die Redaktion der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung' and K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.
declares himself willing to return to Germany as 'a revolutionary 
fighter under Willich's military leadership'?²

Quant à³ Palmerston,¹ I could agree to a 'German' version only 
if I could be sure that the work would subsequently be accepted by 
a publisher. For I haven't a German MS, since I myself had to 
write the thing in English, i.e. Anglo-Saxonise the original from 
the word go. As regards the Tribune I intend to conclude with the 
treaties of 1840 and '41,⁴⁵⁸ and for this I have at my disposal some 
very bulky Blue Books, besides Hansard and the Moniteur. Have left 
out Palmerston's machinations in Greece, Afghanistan, Persia and 
Serbia, as being of lesser importance. That would still leave the 
revolutionary period⁴⁵⁹ for which the Blue Books again provide 
important (if considerably curtailed) material, as well as for our 
'patriotic' war, etc., in Schleswig-Holstein.

Concerning your Bonaparte as a captain of artillery, or writer 
thereon, I think you would do best to send a paper of this sort 
under your own name either to 1. The Daily News, 2. The 
Examiner, or 3. The Westminster Review. The first would probably 
be best. An article of this kind would at one fell swoop—par coup 
d'état⁵—put you in such a position vis-à-vis the London Press that 
you could 'press' it and at the same time, perhaps, get a chance to 
have your book on the Hungarian campaign⁶ published in English 
in London, which would in any case be more profitable and 
effective than in poor old Leipzig.

Needless to say, the Tribune is making a great splash with your 
articles, poor Dana, no doubt, being regarded as their author. At 
the same time they have appropriated 'Palmerston', which means 
that, for weeks past, Marx-Engels have virtually constituted the 
editorial staff of the Tribune.

In addition to your lengthier expositions which are appropriated 
by them for leaders and are feasible only in the case of certain 
important events or periods, e.g. the initial phase, then the battle 
of Oltenitza, etc., I should be grateful if (time permitting) you 
could—during the less important interludes—let me have a brief 
summary of the facts—1-2 pages, say—in English. I have greater 
difficulties—even from the language standpoint—with the lesser 
stuff than with profound (!) expositions, especially with material I 
have long been familiar with by reading in an English context, i.e. 
English works. I only require this, of course, when there is a

¹ [Report from Newark.] Die Reform, No. 91, 24 November 1853. 
² As for - K. Marx, 'Lord Palmerston'. 
³ by a coup d'état
⁴ See this volume, pp. 104 and 309-10.
dearth of 'great' événements. The main difficulty is the uneasiness of my critical conscience in regard to matters with which I feel I am not à la hauteur. My competitor quite simply copies out the facts (or rather what are given out as such by the London Press).

What do you think of my brother-in-law Juta's proposal, enclosed herewith, that we should write a monthly article for the Zuid-Afrikaan (Cape Town)? Rotten though Juta's French may be, he's a good, sensible chap. If only you and I had set up an English correspondence business at the right moment in London, you wouldn't be stuck in Manchester tormented by the office, nor I tormented by debts. Incidentally, I believe that if you were to send military articles to the London papers now, you would, within a few weeks, be able to secure a permanent post which would pay as well as the Manchester business and leave you more spare time. At present the demand for military writers exceeds the supply.

It might even be asked whether The Times itself might not be very glad to hook a military collaborator since it is wretchedly served in this respect. It would be worth trying. For we have, of course, now reached the stage at which we regard any English newspaper merely as an emporium and it matters not a rap in which of these emporia we display our 'articles', supposed they are not tampered with.

Your
K. M.


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a events  b here: fully familiar  c Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288)  d providing
Dear Engels,

Since the day you left, the whole family has been prostrated by influenza, etc. Musch and I are still very much down. Thus through physical causes I have already been cheated of 3 articles for the Tribune which, considering the weather, is dur. Let me know if you can provide me with one article for next week, on any subject you like. But I must know for certain if and when.

Being still confined to my room, I have not, of course, been able to keep up with the newspapers. Pieper tells me that in today’s Morning Herald there is a long article on the Russian plan of campaign. The main theatre to be Asia, not Europe. They proposed to take Constantinople from the direction of Asia Minor (!) etc., etc.

Three volumes of Joseph Bonaparte’s Memoirs have so far come out. The third contains the old Napoleon’s correspondence on the Peninsular campaign.

Just now I was interrupted by Musch, who is raving and thrashing about, etc., in a high fever. I hope the little man will soon recover.

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a hard. b In compliance with Marx’s request Engels wrote ‘The European War’ on 8 January. c J. B. Slick, ‘To the Editor of The Morning Herald’, The Morning Herald, No. 22361, 5 January 1854. d J. Bonaparte, Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph.
Received a letter from Dana on Monday. Unable to print the article under my name as it would damage the 'prestige' of the paper. Your military articles have created a great stir. A rumour is circulating in New York that they were written by General Scott.

Adieu,
Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1854

Dear Engels,

Last evening Urquhart sent me from Newry (Ulster) a speech which I got my wife to copy out, then added a word or two at the beginning and the end, and thus produced an article. So I shall cancel yours this Friday. Should there be any further incidents that belong here, perhaps you would be so good as to advise me of them by Friday morning so that I can give the stuff the finishing touches.

The whole family, from α to ω, is still ill.

The enclosed is from Cluss. I shall send you the other part of it next time, when I shall be writing at greater length.

That swine Tucker has just sent me a message. The first edition (50,000 copies) of 'Palmerston' is sold out. Now the gentleman...

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a K. Marx, 'The Western Powers and Turkey'. b 13 January. c The reference is to the subjects dealt with in Engels' 'The European War'.

sends word—he used not to be so condescending—that I should revise the thing for the second edition. Write at once and tell me what you advise me to do.

Your
K. M.


203

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 January 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You must let me have by Friday something of a general nature (it is hardly possible to be specific) about the Battle of Citale or Zitale. It seems to me that:

1. The battle of Oltenitza was a misunderstanding which frustrated the armistice imposed by the Ambassadors on the Porte. Similarly the Battle of Citatea was a misunderstanding which frustrated the peace proposals dictated to the Porte under the guns of the English warships.

2. The obverse of Oltenitza. In the one case the Turks entrenched, in the other the Russians, etc.

3. Same result. After a murderous set-to lasting five days, the fellows drew in their respective horns. All I see is the result. I don’t know what should have happened. All I do know is that this is not the way Napoleon fought a war.

So enmeshed in their own webs have the diplomatic intriguers become that a guerre générale is imminent. As you know, the event at Sinope—not to mention Mr Redcliffe’s threats—was intended to induce the Turks to accept the Protocol of Vienna and bring Halil and Riza Pasha into the government. Once all this had

\(^a\) 20 January. \(^b\) Marx took the wrong spelling from the English newspapers; should be Citatea as below. \(^c\) general war
been engineered, Palmerston resigned. On 19 December, while he was still out of office, the coalition smelt a rat and ordered a demonstration in the Black Sea. Palmerston, doubly discredited, returned to office and effected the decision of the 26th, that the entire fleet was to sail into the Black Sea, but to do no more than assume a neutral role vis-à-vis the two belligerents; ostensibly going further than the decision of the 19th, but in fact attempting to thwart it and cut the Turks off from their Asiatic theatre of war. In the meantime, however, Mr Bonaparte, basing himself on the decision of the 19th, has already issued contrary orders and purports to interpret the decision of the 26th merely as an extension of the first. Palmerston, of course, had to make the best of a bad thing and preserve his reputation as an energetic patriot. In this way the fellows have got themselves into a pretty pickle and their dissimulation will land them in an even worse one, especially since Parliament will have to be shown on the 31st that ‘energetic’ steps are being taken. The Note which the fellows submitted to the Turks for signature shows that the former were prepared for a total surrender to Russia and that only ‘misunderstandings’ frustrated this good intention.

My brother-in-law — le ministre — wrote and told my mother-in-law that she was unfortunately about to relive her experience of 40 years ago, namely a general war.

I forwarded your letter to Steffen the same day to Brussels where Steffen is still staying with his sister. I fear that, at this particular juncture, your ‘Napoleon as Lieutenant of Artillery’ will be rejected, as The Times has had orders to refrain from any semblance of anti-Bonaparte polemics. Since he is ‘our’ ally, every paper will be moved by the same patriotic considerations just now. Anyway, as soon as the thing is ready, and if the papers won’t have it, we shall bring it out as a pamphlet. Where my own work is concerned, I feel embarrassed about offering it to a publisher. The same gêne would not apply to yours.

That jackass Weydemeyer has again shelved ‘the noble consciousness’. The main thing was speed in answering. 6 weeks too late, and the thing’s silly. I cannot understand Cluss, and why he should always pick on me of all people to be Mr Weydemeyer’s victim.

Your

K. M.

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*a* Ferdinand von Westphalen  
*b* Caroline von Westphalen  
*c* embarrassment  
*d* K. Marx, ‘The Knight of the Noble Consciousness’.
God bless you, Brother Straubinger. A MAN OF HIGHBIRTH HONOUR PEACE PROSPERITY.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 25 January 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed note for Lupus, who has written to me. Absolution,

As to the war, there will now be some snags, unless ‘MISUNDERSTANDINGS’ occur that have nothing to do with, or run counter to, diplomacy. Reshid Pasha’s Note spells total SURRENDER TO RUSSIA. It even contains more concessions than the ORIGINAL VIENNA NOTE as a result of which Turkey declared war. Palmerston has not returned to office in vain. On the other hand, the demonstration in the BLACK SEA would seem to be a dodge, specially contrived for the MEETING of Parliament: if Russia accepts her own conditions incorporated in Reshid’s Note and obtains everything she has demanded, she will appear to have bowed to force supérieure. That, in any case, is the plain. Otherwise, would it not be absurd to inform Nicholas of the entry of the UNITED FLEETS before he had, or could have, pronounced upon the last VIENNA NOTE? Now only an accident of war could bring about a warlike solution. By prior agreement the Czar, far from objecting to the ENTRANCE of the UNITED SQUADRON, showed considerable ‘temper’. However, there’s no vouching for ‘MISUNDERSTANDINGS’. They are ever probable.

Today’s Times contains a further report from the Wanderer on The Battle of Citatea. I EXPECT YOUR OBSERVATIONS. The advance the
Russians are said to have made simultaneously at Matchin, Giurgevo and Kalafat and, indeed, the capture of Silistria, would seem mere humbug. Apropos, one more thing: your opinion, written in English. According to the French newspapers, the Turks intend to fortify Constantinople on the landward side.\(^a\) Would this not be a major blow for Russia? The more so as Constantinople will always be able to communicate by sea with the Asiatic and European coasts of its empire and thus cannot be cut off from its supplies of men and materials? Large-scale fortifications would now seem to be the antidote to large-scale warfare à la Napoleon. May this not bring about a reversion to small-scale warfare?

It is scandalous that Berlin is not being fortified.

My brother-in-law, le ministre, has written to my mother-in-law warning her that now, in her ripe old age, she is about to go through the same experience as in the days of Napoleon I.\(^b\) He believes, then, that there'll be war.

Cobden, the 'umble and 'homey man made a considerable ass of himself in his last speech. He demonstrates that neither he nor the 'umble men who applaud him, are competent to govern England. The Quaker Bright will hear of nothing but the war within. Cobden's discovery that the social structure of England and Russia are analogous because there are Demidovs there and Derbys here, is worthy of a Palatinate revolutionary philistine from Neustadt.\(^c\)

On Saturday Mr Pieper went to visit Meyer in Brighton. Unwelcome though he is to the latter, he is overstaying the time allotted him by Troupeau, because the 'sea air' suits him, and has, it seems, written the bourgeois a fatuous letter. The silly lad mistakes his lack of principles for genial high spirits. From Cluss' letter\(^d\) you will see that this same 'genial' youth wanted to obtain an American passport to Constantinople, probably in the hope of becoming a kennelboy there. It's triste\(^e\) that the lad should be so thoroughly pleased with himself as to do one silly thing after another and make a laughing-stock of himself.

On Tuesday\(^d\), Bischofsheim will be paying me another bill through Freiligrath. In the meantime I can't raise a penny, having exhausted the possibilities of the pawnbrokers, as is regularly the case. So if you could lay your hands on £1, it would be highly desirable. Moreover, 100 copies of the 'noble consciousness'\(^e\) will be

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\(^a\) [Report from Constantinople of 2 January 1854.] La Patrie, No. 19, 19 January 1854. - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 400. - \(^c\) sad - \(^d\) 31 January - \(^e\) K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. 
arriving on Friday and I haven’t the means to pay the postage, since I shan’t be getting any money until Tuesday.

Apropos. I am negotiating with Tucker. The next pamphlet is to be about Unkiar-Skelessi. So correct the stuff you’ve got (Nos. IV and V). I shall then make sundry additions and send back the alterations for you to look through.

I have received through Dana an offer from a magazine in New York, £12 per sheet, for articles on the history of German philosophy from Kant till now. But they must: 1. be sarcastic and amusing; 2. contain nothing against the religious feelings of the country. How to set about it? Now, if we were together—books would be needed besides—we could quickly earn £50-£60. I wouldn’t dare attempt the work on my own.

Your

K. M.


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205

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 February 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I shall be sending you today, at the same time as this, a few copies of the ‘Knight’ and three copies of the 2nd edition of the Polish rubbish, which I have corrected. Give one copy of each to Lupus and Dronke. It was stupid of me not to have corrected the printing errors (Weydemeyer also contributes his fair share) in the Syrian Palmerston thing before sending it to you.

I had a meeting with Urquhart. He surprised me with the compliment that the articles read as though written by a ‘Turk’.

an opinion in which he was in no way confirmed when I told him that I was a 'revolutionist'. He is an utter maniac. I am firmly convinced that he will one day be Premier of England. When everyone else is downtrodden, England will come to him and say: Save us, Urquhart! And then he will save her. While speaking, particularly if contradicted, he goes into fits which I find all the more comical as I know by heart his every platitude and quotation. This made me regard his 'fits' as even somewhat suspect and rather as a theatrical exhibition. The fellow's most comical idea is this: Russia rules the world through having a specific superfluity of brain. To cope with her, a man must have the brain of an Urquhart and, if one has the misfortune not to be Urquhart himself, one should at least be an Urquhartite, i.e. believe what Urquhart believes, his 'metaphysics', his 'political economy' etc., etc. One should have been in the 'East', or at least have absorbed the Turkish 'spirit', etc.

If you can do something by Tuesday, it would be very welcome, since I have to write to the Cape of Good Hope on the same day.

Your

K. M.


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206

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1854
28 Dean St., Soho

DEAR Frederic,

The lithographic sample enclosed herewith is all my own work.  

a 14 February. In compliance with Marx's request Engels sent him on 13 February the material which provided the basis for their joint article 'The War Question in Europe'. - b i.e. for the paper De Zuid-Afrikaan in Cape Town (see this volume, p. 405). - c See illustration facing p. 414.
Bonaparte's publication of his letter to Brother Nicholas shows that he already had a negative answer in his pocket.\footnote{See this volume, p. 404.}

Salut.

Your
K. M.


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207

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 March 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not written for a long time because I have had a great deal of trouble at home which has even prevented me from reading the papers properly, so that I don't know whether anything of yours has yet appeared in The Daily News or how the whole thing is going.\footnote{As for him - c by now - d 14 March}

As yet I have got nothing, i.e. not a single farthing, out of my ‘Palmerston’, nor does there seem to be any prospect of my doing so. Mr Trübner has himself told me that, \textit{quant à lui}, it is a principle of his never to pay for the stuff he publishes. Moreover, the thing's out of date \textit{au moment}.\footnote{14 March}

On Tuesday\textsuperscript{d} I shall send the last of the sample articles to the Cape.\footnote{Perhaps the Greek revolution?} (So you must let me have \textit{something} for the \textit{Tribune}, perhaps the Greek revolution?)\footnote{487} Tuesday will be the last day of regular sailings to the Cape, since the company has fallen out with the government over charges.

I am faced with the repulsive prospect of enduring throughout the spring and summer the same chronic pressure as in previous years, since it is not possible for me to work off past debts with the
Military road from Constantinople to Nissa (lithographic sketch). Roman figures were written in by Marx.
earnings from the Tribune alone. From time to time I'm driven wild by the thought that I shall never get out of this mire.

You have not returned Lassalle's letter as you indicated you had in your last. I don't need it but only want to be sure that it hasn't gone astray in the post or fallen into the wrong hands.

I have received an invitation from the Labour Parliament to sit as Honorary Delegate in Manchester (Nadaud and Louis Blanc likewise). I wrote today, thanking them for it, and made a few remarks which, according to how they are construed, could be either very extreme or very moderate. I sent Jones your office address today.

The great Ruge intends to found a university (a free one) in America and, as Heinzen announces, 150 dollars has already been collected for this noble purpose.

The great Franz Sigel has become Dulon's son-in-law. What else has been happening among that crew you will discover from a parcel which will descend on you in a few days' time.

In yesterday's Advertiser there was a military (?) article by Urquhart in which he maintains that the Turks should have sent their main army to the Dobrudja and assaulted the Russians from there. Cites General Valentini. I shall make sure to send you the issue.

I have written to Lassalle and await further communications from him.

Tzschirner came to see me, didn't find me in, is going to America on a financial matter with his 80-year-old mother and will then settle over here. Claims he already knows you, or so Imandt says.

Your

K. M.


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a K. Marx, 'Letter to the Labour Parliament'. b D. Urquhart, 'What the Governments of England and Turkey Ought Severally to Do. To the Editor of The Morning Advertiser'. The Morning Advertiser, No. 19566, 8 March 1854.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 11 March 1854]

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed a letter from Lassalle. 491
You would greatly oblige me by letting me have some military stuff for Tuesday. 4 The 2nd edition of The Times, which you'll get on Monday, contains sundry things on Shamyl, etc. If I don't produce anything on military affairs, even though it be only tittle-tattle, A.P.C. b will steal a march on me; he cribs unblushingly from the London newspapers.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17th March, 1854

Dear Frederic,

I trust that you promptly consigned to the flames the letter I wrote you yesterday. 492 It was, of course, idiotic to make you in any way, I won't say answerable for Blanc, but even so much as to question you about him. In any case the whole thing's gone to pot et il ne vaut pas your ever reverting to it.

a 14 March  b Aurelius Ferenc Pulszky  c and it's not worthwhile
Is the Mr John Petzler of the Labour Parliament that mad brute, the old London Petzler? Ask Heise some time.

The parcel for you has not yet gone off because I have not yet received Urquhart's article on military affairs.

Your

K. M.


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210

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 March 1854

Dear Marx,

I return Lassalle's letter herewith. At the time I forgot to enclose the first one, which is still here. You'll have received the two half notes yesterday and the day before. T/B 58 166, Newcastle on Tyne, 17 August 1852, £5.

Lassalle's strategical operations are very diplomatic. His answer to the Enos and Rodosto affair is the foolish platitude, itself merely intended as dust in the eyes, that Constantinople must be protected; if the 2 fleets and the Army of the Danube cannot protect it, then neither can 100,000 French and English. From his own standpoint, what he ought to have said was: if they are to be launched against Sevastopol or Odessa, they are, at any rate, closer to hand at Rodosto than in Malta or Toulon.

The notion that a move into Serbia would place the Austrians 'in the rear of the Turkish Army of the Danube' is basically wrong. The Austrians must make their crossing at Belgrade or not very far below it, or else enter Wallachia via Mehadia along the left bank of the Danube. In the first case they would find themselves in the extension of the Turkish left wing, in the second, to the front of it. That this would mean the immediate sacrifice of Kalafat and Vidin, with the exception of the garrison, is evident—but not that this Turkish left wing would be lost and its
remnants compelled to fall back on the Shumla line. *Au contraire,*
1. the *correct* tactics for the Austrians would be to march immediately on Sofia via Nissa, hence the correct tactics for the Turks would be to withdraw from Vidin, likewise to Sofia. Not having so far to go, they would be there before the Austrians and could either make a stand in the Balkans or withdraw towards Adrianople.\textsuperscript{493}

2. Should the Austrians be stupid enough to march on Vidin, the Turks would *still* make for Sofia. This division of Omer Pasha's principal corps would not involve the fragmentation of his forces, since the new enemy would necessitate a new Adrianople-Sofia-Belgrade-Vidin operational line; thus the Turkish left wing would become an *independent* army.

3. But should Lassalle's peculiar strategy *come to pass,* no amount of falling back on the Shumla line would avail, for the latter, having *already been outflanked* as a result of the sacrifice of the highway from Belgrade to Constantinople, would, on the contrary, have to be abandoned all the more precipitately in order to *assemble all available reserves at Adrianople* and advance against the first enemy to pass through the Balkans.

One can see, incidentally, that these lucubrations all emanate from that 'diplomatic source' which seems to enjoy showing off on the subject of strategic developments.

Tomorrow I shall be sending *The Daily News* a description of Kronstadt\textsuperscript{496}; faulty though much of its fortifications may be, I'm afraid half a dozen screw ships of the line will nevertheless go to blazes before it knuckles under.

The *HIGHWAYMEN* have been kind enough to return Lupus his *POCKET-BOOK* minus 7 Prussian taler notes.\textsuperscript{b} His philistines mean to do something towards making good the loss of his money and his watch, and he might even get some smart-money into the bargain. Borchardt is attending to his bruises, and so the thing is resolving itself.

>'But as for the fright, the fright he got,  
'There's no compensation for that.'\textsuperscript{6}

Which is why he is somewhat *caduc* and snappish, apparently in the belief that Heise and I were responsible for his foolishness, the drubbing he got and all.

\textsuperscript{a} On the contrary - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 421 and 428. - \textsuperscript{c} Probably a misquotation of Schiller's 'Das Lied von der Glocke'. - \textsuperscript{d} decrepit
Who is this chap who is getting Heinzen to pass him off as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*?\(^a\) See last batch of *Reforms*, No. 50 or thereabouts.

Your

F. E.

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211

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 March 1854

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not yet acknowledged receipt of the £5, or used the money for the intended purpose, or written—all for the same reason. I have been saddled with Pieper. Ten days ago he was thrown out of his lodgings and I of course had to take him in here. He has drawn a bill on the Union and, if it's not protested, one of the next mails from America should bring him the money. This week Freiligrath has, besides, found him a German lesson which will bring in 15/- a week. And he was to have secured a similar lesson at about 10/- through Meyer—who has gone back to Germany today and asks me to send you his regards. But he didn't turn up at the appointed place. Instead, he told Meyer that he was fed up with giving lessons. Feels his vocation is to be a writer. *Le malheureux!*\(^b\)

There's still much I don't understand about Lupus' adventure.\(^c\) Did it happen in the street? Doubtless after he'd been out on a drinking spree with you and Heise! What a **deep impression** it made on my family you will gather from the enclosed letter of little Laura's, in which she relates the great **événement**\(^d\) for Jenny and Edgar who were at school.

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 423. 
\(^b\) Unfortunate man! 
\(^c\) See this volume, pp. 420 and 428. 
\(^d\) event
The diplomatic part of Lassalle—aside from the information, which is well done—is as bad as his military one. What he says about Palmerston is simply the gossip current on the Continent.\textsuperscript{497}

Have you read the secret correspondence?\textsuperscript{498} If the ministers who conducted it are allowed to conduct the war—as everything seems to indicate—the affair can only end in England's utter disgrace, although at all instances the Continent will be thrown into a welcome confusion.

Enclosed an article on the war by Urquhart, of yesterday's date, and cuttings from an earlier pamphlet on his military plans. I should like your detailed opinion of both.

One of the Prussian instructors with the Turks, whom I met by chance yesterday, says that the Turkish artillery is excellent but the army as a whole no more than an ornament, inasmuch as any vigorous action has been frustrated by Constantinople.

In your essay on the Russian retreat from Kalafat you say that the purpose of this manoeuvre was to set up camp in Odessa, having regard to the Anglo-French army. According to the latest news, however, it would seem that the Russians have crossed the Danube on the opposite side, or intend to do so. There might be some more detailed information to hand tomorrow, in which case you could let me have something about it the day after.\textsuperscript{b} In my letter of the day before yesterday I forbade the Tribune, which was really overdoing things, to annex as leaders anything except military pieces—or else omit my name altogether, since I don't want it to appear only beneath indifferent stuff. For it is essential—and now is the moment—to show them by military pieces that they cannot dispense with me.

If the Times commercial correspondent in Manchester has reported aright, business must be in very poor shape. Serious failures are expected down here any day. Likewise in Paris. It goes without saying that concerns which have long been laboriously staving off bankruptcy will choose the time when war is declared to go under with decorum.

I haven't yet seen your article in The Daily News and have certainly not overlooked it!\textsuperscript{496}

The Naval and Military Gazette maintains that the Russians bought a destructive device, invented in France and rejected by Louis Philippe's government, which continues to burn under...
water, and that they used it at Sinope, this being the explanation for the rapid and thorough destruction of the Turkish ships.

According to the *Hamburger Correspondent*, which must be regarded as a semi-Russian organ, Nicholas is to publish further documents, among them letters of Prince Albert.

No further news here. The 'Mader', mentioned by Mr Heinzen as being an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, is an individual quite unknown to me.\(^a\)

*Totus tuus,\(^b\)*  
K. M.

I now have in my possession Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanschen Reichs*.\(^506\) Patience is needed to get through it. I've still got about \(^1/4\) left to read. It's at your disposal if wanted.

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*ENGELS TO H. J. LINCOLN, EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS*\(^501\)

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

7 South Gate, Manchester, 30 March 1854. St. Mary's

Sir,

Perhaps I am not mistaken in supposing that at the present moment an offer to contribute to the military department of your paper may meet with some favour, even if the party offering his services be not, for the moment, an active member of the military profession, and though he be a foreigner to boot.

I suppose the actual qualifications of the party will be the main thing. As to these, nothing can show them better than half-a-dozen articles upon various military subjects, which you might submit to

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 421. - \(^b\) All yours
any military authority, if you should choose to do so. The higher the authority the better. I would ten times sooner be judged by Sir William Napier than by a subaltern martinet.

But I cannot expect you to give me even a trial, unless you know something more about me. I beg to state, therefore, that my military school has been the Prussian Artillery, a service which, if it is not what it might be, yet has produced the men who made the Turkish Artillery one of the best in Europe as our friend Nicholas has laid it down. Later on, I had an occasion of seeing some active service during the insurrectionary war in South Germany, 1849. For many years the study of military science in all its branches has been one of my chief occupations, and the success, which my articles on the Hungarian Campaign, published at the time in the German Press, were fortunate enough to obtain, encourages me in the belief that I have not studied in vain. An acquaintance, more or less familiar, with most European languages, including Russian, Serbian, and a little Wallachian, opens to me the best sources of information and may, perhaps, prove useful to you in other respects. How far I am able to write correct and fluent English, my articles, of course, themselves must show. Any other information respecting myself I shall be happy to give, or else you may obtain it from your educational contributor Dr Watts whom I have been acquainted with for more than ten years.50

I have for some time past thought of making you an offer of this kind, but, considered the matter hardly worth your while as long as war was not actually declared and the whole critique of Danubian strategy was confined to profound disquisitions as to what share of the blame attaching to the inconceivable proceedings in Bulgaria was due to Lord Aberdeen, and what to Omer Pasha. Now the matter is different. A local war may be a mere simulacrum of a war; an European war must be a reality. Besides this, I avow, another reason restrained me. I was not then prepared, as I am now, with the necessary maps, plans, and special information respecting the theatre of war and the belligerent parties, and I should have been sorry to send you a single line based upon other than the very best information obtainable.

My absence, not only from the seat of war, but also (for the moment, at least) from your own headquarters circumscribes pretty nearly the sort of contributions I could offer you. They would confine themselves to descriptions of those portions of the theatre of war, where actual hostilities are going on; statements of, and observations on, the military organisation, strength, chances,
and possible operations of the belligerent armies; critical remarks on actual engagements, and, from time to time, *résu­més* (to use the French word) of the operations, say of a month or six weeks, according to events. As the fullest information of what has actually happened is necessary to form a correct judgment, I should very seldom have to write on the strength of mere telegraphic dispatches, but have to wait, generally, for the arrival of more detailed news; thus the loss of a day or two would be less important for my contributions, if that would make them better; and therefore my presence in London might, for a time at least, be dispensed with. In case you should wish me to extend my contributions to a wider circle, I should have no objection and await your proposals.

Should you, however, receive my offer favourably, it may be that in a couple of months I should be enabled to come to London altogether; in the meantime, I might slip over, if desired, to confer with you.

As to politics, I should mix them up as little as possible with military criticism. There is but one good line of policy in war: to go at it with the greatest rapidity and energy, to beat your opponent, and force him to submit to your terms. If the allied governments do this, I should acknowledge it; if they should cripple or tie the hands of their commanders, I should speak out against it. I do wish the Russians may get a good beating, but if they fight well, I am that much of a soldier, that I should give the devil his due. For the remainder, I should stick to the principle, that military science, like mathematics or geography, has no particular political opinion.

Now for positive proposals. I do not expect that the description of Kronstadt sent herewith will enable you to form any idea of what you may expect from me. But if it should appear to you that I may be of some service to your paper, a provisional arrangement might be come to, by which you would retain your entire liberty to refuse my further collaboration, if found unsuitable, while a fair remuneration was guaranteed to me for my labour and expenses. For you cannot but know that to write on military operations, requires the possession of numerous and expensive maps and books, for which due allowance should be made as entering into the cost of production.

Supposing, then, I sent you a series of papers giving a full account of the military and naval force of Russia, its organisation, actual strength and efficiency (as far as can be ascertained), together with a military account of the theatre of war, the lines of
operation and defence on the Baltic, the Black Sea, Danubian and Polish frontiers, including the system of fortresses. The enclosed Kronstadt article would form one of the series and might be postponed till its place arrived. My information upon these subjects is, I believe, first-rate, derived exclusively from printed (and not from any mysterious) sources. I could furnish an article per week, say one or two columns, and more, if required.

Should you deem this proceeding too systematical, the account of Kronstadt might be followed up by a similar one of the permanent fortifications of Sevastopol and the other Russian fortified harbours (wherever obtainable), to be concluded by some observations on the chances of naval attacks against land batteries, drawn from history and from the best theoretical sources such as Sir Howard Douglas.⁴

If you require reviews of military works, I could also undertake them. For instance Col. Chesney's Russo-Turkish Campaigns; for this book I am, I may say, admirably provided with materials.

I conclude this lengthy epistle in offering you, also, a few remarks on the importance or rather non-importance of the Russian passage across the Danube: these are at your service at a moment's notice.

If you take my offer into consideration, I shall be glad to receive a few lines as soon as possible so as to be enabled to set to work at once. In the meantime, etc.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 April 1854

Dear Marx,

The crossing of the Danube is of a purely defensive nature. It is proof that the Russians are withdrawing from the greater part of Wallachia. They have had 7 infantry divisions in Wallachia, one in

reserve at Ismail and, behind it, Cheodayev's corps, making 3
more divisions. Cheodayev can, at the very best, be at Jassy. The
remaining 8 divisions, including cavalry, etc., etc., amount to less
than 110,000 men. Hence, with the possibility of an Anglo-French
landing in their rear, it behoves them to secure the most
favourable position in which they will not be cut off, and with the
minimum possible sacrifice of ground. Here they had only 2
alternatives: Either a direct withdrawal to the Sereth, this and the
Lower Danube being chosen as the line of defence (Fokshani,
Galatz, Ismail) or, 2. a dash to the Dobrudja, shifting the front to
Kustendje, Hisova, Oltenita and Bucharest, with Trajan's Wall,
Danube and Argash as the first line of defence, Buseo as the
second, and Sereth as the third. This, at any rate, is the best plan,
especially since new ground would be gained on one wing to make
up for that abandoned on the other, and thus the retreat would
look like an advance, and military decorum would be preserved.
Possession of the Dobrudja would shorten the Russian front and,
if the worst came to the worst, would leave open the line of
withdrawal to Chotin on the Dniester, even if there were landings
at Akkerman or Odessa.503

'Things seem to be working out with The Daily News. I didn't
write until last week,' after I had observed the English proprieties
by obtaining a reference from father Watts, who also writes for it
(father Watts, by the by, has given up his shop and is now managing
director of a Peoples Provident Assurance Co. in which capacity he will
shortly be setting himself up in your vicinity, 47 Charing Cross
[Road]. He and all his officials are letting their beards grow and
look like Wasserpolacken504). Today I've had a letter from the chief
editor, Lincoln, who seems altogether agreeable (I had offered to
start off with articles on the Russian army, navy and fortifications),
and he is eager for me to send him the articles.505 So I don't feel
at all nervous. That the fellows are in a quandary as regards
things military is evident from their acceptance of Schinnmelpfen-
nigian nonsense of a kind totally incomprehensible to anyone
unacquainted with Bülow's books, and my racy written and
unlaboured letter will have opened up for them prospects of quite
a different order. Once they have got interested in my stuff (N.B.
I asked for money straight away), I intend really to impress the
jackasses. Tomorrow I shall send them something no one else can
provide: plans of Hisova, Matchin, Isaktsha and Tultsha. This
business has really taken a load off my mind, for a source of cash

\footnote{See this volume, pp. 423-26.}
was absolutely necessary. If all goes well, in the summer, when my old man comes over, I shall chuck up commerce and move to London; but then I shall at any rate be coming over some time before Whitsun to make definite arrangements with the chaps.

Needless to say, Lupus had been out drinking with us. As usual, staggers off tight as a drum so that there's no holding him, loses his way, finds himself in a low pub at the opposite end of the town from where he lives. Treats 6 maquereaux and 2 whores who were at the bar, shows his shekels, exits followed by the maquereaux, and so on. That's his account. However, there's more to the matter than meets the eye; for instance, on coming to his senses he didn't go home but went off with an Englishman, a total stranger, who put him up (not 200 paces from his lodgings) moyennant one shilling. In short, il y a là des choses que M. Lupus veut cacher, sans doute quelque vieille fille.

The story of the Russians' boulets asphyxiants is nonsense. The French have something of the kind, but it doesn't destroy ships, merely kills people. You might send me Hammer some time, particularly about the more recent times. About Urquhart one of these days. It's bad luck about Pieper. As regards the money you can, of course, dispose of it as you please. I don't give a damn whether my brother-in-law gets it or not.

Your

F. E.


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214

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 4 April 1854
[28 Dean Street, Soho]

Dear Engels,

From Cluss' letter, enclosed herewith, you will see what a worthy trick has been played on him by Dr Kellner and friend Weydemeyer. The latter, instead of enlightening him as to the

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a maquereaux - b moyennant - c there are things here that Mr Lupus wants to hide, doubtless some old maid - d asphyxiating shot (see this volume, pp. 422-23) - e Emil Blank
status quo, has got him into a pretty fix, a service which friend Weydemeyer regularly performs for his friends.

I am delighted about *The Daily News*. I shall have a look today and see if they've published anything yet. I hope, Sir, you will leave Manchester, Sir, for ever, Sir. One gets horribly used to this Sir (or rather Sar!) when one is compelled to read the parliamentary debates each week, especially the speeches of Lord John Russell. The fellow can be boiled down to just the 2 words: ‘Now, Sar!’

As you will see from the enclosed, Pieper has received his first bill from Washington, and yesterday evening again acquired lodgings of his own. He now struts around like a turkeycock. Not only earns money, but as an author, and not only as an author, but as a politician! For the time being he has, or at least pretends to have, forsworn London’s public petticoats and is on the look-out for some healthy paramount. Social standing no object. Nor yet, perhaps, age. But health. That is the thing. Experience has taught the good youth to regard the sex from a medical point of view. Depicted in a state of undress, the good youth might serve as a cautionary example. Now that he's under his own steam again, I have told him about your offer to help him should he get a negative answer or a protested bill from Weydemeyer. There could no longer be any harm in giving him your message, but the good youth who, all things considered, is *bon garçon*, was deeply impressed.

At this particular juncture, just when you have opened fire in *The Daily News*, it is vital you shouldn’t leave me in the lurch over the *Tribune*. Otherwise the fellows, nettled as they are by my recent statement, and likewise readers of *The Daily News*, might well believe that now—when all the newspapers are anxious to make a splash with their military stuff—I am selling the better part of myself in London and the offal in New York. The fellows would be capable of chucking me out, seeing that they already have one correspondent here and one in Liverpool. Their paper would be somewhat the worse for it, but £200 to the good which, after all, is worth the trouble. Hence what is necessary above all is to tempt them once more into printing a military article as a leader. Then I can again be sure of them. In one of its recent issues the *N. Y. Herald* ridicules the ‘Military Editor of the Tribune’ for prescribing a plan of campaign for Omer Pasha and crying treason now that it is not carried out.

*Palmerston in Three Epochs* by Washington Wilks. This book

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* a good lad * b See this volume, p. 422.
consists of two epochs. In the first, Washington Wilks has most blatantly and stupidly cribbed from my articles in the *Tribune*. The second is a longer version of the chapter on Hungary from Urquhart’s *Progress of Russia*, padded out with the help of ‘Blue Books’. Wretched though the concoction is and betraying at every turn the fellow’s total lack of knowledge—true plagiarist’s ignorance—it has nevertheless enabled him to shoulder his way into the London meetings, to gain the protection of Urquhart and his clique and to set himself up in London as a ‘public character’.

The idea of ‘betrayal’ by the Ministry is beginning to spread among the philistines here and, if the fellows venture to play the same game as in 1840 and ’46, there may be trouble.

Your

K. Marx


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215

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 6 April 1854
(You know the address)

Dear Lassalle,

Your letter of 7 March safely received. I should like to make a few comments, firstly on your military, and secondly on your diplomatic, views.

*ad 1.* To my comment regarding Enos and Rodosto, you reply—agreeing in this with the English ministerial papers—that

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*a* K. Marx, ‘Lord Palmerston’.
Constantinople must be protected. If the two fleets in the Black Sea and the Army of the Danube cannot protect it, then neither can 100,000 French and English. I do not, of course, deny that, if they are to be launched against Sevastopol or Odessa, they are closer to land at Rodosto than in Malta or Toulon.

The notion that a move into Serbia would place the Austrians 'in the rear of the Turkish Army of the Danube' does not seem to me quite correct. The Austrians must make their crossing at Belgrade or not very far below it, or else enter Wallachia via Mehadiya along the left bank of the Danube. In the first case they would find themselves in the extension of the Turkish left wing, in the second to the front of it. That this would mean the immediate sacrifice of Kalafat and Vidin, with the exception of the garrison which would remain there, is evident—but not that this Turkish left wing would be lost and its remnants compelled to fall back on the Shumla line. *Au contraire,* the correct tactics for the Austrians would be to march immediately on Sofia via Nissa, hence the correct tactics for the Turks would be to withdraw from Vidin, likewise to Sofia. Not having so far to go, they would be there before the Austrians and could either make a stand in the Balkans or withdraw towards Adrianople.

Should the Austrians allow themselves to be enticed into marching on Vidin, the Turks would still make for Sofia. This division of Omer Pasha's principal corps would not involve the fragmentation of his forces, since the new enemy would necessitate a new Adrianople-Sofia-Belgrade-Vidin operational line. Thus the Turkish left wing would become an independent army.

Should the strategy you postulate be adopted in spite of all this, no amount of falling back on the Shumla line would avail, for the latter, having already been outflanked as a result of the sacrifice of the highway from Belgrade to Constantinople, would have to be abandoned all the more precipitately in order to assemble all available reserves at Adrianople and advance against the first enemy to pass through the Balkans.

*ad 2. Ad vocem* Palmerston. Your view of Palmerston is the one prevailing on the Continent and among the liberal majority of the English public. As for myself, I am of the unalterable opinion that Palmerston—*en passant* Princess Lieven paid his debts for him in 1827, Prince Lieven got him into the Foreign Office in 1830 and Canning, on his deathbed, told people to beware of him—is a

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*a* See also this volume, p. 419.  
*b* On the contrary.  
*c* as for.
Russian agent. I came to this conclusion after the most conscientious and painstaking scrutiny of the whole of his career and, indeed, of the 'Blue Books', the 'Parliamentary Debates' and the pronouncements of his own diplomatic agents.\textsuperscript{502} Though far from amusing and very time-consuming to boot, the work has proved rewarding in so far as it provides the key to the secret diplomatic history of the past 30 years.—(En passant. Some of my Tribune articles on Palmerston have again been reprinted in London as separate pamphlets in 50,000 copies.\textsuperscript{465})

Palmerston is no genius, a genius would not lend himself to such a role. But he is a most talented man and a consummate tactician. His artistry does not lie in serving Russia, but rather in contriving to maintain the role of a 'TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER' while so engaged. The only difference between him and Aberdeen is that Aberdeen serves Russia because he doesn't understand her, while Palmerston serves her although he does. Hence the first is Russia's avowed partisan, the second her secret agent, the first gratis, the second in return for fees received. Even if he himself now wished to do so, he could not turn against Russia because he is at her mercy and must live in constant fear of being immolated in Peters burg. This is the man who in 1829 condemned Aberdeen's policy as not pro-Russian enough,\textsuperscript{a} who was told by Robert Peel in the House of Commons\textsuperscript{b} that he didn't know whose representative he was, who sacrificed the Poles in 1831, who imposed the Treaty of Unk iar-Skelessi on the Porte in 1833,\textsuperscript{510} who abandoned the Caucasus and the Danube estuary to Russia in 1836, who engineered the treaties of 1840 and 1841\textsuperscript{458} and a new Holy Alliance against France, who conducted the Afghan War in the Russian interest,\textsuperscript{511} who, in 1831, 1836 and 1840, paved the way for the incorporation of Cracow, only to protest against it in 1846, etc.\textsuperscript{507} No matter what he engaged in, he worked against his country's commercial interests on the pretext of protecting them. E.g., in the matter of Neapolitan sulphur.\textsuperscript{512} He frustrated advantageous trade agreements which were about to be ratified with France. This is the man who delivered up Italy and Hungary.\textsuperscript{513} Had he merely worked against revolutionary peoples, it would have been understandable. But in questions involving exclusively British interests, he invariably contrived in the most

subtle manner to betray these to Russia. Incidentally, people here are beginning to understand him. Looking forward to hearing from you soon,

Your
K. M.


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216
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

In Cluss' letter, enclosed herewith, you will note on the one hand Schimmelpfennig's admiration of your military stuff—for which I am given the credit; on the other, his crafty critical reservations. Should today's report (in The Times) from Gorchakov and the report in the Northern Bee on the manoeuvres on the Circassian coast give you occasion to send me a letter for the Tribune, you might drop a few anonymous remarks about Schimmelpfennig's opinion which, by the by, is commanding much attention.

What is the significance of The Times suddenly ceasing its attacks on the ministry (quant à la guerre)?

You will see from the American newspaper cuttings that for six months the 'Central Committee'—of this I received private confirmation yesterday—had had a considerable amount of money at its disposal. The letter from Karger—Ledru's famulus—in the Pionier shows how Ledru, and with him the entire orthodox emigration, are deceiving themselves as to the significance and future prospects of this same Ledru. He and the Germans have agreed that as soon as he is Great Khan of France, he will order a

a Cosepm nueta - b as regards the war
French army—but under the German command of Ruge-Blind-Goegg—to invade Germany.

Enclosed also a map of Constantinople which may be of interest to you.

Schily is off to Paris with official permission. He will represent the ‘house’ over there and Cornelius here.

Bangya is in Erzerum—colonel, of course—is called Mohammed Bey, has had himself circumcised, and embraced the Koran. Possibly sent to General Guyon as a spy.

Damned lovely weather. A pity one can’t make better use of it.

According to a letter received yesterday from Trier, Edgar\textsuperscript{a} is leaving Texas on a six months’ trip to London and Germany.

Your

K. M.

I can see that this letter will be too bulky, so shall send the cuttings in my next.

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\textsuperscript{a} Edgar von Westphalen  \textsuperscript{b} F. Engels, ‘The Russian Army’.
usual terms, and today the answer finally arrives saying that the articles are too professional, that, much as they would like to, they cannot use them and concluding very politely with an offer of two guineas for my trouble and the good advice that I should approach a military paper. Needless to say, I shall accept neither.\(^{516}\)

I can think of only one explanation for this strange behaviour: Pieper who, to judge by a foolish letter he wrote me a week ago,\(^{517}\) knew about the thing, must have been talking big about it and thus, by the well-known telegraphic medium of émigré gossip, the story came to the ears of Kinkel or some other wretched German blighter acquainted with The Daily News and then, of course, nothing was easier than to represent Engels, the military man, as no more than a former one-year volunteer, a communist and a clerk by trade, thus putting a stop to everything. The politeness of the refus\(^a\) was not for my benefit, of course, but Watts's. The way the letter is written does not preclude my applying again, but only to be relegated to the penny-a-liners.

I should be greatly obliged if you could find out who let the cat out of the bag; needless to say, Mr Schimmelpfennig's eulogies\(^b\) are a poor set-off for this échec.\(^c\)

On top of that, the shilly-shallying of the Daily News chaps has meant that in the meantime some of my sources here have become known through the German press—the Moltke,\(^d\) which I have found enormously helpful, is now scarcely any good to me at all and in a fortnight all the rest will have gone the same way, and I wouldn't dream of risking another £5 on the thing on speculation.

I feel very much inclined to finish the articles on Russian military power and send them to The Times. If they published them, what an ass The Daily News would look! But a second échec would have its drawbacks, for then I should look a complete ass. That's why it's so damnable my not being in London, when everything would be perfectly simple. What do you think? Write at once and let me know.\(^e\)

About the other things in a day or two. I can't let you have the article on the Russian bulletin\(^f\) before the next sailing; it needs to be closely studied and compared with the map, otherwise one risks making an ass of oneself here as well.

If only you could screw more money out of the Tribune, I'd turn my back on the whole, rotten English press, where blackguardly German interlopers persuade stupid editors to reject the best

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\(^a\) refus - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 433. - \(^c\) failure - \(^d\) H. von Moltke, Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829. - \(^e\) See this volume, pp. 438-39. - \(^f\) ibid., p. 433.
articles, and I'd send you one or two Tribune articles every week. But to wear our fingers to the bone writing for £200, c'est trop fort.

Write at once and tell me what you think of this rotten business; the whole affair has put me terribly out of temper. Of all the band there's nobody we can rely on except each other.

Steffen and Dronke were here at Easter; I didn't at all care for Dronke who has acquired a revolting habit of bragging like a commis-voyageur. The fellow's becoming a regular loafer.

Your
F. E.


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218

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester, 21 April 1854]

Dear Marx,

I have just bought Monsieur Schimmelpfennig's pamphlets here. If you would like me to review them for the Tribune, let me know soon. You shall have the article on the Danube crossing on Monday, unless something of greater importance crops up.

Do you think Blind capable of playing a trick on me with The Daily News? The fellow has his contacts with the paper, if I'm not mistaken. Monsieur Herzen's nonsense in today's issue of the same

\(^{a}\) it's too much - \(^{b}\) commercial traveller - \(^{c}\) A. Schimmelpfennig, The War between Turkey and Russia. A Military Sketch. - \(^{d}\) On Monday, 24 April, Engels wrote 'The Turkish War'. - \(^{e}\) See this volume, p. 438.
paper proves that he, too, has connections. Is there any other German officer in London who might be in collusion with the paper?

Before approaching another newspaper I shall get some more material together, which will mean a delay of perhaps 3 weeks. *N’importe*, the better the stuff I have, the better my chances and, after all, the material will still be there for the *Tribune*.

If I weren’t so damnably stuck for cash, I’d invite you up here. But just now it’s not possible and I must first move into private lodgings again. Had there been a prospect of clinching matters with *The Daily News*, I had intended to come to London for Whitsuntide but now the journey would have little point. *N’importe*, perhaps I shall come all the same.

What with the war, innumerable military works to be studied, sundry drinking bouts, etc., etc., I have of late fallen very much behind with my work at the office and, precisely because my mind was full of other things, have perpetrated a mass of blunders, all of which end up in goods being refused and other disasters. I shall now have to make up for this, for the very good reason that my old man is coming over in 3 months time; moreover I have been very remiss about corresponding with him; he’s still waiting for things he should have had six months ago. I am now having to make up for all this, which means a great deal of effort. However I believe that a fortnight’s hard labour in the office will see me through.

Let me have the newspaper cuttings; without them, Cluss’ letter is incomprehensible.

Bangya will be sending the Russians some fine reports from Erzerum. I wish the Prussians would finally go ahead and declare war on England, in which case the farce would be in full swing and my old man would not come over. I have neglected him horribly and in any case the financial aspect has all the makings of a row.

Enclosed the proof of the *Daily News* article. Let me have it back soon. I’m very glad I’ve got the thing; the fellows won’t be able to make a splash with it now.

Apropos. Is ‘Bericht über die Kriegs-Operationen der Russischen Truppen gegen die Ungarischen Rebellen im Jahre 1849’—(published 1851) available in London? And if so, who has it? I

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*a* No matter - *b* See this volume, p. 433. - *c* F. Engels, ‘The Russian Army’. - *d* written by Y. Tolstoi, published anonymously
have ordered the book but won't get it in under three weeks. If I had it I could at once enter into relations with The Times. It costs 1½ talers, so nothing would really be lost by buying two.

Your

F. E.


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219

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 22 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Pieper, at any rate, is not to blame for the business with *The Daily News* because he has had absolutely nothing to do with the émigrés for the past six months. Blind is connected with *The Advertiser*, not *The Daily News*. Herzen's crew—Krapülsinski Worcell, and the blackguardly Golovin—have been *positivement* connected with the *D. N.* ever since Urquhart's influence got them thrown out of the *Advertiser*. Mr O. von Wenckstern has transferred from *The Times* to the *D. N.*, but is no longer in London, that judicious paper having sent him as *Military Commissioner* to Omer Pasha. The belletristic blighter! It's more than likely that the fellow has introduced other German blackguards out there. However it is the Russians I chiefly suspect. So wisely managed is *The Daily News* that, as is shown by the last return of newspaper stamps, its sales have plummeted since 1851 and it now ranks after the *Herald* in the newspaper hierarchy.

I consider that you should *immediately* send the article to *The Times* as it stands and without waiting for one scrap of additional

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a See this volume, pp. 423-26 and 427. - b Worcell is thus called after a character in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. - c definitely - d F. Engels, *The Fortress of Kronstadt*. 
material (I shall see if the ‘Bericht über die Kriegs-operationen’ is available here). The Times will still be short of material next week since the parliamentary recess, though supposed to end on 27 April, will not be over until 1 May. Hence it will be glad of anything it can get and, since the people there possess far more literary and political tact than the bunglers on the D.N. and would be prepared to accept an article from the devil himself if it were interesting enough, I *fermement* believe that they would publish it at once. At the same time it would be your revenge on the other rag. But should your approach to The Times misfire—which I doubt—you may be sure that 1. nobody will hear of it, since I shan’t tell a soul; 2. the reviews will be sure to take it. Finally, I would again advise you not to wait, but to send this first article *quite unchanged* to The Times.

As for Schimmelpfennig, I think it would be doing the chap too great an honour to deal with him in the Tribune. I suggest that, in one of your private letters to me, you let me have sufficient to pass on to Cluss for an article in the Reform.

Of late the Tribune has again been appropriating all my articles as leaders and putting my name to nothing but rubbish. It has appropriated, for example, a detailed account of Austrian finances, an article on the Greek insurrection, etc. On top of that their now ‘congenital’ habit of making a splash with your military stuff. I *positivement* intend—as soon as Dana has replied to my last admonition—to ask for a higher fee, citing in particular the expenses incurred in respect of the military articles. Don’t you agree? The fellows ought to pay at least £3 per article. They lay out £500 on sending Taylor to India, and the chap’s reports from there are worse and shorter—what could he get to know about a country like that on a quick trip?—than my own sent them from here on the same subject. £3 per article would enable me to get out of the mire at last.

There’s been an odd business with Urquhart—whom, by the by, I have never once met in London since our first *entrevue*. The ministerial Globe published on Saturday a *furious onslaught on him*, saying amongst other things that, while he might pick up converts here and there, this wouldn’t go on for long.

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* See this volume, p. 437.  
* See this volume, p. 436.  
* K. Marx, ‘Austrian Bankruptcy’.  
* Interview (see this volume, pp. 412-13).  
* 15 April
Then, in Thursday’s issue of The Morning Advertiser, ‘An Urquhartite’ declares that:

* ‘If continuing to pose implicit confidence in Mr Urquhart’s views be proof of folly these individuals have certainly not recovered their reason, and also must still be without the pale of good society.’*

And then proceeds to specify:

* ‘Mr Marx, however, I am happy to say, is as energetic and valuable [a] supporter as ever of Mr Urquhart’s.’**

So far I’ve done nothing about this, but am biding my time. An opportunity will present itself for disowning Mr Urquhart. I find it all the more outrageous as he knows, since I have told him so, that I agree with him in nothing save the matter of Palmerston, and on that point it wasn’t he who showed me the way. *Mais il faut attendre.* But there is one difficulty. There is a very stupid Urquhartite by the name of Marx, not the one meant by the Globe. If I publicly disown Urquhart, he’ll say he didn’t mean me, but the other Marx. Incidentally, it is evident from the Globe that Mr Palmerston has been paying me the greatest attention.

Pieper grows more vapidly complacent every day. Such is his mopping and mowing that his face is more criss-crossed with lines than a map of both the Indies. Old Malvolio! Little Jenny always refers to him now as Prince Charming, the son of Wunderhorn. In my next I shall tell you some comical tales about ‘Prince Charming’ who, as his sister’s letters reveal, regards himself as Byron and Leibnitz rolled into one.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.
Dear Marx,

It's absolutely impossible to do the things for The Times until I have more material, i.e. in a week or fortnight. I shall then finish them off straight away.

As regards Schimmelpfennig, I shall write something with Heise. The thing must be done in such a way that the fellow can't reply, hence very accurately or not at all.

Something must be done about Heise; matters cannot continue very much longer as they are. So I am writing to Cluss today, asking him to tell me whether he can put Heise in touch with an Anglo-American paper—the fellow writes passable English—and 2. whether the Reform could pay him. Both of these on condition that Eccarius will not suffer as a result, for he, after all, has first claim. I have informed Cluss that if there is any objection of this kind you will advise him by next Tuesday's steamer. At the same time I notified Cluss of the Schimmelpfennig article, so that they don't do anything stupid in New York.

I can't write another word today.

Your
F. E.

Kossuth—magnificent! 522


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521 220. Engels to Marx. About 24 April 1854

522 See this volume, pp. 436 and 439.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 April 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

A few days before Heise left I had a scene with him in the presence of others over 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'. He came out against us as the Knight's\textsuperscript{a} steadfast (secret) supporter or at least as a venomous independent. The affair brewed up into a scandal. I thought it unnecessary to write to you about it 1. because you knew Heise well enough, 2. because he wrote to me, humbly asking to be recommended to you and I didn't want to give him a letter of Uriah.\textsuperscript{b}

The man may, of course, have come over to us altogether, though I cannot regard his attaching himself to us when in need as proof of this. At all events, I feel that you, for your part, shouldn't get too deeply involved with Heise. Temper your trust in him and above all do not write anything jointly with the lad. Before he can be co-opted and thus 'set up' in the eyes of the public, more proofs of his sincerity are wanted. We have had too many beastly experiences not to have become cautious and 
\textit{tum soi pei}\textsuperscript{c} mistrustful.

Letter enclosed with cuttings from Cluss.\textsuperscript{592}

Imandt informs me that Blanc told him you had written to Blanc saying you would be coming up here on a visit. Is there anything in it?

Your
K. M.


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\textsuperscript{a} Willich \textsuperscript{b} 2 Samuel 11:14, 15. \textsuperscript{c} just a little
Manchester, 1 May 1854

Dear Marx,

The business of Heise is really rather disastrous. If the chap had behaved dubiously in regard to party matters, you might at least have let me know. As it was, I could only suppose that, for a new convert, he was perfectly safe. I hadn't met him before, except for a couple of days in the Palatinate; seeing him in London as part of the intimate circle and, like Meyer, apparently a special favourite of yours, I naturally concluded that the fellow had already done penance down there, had undergone his épreuves and earned your good graces. Hitherto I have treated him accordingly and, since he had nothing to do and is in other ways a cheerful sort of chap, I've been going round with him more than with anyone else. Moreover, now that the philistines have got to know that I'm living with Mary and this has got to stop, I have taken lodgings next door to him, though I haven't yet moved in. Well, all this is exceedingly difficult to set right now, and I can see only one way of doing it: from your letter I can only conclude that you gave him a letter for me. This I have not received. Write to me at once so that I can question him about it.

There were two reasons why I did the Schimmelpfennig article with him: 1. because I wanted the fellow to be given a dressing-down without myself appearing to be working for the Reform, 2. because it was absolutely essential that Heise be given something to do to get him out of his indolent ways. The article is very good and, though marred here and there by Heise's style, gives Mr Schimmelpfennig some rough treatment. The thing can be of no further benefit to Heise, for he'll never be able to write another article of the kind; on the other hand, the business greatly impressed him by showing him how surely and on what a firm 'basis' we operate. However, even this wouldn't have happened had I been informed, and at least the fellow wouldn't have cost me so much; as it is, I have him round my neck and, au bout du

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See this volume, p. 442. - b tests - c Mary Burns - d See this volume, pp. 442 and 445.
am more or less responsible for his household debts, etc., etc.

As regards my visit to London, it seems very questionable. I have far too much to do at the office to be able to get away easily. However, if all had gone well with *The Daily News*, I had indeed intended to come down and clinch the thing by word of mouth. That reason no longer obtains and, since the thing would cost me some £7–£8, which I can ill afford and I could only stay down there 3–4 days at the most, I shan't come if I can help it.

After Cluss' letter, returned herewith, I shall now send him the article on Schimmelpfennig to be used as circumstances dictate; if he has already become too involved with Schimmelpfennig, it will at least serve to enlighten Cluss privately concerning Schimmelpfennig and at the same time help him not to become too deeply involved. As a soldier, give me Willich any day, rather than that clever-clever Schimmelpfennig who really has nothing to him except sheer vanity and arrogance, and whose entire stock of learning derives from a few common or garden manuals and textbooks.

I shall let you have another article on Turkey, military or otherwise, for next Friday's steamer. It is time we harked back to our first articles on the subject, including the political aspect. Here, too, we have been splendidly vindicated by circumstances: the pertinacity of the Greek insurrection and the evident uneasiness of the Turks in Bulgaria prove, *après tout*, that the Christian population is starting to bestir itself and that the Turkish Empire is rapidly approaching its end. On the other hand it is symptomatic of the Turks' great weakness that the larger part of their army, as was always its wont, ran away home during the winter and that as yet no amount of reform has succeeded in instilling in these fellows a soldierly spirit on the European pattern. As regards the Odessa business we shall have to have some more detailed news; up till now everything has been too contradictory. Lupus is fuming at the allies for not having cut the Russians to pieces *ad majorem gloriam Aberdeeni et Bonaparti*. He and Heise now vie with each other in dismaying the philistines with flat contradictions and downright rudeness. One or both of them will get a beating before long; yesterday they came close to

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*a* in the final count.  
*b* See this volume, pp. 423–26 and 427.  
*c* F. Engels, 'News from the European Contest'.  
*d* 5 May. See this volume, p. 448.  
*e* K. Marx and F. Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'; F. Engels, 'The Real Issue in Turkey', 'The Turkish Question', 'What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?'.  
*f* after all - *8* for the greater glory of Aberdeen and Bonaparte
it, whereupon I suddenly began talking in a Lancashire accent, which made the philistines laugh and provided the opportunity for a dignified retreat.

Heise, by the way, won't ever be dangerous, his writing ability is far inferior to little Dronke's, idleness is his speciality. No knowledge whatever, only a strong inclination to acquire the ABC of everything. With great difficulty he succeeded in learning the ABC of Russian, but has already forgotten it again.

Sûr ce que Dieu l'ait en sa sainte garde, habeat sibi²

Your

F. E.


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223

MARX TO ENGELS²³ullet

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

My use of the term 'letter of Uriah' has caused a misunderstanding. I gave Heise no letter—he didn't even take his leave of me and was, incidentally, in far too tipsy a condition to do so. He wrote to me from the hole where he was lodging near Manchester, asking for my help up there. It was in this sense that I would have regarded sending you a report on him as a 'letter of Uriah', if in a somewhat 'bolder' meaning of the term. Maybe Manchester has deprived him of the main incitement of making himself out to be a 'GREAT MAN', an 'INDEPENDENT' and a 'MALCONTENT' in the eyes of

² Certain that God has him in his safe keeping—let him have him. - ² See this volume, p. 442.
Imandt and Schily. However, all you can do now is to act diplomatically and urge the man gradually to find himself an occupation. The whole time he has been in England he has been living at other people’s expense and, whenever he got a chance of earning his keep, soon gave it up. Since he now has a superfluity of time on his hands he might at least write regularly for the Reform which, by the by, has as yet failed to pay even Eccarius so much as a farthing. However, if given enough support, it should soon be in a position to pay.

Your military things—‘retreat of the Russians from Kalafat’ and the situation in the Dobrudja\(^a\) have, I think, been proved splendidly right. The bombardment of Odessa\(^b\) was, it seems, provoked by the Russians. Unless the English land troops there, little would appear to have been achieved—save to placate the bourgeois here who, inasmuch as the war is manifesting itself in the form of taxes and loans, are becoming wild about the inactivity of the Allied fleets,—perhaps, too, Nicholas needed a demonstration of the kind to give spice to his appeal ‘to his people’.\(^b\) There can no longer be any doubt about collusion between the Ministry here and Petersburg, now that the suppression of a document in the Secret Correspondence—in which Aberdeen (1844) accepted the Russian proposals—has become common knowledge. I already had an inkling that something of the sort was going on behind the scenes because of the falsification of the dates and endorsements in the memorandum\(^c\) alluded to in the House of Lords by the Tories’ ex-foreign minister\(^d\). Although the Journal de Saint-Petersbourg itself censures these fellows for their fausse position,\(^e\) it is clear from the Declaration in Council\(^f\) concerning neutral, and especially Russian, shipping, that they are still agreeing their moves with Russia. Similar declarations appeared at the same time in St Petersburg,\(^g\) almost couched in the same terms. Such a thing can’t be a coincidence. The element they overlooked in their calculations is Bonaparte. No matter what sort of a chap

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he may be, the question is one of life and death for him and, being a rogue by profession, he won't allow himself to be duped as was poor Louis Philippe in 1839 and 1840.\textsuperscript{529} When one reads the secret documents of 1830-48, one is left in no doubt that England deposed Louis Philippe and that the worthy \textit{National}, despite and because of its blind Anglophobia, was unwittingly the principal tool of precisely English policy.

As you know, the \textit{Tribune} prides itself on being Christian. I was all the more tickled when the fellows used for a leader an article of mine in which one of the chief things I held against the Turks was the fact of their having preserved Christianity,\textsuperscript{a} although I did not of course say so quite so bluntly. Indeed, one reason why the Turks are bound to come to grief is that they have allowed Byzantine theocracy to develop in a way that not even the Greek emperors would have dreamed of. There are, in effect, only 2 religious peoples left, the Turks and the Greco-Slav population of Turkey. Both are doomed, or at least the latter, along with the clerically ordered society which has been consolidated under Turkish rule.

I have, besides, sent the \textit{Tribune} a scandalous story about the 'Holy Sepulchre' and the 'Protectorate' in Turkey,\textsuperscript{b} in which the historical matter will blind the fellows to the prank I play on Christianity.

I should be very glad if you could supply me with something for the \textit{Tribune},\textsuperscript{c} since I am very busy studying the history of the New Greek Empire including King Otto,\textsuperscript{530} but it will be a couple of weeks, perhaps, before I can present the result in a series of articles. \textit{Metaxas}, who was Greek ambassador in Constantinople where he engaged in plotting—the Paris \textit{Presse} published a pretty account of this Russo-Greek Bangyanade—was the principal tool of the infamous Capodistria.\textsuperscript{531}

At odd moments I am going in for Spanish. Have begun with Calderón from whose \textit{Magico prodigioso}\textemdash the Catholic Faustus—Goethe drew not just a passage here or there but whole settings for some of scenes in his \textit{Faust}. Then—\textit{horrible dictu}\textsuperscript{d}—I am reading in Spanish what I'd found impossible in French, Chateaubriand's \textit{Atala} and \textit{René}, and some stuff by Bernardin de St-Pierre. Am now in the middle of \textit{Don Quixote}. I find that a dictionary is more necessary in Spanish than in Italian at the start.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{a} K. Marx, \textit{The Greek Insurrection}. - \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, \textit{Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question}. - \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, p. 448. - \textsuperscript{d} horrible to relate
\end{itemize}
By chance I have got hold of the Archivio triennale delle cose d'Italia dall'avvenimento di Pio IX all'abbandono di Venezia etc. It's the best thing about the Italian revolutionary party that I have read. Consists of a collection of secret and public documents, intercepted letters, etc. Nicely put together. Palmistone (as Thiers pronounces Palmerston) plays a leading role here as well. The fellow's machinations have been ubiquitous, and at all events his existence has been a very amusing one.

You still owe me a letter about Mr Urquhart's military stuff.\textsuperscript{a}

The man can be caught out only in the 'positive' sciences. I.e. here and in his economics, the superficiality of which can likewise be tangibly demonstrated.

\textit{Vale javeque.}\textsuperscript{b}

K. M.

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224

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

{London.} 6 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Unfortunately your 'dispatch'\textsuperscript{c} did not arrive yesterday until the post office had closed, and the letter could not be sent to New York even against payment of the customary shilling.

The Pole Miskowsky—vide the 'Knight of the Noble'—has come to a very bad end. The poor devil had long been in the most wretched circumstances, had never succeeded in raising the wherewithal for the trip to Constantinople—\textit{as he was not one of the 'minions' of the 'Governor'}\textsuperscript{d}—and had thus sunk to being a lumpen-proletarian in Whitechapel to whom we in the West End from time to time sent some small aid. A few days ago the \textit{pauvre diable},\textsuperscript{e}

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 422 - \textsuperscript{b} Good-bye and farewell. - \textsuperscript{c} F. Engels, 'News from the European Contest'. - \textsuperscript{d} Lajos Kossuth - \textsuperscript{e} poor devil
together with six other refugees, was burned alive in the wooden shack he occupied with them in Whitechapel. First you're reduced to beggary, then you starve, and finally you're burnt to death; what more can you expect in this 'best of worlds'.

Since Wiss, Doctor of Universal Wisdom, had launched in the Republik der Arbeiter a furious onslaught on our 'corrupt ideas' and mindless 'frivolity', I thought it fitting to obtain from Edgar Bauer, whom I see from time to time—a rendez-vous invariably followed by a hangover—some information on this lumen mundi, now a shareholder in Weitling's stables of bliss. Briefly, this is what I learned there:

Mr Wiss apparently arrived in Berlin shortly after your time. He was a vain youth with a marked aversion for 'positive' knowledge, which is why he never succeeded in passing his medical examinations and threw himself passionately into the universal wisdom which was concentrated in Stehely's. Initially a Brunoist and then a Stirnerian, he became a member of Edgar Bauer's society of 'The Free', was much interested in the emancipation of women, and resolved to become 'frivolous'. In pursuance of this aim he tumbled the landlady with whom he lodged—a midwife. The midwife then set to work on the 'frivolous' one's conscience, bemoaning the loss of her 'Lesser Wallachia' which damage Wiss, le bonhomme, helped make good by cohabiting with her in 'free' marriage. Much though she esteemed Mr Wiss' money-bag, the midwife thought no less highly of the 'natural' bag of a certain working man, a lusty mechanic who lodged in the same house. Here again the great Wiss helped make good the damage by permitting the working man to work the machinery while reserving for himself the pleasure of ennobling the resulting product with the name of 'Proudhon-Fourier Wiss' and, whenever the name Proudhon was mentioned in the society of The Free, it was not the one in Paris they meant but the mechanic's offspring christened by Wiss.

Since Mr Wiss spent a great deal of money, learned nothing, and extolled free marriage, his worthy papa ceased to honour his bills, after which he lived on minor literature à la Meyen and loans made to him on his 'espérances' by philanthropists in Berlin. Came the revolution. Wiss became a popular orator, and one of the vice-chairmen of the democratic club, helped in by

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{a} Voltaire, Candide. \textsuperscript{b} E. Wiß, 'Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit', Republik der Arbeiter, No. 15, 8 April 1854. The article was published in instalments from March to June 1854. \textsuperscript{c} light of the world \textsuperscript{d} supporter of Bruno Bauer \textsuperscript{e} the worthy fellow \textsuperscript{f} expectations
Edgar Bauer. Next he became a contributor to the Reform but so dim was his light that even Ruge hid it under a bushel. Au bout du compte Wiss hastily assumed an ironical attitude to the revolution, married his midwife in bourgeois-ecclesial fashion, made things up with his old man and, together with midwife and Proudhon-Fourier Wiss, departed with his tail between his legs for America where he is prospering as a doctor, philosopher and member of the communia.\textsuperscript{356}

Your
K. M.

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225
ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 May 1854

Dear Marx,

I cannot understand the late arrival of the Tribune article.\textsuperscript{b} The letter was specially entrusted to the messenger-boy, who took it to the post at a quarter past 7, at the same time as the business letters, all of which arrived punctually. Even if it had not left until the 2nd post, it should have been in your hands by 2 o'clock at the latest. I can only regard it as evidence of Mr Palmerston's solicitude for you. Since the bit about the battle has not materialised in the meantime, I can only hope you haven't sent off the article.

With regard to Urquhart's military stuff,\textsuperscript{c} something in my next. I can, of course, deal with this subject only in notes, which I shall write straight off in English for you. You will then have to work them into your article.

The story of Dr Wiss is most edifying and Cluss will certainly ensure that it reaches the right people.\textsuperscript{356}

As for that poor devil Miskowsky, the Noble One\textsuperscript{d} can now say

\textsuperscript{a} in the end \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 448. \textsuperscript{c} ibid., pp. 422 and 448. \textsuperscript{d} August Willich
after all that he ultimately 'vanished without trace'.\footnote{Ernst Dronke - b John Buckup - \textsuperscript{c} E. Dronke, 'Naturgeschichte der Demokratie', \textit{Die Reform}, 12 April 1854. - d Articles by Marx and Engels: 'The War Comedy,' 'The Faëdreland on the Armistice with Denmark', 'The Armistice with Denmark', 'The Armistice "Negotiations"', 'Armistice Negotiations with Denmark Broken Off', 'The Danish-Prussian Armistice', 'Ratification of the Armistice', 'The "Model State" of Belgium', The "Model Constitutional State", 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', etc. (see present edition, Vol. 7). - \textsuperscript{e} See this volume, pp. 103-04.} When I read the story in the London papers, it immediately struck me that those who had been burnt to death were most certainly refugees.\footnote{See this volume, pp. 103-04.}

If at all possible, I shall set Heise to work—which, indeed, he cannot possibly avoid the moment I begin to hold off. The fellow's presently in Bradford, whither he was summoned by the little man\footnote{\textsuperscript{a}} during the absence of the latter's principal\footnote{\textsuperscript{b}} and whence, in any case, he returns in an exceedingly tipsy condition, so that he has to spend a few days in quarantine before he's good for anything. I was much tickled by the little man's little article\footnote{\textsuperscript{c}} because of the care with which he retrieves and repeats all the \textit{Neue Rheinische Zeitung}'s old chestnuts about Schleswig-Holstein, Belgium,\footnote{\textsuperscript{d}} etc., etc.

\textit{Feldzug der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine 1850}, by A. Lütgen, sometime Major, is the first sensible and comprehensive book about the Willisen episode. It confirms everything I had already deduced from preliminary studies of the affair.\footnote{\textsuperscript{c}} Monsieur Willisen's original plan was a very good one,—if somewhat over-extended—so good that even the botched and belated attempt to revert to it instilled thoughts of withdrawal in the minds of the Danes, who were 36,000 strong against 26,000, almost all of their troops being already committed, whereas the Schleswig-Holsteiners had certainly $1/5$ of their troops still uncommitted. But when Monsieur Willisen actually found himself face to face with the enemy, he lost his head amidst the contradictory reports and the even more confused suggestions that were being made to him. Even the night before the battle, he detached his own reserves to a point on the left, right off the battle-field, to face an imaginary enemy and at the same time deferred the order for the attack, upon which all the dispositions had been based. Thus, concentration of reserves on the left where no enemy existed, exposure of the centre, which received the main attack, confusion on the right wing, which was to launch the main counter-attack. This alone is enough to explain the outcome, and even then he might have emerged victorious had he not too
hastily—as early as 8 o'clock in the morning—given everything up for lost. Even at 11 he could still have won but his horror on hearing that 2 Danish battalions were in position to the rear of his left flank (2 squadrons and 4 cannon would have sufficed to dispose of them) caused that 'strategic outflanker in maximum force' to recall the dictum 'he who outflanks is himself outflanked' and he now resolved to use all his forces to extricate himself. Our theoretician's antagonist was an old man grown grey in command, if mostly peace-time command, a mediocre pipe-clay general, who was answerable not to a petty, philistine, moderate government devoid of power, but to a genuine king and ministry and, if only for that reason, stood his ground more doggedly. In this way he won the battle. The success with which the weak Schleswig-Holstein detachments fought the Danes, who outnumbered them two and three to one (even according to the official Danish report), provides ample proof that the 26,000 Schleswig-Holsteiners were fully the equal of the 36,000 Danes. The chaps fought quite splendidly, despite the numerous raw recruits in their ranks, despite the havoc wrought throughout the entire army by Willisen's new regulations introduced only a fortnight before the campaign and, above all, despite the shortage of cadres. This army would happily have trounced twice their number of Prussians.

The bombardment of Odessa was a must for the allies because of the insult to the flag of truce. Not much damage appears to have been done and, since they didn't land or occupy the city, it was more of a defeat than a victory. Nicest of all is the humbug that they 'sailed in the direction of Sevastopol'. Incidentally, with every Russian action and the retaliation, at least apparent or attempted, this necessitates, the war is increasingly slipping from the grasp of Aberdeen and Palmerston and will gradually assume a more warlike course. As it is, Bonaparte must soon acquire gloire of a rather more tangible sort, even though his faithful Fridolin, Saint-Arnaud, is just the man to push him further into the soup. Had this noble fellow not had a fortune to refaire, the fortune he has already squandered away several times since 1851, he would never have gone East. But he and his ilk are just the men to ruin the best of troops by fraudulent supply contracts and then,

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*a Gerhard Krogh - b Frederick VII - c See "The Black Sea. The Bombardment of Odessa", The Morning Advertiser, No. 19615, 4 May 1854; "Latest Intelligence", The Times, No. 21734, 6 May 1854. - d Saint-Arnaud is compared to a character in Schiller's ballad 'Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer'. - e remake
through military blunders, land them in a regular mess. I expect
to see some pretty results from the campaign conducted by this
Bayard du bas-empire.\textsuperscript{110}

Your
F. E.

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226

MARX TO ENGELS\textsuperscript{234}

IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 May 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

It was a good thing you didn’t come on Saturday.\textsuperscript{2} My
trouble—now a fortnight old—had come to a head. I could
hardly speak and even laughing hurt because of a great festering
boil between my nose and mouth, which this morning has at least
dwindled to quite reasonable dimensions. My lips, too, which were
tremendously swollen, are approximately back to normal again,
etc., in short, everything indicates that I shall soon be well again.
It’s truly devilish, having such a wretched head for a whole
fortnight. Beyond a joke. For the past week I’ve had to give up
reading and smoking altogether and today am waiting to see if
Freund will allow me to try a cigar.

To compound the misery, all three children\textsuperscript{b} have been down
with measles since last Friday (Thursday night), which means that
the house has become a veritable hospital.

Herewith Cluss. Collapse of the \textit{Reform} deplorable.\textsuperscript{538}

\textsuperscript{2} 20 May - \textsuperscript{b} Jenny, Laura and Edgar
I rely on you to continue doing the American stint for me during the whole of this week since I am totally incapable of writing and have already lost £6 as a result of this wretched business, which is indeed hard to bear. I hope to have a few lines from you in the meantime.

The enclosed letter to be communicated to no one but Lupus. It would seem to be Heise’s mission to compromise you in Manchester. Beware of the fellow.

Yours,

K. M.


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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 1 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

I have been seriously ill these past 2 or 3 weeks and, on top of that, the 3 children went down with the measles, from which they have only just recovered, so that the whole house has been turned into a hospital. I did not start going out again until 2 days ago and, since my head was the worst affected and all conversation exhausted me, I have seen no visitors during this time. The result is that I have heard little or nothing of the émigrés’ activities and intentions. As you will be aware, Mazzini is in Switzerland incognito. From letters from Washington I gather that the émigrés are, as always, dreaming ambitious dreams. The confidential reports sent to America by the gentlemen here percolate back to me through a channel in Washington.

In my next I may be à même to send you the detailed information you ask for on the doings of the émigrés.

a Jenny, Laura and Edgar · b Cluss · c in a position
Weerth is at present in California. It is rumoured that he is on the point of marrying a certain Miss Worbs or Worms, of Hamburg, the daughter of one of his former principals.

Even *The Times* has been poking some mild fun at the 'Cologne trickers' in London who bellow from a hundred throats—bellow at the English:

> 'Softly sounding through my mind
>    Many a delightful chime'\(^a\)

or else,

> 'Lonely I am not alone'\(^b\)

and more in similar vein.

As regards the 'Palmerston',—he is presently straining every nerve to gain complete control of the War Office, though he has a rival in the Duke of Newcastle, a Peelite,—only the first few of the articles I wrote for the *Tribune* have been printed here as pamphlets.\(^c\) I myself prevented further publication, as pamphlets by Urquhart were appearing alternately in the same series of 'Political Fly-Sheets'\(^d\) and I do not wish to be numbered among the followers of that gentleman with whom I have only one thing in common, viz. my views on Palmerston, but to whom in all other matters I am diametrically opposed, as became apparent at our very first meeting.\(^d\) He is a romantic reactionary—a Turk, and would gladly guide the West back to Turkish standards and structures. I have not sent you these few short pamphlets as the cost of posting small parcels is disproportionately high. As for the substance of the matter, you are perfectly right to abide by your opinion until wholly unequivocal facts cause you to change it. What has gone to make up my own view is not this or that isolated fact—each isolated fact admitting of a variety of interpretations—but the concatenation of all the steps taken by this man, the whole context of his activities since 1829. In it I have discovered a consistent plan that assumes various and often seemingly contradictory forms but is always directed towards the same goal, a plan uniformly executed with the same supreme disdain.

As regards the specific points you raise, my comments are:

1. *Pacifico Expedition*.\(^345\) In a work by one of Palmerston's former secretaries at the embassy in Athens—1836—namely the *Diplomatic History of Greece* by Mr Parish, you will find to begin

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with proof that, from 1830 onwards, Palmerston did all he could to turn Greece into a Russian province. In the end the Pacifico Expedition dropped her into Russia's lap. At the same time it also gained Palmerston popularity in England, thereby enabling him to further Russia's interests in the same year by concluding with Brunnow a treaty on the Danish succession, a treaty that was not made effective until 1852.\textsuperscript{542} If, having done all the mischief he wanted, Palmerston gave way to France over this affair—the Greek one—, his compliance was simply 'diplomacy' vis-à-vis the English people. Papers hostile to him were already beginning to point out that in 1840 he had turned England into the ally of Russia and into the antagonist of France.

2. Recognition of the coup d'état.\textsuperscript{3} Necessary to get Bonaparte into his toils.\textsuperscript{74} Similarly, in connection with the Spanish troubles, he brought the Quadruple Alliance into being earlier in order to get Louis Philippe into the mire.\textsuperscript{543}

3. The instruction of 19 June 1839—wholly justifies my view. It was not London but Paris which suggested that in no circumstances should Russia be allowed to carry out the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi\textsuperscript{510} (which, by the by, was of Mr Palmerston's making). The proof—a dispatch from Soult to the Baron de Bourqueney, 30 May 1839. Similarly 17 June 1839, etc. Palmerston who made as if to believe that the Sultan wished to see the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi put into effect and the Russians in Constantinople, sent a dispatch to Earl Granville in Paris on 19 June, enclosing his 'proposed instructions' of even date 'to the Admiral, Sir Robert Stopford', in which, among many other ambiguous and inane proposals, he also instructed the Admiral if necessary 'to force the passage of Dardanelles'. Soult, with great bon sens\textsuperscript{b} (see dispatch from Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston, Paris, 28 June 1839), drew Palmerston's attention to the fact that it was not the Sultan but Russia who was their enemy, that this forcing of the Dardanelles was inane and that it would suffice if the English and French ambassadors in Constantinople were to ask the Sultan—who desired nothing better—to permit the entry of the United Fleets into the Dardanelles. To this Palmerston could raise no objection, but put forward a proposal even more inane, whereupon Soult wrote:

'The noble Lord would seem to resign himself with great facility to the contingency of a Russian occupation of Constantinople'.

And so it goes on, Palmerston always thwarting French action

\textsuperscript{a} Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851 in France. \textsuperscript{b} good sense
against Russia while seeming to rage against Mohammed Ali, until Brunnow arrives in London, and the two of them conclude the treaty of 1840, subsequently ratified in the Dardanelles treaty of 1841, which was no more than a European sanction of the Treaty of Unkia-Skelessi.544

I should be greatly obliged to you if you would write to me often and at length about conditions in Germany, particularly Prussia.

Your
K. M.


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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I am back on my feet and the children out of bed again, if not yet out of the house, but now my wife has become very unwell, probably as a result of the night vigils and nursing, and the worst of it is that instead of consulting the doctor which she refuses to do, she is dosing herself—on the pretext that two years ago when she was similarly indisposed, Freund’s medicines only made her worse. If matters don’t improve I shall finally have to resort to force. Thus I shan’t be able to do the correspondence on Tuesday, for on that day Pieper’s lessons prevent him from acting as secretary and, with my wife in her present state, I can’t bother her with any writing. As you can see, I’ve become a regular Peter Schlemihl.* But over the years we have all enjoyed very good health on the whole and will, I hope, do so again when this crisis

* Chamisso. Peter Schlemihl’s wundersame Geschichte.
Au fond,* we can be thankful that we've all gone down one after the other.

I wrote an article yesterday deriding the plan of campaign published in Thursday's *Times.* However, if the French papers are to be trusted, it would not appear to be an official one. The *Moniteur* reports that Orner Pasha is hurrying to relieve Silistria. Perhaps this is simply a device to keep the Parisians in good humour and to counteract the great Boichot's presence in Paris. I can make little of the Russian reports or of Napier's in today's paper. Au *bont* the English would again appear to have achieved nothing.

Yesterday a great raw-boned chap, a democratic loafer, introduced himself to me as Dr Otto. Danish by birth. Ostensibly now expelled from Schleswig-Holstein. Took part in the 1848/49 Schleswig-Holstein and 'Thuringian' movement. Does Lupis, by any chance, possess any particular information about the man?

Have finished reading the *Archivio delle cose d'Italia.* The man's Considerazioni at the back of the book endeavour to demonstrate the opposite of what emerges from his collection of documents, namely that the *Giovane Italia,* and consequently Giuseppe Mazzini, were the soul of the 1848 movement. What is particularly amusing is the final section in which he proves that the movements [must] shed their narrow, national character: *fraternizzazione* among the various nations that came to grief in 1848/49 as a result of their isolation; Russia or the United *States of Europe.* At this point comes the following revelation:

 Italia's servitude is a European compact: Italy can be free only in the bosom of a free Europe. Then it became manifest that an omnimempte alleanza degli oppressi must be formed to oppose the alliance of the few oppressors.'

And this *l'omnimponente alleanza degli oppressi* was effectuated by Mazzini as follows:

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*a At bottom - b K. Marx, 'The Formation of a Special Ministry of War in Britain.—The War on the Danube.—The Economic Situation'. - c *The Times,* No. 21756, 1 June 1854, leader. - d [Report from Belgrade of 29 May 1854,] *Le Moniteur universel,* No. 151, 31 May 1854. - e Marx derides the pseudo-revolutionary activity of the French petty-bourgeois democrats. See this volume, pp. 461-62. - f Reports in *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg* of 26 May 1854 and Napier's military reports in the section 'The Baltic Fleet' of *The Times,* No. 21758, 3 June 1854. - g In the end - h Comments. - i Italy's servitude is a European compact: Italy can be free only in the bosom of a free Europe. Then it became manifest that an *omnimponente alleanza degli oppressi* must be formed to oppose the alliance of the few oppressors.*
Have received newspapers from America, but still no letter. 'Ruge', who has concluded the 'nuovo patto' with Mazzini, declares in Dulon's little sheet that, as a result of the war against Russia, there is now a prospect of 'liberal' development in Germany and that, even though no more may be achieved than 'freedom as in England', one ought to participate in it. To adopt a pessimistic view is 'base, idle and Russian'. As you can see, the prospect of his private fortune being exhausted within the year has made the noble man ready to attach himself to any form of 'progress' and, au cas de besoin, become 'constitutional'.

Your
K. M.


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229

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 June 1854

Dear Marx,

I was very sorry I was unable to send you an article for Tuesday's post, but it was a sheer impossibility because of the many jobs to be done at the office which now absolutely preclude my

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a 'Then Mazzini accomplished his arduous mission, concluded a new pact with Ledru-Rollin and Darasz and Ruge, binding Italy not only to Poland and France but to that same Germany, up till now the willing handmaiden, if not the priestess, of servitude. And thus pilgrims belonging to opposing sides and the most hostile peoples will unite before the common shrine of liberty.' b Probably the journal Für die freien Gemeinden. c in case of need d 6 June
writing articles for you precisely on Mondays or Thursdays. On top of that, my present lodgings are almost 5/4 of an hour's walk away from the post, so that nothing more can be done late at night for the second post. Hence I have to work on Saturdays and on Wednesday evenings. Tomorrow I shall send you a comprehensive article on the siege of Silistria which ought to cause a stir; maybe, too, some notes on Napier's absurd naval frolics and on the condition of the army in Bulgaria.

I am now swotting the Hungarian campaign in real earnest and shall, I think, have worked my way through all the sources by October; come what may, I shall write the book this winter. The more I go into it, the prettier the thing gets on both sides. At present I am comparing Görgey and Windischgrätz, and find that in his self-apology the latter is as mendacious as in his bulletins he hasn't the courage to disown. Delightful, how each of the two adversaries tries to make his own army out to be worse than the opposing one. Pére Windischgrätz, incidentally, proves himself the ass we know him to be—and was most ably abetted in his tomfoolery by men even more stupid, if such a thing is possible, than himself, namely his subordinate generals Wrbna, Csorich and, above all, the chivalrous Banus Jellačić. Görgey's cynicism enables him to record the facts much more frankly and correctly than that mendacious apologist Windischgrätz. However, it is a campaign altogether worthy of the year '48/49.

Cold feet on both sides, the old armies and the revolutionary forces both discredited. Next week I hope to receive the official Austrian book and one of these days I shall go through the Brockhaus catalogues to find what sources are still required. Another thing I need is Klapka; then I shall have all the principal stuff.

The thing for The Times will be written next week; I now have all the sources and need only do a little more work on them. Could you find out in London what military periodicals are published there? Just in case of need.

Now I must go to the bookseller's if I am not to find it shut; let's hear from you soon.

---

Dronke, drunk as usual, was run over by a cab, and is now in bed; will be confined to his room for some 8 or 10 days, otherwise nothing serious.

I shall make inquiries about Otto.\(^a\)

Your

F. E.

I hope your wife is well again.

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**MARX TO ENGELES**

**IN MANCHESTER**

London, 13 June 1854

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed letters from Cluss which you needn't return since they have already been made known to the competent people and have been answered.

The article on Silistria\(^b\) is splendid. The request made through Austria to Russia\(^599\) that she promise to evacuate the Danubian principalities (the intention being to conclude an armistice and convene a congress in Vienna on the strength of that promise) was of purely Russian inspiration. At the same time it was assumed that Silistria would quickly fall into Russian hands. The English public had been prepared for this event by the entire ministerial press. Hence Paskievich's haste. The resistance of the Turks at Silistria upset these calculations—just as happened to a similar plan that had matured the previous autumn.

Colonel Grach is an acquaintance of mine from Trier; not one of your Prussian instructors, but a talented adventurer who went to Turkey as much as 19 or so years ago to seek his fortune.\(^599\) A crapaud\(^c\) in the know tells me that Boichot, who was caught in

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 458.  
\(^b\) F. Engels, *The Siege of Silistria*.  
\(^c\) philistine
Paris, a had in fact been sent to France as a political emissary by Pyat’s clique and not, as Pyat declares in execrable English in the Advertiser, b to pay a visit to his old mother, whom he hadn’t seen for 5 years. It’s really repulsive the way the crapauds continually act out of character and remain addicted to these ‘melodramatic’ lies calculated to appeal to the hearts of the petty bourgeois. C’est dégoûtant c

You will shortly have another consignment of Pioniers. Heinzen, of course, is ranting and roaring dreadfully about the defunct Reform, and has actually managed to trot out a quotation from Catullus, no doubt picked up from a school-book complete with crib. Also contains comical diatribes against Dulong. The great Ruge writes to them both, friend ‘Dulon’ and friend ‘Heinzen’. He informs the latter of his grand design for the foundation of a free university in Cincinnati where Ruge intends to drone away agreeably the remainder of his days as rector magnificus in partibus d. He can hardly wait to become a professor at last, something which, for all his servility, he was unable to ‘wrest’ from the Saxon Minister Lindenau or, before that, from the Prussian Minister Altenstein. ‘Doctorates’ will also be awarded in this glorified contrefaçon e of a German university. All that is needed is dollars to the tune of 1,000,000 and 6 citizens of Cincinnati to administer the finances. In addition, a prospectus covering all disciplines. A wild omnium gatherum, mixtum compositum f of headings from Hegel’s Encyclopädie and the table of contents from Ersch and Gruber. E.g. General Linguistics. (Cf. Ersch and Gruber, Pott’s article on the distribution of languages.) The following are to be excluded from professorial chairs: 1. Strauss and Bruno Bauer; 2. the ‘Sophists’ who make stuff and nonsense of philosophy; 3. not the doctrine of communism, but the ‘vile personages who have betrayed the Republic and Liberty’. g

In one of his rotten letters Ruge extols 2 anonymous pamphlets on Palmerston—never, of course, suspecting that one of them originated with me. h

My wife is now confined to bed. Yesterday I at last managed to persuade her to call Dr Freund. As soon as she is at all fit to do so, he wants her to take a trip to Germany, which accords with the

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Dear Marx,

Cluss' letter most amusing. I had wanted to write to you at greater length today, but now find it's too late, so will confine myself to telling you that I have not been able to finish by today, as I had intended, the article on relative strengths and Silistria's chances of relief. That would involve looking up a lot of old stuff and since anyhow, in view of your wife's illness, your greatest difficulty will be to have an article ready for Tuesday's steamer, I shall see what sort of a piece I can concoct for you by then.

Heise, too, is ill now; I don't yet know what ails him, but he's said to be in bed and to have all sorts of pains in his chest. Pfänder got something in his eye which will prevent him from working for a couple of days. Bad luck everywhere, je n'y vois plus clair.\(^c\) Regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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*a* Caroline von Westphalen \- *b* See this volume, p. 461. \- *c* I'm quite bemused
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 June 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your letter arrived early enough, between 2 and 3. But since I had only waited until 2, and since I had to go out of town on domestic business and my wife saw from the accompanying letter that the article couldn't be sent off as it stood, it is still here. I shall use it for my Friday's article, but would ask you to write to me before then—quite briefly if you are short of time—about the following points:

1. Is there anything new in the Turkish bulletins which appeared in yesterday's Daily News? Have you any more details about the events of 28 [May]-13 [June] (which is as far, I believe, as the latest, albeit fragmentary, reports go)?

2. Is there anything of military significance about the operations on the Circassian coast? No doubt the news about Shamyl needs further confirmation.

3. The entry of the Austrians into Wallachia; what can be said about it from the military point de vue?

From the enclosed letter you will see that I'm over head and ears in bad luck. When my wife's illness was at its worst, the good Dr Freund kept away and sent me a bill for £26 with the request that a 'clear understanding' be reached regarding his 'professional relations' to myself. Since my wife was in a critical—and is still in a serious—condition, I was of course compelled to capitulate to the dear 'friend' and promise him in writing that I would pay £8 down at the end of this month and the rest by six weekly instalments. Had the fellow not attacked me so much à l'imprévu, he wouldn't have caught me napping like that. But what was I to do? I should have had to pay any other respectable doctor by the visit and anyhow, even were this possible, one can't change doctors like shirts in the middle of an illness, without first inquiring into their competence, etc.

So I find myself in a fix. I know that things are tight with you as well. Do you think Dronke might be able to advance me a few

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a A pun on the name Freund, which also means 'friend'.
b unexpectedly
pounds for the instalment due at the end of this month? When he was here last, he gave me to understand that he could be approached at a time of real crisis. However, I'd like to have your opinion first. I must in any case pay the fellow the first instalment on the agreed date, and my bill in respect of the past months has already been drawn—all of it spent needless to say, since I had £12 to pay out for the household, and the total received was considerably reduced because of unwritten articles, besides which the chemist's bills alone swallowed up a large part of the budget.

At the end of this week, if my wife feels strong enough, she, the children and Lenchen are going to spend a fortnight at Mr Seiler's villa at Edmonton. She might then be so far restored by the country air as to manage the journey to Trier.

I can assure you that these last petites misères* have turned me into a very dull dog.

Beatus ille that hath no family.

Vale faveque.°

Your
K. M.

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233

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June 1854

Dear Engels,

I should be grateful if you would write to Dronke forthwith. Even if I manage to get the later instalments deferred, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to do so in the case of the first one, which falls due at the end of the month. A further 8-10 days at the very outside, if I write to Freund saying my bill [of exchange] has not yet arrived.

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* petty miseries · ° Blessed is he (Horace, Epodon, II, 1). · Good-bye and farewell.
I am sending only these few lines, as I am in the midst of concocting my article. I was unable to write earlier because of the troubles and the to-ing and fro-ing, etc., occasioned by the family exodus to Seiler’s.

Your
K. M.

Your letter received today. 516


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234

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 6 July 1854

Dear Marx,

I hope the £5 arrived. Enclosed an article for tomorrow, which covers the first phase of the war. 517

If the fellows are really going to send French troops to the Baltic, they must at least take [the] Aland [Islands]. That would be the best thing.

Enclosed a hymn. Query:
1. What century?
2. Who wrote it?

Reply by return, please.

Your
F. E.


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516

517


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Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the £5 before. This was due to much trouble at home, since my wife is leaving for Trier tomorrow, an undertaking which has called for indescribable efforts.

Your article arrived just when I myself was concocting a scrawl on Spain. I shall therefore put your article by until Tuesday, the more so since Pieper is available to act as my secretary on Fridays, while on Tuesdays I now have no one to do the writing.

I had not yet had time to look at the poem. I shan’t be free till after 6, when I shall send you an answer either by telegram or city post.

Your
K. M.


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

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Manchester, 20 July 1854

Dear Marx,

To judge by your total silence you must either be hard at work or making tremendous efforts to raise money. *En attendant*¹ I would inform you that, after the brother of Dronke’s principal² has been to Bradford, Dronke will be in a position to shell out some money—just how much, it is impossible to say, but about £3 or £4. The brother arrives this week, so you should be able to rely on it in, say, 3 weeks’ time.

Naut has been in London, here and in Bradford and, until he ran into Dronke in the street, had kept out of everyone’s way. Dronke says he is hellish slack; apparently he—Naut—only saw Daniels once or twice in the street and doesn’t even know whether he’s living in Cologne or out in the country. Bürgers and a tailor—who, he was unable to say—are in Glatz and said to be quite well, and Becker is in Weichselmünde.³⁶⁶ Otherwise all Naut could find to say was that it would be fine if in Prussia they could have a constitution like the one in England.

Dronke, by the way, has got himself into a serious scrape, so that the money may not be forthcoming after all. For when he was here 4 or 6 weeks ago he got drunk and, at one o’clock in the morning or thereabouts, made a grab at a female in the street; she, a married, middle-class woman, boxed his ears, whereupon he knocked her down. True, Dronke’s own version of the story is slightly different, but that is what seems to have happened. The husband arrived on the scene and went to fetch the police, who didn’t want to get mixed up in it. The business was protracted by Dronke’s spurious excuses and now he has finally received an attorney’s letter demanding an apology and compensation, failing which the foreigner is to be made an example of. Since Buckup’s brother is just due to come, you can imagine the situation. We shall try and reach an accommodation, but it will probably cost money. *Keep the matter under your hat, by the way,* otherwise I’ll have instant trouble with the little man, since Imandt will promptly

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¹ *Meanwhile*  
² *Buckup*
write to him about it: in general, by no means everything I write to you is intended for the crew at large.

In other ways it suits me very well that the swank and swagger of the Heise-Dronke-Imandt trio should come to an inglorious end, for otherwise one would get no respite from these people with their rumbustious drunken contentiousness. Heise, at any rate, has his settler in the shape of a crooked finger which he will probably retain for the rest of his days, and Dronke, too, has doubtless had enough.

So no more from your affectionate

F. E.


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287

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 July 1854

Dear Engels,

The alternative reason you suggest for my long silence is the correct one. It would certainly have been preferable had swotting been the obstacle. I added another £3 to the 5 so as to pay the 'friend' the first instalment and I also needed about £8 for my wife's trip, which could no longer be postponed and which called for all manner of new equipment, since she could naturally not arrive in Trier looking shabby. These extraordinary expenses again brought me into conflict with my permanent and 'decent' creditors and so forth. 'It's the old, old story.'

Not a sign of life from Cluss for four weeks now.

Que dites-vous de l'Espagne?

I must now quite definitely do something further on the military situation in Turkey. Firstly: The mess in Asia. Secondly: What I have been able to glean from the French Press concerning the latest developments on the Danube, though for lack of a map I

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a See this volume, p. 468. b Dr Freund. (Freund in German—friend.) c Heine, 'Lyrisches Intermezzo', 39. d What do you think of Spain?
have no idea whether or not the names are right: Between the 7th and the morning of the 8th there was a battle with the 30,000 strong Russian corps under Soimonov and Khrulov (or should it be e instead of o?). On the evening of the 7th, Khrulov had taken up position to the north of Giurgevo. During the night several Turkish corps passed above and below the town and advanced on the Russians from the rear, with the result that at daybreak Khrulov was compelled to break through, incurring severe casualties in the process. The Russians withdrew, though not in line. One element made for Frateshti, another for Calugemeni (?), another eastwards for the Argish. There they took up positions and on the 9th and 10th Selim Pasha and Iskander Bey are said to have carried out a successful attack on the Russians in Frateshti. On the 9th Gorchakov moved to Dzurdzuma (?) with 20,000 men and has been bringing in fresh troops daily. His positions: On the left bank of the Argish, the crossings over which have been fortified at Fulojci (?), Falastock (?), Korotzani (?) and Prezietschen (?). Positions of the Russian army as a whole: Left wing from Kimpolung and Kimpina (?) along the Argish to Braila and Galatz. Turks: From Kalafat through Turna, Giurgevo to Oltenitza and (?) Kalarash. From Turna to Islaz. Here Selim Pasha in contact with Iskander Bey. Main corps at Giurgevo, corps above Giurgevo constitutes an advanced post on the left of the Argish, Oltenitza and Silistria. Thirdly: The total strength of the Russian army, from an article in The Morning Chronicle, but contrary to the article I estimate a battalion at no more than 550 men.

Infantry.

3 divisions of 3rd corps (Osten-Sacken)
3 " " 4th " (Dannenberg I)
2 " " 5th " Lüders

8 divisions = 16 brigades = 128 battalions
Total approx. 71,000 men

Cavalry. 3 divisions of light cavalry
1 " " " dragoons

128 squadrons each of 120 men, over 15,000

Artillery. 46 batteries (each of 10 guns = 460)
" (each of 8 guns = 368)
Servicing crews and drivers = 12,000 (?)

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a Should be Calugereni. - b Prussia. From our own correspondent, The Morning Chronicle, No. 27321, 21 July 1854.
In addition: 10 regiments of Cossack regulars with 40 guns, 3 battalions of sappers, train with pontoons or reserve parks. All in all:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>128 battalions of infantry</td>
<td>71,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 battalions of sappers</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128 squadrons</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 pieces of artillery train</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cossacks</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallachian militia</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 118,000

Fourthly: Items which cannot be treated humorously without a map: the hitherto snail-like progress of the French and English, who, it would seem, will not cross the Danube. For what purpose has St-Arnaud ordered his troops to march from Adrianople to Burgas in the present heat? The noble fellow would seem to be perpetually shuttling to and fro between Constantinople and this place or that, simply for the sake of the travelling expenses. What is the truth realiter about the English commissariat in Varna, Devna, etc.?

If you no longer have time to write me an article for Tuesday, b at least send me a few notes which I can use.

Apropos. About the poem. c It probably derives from Gottfried, hight Kinkel, or else from a Silesian poet of the school of Opitz, or was it composed by Heise himself?

I enclose a manuscript snatched from a young writer; show it to no one but Lupus. Who is this young writer?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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* in actual fact  -  b 25 July  -  c See this volume, p. 466.
Dear Engels,

_Je vous attends⁷⁸_ for Tuesday.⁷⁸ How very boastful Mr Herbert was. This same Herbert was Vorontsov’s brother-in-law and at the same time English Secretary at War. The way the English brag as though Nasmyth and Butler had held Silistria ‘single-handed’ is grotesque. Have you read about Monday evening’s session, when Disraeli so neatly punctured _Little John’s_⁷⁹ and the _Times’_ ‘Sevastopol’ bubble with one prick of the needle?⁸⁰

I am, _hélas,_ once again saddled with Pieper who looks like a half-starved sucking pig seethed in milk, after having lived for a fortnight with a whore he describes as _un bijou._⁶ He has frittered away some £20 in a fortnight and now both his purses are equally depleted. In this heat it is a bore to have the fellow hanging around one _du matin jusqu’au soir et du soir jusqu’au matin_” And it disrupts one’s work.

On Saturday¹ I got the following note from Papa _Tucker:_

* ‘Dear Sir, There is a pretty brisk demand for the “Fly-Sheets” just now. Could you send me some articles from the _Tribune_ that could suit the taste of the public? The third on Palmerston would move the other two.’ Faithfully Yours E. Tucker.*

Incidentally I have also heard from Freiligrath that that rogue Trübner is advertising these ‘Fly-Sheets’ under _his_ imprint. You will note that he asks for ‘ARTICLES FROM THE _TRIBUNE_’ in order once again to evade the question of money. Now, 1. So far as _he_ is concerned, not one copy of the _Tribune_ is to be had anywhere in London, since it is sent only to subscribers and back numbers cannot even be ordered from New York; 2. Without substantial additions, none of the articles would now suit. Now I must clear up the matter with the fellow and this ‘easy-going’ relationship

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¹ I expect something from you - b Lord John Russell - c alas - d a jewel - e from morning to night and night to morning - f 22 July - g A reference to the third, fourth and fifth articles from Marx’s _Lord Palmerston_ which were published as two separate pamphlets.
must end. If he is agreeable, and you for your part approve, I
would suggest the following:

1. Of the Tribune articles, I shall give him (for publication) the
critique of the 'SECRET CORRESPONDENCE'. For this Dronke would only
have to send me the 2nd article on this, which was detained by the
Post Office here. The latter gratis, 2 and 3 to be paid for in cash
and on delivery of the MSS, namely.

2. A general pamphlet on Palmerston, beginning with my
introduction in the Tribune to which I should, however, add a
new middle and ending.

3. A pamphlet that I would have to write in collaboration with
you, i.e. on England's diplomacy and military action since war was
declared. The articles which have appeared in the Tribune will
provide us with material for both these aspects. If you agree to 3,
the question arises:

How much do we ask?

After all, my articles do seem to sell better than Urquhart's who
is 'happy' if his stuff in the Advertiser is accepted by Tucker for
the 'Fly-Sheets'.

If you agree with all this—(Nos. 2 and 3 would, of course, have
to be pungent enough to produce a real sensation in London;
moreover, such is the footing we are on with Tucker that we can
write anything we choose without worrying about English pre­
judices)—then compose a letter for me putting these proposals to
Mr Tucker. Not being sufficiently adept in business matters, I
have deliberately avoided answering him either orally or in
writing. But no time is to be lost.

A book that has interested me greatly is Thierry's Histoire de la
formation et du progrés du Tiers État, 1853. It is strange how this
gentleman, le père of the 'class struggle' in French historiography,
inveighs in his Preface against the 'moderns' who, while also
perceiving the antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat,
purport to discover traces of such opposition as far back as the
history of the tiers-état prior to 1789. He is at great pains to show
that the tiers-état comprises all social ranks and estates save the
noblesse and clergé and that the bourgeoisie plays the role of
representative of all these other elements. Quotes, for example,
from Venetian embassy reports:

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*a* K. Marx, 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence'.

*b* K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston*, first and second articles (entitled 'Palmerston' in the *New York Daily Tribune*).

*c* the father

*d* Third Estate
Had Mr Thierry read our stuff, he would know that the decisive opposition between bourgeoisie and people does not, of course, crystallise until the former ceases, as tiers-état, to oppose the clergé and the noblesse. But as for the ‘racines dans l’histoire ... d’un antagonisme né d’hier,’ his book provides the best proof that the origin of the ‘racines’ coincided with the origin of the tiers-état. By the same token, this otherwise intelligent critic would have to conclude from the ‘Senatus populusque Romanus’ that in Rome there was never any opposition save that between the senatus and the populus. I was interested to discover from the documents he quotes that the term ‘catalla, capitalia’, capital, came into being with the rise of the communes. He has, by the by, unwittingly demonstrated that the victory of the French bourgeoisie was delayed by nothing so much as the fact that it did not decide until 1789 to make common cause with the peasants. Although he does not generalise, he depicts very nicely, 1. how from the beginning, or at least since the rise of the towns, the French bourgeoisie has gained undue influence by constituting itself a parliament, bureaucracy, etc., and not, as in England, by commerce and industrie alone. This undoubtedly holds true even of present-day France. 2. From his account it may be readily shown how the class rises as the various forms in which its centre of gravity has lain at different times are ruined and with them the different sections whose influence derives from these forms. In my view, this sequence of metamorphoses leading up to the domination of the class has never before been thus presented—at least so far as the material is concerned. In regard to the maitrises, jurandes, etc., in short, the forms, in which the industrial bourgeoisie develops, he has, alas, restricted himself almost wholly to general, and generally known, phrases, despite the fact that here too he alone is familiar with the material. What he successfully elaborates and underlines is the conspiratorial and revolutionary nature of the municipal movement in the twelfth century. The German Emperors, e.g. Frederick I and Frederick II, issued edicts against these ‘com-

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a ‘These that call themselves the Estates of the realm are of three orders of persons, that of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the rest of those persons who, in common parlance, may be called the people.’

b ‘roots in history ... of an antagonism born yesterday’

c the Senate and Roman people

d guilds, corporations
muniones’, ‘conspiratianes’ ‘conjurationes’ in very much the same spirit as the German Federal Diet. E.g. in 1226 Frederick II takes it upon himself to declare null and void all ‘consulats’ and other free municipal bodies in the towns of Provence:

Pervenit nuper ad notitiam nostram quod quarumdam civitatum, villarum et aliorum locorum universitates ex proprio mutu constituerunt juridictiones, potestates (Potestad), ‘consulatus, regimina et alia quaedam statuta ... et tum jam a quasdam ... in abusum et pravam consuetudinem indevenit ... nos ex imperiali auctoritate tam juridictiones etc. atque concessiones super his, per comites Provinciae et Forcalquieri ab eis obtentas, ex certa scientia revocamus, et inania esse censeamus’ [II, 87].

Further:

Conventiculas quoque omnes et conjurationes in civitatibus et extra ... inter ... eis debeat ... si debeatus impertiri.’ (Henrici regis sententia contra communiones civitatum.) [II, 86]

Is that not the raide German professorial style to the life—the very same which later graced the fulminations of the ‘Central Commission of the Confederation’? In Germany, the ‘commune jurée’ penetrated no further than Trier where, in 1161, the Emperor Frederick I put a stop to it:

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a sworn commune
b municipal councils
c ‘The original has ‘in comitatibus ipsis degentes’ instead of ‘ex’.
d ‘It has recently been brought to our notice that the guilds of certain cities, market towns and other places have, of their own accord, constituted tribunals, authorites (the Podesta), consulates, administrations and certain other institutions of this kind ... and because, among certain of them ... such things have already developed into abuses and malpractices ... we hereby, in virtue of our imperial power, and by our sure knowledge, revoke these tribunals, etc., and also the concessions in regard to them obtained through the Counts of Provence and Forcalquier and declare them null and void.’

e ‘We likewise prohibit conventions and sworn confederacies of whatever kind within the cities and without ... between city and city or between person and person or between city and person.’ (Peace Charter of Frederick I.)
f ‘That no city and no market town may organise communions, constitutions, unions, leagues or sworn confederacies of any kind, by whatever name they may be referred to, and that, without the assent of their lord, we neither can nor should allow the cities and market towns in our Empire the right to establish communions, constitutions ... sworn confederacies of any kind, whatever names may be conferred on them.’ (Decree of King Henry against city communions.)

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The policy pursued by the German emperors was exploited by the French who secretly supported 'conjurationes' and 'communiones' in Lorraine, Alsace, the Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, the Lyonnais, etc., thus alienating them from the German Empire:

'Sicut ad culminis nostri pervenit notitiam, rex Franciae ... sinceritatem fidei vestrae molitur corrumpere.' (Rodolphus I, epistula ad cives de Besançon.) [II, 94]

The very same policy was used by the fellows to make Italian cities Guelphic.

It's funny how the word 'communio' is often reviled in just the same way as communism nowadays. Thus, for example, the priest Guibert of Nogent writes:

'Communio, novum ac pessimum nomen.'

There's often something rather pathetic about the way in which the twelfth-century philistines invite the peasants to take refuge in the towns, the communio jurata. As, for instance, in the Charter of St Quentin:

'Eux' (the burghers of St Quentin) 'jurèrent ensement chescun quemune ayde à son juré et quemune conseil et quemune detenanche et quemune defense. Ensement nous avons establ que quiconque en notre quemune entrera et ayde du sien nous donra, soit pour cause de fuite ou de paour des anemis ou de autre forfait ... en le quemune entrer porra, car la porte est ouverte à tous; et se son seigneur à tort ses choses aura detenu et ne le voudra detenir à droit, nous en excécutrons justice.' [II, 135]

Your

K. M.
[London,] 8 August 1854

Dear Frederic,

I have duly received your war 'observations' and incorporated them in today's letter.

If you can possibly see your way to getting hold of some money for me I would urgently request you to do so. The £11 extra expenditure incurred over the past 6 weeks has plunged me into the utmost destitution. Moreover, Pieper, who is sans souci, has been living and eating here all that time and will certainly be staying for another 2-3 weeks. C'est dur.

Did you see in the papers that the 2 Turkish officers sent to that 'great' democrat Shamyl Bey by the Asiatic army were accompanied by Colonel Bangya?

Your
K. M.

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*to his confederate and to share with him common counsel and common responsibility and common defence. We have jointly determined that whoever shall enter our commune and give us his aid, either by reason of flight or for fear of his enemies or for some other offence ... shall be allowed into the commune, for the gate is open to all; and if his lord had unjustly withheld his chattels and does not wish to detain him lawfully, we shall see that justice is done.*

- a F. Engels, 'The Attack on the Russian Forts'.
- b K. Marx, 'Evacuation of the Daubinian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartist'.
- c penniless
- d It is hard.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 26 August 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife got back on Wednesday,\(^{a}\) quite well. In the Fatherland, she tells me, everyone is down in the dumps on account of the 'uncertain conditions'.

I cannot imagine what has become of Cluss. The fellow hasn’t written for months. Perhaps it’s too hot over there.

It is a very good thing that you are rid of Heise. I don’t see that a 'loafer' of this sort can be of any interest. I have not, of course, seen Imandt’s correspondence with Drouke and Heise, but I do know that, if he takes part in their childish nonsense, he does so at most in a ‘theoretical’ sense. Down here, Imandt lives the life of a sober, hard-working citizen.

I have heard from Lassalle who announces triumphantly that the Hatzfeldt woman’s 7, or rather 8, years’ war is now over.\(^{355}\) Enfin,\(^{b}\) ‘Victory’ for the old woman, who would appear to have emerged from the campaign with her virtue and, what is more, her money bags, ‘vierge’.\(^{c}\) Lassalle now intends to move his domicile to Berlin, but has already heard talk about difficulties with the police.

Meyer writes to tell me that the trial of the Berlin demagogues\(^{564}\) (in which Gottfried’s Gottfried played a part) has been quashed by the court in Berlin (which, he doesn’t say), ‘because Hentze, the principal witness for the prosecution, was “questionable”’. Qu’en dis-tu?\(^{d}\)

I have also had a letter from Miquel in Paris. He intended to come here but first he had cholera and then a haemorrhage, whereupon his doctors suggested that he had better drop the idea of sea travel and make for home overland with all dispatch. Bad luck.

Cherval, who under the name of ‘Crämer’—this time the real name was the pseudonym—had diverse experiences in Switzerland, inter alia engraving plates for Mr Vogt, who had taken him under his wing, is now living in Paris. I have his address.

\(^{a}\) 23 August - \(^{b}\) At last! - \(^{c}\) intact - \(^{d}\) What do you think of that?
Daniels has been seriously ill for months and it seems doubtful whether he'll pull through.

Reports, particularly in the Débats, suggest that there is a state of splendid anarchy in Spain. So far as I can gather from the papers, the Polish and Hungarian émigrés in the Turkish Asiatic army do nothing but engage in mischief, place-seeking and petty intrigues. *Toujours les mêmes.*

*Vale sfaceque.*

*Totus tuus*  
K. M.

Published in English for the first time

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER  

[London,] 2 September 1854  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

So now you're a member of the Exchange, and **altogether respectable. My gratulations.** Some time I should like to hear you howling amidst that pack of wolves.

Heise has written to Imandt, telling him that factory people—where I don't know (nor does he say whether they're workers or manufacturers)—have banded together to appoint him their common instructor, and that he can count on getting £2 a week. *Tant mieux pour lui.*

My wife—as I had good reason to fear before she left—is **rather in too interesting circumstances,** otherwise well.

Cluss has written again at last. I enclose his letter.

Has your old man arrived yet?

It is probably time we said something in the *Tribune* about

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*a Always the same.  
*b Good-bye and farewell.  
*c All yours  
*d So much the better for him.
military events in Asia. I have made a bit of a howler. In one of my recent letters I declared the news of the total defeat of the Turks at Kars to be a Vienna invention. True, the telegraphic dispatch was wrong, but it was nevertheless based on fact.

My principal study is now Spain. So far I have swotted up, mainly from Spanish sources, the 1808-14 and the 1820-23 periods. Am now coming to the years 1834-43. The thing is not without complexity. It is rather more difficult to discover exactly the springs behind developments. At any rate I made a timely start with Don Quixote. The whole thing will amount to about 6 articles for the Tribune, if much condensed. At least it may be counted a step forward that at this moment one's studies are paid for.

Unfortunately the Library is closed from 1-7 September. Apart from other advantages, it's the only cool place in London.

Entre nous, Dronke, for want of other 'intellectual' stimulus, is busily engaged in investigating 'Steffen' and, in his letters to Imandt, tears him to pieces in an attempt to render him politically 'suspect'. I had no difficulty in convincing Imandt of the total absurdity of Dronke's mischievous cavilling. C'est absurde. I consider that in Steffen our [party] has made a very good acquisition. He has character and education. His views on comparative geography, in which he has specialised, are quite original. Unfortunately a manuscript in which he elaborated his ideas on the subject was left behind in Cologne.

What is Lupus doing? Miquel didn't come over from Paris as intended because, having had 2 attacks of cholera followed by a haemorrhage, he was finally ordered by the doctors to make his way back to Germany overland with all dispatch.

Vale siveque.

K. M.


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a Marx presumably refers to the item 'Foreign Intelligence. Wednesday evening', The Times, No. 21829, 25 August 1854.

b See this volume, p. 447.

c of the British Museum.

d between ourselves.

e It's absurd.

f Good-bye and farewell.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 September 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Once again I must come knocking at your door, much though I detest doing so, but compelled by pressure from without. I cannot draw my bills for a few weeks yet, since in consequence of some unpleasantness he has had with Bischoffsheim in this connection, Freiligrath is no longer drawing bills of less than £25. On the whole, too, this is preferable, for while the constant drawing of small sums may cover the _dette flotante_, the fixed debt increases. On top of that, I shall have to deduct £8 for Freund from the next bill since, under the present circumstances, my wife will need rather more care. The extraordinary means to which the family is wont to resort at times of crisis are again exhausted and, just as in the case of the Spanish Budget everything is in pawn.

By the by, as regards the 'budget' _en général_, I have reduced total indebtedness to under £50, i.e. about £30 less than it was at the beginning of the year. From this you can see that there have been some great financial sleights of hand. If a negotiation I have initiated with Lassalle succeeds, and he lends me £30, and you lend me the remainder, I would at last be independent again and reorganise all my domestic arrangements, whereas at present I have to pay out 25 per cent to the pawnshop alone, and in general am never able to get things in order because of arrears. As has once again been demonstrated in Trier, nothing will be achieved with my mater until I can go and importune her in person. _Dans ce moment_ the total absence of money is the more horrible—quite apart from the fact that family wants do not cease for an instant—as Soho is a choice district for cholera, the mob is croaking right and left (e.g. an average of 3 per house in Broad Street), and 'victuals' are the best defence against the beastly thing.

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*a floating debt — b At this moment.*
So much for that. I am sending this letter to your private address because some strange combination of circumstances could cause precisely this by no means edifying epistle to fall into the wrong hands at your office.

As regards the Asiatic business, a considerable stir has been made here by the dispatches from that theatre of operations in *The Morning Chronicle*, which have also been reproduced in *The Observer* and other weeklies.\(^6\)

I don’t know whether the news about the Zouaves’ cry ‘*A bas les singes! Il nous faut Lamoricière!*’\(^b\) has penetrated as far as Manchester. Espinasse, the first victim of this agitation, has been recalled to France.\(^5\)

*The party* has been having a run of bad luck. Steffen has lost his post in Brighton through the bankruptcy of the schoolmaster in whose establishment he was employed. It is questionable whether he will manage to get the salary already due to him. Pieper has lost his post as correspondent to the *Union*, since Mr Pierce has likewise gone bankrupt, and his papers get no more money for foreign correspondents. MacGowan, Jones’ printer and source of credit, has died of cholera. A blow for Jones. *All this is not very pleasant.*

I don’t remember much about Imandt. To inquire into it further would only make matters worse. But henceforward I shall break off the moment the gentleman makes any ‘reference’ to Dronke. *Dronke ne vaut pas la peine d’en parler.*\(^c\)

Your

K. M.

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\(^a\) ‘The Battles of Bayazid and Kuruk-Dere’, *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 27365, 7 September 1854, also reproduced in *The Observer* on 10 September. \(^b\) ‘Down with the monkeys! We want Lamoricière!’ ‘Singes’ also means ‘bosses’. \(^c\) isn’t worth discussing
London, 22 September 1854

Dear Frederic,

Just a few lines in much haste to acknowledge due receipt. Also of your letter on the Asiatic War on Tuesday.560

I have had some very important dispatches from America which I shall send you with my next letter. Je vous attends* on Tuesday.571

That fat swine Püttermann has been shipped off from here to Australia as a ‘colonist’, together with family.

Ebner has gone mad in Frankfurt. Pauvre diable.5

Ernest Jones has found a new printer on cheaper terms. Disraeli has written to tell him that he will bring up all Chartist petitions in Parliament.

The cholera epidemic, now much abated, is said to have been particularly severe in our district because the sewers made in June, July and August, were driven through the pits where those who died of the plague 1668 (? I think) were buried*.

Your
K. M.

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244

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 September 1854

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The enclosed letter from Dana will tell you about the American crisis as far as I am affected by it. Upon my demanding that all or

nothing should appear under my name, they replied by confining me solely to editorial articles at half the previous rate. For the time being I have written to Dana telling him that I have not yet reached any decision but shall in the meanwhile go on as before sending 2 articles a week, because of the Sevastopol business, on the one hand, and of my sketches of the Spanish Revolution in the nineteenth century on the other, which must be completed before the Cortes meets. In the meantime we can consider what definite answer to give the gentlemen.

I cannot write more than this today since I am busy just now dictating my article, but should have written to you at greater length had you not announced last Tuesday week that I would be getting a 'long' letter, which I have been waiting for in order to reply to it.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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245

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 October 1854

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

D'abord mes compliments on your exceedingly glorious and sound criticism. It's a pity that this 'fait d'armes' couldn't have been accomplished in the London Press. A coup of this nature would have assured your position in that field.

Quant à notre bon St-Arnaud who took good care to die at the right moment, I gave the Tribune a detailed biography of him months ago. Of this fellow it may assuredly be said: 'Non bis in idem.'

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a November in the original. - b First, my congratulations. - c F. Engels, 'The Battle of the Alma'. - d feat of arms. - e As for our good. - f Never twice on the same subject.
How to explain: 1. that the English failed to station a group of warships off the Yenikale Straits in sufficient strength to prevent the Russians crossing from Anapa, etc.? Was it not perfectly possible, indeed imperative under present circumstances, to gain control of the Sea of Azov with small vessels in order to cut off all reinforcements by water?

2. Should not a diversion in the direction of Bessarabia have been made (by Omer Pasha) to prevent the Russians from bringing reinforcements into the Crimea from that quarter? Can negligence on this score be explained otherwise than by Anglo-Austrian diplomatic trickery?

I believe, of course, that diplomacy on the part of military commanders ceases as soon as they find themselves in a mousetrap as in the Crimea. But in all that concerns the plan as a whole, I do not believe that Palmerston has as yet ceased for one moment to evince at least his 'good will'.

In one of its recent issues, the Tribune is congratulated by my rival, A.P.C., for its 'splendid characterisation' of Espartero. The man, of course, has no idea that he is 'complimenting' me, but at the same time a sure instinct has led him to take hold of a very silly concluding sentence that belongs exclusively to the Tribune. Incidentally, they had deleted every one of my jokes about constitutional heroes en général, suspecting that, lurking behind the 'Monk-Lafayette-Espartero' trio, were certain sarcasms aimed at the noble 'Washington'. The paper's uncritical attitude is horrifying. First, they extolled Espartero as the only statesman of Spain. Then they took my articles, which treat him if anything as a comic character, and added: From this one can see that nothing is to be expected of Spain. Then, when they got the first article on Spain—mere prolegomena leading up to 1808—they believed it to constitute the whole and accordingly added on a completely heterogeneous but well-meaning conclusion urging the Spaniards to show themselves worthy of the Tribune's confidence. How they will handle subsequent instalments, I do not know.

Liebknecht, as you know, has been vacillating most despondently between an Englishwoman who wanted to marry him and a German woman in Germany whom he wanted to marry. At last

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*b* K. Marx, 'Espartero'.  
*c* See K. Marx, The Spanish Revolution.—Greece and Turkey', 'Evacuation of the Danubian Principalities.—The Events in Spain.—A New Danish Constitution.—The Chartists', 'Evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia.—Poland.—Demands of the Spanish People'.  
*d* Ernestine Landolt
the German descended on him and he married her,—in a religious as well as a civil ceremony. Both of them seem very down-in-the-mouth. His job goes west, since the people are moving away. He spent a wretched honeymoon at No. 14 Church Street in a house where he got himself heavily in debt. But who forced the ass to get married—at this of all times since he was perfectly aware of all these circumstances. The woman had in the meantime already become engaged to someone else in Germany, so at any rate the case was by no means a pressing one.

If you want to read something really funny you must try and get hold of Saturday's *Morning Advertiser*, in which the licensed victuallers take the present editorial board of that 'porthouse paper to court'. Prosecution and defence both equally amusing. The first was conducted by Mr Foster who once figured as a barrister in Baron Nicholson's court. All the thanks Urquhart got for having extolled the licensed as England's party above parties were hard words and his dismissal. Never, by the way, has the curtain been raised quite so much to reveal the innermost squalor of the shop-keeper's soul.

I suppose you haven't seen Bruno Bauer's *L'Arrogance des pouvoirs occidentaux*? I haven't yet managed to lay hands on it either.

Should anything important happen in the military department before Friday, send me something to be going on with, for in that case the Spanish article, if it is to be acceptable, will have to be preceded by a Russian one.

I look forward to a letter from you soon.

*Your*

*K. M.*

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*a 'The Incorporated Society of Licensed Victuallers', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19749, 7 October 1854.  
b Presumably B. Bauer's *De la dictature occidentale*.  
c 13 October*
Dear Engels,

Your enumeration of the Russian armed forces made today is formidable. But there remains this one question to be answered, whether, even by exerting themselves to the utmost, they were capable of sending more than 200,000 men outside their own country. I am aware of no such instance.

From the standpoint of the old policy,—and what else do England and France advocate, even though the English Ministry is not in earnest and Napoleon III a caricature,—a distinction must be drawn between the interests of England and those of France. With the destruction of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and the Baltic and the Russians driven out of the Crimea, the Caucasus and the provinces they had filched from Persia and Turkey, England would have ensured her supremacy at sea and her hegemony over the most cultivated part of Asia for another 50 years. It would then be just like her old self to let the continentals exhaust themselves in a seven years' and other wars—whose main theatre would be Germany and, to some extent, Italy—and, at the end of the struggle, see neither Russia nor Austria nor France supreme on the Continent. For France, on the other hand, the real struggle would only begin with the destruction of Russia's sea-power and her influence in South Asia. She would be under all the greater compulsion to break Russia's power on land in order to extend her own power on the Continent, and thus be able to cast a corresponding weight onto the scales against England. Is there any guarantee that, once England has destroyed the Russians in the Baltic and the Black Sea and rendered them innocuous to herself, revolutions won't break out on the Continent and be used by England as a pretext for another official alliance with Russia against the Continent?

However, the real joke is that none of the Englishmen now in power—neither Chathams nor Pitts Jun., and not even Welling-

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* F. Engels, 'The Military Power of Russia'.

tons—seriously pursue even the destruction of Russian sea-power and Russian influence in Turkey-Persia-Caucasus. If their half and half measures compel them to do so, they may consider going so far; but their half-measures and villainy will probably land them in trouble, which will provoke movements here at home.

The following passages, quoted from the Archives des Affaires Étrangères in Paris—relating to the Seven Years' War—show how English Ministers colluded with the enemy actually during the campaign and in matters relating to it. On 24 June 1762 the French Pompadour marshal Soubise, when encamped at Wilhelmstal, had allowed himself to be surprised by the English, Prussian, Hanoverian, etc., allies and driven back across the Fulda. For parliamentary and dynastic reasons, Lord Bute, George III's Prime Minister, desired peace, but, in view of the nation's bellicose mood and its bias in favour of Frederick II, could not propose peace so long as the French persisted in letting themselves be beaten and in retreating instead of advancing. Choiseul, as you know, was then Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. In authentic publications from the French archives, which I quote verbatim, we find:

"Après l'affaire du 24 juin les ministres anglais écrivirent à M. de Choiseul: 'Vous vous laissez battre et nous ne pouvons plus faire la paix, nous n'oserions pas la proposer au parlement.' M. de Choiseul, désolé de voir rompue la négociation, engage le roi à écrire à M. de Soubise: 'Mon cousin, je vous écris la présente, qu'au même que vous l'aurez reçue vous passiez la rivière du Fulde et que vous attaquiez les ennemis, sans compter sur les dispositions qui vous conviendront et quelque soit le succès, vous n'en serez pas responsable. Sur ce je prie Dieu et.' M. de Choiseul écrivit: 'La lettre du roi, M. le Maréchal, est trop formelle pour que je n'aie rien à y ajouter. Mais je puis vous dire que quand l'armée du roi serait détruite jusqu'au dernier homme et qu'il fut obligé d'enlever une nouvelle, Sa Majesté n'en serait effrayée.'" 

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*a* An allusion to Marshal Soubise's liaison with Jeanne Antoinette Pompadour. 

*b* "After the affair of 24 June, the English Ministers wrote to M. de Choiseul: 'You are permitting yourselves to be beaten and we can no longer make peace: we would not dare propose it to Parliament.' M. de Choiseul, distressed at seeing negotiations broken off, urged the King to write to M. de Soubise: "Dear Cousin, I am writing to you so that, immediately on receipt of this letter, you should cross the River Fulda and attack the enemy without heed for such dispositions as you might think fit and, whatever the result, you will not be held responsible. As to which, I pray God, etc.' M. de Choiseul wrote: "The King's letter, M. le Maréchal, is too explicit for me to have to add anything. But I can tell you that, should the King's Army be destroyed down to the last man and His Majesty be obliged to raise a new one, he would not be dismayed at it'."
Here, then, we have the English Ministry demanding outright that an allied army, subsidised by them and consisting partly of Englishmen, should be *buffeted* by the French. They had earlier meddled in French military operations in the opposite direction because George wanted his Hanover to be spared. For in the same *extraits* we read:

"En 1762 Mrs. d’Estrées et de Soubise ont commandé l’armée du haut Rhin de 150 000 hommes, établie en Hesse, à Goettinguen, Mulhouse et Eisenach; Mr. de Condé a commandé celle du bas Rhin de 30 000 hommes. La cour ne leur demandait que de conserver Cassel de Goettinguen jusqu’à la fin du novembre, d’évacuer ces deux places à cette époque pour se retirer sur l’Ohm en mettant Ziegenhayn en avant de leur première ligne. Ce plan de guerre avec puissance égale, avec 180 000 contre 80 000 serait extraordinaire, s’il n’avait pas été fondé sur la promesse, que le ministère anglais nous faisait de conclure la paix avant le mois de juillet, si nous ne ferions point d’incursions dans le Hanower."

This latter piece of meddling by London might, at most, be regarded as normal, had the warring powers been on the point of entering into peace negotiations; the first case, on the other hand, would have cost Lord Bute his head and George, such was the mood at the time (think only of Wilkes and Junius’ letters582), his throne but, comme toujours, it was almost a century before the matter came to light. We encounter another such example just before the outbreak of the *anti-Jacobin war*583 when the ‘liberal’ Fox sent a secret emissary6 to Catherine II telling her not to be misled by Pitt’s threats, but to gobble up Poland at her leisure for, should Pitt try to go to war against Russia, he would be brought down.584 True, Fox was then in the ’opposition’ and not the Ministry, and I adduce this example simply as evidence that the *outs* are no less honourable than the *ins*.

Hence I believe that, in assessing the allies’ conduct of the war—as indeed you infer from time to time in your articles—the
exchanges between Downing Street (especially as long as Palmerston is there) and Petersburg must always be considered. I am sure that, as soon as the armies find themselves in a critical position, the generals will sh... on the Cabinet and do their best, since Messrs the generals are seldom or never let into secrets and even risk their necks—witness the example of Admiral Byng, whose instructions from the Admiralty of the day were no less deplorable than those of e.g. Dundas now.

I shall try to get hold of Bauer’s latest production and send it to you.

I don’t know whether Napier and other historians of the Franco-Spanish war have presented in its true light a fact for which there is ample proof in Spanish works, namely that, right up to the end of the war, apart from a brief spell when Napoleon himself was in command in Spain, a fully organised republican conspiracy existed in the French army, aimed at overthrowing Napoleon and restoring the republic. Apropos. Authentic sources suggest that the great ‘Mina y Espoz’ was an egregious rogue, inferior to Joh. Becker, no military talent at all. But cunning, worldly-wise and avant tout voleur. A careful study of Spanish revolutionary history reveals that it has taken the fellows some 40 years to subvert the material basis of the priesthood and the aristocracy, but that during this time they have also succeeded in completely revolutionising the old social order. Incidentally, the provisional governments, etc., there show about as much sense as in France, etc. Considering the hot-bloodedness of the whole race and their indifference to bloodshed, it is typical that, up to the time of the civil war of 1834-40, it was precisely the revolutionary party which claimed to have a monopoly of philanthropic gentleness, and for this it was punished again and again.

Tomorrow Pieper will probably become a resident master 30 miles from London. Having lost his post as correspondent to the Union, he is forced to accept this appointment. In view of my wife’s ‘condition’ she will be able to do little as a secretary.

This is deplorable.

I have had another dunning letter from the ‘friendly’ Freund, but no reply as yet from Lassalle.

When your old man leaves again, or if he decides not to come, I

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a Presumably De la dictature occidentale (see previous letter). b W. F. P. Napier, History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814. c Espoz y Mina - d above all a thief
should, circumstances permitting, like to come to Manchester for a time.

Still no answer from Lassalle—nine weeks now. Nothing from Cluss.

Schnauffer has died.

Your
K. M.

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247

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 25 October 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed a letter from Cluss.

Schnauffer is dead.

Pieper is a resident master just outside London, at Eltham, Kent.

Servant for all work.

If you can let me have some military stuff for Friday, so much the better. It is time to take a rational attitude to the Allies' conduct of the war.

The Mademoiselle Bürgers business is very funny.

As you already know, before she left Cologne she got herself a child, giving out that Lassalle was its father.

The post is leaving, hence

Vale.a

Your
K. M.


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a 27 October. Engels wrote 'The Siege of Sevastopol' later, on 30 October.
b Farewell.
Dear Frederic,

While studying the Spanish muck I have got to the bottom of the worthy Chateaubriand—a style-specialist who combines in the most repellent manner the refined scepticism and Voltairianism of the eighteenth century with the refined sentimentalism and romanticism of the nineteenth. Stylistically, of course, such a combination was bound to be epoch-making in France, though even the style has an element of spuriousness which, for all his clever tricks, frequently leaps to the eye. As for the political man, he has exposed himself utterly in his Congrès de Vérone, and the only question is whether he received ‘cash’ from Alexander Pavlovich or whether he was bought simply by flattery to which the conceited fop was more susceptible than anyone else. At all instances he received the Order of St Andrew from Petersburg. Everything about M. le ‘Vicomte’s’ (?) vanitas, notwithstanding his now Mephistophelian, now Christian coquetting with vanitatum vanitas. You will remember that, at the time of the Congress, Villèle was Louis XVIII’s Prime Minister and Chateaubriand French envoy in Verona. His Congrès de Vérone, which you may at some time have read, contains documents, transactions, etc. Begins with a short history of the Span revolution of 1820-23. As for this ‘history’, all I need tell you is that he transfers Madrid to the banks of the Tagus (merely so as to quote the Span, saying that this river cria oro) and tells us that Riego led 10,000 men (realiter only 5,000) into the field against the 13,000 under General Freire; that Riego, having been beaten, withdrew with 15,000 men. In order to compare him with the hero of La Mancha, he sends him to the Sierra Morena instead of the Sierra de Ronda. This I mention en passant as characteristic of his manner. Hardly a date that is right.

The best part of the joke, though, is Mr Chateaubriand’s doings

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at the Congress of Verona, after the conclusion of which he became Foreign Minister and directed the invasion of Spain.

He says *d'abord*:

"Je ne me défends point d'être le principal auteur de la guerre d'Espagne". [Chateaubriand. Congrès de Vérone, Vol. I. p. 11], "Mr. de Villèle ne voulait point les hostilités."[1, 78]

On the contrary. The text of the instructions sent by Villèle to him and Montmorency, who at the outset was also in Verona as French Foreign Minister, reads literally:

"Nous ne nous sommes pas décidés à déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne... (I, 103). Les plénipotentiaires de S. M. doivent surtout éviter de se présenter au congrès comme rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne. Les autres puissances peuvent les connaître aussi bien que nous... Ce rôle pouvait convenir à l'Autriche au congrès de Laybach,ce parce qu'elle avait la volonté d'envahir Naples."[1, 102-03]

The fellows do precisely the opposite of what was contained in their instructions. They *présentent* themselves as *rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne*; Villèle writes:

"Ils tendront à faire considérer la question d'Espagne dans ses rapports généraux avec l'Europe"[1, 104]; they presented it from the outset as a specifically French matter. Villèle writes:

"L'opinion de nos plénipotentiaires sur la question de savoir ce qu'il convient au congrès de faire relativement à l'Espagne, sera que la France étant la seule puissance qui doive agir par ses troupes, elle sera seule juge de cette nécessité."[1, 103]

Whereas they took the line that:

"C'est sur la forme de ce concours moral (of the other powers) et sur les mesures propres à lui assurer le secours matériel qui peut être réclamé par la suite, que la France croit, en définitive, nécessaire de fixer l'attention de ses augustes alliés."[1, 109]

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[a] at first  | [b] 'I do not deny having been the principal author of the war in Spain.'  | [ancements.
[c] We have not made up our minds to declare war on Spain... H. M.'s plenipotentiaries must above all avoid presenting themselves to the Congress as experts on Spanish affairs. The other powers may know as much about them as we do... Such a role may have befitted Austria at the Congress of Laibach because she was willing to invade Naples."[1, 102-03]
[d] present -  | [e] experts on Spanish affairs -  | [f] 'Their aim must be to ensure that the Spanish question is considered in its general relationship to Europe' -  | [g] The opinion of our plenipotentiaries on the question of what it behoves the Congress to do in regard to Spain shall be that France, being the sole power having to engage its troops, shall also be sole judge of that necessity." -  | [h] 'It is to the nature of this moral co-operation (of the other powers) and to the measures calculated to assure her the material aid which may subsequently be demanded, that France deems it necessary finally to draw the attention of her august allies.'
From the very beginning, then, Mr Chateaubriand acted *directly counter* to the instructions he received from Paris. Secondly, he sought to *deceive* Villèle about the state of affairs in Verona. Thus, for example, he wrote to Villèle:

> 'Le vœu très prononcé des puissances est *pour* la guerre d'Espagne'[^a] [I, 145];

He also seeks to deceive him about the prospects of the war:

> 'Les dernières dépêches de M. de Lagarde prouvent combien le succès serait facile.'[^b] [I, 145]

On the other hand the honest fellow tells us:

> 'Non seulement le Congrès n'a pas poussé la France à la guerre, mais la Prusse et surtout l'Autriche' [I, 112] (he comments: 'le prince de Metternich, feignant d'être russe en détestant la Russie' [I, 116]) 'y étaient très opposées; la Russie seule l'approuvait et promettait son appui moral et son appui matériel.' [I, 112]

> 'Nous disons au président du conseil que le vœu très prononcé des puissances est pour la guerre; qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'occupation de la Péninsule; qu'il n'est question que d'un mouvement rapide; nous montrons un succès facile; et pourtant nous savions que le congrès de Vérone ne voulait point la guerre; nous craignions que notre mouvement ne se prolongeât bien au delà de l'Ebre; nous pensions qu'il nous faudrait occuper longtemps l'Espagne, pour faire une bonne besogne, mais nous ne révélions pas tout, afin d'arriver à notre but, et nous nous disions secrètement: "Une fois la Bidassoa passée, il fandra bien que le président du conseil etc. aille de l'avant".'[^c] [I, 173-74]

Thus he deceived Villèle in the name of the Congress, as previously he had deceived the Congress in the name of Villèle. And, not content with that, he proceeded to write to Canning, lying in the name of both and against both.

As a Minister he acted in the same manner. The following letter was written by Alexander to Pozzo di Borgo, envoy in Paris, for submission to Louis XVIII:

> 'L'empereur se flatte encore que la modération prévaudrait dans les conseils du gouvernement anglais.' If not etc., 'il regarderait l'attaque dirigée contre la France...'
comme une attaque générale contre tous les alliés et accepterait, sans hésiter, les conséquences de ce principe... L’Empereur exhorte le roi à consommer ses propres (1) déterminations et à marcher avec confiance contre les hommes des troubles et des malheurs. Agissant dans cet esprit l’Empereur rappelle la question agitée au congrès relative à la réunion d’une armée russe sur les frontières occidentales de l’Empire comme moyen de sûreté européenne. 

(At the Congress, Austria would not hear of it. For which reason the matter was temporarily dropped.)

His purpose, Chateaubriand alleges, was to procure glory (gloire) for the Restoration, and thus to pave the way for the violation of the Treaties of Vienna. Russia’s support was needed against England. But how little 1. he expected of Russian help and how much 2. he feared the war, is evident from the following utterances:

‘En supposant un revers en Espagne, nous avions une révolution en France, et tous les cosaques de la terre ne nous auraient pas sauvés.’

In a letter to La Ferronnays, his envoy in Petersburg, he writes:

‘Nous avons mis la monarchie française sur une carte pour faire la guerre.’

(This is dated 21 April 1823.)

He further admits that they would have fallen flat on their faces if Canning had shipped a regiment or two out to Lisbon. To pave the way for this result they further saw to it that, following a row between War Minister the Duke of Bellune and General Guillemot, the French Army suddenly found itself sin viveres e sin medios de transporte after marching into Spain. Next, the pretty piece of humbug that a French victory in the name of the Holy Alliance and with its appui moral would help liberate France from the Vienna Treaties. The ‘Vicomte’ is not ‘si bête’ as he here makes himself out to be. He knows very well what he is about: ‘la Russie n’a point d’ambassadeur à Constantinople.’

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a "The Emperor continues to hope that moderation will prevail in the councils of the English government.' If not etc., 'he would regard an attack directed against France as a general attack upon all the allies and would accept without hesitation the consequences of that principle... The Emperor exhorts the King to implement his own (1) 'decisions and to march confidently against the trouble-makers and mischief-makers. Acting in this spirit, the Emperor recalls the question raised at the Congress relating to the mustering of a Russian army on the western borders of the Empire as a means of ensuring the security of Europe. - b Assuming a reverse in Spain, we would have had revolution in France, and not all the Cossacks in the world would have saved us.' - c 'We have staked the fate of the French monarchy in order to wage war.' - d without victuals and without means of transport - e moral support - f so stupid - g 'Russia has no ambassador in Constantinople'
were underhand dealings with the Greeks; and war between France and England, not to speak of France's commitments in Spain and her defeat there, would have given him a free hand.

'Tous devions surtout prévoir que l'Angleterre pouvait intervenir et se poser en face de nous auprès de l'Espagne.'  

To Paris, he writes:

'Si c'est la guerre, c'est la guerre avec l'Angleterre.' 'Guerre qui pouvait devenir européenne, si elle venait à se compliquer d'une guerre en Orient et de l'attaque des colonies espagnoles par les Anglais.'

Nor is he under any illusions about Alexander's intentions:

'Il est certain que notre triomphe inespéré (!) lui donna quelque jalousie, car il s'était secrètement flatté que nous serions forcés de recourir à lui.'

The 'triumph', then, was not what had been agreed. Besides, like the majority of Frenchmen, Chateaubriand believed the French Army to be very 'unreliable' so far as the Bourbons were concerned.

Moreover, the 'friendship' between Alexander and Louis XVIII was, as Chateaubriand himself relates, all the closer for

'Louis XVIII' having 'refusé, sous prétexte de religion et par quelque motif offensant, le mariage du duc de Berry avec la sœur d'Alexandre' and for Louis XVIII's having, for his part, known that at the Congress of Vienna (after Bonaparte's return from Elba) Mr Alexander had

'tout à coup demanda aux alliés, s'il ne serait pas bon de donner le duc d'Orléans pour roi à la France, quand on aurait une dernière fois vaincu Napoléon!'

Having a 'grand âme de poète,' the 'Vicomte' makes the following admissions:

'Nous osons dire qu'Alexandre est devenu notre ami.'
"Alexandre est le seul prince pour qui nous ayons jamais éprouvé un sincère attachement." [I, 224]

"Louis XVIII nous détestait." [I, 243]

Withal it is highly entertaining to see how this 'Dieu de St. Louis' speechifier, who had to preserve the Spanish throne for a 'petit fils de Henri IV',\(^a\) writes most cavalièrement to General Guilleminot telling him not to 'be deterred' from bombarding Cadiz by the fear that Ferdinand VII might be struck by shot, etc.

At all events, it is hence to this ami intime\(^c\) of the great Carrel, Lamennais, Béranger, etc., that the honour belongs of having, over a period of 10 years—in the company of friend Alexander—, created the biggest mess Spain has ever known, and this at the risk of blowing his Bourbons sky-high.

Another trait of this pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre\(^596\): In the Congrès de Vérone he himself relates how he forced Louis XVIII and Villèle to send Polignac, whom both abhorred, to London as envoy. Later, under Charles X, when he himself was envoy in Rome, he suddenly and with great brio announced his resignation upon the appointment of Polignac as minister because, he alleged, 'freedom' was doomed.

If you re-read the book, your contempt for the 'crapauds'\(^d\) and their 'grands hommes'\(^e\) is unlikely to diminish.

Adieu.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Article splendid.\(^f\) As regards Tuesday or Friday,\(^g\) arrange it as you wish, although I don't yet know whether I shall have a

\(^a\) We venture to say that Alexander has become our friend. 'Alexander is the only prince for whom we have ever felt a sincere attachment.' 'Louis XVIII detested us.' - \(^b\) Henry IV's grandson - \(^c\) intimate friend - \(^d\) philistines - \(^e\) great men - \(^f\) F. Engels, 'The Campaign in the Crimea'. - \(^g\) 14 or 17 November
SECRETARY READY, since my wife has been confined to bed for the past three days, partly because of indisposition, partly in a fit of anger, for the worthy Dr Freund has again been bombarding us with dunning letters, which are the more odious for coming just before the impending catastrophe. Generally, the situation is not pleasant.

Père Göhringer is in the debtors' prison. His pub is closed. Bankruptcy. Hence the renewed revolutionary ardour which the noble fellow is said to have developed of late.

Pieper has to work in his institution\(^a\) from 6 in the morning until 9 at night and to pray some 20\(\times\) during that time, which 'does him good'. No smoking or drinking. Takes the boys to church, etc. He was in town for an hour a few days ago. Looked very well.

Lupus has invited Dronke to Manchester for Christmas, and Dronke has invited Imandt.

No other news.

Your

K. M.

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250

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received the £2 yesterday.

Herewith letter from Dana which will show you what use the humbugs are making of the military material. The book he mentions by Ripley on the Mexican war hasn't reached me yet.\(^b\) I shall have it fetched tomorrow, leaf through it and then send it on to you.

If you possibly can, send an article on Friday,\(^b\) since I wrote about Spain on Tuesday\(^b\) and, under present circumstances, this

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 490. - \(^b\) 24 November
Marx to Engels. 22 November 1854

can't be done twice in one week. On the other hand, to miss an article in my very difficult financial situation would be bad from every point of view.

No sooner had the false rumours of the fall of Sevastopol arrived than His Honour, Public Prosecutor Blind, hit on the plan of holding a German meeting—which was also to be made the occasion of a declaration of principles—against Russia and the German 'princes' and, more particularly, ad majorem gloriam of the Public Prosecutor himself and the German emigration in corpore. It was an occasion on which the 'chiefs' of all factions were to foregather peaceably. I and Freiligrath, of course, beat off this attack, so that at first Blind's plan was frustrated. Mais comme les grands esprits se rencontrent, the same thing had occurred to the indefatigable Arnold Ruge—who is presently dumping all manner of rubbish in The Morning Advertiser—and, at his written invitation, a preparatory meeting took place, composed of: Vittinghof (chiropodist; 60 years old, a Courlander speaking no known tongue; formerly servant to Count Vittinghof of Courland, now posing as his own master. This Vittinghof, according to Arnold's plan, was to take the chair; a gang of German merchants (Gerstenzweig, etc.) were to provide the money and call the meeting and, under their auspices, German refugees were to be let loose on the platform). Römer (Becker's stepfather and a notorious mouchard). Meyen. Buchheim. Ronge. Ruge. Blind. Geck. The upshot of the meeting was that Geck and Ronge more or less 'called each other out'. Public Prosecutor Blind indignantly withdrew from the meeting because Dishcloth Ruge refused to include in the programme the phrase 'republic which unites us all'. Afterwards Blind called to see me—I was out—and complained 'bitterly' to my wife about the 'contempt' in which the 'German emigration' was held, and about our preventing any 'concerted' action. As if any of us were preventing the 7 or 8 jackasses from 'uniting' or 'demonstrating'. (However, if the fellows should cause a stir with their meeting and unduly compromise 'Germany' by licking English boots, it was our secret intention—as yet unknown, by the by, to Staatsrat Blind—to enlist the aid of the London Chartists and perhaps hold a rival meeting.)

As you can see, the 'Great Men of the Exile' are once again of the opinion that something 'has got to be done'.

* to the greater glory - b as a body - c But as great minds think alike - d police informer - e Fop, possibly ironical for Amand Goegg.
In this connection Blind also then told my wife that 'Baden alone had had the courage to proclaim a republic' etc., etc. No other news.

Your
K. M.


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MARX TO ENGELS 251
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 November 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You forgot to return Dana's letter—a very important in view of my relations with the fellows. By some oversight the first two pages were omitted from your splendid article of Tuesday's date. However the substance was contained in the 5 following ones, so all that suffered was the style.

I have received from the worthy Dr Freund a third dunning letter which I enclose. How do you think I should reply to the fellow? It seems to me that ce bon ami has a mind to take extreme measures. With the positive decline in income from the Tribune, as a result of which I have sunk below the level of the great Dronke, prospects for the noble Freund look gloomier than ever. The worst of it is that I shall be needing him again soon. I have been invited through Tucker to work on a Retrospective Review which is appearing here in London. However have not yet had a detailed reply about the punctum puncti, the fee.

The day before yesterday I finally received the 2 volumes of Ripley's Mexican War, about 1,200 pages, large format. As a military historian, Ripley seems to me—a strictly lay opinion—to

a See this volume, p. 498.  

b F. Engels, 'The Battle of Inkermann'.

c this good friend

d the crucial point
have modelled himself plus ou moins* on Napier. The book is sensible and, to my mind, not uncritical. Dana has certainly not read it. Otherwise he would have seen that their hero, General Scott, appears by no means in a favourable light, neither as a commander-in-chief nor as a gentleman. The thing is of particular interest to me because not long ago I was reading about Fernando Cortes’ campaign in Antonio de Solis’ Conquista de Mexico. Some very interesting comparisons might be drawn between the two conquistas. By the by, although the two commanders-in-chief—Taylor as well as Scott—seem very mediocre to me, the whole war was certainly a worthy prelude to the military history of the great land of the Yankees. The vast spaces in which the action took place and the small number of men with which it was conducted—more volunteers than regular army at that—impart to it an ‘American’ originality. As for Taylor and Scott, their only merit seems to have consisted in the conviction that Yankees would always be able to extricate themselves, however great the predicament they might be landed in. I shall send you the 2 volumes early next week. Write and tell me—for they are bulky—whether by post (I am not clear about the new regulations) or Parcel Co.

Addio

Your

K. M.


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252

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 2 December 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I think not, Sir, that your letter or so much as your name, should be linked with the worthy friend. (The Jew is so pressing because an exceedingly refined educational establishment, which he

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* more or less  b Dr Freund
has let his wife set up in St John's Wood, has brought him to the very brink of bankruptcy. I have just learnt the details via Cornelius.) Taking my cue from your letter, I have written to him that: 1. I enclose a letter from A. Dana from which he can see how the commercial crisis in America has affected me and, through me, himself; 2. However, to cover the loss, I have established new literary contacts on the strength of which I will undertake in writing to pay him £4 on the 10th of every month, starting in January 1855. The amount still outstanding is about £17. Should Mr Freund not agree to this, then he can prosecute. As he cannot fail to realise, Dana's letter would protect me in any court. If I involve you directly, I shall forfeit 1. my whole position vis-à-vis Freund; 2. He will tell (and promptly show my letter to) the teacher in his establishment, Mr Gottfried Kinkel, who will pass it on to Mr Gerstenberg, who will pass it on to every German Jew in the City until it reaches Blanc, which would be by no means desirable.

I had asked Lassalle whether he could not obtain some sort of literary business for me in Germany for I must be serious in regard to my decreased income and increased expenditure. Now Lassalle puts forward the following proposal as to which I should like to have your well-considered opinion. At the beginning of this month his cousin, Dr M. Friedländer will become proprietor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung, but—in co. with Stein and Eisner. I am to become the paper's London correspondent. Friedländer doesn't think he would be able to pay more than 20 talers a month to begin with. But Lassalle believes he might be able to push him up to 30. Voilà la proposition. It's a miserable pittance. However, too high a value should not be set on a little bit of work for a German hole-and-corner rag. Even so, one might pick up £40 or £50. But Eisner and Stein—there's the rub! This calls for all the more mature consideration as these gentlemen aren't Conservatives but actually Liberals, and more directly opposed to us than the Neue Preussische Zeitung. That is the question. Think it over carefully.

I am sending you a copy of The People's Paper so that you can read about Jones' dodge with Barbès (whom, between ourselves, he took for Blanqui) and his agitation against Bonaparte for the latter's proposed visit to England. The 'authorities' here are seriously concerned about the matter and the police, wherever feasible, have had the posters torn down. Even Reynolds and The

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Leader⁹ have denounced him for his unpatriotic sentiments. He originally had honorary members, amongst whom myself, elected to his comité for the anti-Bonapartist movement. I chaffed him for it, in particular pointing out that if the move was to be effective here and on the Continent, it must maintain its purely English character. He recognised this, as you will see from his remarks at the preliminary meeting with the French refugees.⁶⁰⁵

On Monday I shall send you the Ripley and Solis' Conquista de Mexico by the Parcel Comp, you mentioned. Return the latter as soon as you no longer need it, since it doesn't belong to me. I have now read the whole of Ripley (cursorily, of course, this being sufficient for my purpose). I am no longer in any doubt—and Ripley, in his 'restrained' sarcastic style, often makes it plain—that the great Scott is nothing more than a common, petty, untalented, carping, envious cur and humbug who, aware that he owed everything to the bravery of his soldiers and the skill of his divisional commanders, played dirty tricks in order to reap the renown himself. He appears to be as great a general as the many-sided Greeley is a great philosopher. Throughout the campaign, the fellow made a hash of things and played the kind of tricks for which any self-respecting court martial would justifiably have had him shot. But he is America's foremost (in terms of rank) general. Which is doubtless why Dana believes in him. Without question Taylor is still worth more than Scott, as the America public seems to have sensed when it made the former President of the United States and rejected the latter again and again despite all his efforts. General Worth strikes me as the most significant of them, on which point you must let me have your opinion as soon as you have read the thing. Also, and more important, on another point. Is it not curious that Scott always remains between 2 and 10 miles from the scene of active operations, that he never appears on the battlefield himself, but is always simply 'observing the progress of events' from a safe place in the rear. He himself never appears, as Taylor certainly does, when it is necessary in the interests of the army's 'morale' for the commander-in-chief to appear. After the fierce battle of Contreras, he and all his staff moved up only when the whole thing was over. During the fluctuations of the battle of Molino del Rey he passed a message to the 'brave' fellows to the effect that they should stand their ground, he himself would perhaps appear in person. His 'diplomatic' talents are matched only by his military ones. If he evinces mistrust, it is always of his

⁹ 'The British Democrats.—Louis Napoleon', The Leader, No. 243, 18 November 1854.
more talented divisional commanders, never of Santa Anna who leads him by the nose as though he were an aged child.

It seems to me to be typical of the war that, despite wrong or inadequate orders from their chief, every division and every single small body of men at all times stubbornly make for their objectives, spontaneously exploiting every incident, so that in the end a measure of wholeness emerges. A Yankee sense of independence and individual proficiency greater, perhaps, than that of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Spanish are already degenerate. But a degenerate Spaniard, a Mexican, is an ideal. All the Spanish vices, braggadocio, swagger and Don Quixotry, raised to the third power, but little or nothing of the steadiness which the Spaniards possess. The Mexican guerrilla war a caricature of the Spanish, and even the sauvé qui peut of the regular armies infinitely surpassed. But then the Spaniards have produced no talent comparable to that of Santa Anna.

Vale." 

Your

K. M.

Have you seen the fulminations against Heine by Jacobus Venedey—Kobes I of Cologne—in the feuilleton of Saturday's Kölnische Zeitung? It's a pleasure you should not deny yourself. And Kossuth's promotion to general!!!


253

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1854

Dear Frederic,

I shall be putting an article into the post today, although I know the post won't go. A week today I intend to do a report on Parliament. But still I urgently request you to send me an article on

a Farewell. b Title character of a satirical poem by Heine on Venedey published in Vermischte Schriften.
Tuesday so that I can count on getting £2 more on Friday (when I draw the bill). Even without that, there are various losses to be met. If there's nothing happening, you can do something on Austrian military power. You must write the pamphlet on the 'Teutonians and Slavism'.

You should also read Bauer's England and Russia (written in French). Gustav Diezel, too, has written a 'fat' book on the subject. Do you know Freiherr von Bode's 'Statistics on Russia'? (Appeared about six months ago.)

Salut.

Your

K. M.


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254

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 December 1854
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your note and very much look forward to seeing you here in a week's time.

Article received.

Barthélemy's end is a glorious one. At yesterday's hearing (or rather coroners' inquest) it was said that important papers, though not relating to the assassination, had been found on him. It would be annoying if these included papers from the old days, so that we seemed to be connected with a fellow who—or so the louts boasted—was 'saving up' a bullet for us in the event of our returning to Paris.


d Engels' part of the article 'Progress of the War' written jointly with Marx.

e 'The Inquest', The Times, No. 21925, 15 December 1854.
I haven't read the Bauer, so bring it with you.

Next week I start writing for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*: 30 talers a month for the time being. I suppose, however, that the fellows will be satisfied with three articles a week. Not having the money to buy books, I cannot possibly bid adieu to my studies at the Museum\(^a\) in return for 30 talers a month. Much though I dislike the thing, I've accepted it for the sake of my wife's peace of mind. Her prospects, of course, are gloomy.

What I particularly approved of in Ripley\(^b\) was his not giving way to enthusiastic hyperbole. The strategic mistakes made in the Mexican War would seem to be self-explanatory in view of the total absence of plan. As for the nicer tactical blunders, I, of course, understand nothing of such matters. I should think that he took Napier\(^c\) for his model, to judge by the way he depicts the Mexicans just as Napier does the Spaniards, and in the second place strives after fairness towards the opponents.

Tomorrow I shall be saddled with Blind and wife. This 'shinishter' Russophobe and 'repelbican' still insists that Baden is the real land of the future.

*Salut. And give my regards to Lupus.*

Your

K. M.

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**MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER**

**IN BRESCIAU**

London, Wednesday, 20 December 1854

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Elsner,

Your letter arrived here on Monday. I myself only got back today after spending a few days visiting Engels and Lupus in Manchester.

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\(^a\) the Library of the British Museum - \(^b\) R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*, in two volumes. - \(^c\) W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France*, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814, vols. I-VI.
I shall begin work as correspondent on **Saturday**. To start off right in the middle of the *final part* of the 'preliminary' parliamentary session would not do. A *résumé* of this short session would make a better *entrée*. For the past two years I have been writing—i.e. for publication—only in English. German may give me some trouble at the start.

As you are aware, I edited a Prussian newspaper under *censorship*—for a whole year. So I am quite familiar with the torments which the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* may have to endure under a new form of censorship, and it is these difficulties, the *underhand struggle against the established powers* which incline me to work in the interest of this paper.

So far as I am aware, and I know pretty well all the important reading-rooms in London, the *N.O.-Z.* is not available in any of them. Hence, for the time being, you'll have to send it direct to me. I might perhaps be able to introduce it into a reading-room or *coffee-room*.

You would particularly oblige me if, by way of an exception, you could send me *one* issue of the *Breslauer Zeitung*. Although Edgar Bauer comes to see me every week, he has never spoken about his articles and I would like to get to know his views from one 'sample'.

Since Parliament will be going into recess, and—save for a *résumé* of its sessions and *perhaps of financial matters*—there will be little of importance to report, I shall, if these premises hold good, write a number of consecutive articles providing a review of the conduct of the war in the Crimea so far, concerning which I have seen nothing sensible, i.e. critical, either here or from Germany. Moreover, I suppose that this subject is of the greatest general interest and at the same time least liable to lead to a conflict with the indirect Royal Prussian Censorship.

Requesting you to convey my kindest regards to your wife whom I have not had the pleasure of meeting.

Yours

K. Marx

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* *Rheinische Zeitung*
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 January 1855

Dear Frederic,

Yesterday I sent the report on trade and commerce to the Tribune and must now deliver two more articles if I am to pay off my overdraft with the fellows. There are two sailings next week, on Tuesday and Friday, and it would be most desirable if you could let me have an article on un sujet quelconque by Tuesday.

My wife is approaching the catastrophe with a firm tread.

Nothing new here. Götz has written to Sidney Herbert asking for an 'officer's brevet' in the apocryphal 'Foreign Legion'.

Salut,

Your
K. M.


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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 January 1855

Dear Frederic,

I could not, of course, write to the Tribune yesterday nor can I do so for some time à venir because yesterday morning, between

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a K. Marx, 'The Commercial Crisis in Britain', I and II.  
b 16 and 19 January  
c some subject or other  
d to come
6 and 7 o'clock, my wife was delivered of a bona fide traveller—unfortunately of the 'sex' par excellence. If it had been a male child, well and good.

Did you know that red Wolff is one of the Augsburger's London correspondents? I found out by chance, namely by reading an article in the said paper containing all manner of fatuous elucubrations on 'house' and 'home' and 'abroad'—all this to throw light on the 'ordure' with which the British troops are contending at Balaklava. I saw Freiligrath and told him that in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung I'd read some nonsense of which only Lupus Rufus could be capable. Freiligrath thereupon confirmed that Wolff was the 'real, identical Kobes'.

I now have Heine's 3 volumes at home. Amongst other things he retails at some length a lie to the effect that I, etc., went to console him after he had been 'attacked' in the Augsburg A.Z. for having accepted money from Louis Philippe. The good Heine deliberately forgets that my intervention on his behalf took place at the end of 1843 and thus could have no connection with facts which came to light after the February revolution of 1848. But let it pass. Worried by his evil conscience,—the old dog has a monstrous memory for such things,—he is trying to ingratiate himself.

I expect something from you on Friday, then. I can't write any more today, having to send out a mass of cards giving notification of the baby's birth.

Your

K. M.


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* Eleanor - b Ferdinand Wolff, also referred to below as Lupus Rufus meaning in Latin 'red wolf' - c 'Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Engländer', Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 9, 9 January 1855. - d A comparison with the German journalist Venedey lampooned by Heine in his poem 'Kobes I' in 1854. - e Heine, 'Retrospektive Aufklärung', August 1854 (Vermischte Schriften, Bd. 3, Th. 2, S. 144). - f [Report from Paris of 22 April,] Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 119, 28 April 1848, supplement. - g 19 January
Dear Engels,

Agree absolutely—and, indeed, most gratefully—to your scheme.

The parliamentary thing seems likely to misfire for reasons of time. But never mind.

Your yesterday’s letter didn’t reach me until 4 o’clock this afternoon because the ass of a postman (this is the 2nd or 3rd time it has happened, and I shall complain to the Post Office) delivered it to 28 Soho Square instead of 28 Dean Street. In future address your letters to 28 Dean Street, Soho (instead of Soho Square). Because it arrived so late, I can write you no more than these few lines today.

What’s this about Barthélemy? I missed it in the Augsburg paper. Probably a fabrication on the part of the miserable ‘Oly’ or ‘Ody’, one of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung’s correspondents, a blackguard from Switzerland.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

There’s a tremendous panic in the City, and Freiligrath wrote yesterday telling me that even the most ‘sanguine’ expect things to be very bad until early spring.


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* i.e. ‘Die Assisenverhandlung gegen Barthélemy’, Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 9, 9 January 1855, supplement.
MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE
IN DÜSSELDORF

[London,] 23 January 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

This letter would have been written a week ago had not my wife been delivered of a world citizen (female) and the consequent trouble left me little spare time, as you can readily imagine. However, both mother and daughter are doing well.

It is not very pleasant, mon cher, to write in such a small [...] au fond, all one can do is produce miniature dunghills. Mais [n'importe] that the [...] should consider [...] and make no literary pretensions, while also hoping that none will be made.

As regards the various economic questions you put to me, so far as I know there are as yet no compilations, whether official or scientific. Official figures for corn imports are, of course, to be found in the Board of Trade tables. But nothing else. Undoubtedly there will now be a plethora of works on these matters. A period of crisis in England is also one of theoretical research. I shall at the earliest opportunity compile something for you from my note-books, in which I have collected all sorts of statistical information from various sources. For the present, merely the following, of a quite general nature:

**Imports of Wheat and Flour**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat as Wheat (quarters)</th>
<th>Flour (reduced to quarters)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>2,650,000</td>
<td>1,806,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1,865,000</td>
<td>351,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>4,569,000</td>
<td>1,129,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3,778,000</td>
<td>1,102,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus 8,285,000 [qrs] of wheat imported during the first 2 years of free trade, and 2,226,000 in the form of flour, in all 10,511,000, or an average of more than 5 million quarters over the 2 years. This amounts to far more than 1/6 of total consumption, reckoned at 1 quarter per person per year.

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Now, can it be said that annual consumption increased to that extent? This clearly depends on the answer to another question: whether the same amount of wheat was produced in England as heretofore? This again can only be answered when we are in possession of the agricultural statistics, upon which work has only just begun. As regards Ireland and Scotland, we know that considerable amounts of land have been turned over to pasture, etc., since the abolition of the corn tariffs. As regards England, no conclusion can be reached at present save by induction. If in England, a considerable area of land had not been withdrawn from cultivation, how came it that e.g. this year, despite a very good harvest, corn prices are higher than in the protectionist year, 1839, for instance, although the loss of imports from abroad in no way compensates for the difference between a good and a bad harvest, between, say, that of 1854 and that of 1853? How the tendency to withdraw land from cultivation has spread under free trade—mainly, no doubt, by turning it over to pasture—is evident from the following table, an official one (for Ireland):

1854 (up till November)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in Cereals</td>
<td>91,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Green Crops] ([Potatoes, roots etc.)</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax</td>
<td>23,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clover</td>
<td>13,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total decrease in cultivated land</td>
<td>128,575</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Last year (1853), on the other hand, the total decrease was only 43,867 acres. Making, for both years taken together, 172,442. This is all the more striking as the demand for all agricultural produce has risen in the past 2 years.

Now as regards the 'hands' employed in agriculture, we know that, of the 500,000 people who have emigrated every year from Great Britain since 1852, the great majority consisted of agricultural workers. We know that in 1853 the population decreased for the first time instead of increasing. Finally, the best proof that the number of agricultural hands has greatly decreased is that in 1853 wages in rural areas rose for the first time since 1815 and that mechanical reapers were more or less generally introduced in order to depress them again.
(Incidentally, I would point out that the free import of foreign corn has given England's agronomy a tremendous impetus.)

What influence free trade has had on the price of industrial products is absolutely impossible to assess from the material so far available. In the woollen and linen industry, for example, the fluctuations dependent on raw material can hardly have been affected in any way by the repeal of the corn-laws. On the whole I believe that the history of prices from 1849 to 1854 will show that the price-relations between all manufactured products and grain, as well as between individual branches of industry and the corresponding raw materials remained the same before and after the repeal of the Corn Laws (likewise the variations within each group).

As for wages in the factories (figures another time), it can be proved beyond doubt that the repeal of the Corn Laws, 1. has had no influence whatever on absolute wages, 2. has contributed to depress relative wages. In the year of crisis wages had been depressed. They were not raised in the relatively good years 1849-52 (the latter included, at least up to the last 1/3 of the year). Why weren't they raised? Because the price of foodstuffs had fallen. In the course of 1852 the great emigration began, while on the other hand demand rose appreciably in the United States, Australia, India, etc. The workers then demanded a 10 per cent rise in wages and for a short time, while prosperity was at its height (until about August 1853), were able to achieve it in almost the majority of branches of industry. However, as you know, they were soon deprived of this 10 per cent rise—remember, e.g., the Preston strike—although corn prices were on average higher in 1853 and 1854 than in the protectionist years 1843-45 and 1830-37. Hence the rise in wages—a very temporary rise, for already short time is being worked against and, generally speaking, the crisis has begun—is in no way attributable to free trade, but corresponds wholly to the rise that takes place in all years of prosperity. In fact free trade simply meant that from 1849 to 1852 wages did not rise. Since it was possible to buy more food with the same wages, these were not increased. What did show a relative increase, therefore, was profits. Hence relative wages, i.e. wages in relation to profits, have in fact fallen—a result which I showed to be inevitable in a pamphlet written as long ago as 1847.

Of course, one cannot deny that the repeal of the Corn Laws may have in some degree contributed (together with the adjust-

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a 1847 - b K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

ment of the sugar tax, the raising of restrictions on shipping and the repeal of the protective tariffs on British North American timber) to creating new, or enlarging existing, markets for British manufactures abroad. For instance, in the United States the tendency to legislate in favour of free trade was certainly due partly to the repeal in England. However, too much importance should not be attached to this, since there was a decrease in English exports e.g. to Russia, whose exports to England increased enormously as a result of the repeal. In general, it would appear that, relatively speaking, Europe’s importance as a market for English goods is steadily diminishing; since in 1854, 60 per cent of total exports (I mean total exports of British products, disregarding re-exports) were absorbed by the United States, Australia and India alone, a figure which does not include Britain’s colonies outside Europe (excepting India).

I have jotted down the above information to provide a very general answer to your questions. I shall see what I can find in the way of definite statistical material in my note-books. As already mentioned, books will no doubt only begin coming out now...


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260

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January [1855]

Dear Engels,

As you will see from today’s Times, there is nothing to report about Parliament. No important debate until Thursday evening. So there’s nothing for it but to write about ‘any old sujet’.

Salut.

Your
K. M.


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a The end of the letter has not been preserved.

b 25 January
Dear Frederic,

I shall send you such cuttings from the Tribune as you will need for a characterisation of the Coalition, and fill in the gaps, if any, with a few written comments. I shall hardly get round to it today, since I have to send the Breslau jackasses a résumé of yesterday's frightfully long sitting. Also, the baby is in a very critical condition—my wife, however, very well—so that I have been held up by domestic affairs until 1 o'clock (now). Which means that in all probability my stuff won't reach you until Thursday morning.

If Palmerston becomes premier, there'll be some high jinks.

Did you read Barthélemy's confession in yesterday's Advertiser?

Tout à vous.

Ch. M.


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Dear Engels,

Enclosed 2 articles on Gladstone's financial policy. In the first one, the chaps have clearly misprinted some figures. However, all you are really concerned with is refreshing your memory as to the spirit of the whole plan.

a i.e. 'From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War' for the Neue Oder-Zeitung.
b Eleanor — c All yours
Herewith a survey of the Coalition's activities:

1853

*December 16.* Fall of Disraeli overthrown (by a majority of 19), ostensibly because of the extension of the *House Tax* and the *Extension of the General Area of Direct Taxation.* The determining factor, the Irish Brigade. coalitions

Coalition formed:

* 'We have now arrived at the commencement of the political millennium*... (*Times*).

CHRISTMAS RECESS.

*February 10.* Parliament reassembles. Russell's old programme of 1850. No question of a Reform Bill until they reassembled the following winter.

* 'Next session is not quite so uncertain as tomorrow* (*Times*).

On the other hand, a mass of practical and administrative reforms promised: law reform, railway regulations, education, etc. Gladstone postpones his budget until after the Easter recess.

*February 18.*

* 'It is no longer a Ministry of Reform: It is a Ministry of Progress, every member of which resolves to do nothing. All difficult questions are open questions* (*Disraeli*).

21 February. Clarendon Foreign Minister. Russell Minister without portfolio or salary.

*February 24.* Russell's Jewish bill. *The Policy of Abstention* proclaimed on the Eastern question, is also the ministerial policy at home.*

*April 4.* Russell's Educational Reform Bill.

*April 7.* Before presentation of the budget: Gladstone's financial scheme.

*April 15.* Debate in the House on the Gunpowder Plot. It transpires that Palmerston is acting as General Informer for the Continental Police.

EASTER RECESS (don't know the date).


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Main items in the spring and summer session:

1. **India Bill**: Ministry wishes to extend *East India Company Charter* (expiring on April, 1854) by 20 years. Is compelled to drop this, its bill remaining in force *only provisionally* and for so long as it pleases Parliament. Apart from laying down that *appointments in the civil service and scientific military services* are to be subject to open competition, this Act confines itself to the following: Sir Charles Wood (President of the *Board of Control*) is to receive £5,000 instead of £1,200 as previously, 18 directors instead of 24. Instead of all being nominated by the *Court of Proprietors*, now 12 to be nominated by the latter and 6 by the Ministry. Salary of directors to be once more *increased* from £300 to £500, those of the *Chairman* and *Deputy Chairman* to £1,000. *Governor-Generalship* of India to be separated from the *Governorship* of Bengal. New *Presidency on the Indus*. Thus, instead of the inexpensive and, as practice has shown, efficient *simple commissioners*, new governors and presidents with luxurious councils. New sinecures. A few quite insignificant little reforms in the Indian judiciary.

2. **Budget**: Many of its *features* lifted from Disraeli, but whereas it removes *excise duties* for the benefit of the town, Disraeli did so ostensibly for the benefit of the farmers; thus the tea duty business, extension of direct taxation, etc., of Jewish origin. Some of the most important decisions forced upon Gladstone after he and his opposition to them had been repeatedly *voted down* in Parliament. For instance, the abolition of the *advertisement duty*, the *succession duty*, licensing system, new regulation dropped after undergoing several transformations in the course of the session. Of the budget, which made its début with all the pretensions of a systematic *encyclopaedia*, nothing remains save a *mixture compositum* of little items. *Typical feature*: the noble Gladstone includes in his *budget* a special bill—abolition of stamps on newspaper supplements—*intended to buy The Times*, in effect making it a present of £30-40,000 a year. Since it alone issues supplements, consolidates its monopoly. The *Times* gratefully abandons its campaign against his *income tax* and today is again demanding his inclusion in the new Cabinet.

3. **Three Irish Landlords and Tenants Bills**. Introduced by the *Tory Napier* under the Derby Ministry. Passed on 1 August after

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*An allusion to Disraeli. The original has 'Israelite'. [miscellany] See K. Marx, 'Soap for the People, a Sop for The Times.—The Coalition Budget', 'Turkey and Russia.—Connivance of the Aberdeen Ministry with Russia.—The Budget.—Tax on Newspaper Supplements.—Parliamentary Corruption'. [J. Napier, Speech in the House of Commons on 22 November 1852.] The Times, No. 21280, 23 November 1852.*
10 months’ deliberation in the Commons. Aberdeen (9 August) expresses his satisfaction in the Lords at their having been burked there. 

4. * Parliamentary reform, national education reform, law reform (a few trifles apart) etc. postponed. Transportation Bill, Navigation Bill etc. inherited from the Derby Ministry. Jewish Bill rejected. Nothing can truly be described as the Ministry’s own [save a] the great Cab Act which had no sooner crossed the threshold than it required revision by Parliament because ‘all the talents’ of the chaps had not even sufficed to create hackney carriage regulations. β) Gladstone’s conversion of the Public Debt, the failure of which he had to admit before Parliament as early as 28 July. 

August 20. (Day of Parliament’s prorogation—27 October.) Palmerston dismisses the Commons with the assurance that they need not worry about the Eastern affair, *as far as the evacuation of the principalities was concerned...* their pledge was, **‘his confidence in the honour and character of the Russian Emperor’, which would move him to withdraw his troops voluntarily from the principalities’*. 

3 December. Sinope. 

12 December. Note of the 4 Powers to the Porte, in which au fond more was demanded of it than in the Vienna Note. 

14 December. First, Palmerston agrees in the Conseil of Ministers to telegraph Vienna, saying the Sinope affair should not be allowed to upset the negotiations; then, in order to deceive the philistines, on 

15 December, hands in his resignation, allegedly because opposed to Russell’s Reform Bill. Returns to office, of course, as soon as his end attained. 

1854 

Mid-January. Resignation of Sadleir, the broker to the Irish Brigade, following scandalous disclosures before an Irish Court of Law. Had been Junior Lord of the Treasury. (Later, the virtuous Gladstone wishes to dispatch to Australia as Governor his relative, Lawley, speculator in stocks while secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and betting man. Discredited in Parliament. This same
'virtuous' chap engages O'Flaherty, who makes off with the cash-box, and brings one Hayward into the Poor Law Administration on the strength of a lengthy lampoon against Disraeli. All the dirt piles up on the virtuous Gladstone.)


*6 February.* Palmerston announces his intention to introduce a bill for the organisation of the militia in Ireland and Scotland.* 28 March. War declared. Bill not introduced until end of June.

13 February. Russell introduces his Reform Bill, which he had made both a condition and an excuse for joining the Coalition. Withdraws it 10 weeks later with 'tears in his eyes'. As a token of gratitude, again made President of the Privy Council and gets a salary.

*6 March.* Gladstone demands

* 'only the sum which would be required to bring back the 25,000 men about to leave the British shores'.

**Doubles the income tax for 6 months. May** has again to introduce a new budget.

**Mid-March.** The Czar *d* forces the chaps to declare war by publishing the *Secret and Confidential Correspondence*, which opens with a dispatch of 11 January 1853 *e* and brands as deliberate lies all the statements made by the chaps during 1853.

*7 April.* Lord Grey (even then minded to become War Minister; notorious for having, as Colonial Minister, brought every English colony to the verge of rebellion) makes his speech in the Lords *f* complaining about England's lack of military organisation. This merely provides the Ministers with an opportunity—*8 June*—of creating one more *post* and one more *salary* by separating the Ministry for War *g* from the Colonial Ministry without concentration of Departments. Cholera is likewise used as a pretext to create an Independent President of the 'Board of Health' and thus a new ministerial post and salary.

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*a* Palmerston, [Speech in the House of Commons on 6 February 1854,] *The Times*, No. 21658, 7 February 1854. *b* Russell, [Speeches in the House of Commons on 13 February and 11 April 1854,] *The Times*, Nos. 21664 and 21713, 14 February and 12 April 1854. *c* Gladstone, [Speech in the House of Commons on 6 March 1854,] *The Times*, No. 21682, 7 March 1854. *d* Nicholas I. *e* Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell. St. Petersburg, 11 January 1853, *The Times*, No. 21693, 20 March 1854. *f* Grey, [Speech in the House of Lords on 7 April 1854,] *The Times*, No. 22720, 8 April 1854. *g* The Office of the Secretary of State for War and Colonies was divided into the War Office and the Colonial Office in 1854. The Office of the Secretary of State at War was abolished. The term 'ministry', though used by Marx, was unusual in English in this context.
May 29.

* "Their* (the Ministers’) *‘measures were kicked overboard in a very uncivil manner’* (Bright).\(^3\)

**Résumé of their domestic activities during this 2nd session:** 7 major bills introduced. 3 of them *defeated:* bill for the entire change of the law of settlement;\(^6\) bill for public education in Scotland; bill on the entire reconstruction of Parliamentary oaths.\(^6\) 3 *withdrawn:* Bribery Prevention Bill; bill for the complete change of the civil service; measure for Parliamentary Reform. 1 bill—Oxford Parliamentary Reform Bill* passed, in very mutilated and modified form.

**August 12. Prorogation of Parliament.**

Extraordinary December session: Bills relating to the FOREIGN LEGION and the Militia.\(^6\)

A perusal of this list will recall enough facts to enable you to ridicule the fellows and, incidentally, cast a few aspersions on the worthy Palmerston in advance (in case he should become Premier).

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263

**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

[London.] 2 February 1855

Dear Frederic,

Many thanks for the article. Russell has been horribly discredited by Newcastle, though that ass waxed altogether too touching at the end of his speech.\(^6\)

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\(^{a}\) J. Bright, [Speech in the House of Commons on 29 May 1854,] The Times, No. 21754, 30 May 1854.  
\(^{b}\) H. Newcastle [Speech in the House of Lords on 1 February 1855,] The Times, No. 21967, 2 February 1855.
My wife is getting on satisfactorily. But all is by no means well with the child,¹ I fear.

Enclosed 1. Letter from Lassalle; 2. from Daniels; 3. the cuttings to which Lassalle refers⁶³⁵; Goldheim has been prowling about among the workers in Solingen etc. under the name of 'Lassalle'. 4. Letter from Steffen who, however, has omitted to give his Brighton address and will begin to grumble again if, in the circumstances, I don't reply.

As a result of the Barbès business Jones, of course, got mixed up with the crapauds,⁶ and with the crapule⁶ among them at that. So another big banquet of all nations was arranged for the February celebrations.⁶³⁶ He came to see me, too, and I laughed in his face. Meanwhile his Frenchmen (a quite unknown mob) had dug up the ex-Schapper Association⁶³⁷ which did not, of course, reject such good graces. Moreover the malcontents among the Polish and Italian émigrés—who are not accounted 'superior refugees'—are said to have organised themselves for the purpose of sending delegates to the Committee.⁶³⁸ For the fun of it, Götz and I let Jones take us to their meeting yesterday, we being designated 'observers'. He introduced us as 'old friends of the Chartist Party' who, doubtless, were entitled to satisfy their curiosity. Who was there? Various crapauds of the basest sort. A Spanish tailor or tobacco manufacturer who had 'convened himself'. Stechan (half crazed) and behind him three notorious German louts. Schapper himself being no longer available, Stechan tried to ape the former's physiognomy, his morose gravity, his gesticulations, as once the butcher Legendre those of Danton. But that was not all. Herzen the Russian went uninvited to the previous meeting, and (himself) moved that he be nominated a member of the Committee.⁶³⁹ At the meeting we attended, an obsequious letter from him was read out and, because the politically wise Frenchmen thought him 'un garçon charmant',⁶ he was admitted without further ado. The meeting, the chattering of the Frenchmen, the glazed expressions of the Germans, the gesticulations of the Spanish tailor were so awful that Jones (chairman) 1. proposed that everyone should speak only once and for not more than ten minutes; 2. upon its being remarked that the Spaniard was not an émigré because democracy had triumphed there, he came out with an ambiguous compliment that 'he wished every émigré community in London a similar lot' so that thus 'no international committees need be maintained' here.

¹ Eleanor  · ² philistines (see this volume, p. 502)  · ³ dregs  · ⁴ a charming fellow
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Firstly an acknowledgement of receipt of the 'bullion', and secondly of today's splendid article. For the past 4-5 days I have been prevented from writing, hence also to you, by a severe inflammation of the eyes which is not yet fully cleared up: also, as a result of the cold weather my usual secretary has not risen from her bed again as quickly as is her wont. However I think that she will shortly be able to return to her post. My eye trouble was brought on by reading through my own note-books on economics, the intention being, not so much to elaborate the thing, as at any rate to master the material and get it ready to work on.

I have told you how Herzen elbowed his way on to the 'International Committee'. Enclosed is a letter from him in which he proffers thanks for the 'invitation' which 'was never made'. The letter was intended for publication in The People's Paper in order to assert his importance coram publico. This miscarried, for I immediately wheedled the scrawl out of Jones. However Herzen has had himself nominated a steward.

a true democracy - b F. Engels, 'The Struggle in the Crimea' - c Jenny Marx - d See previous letter - e publicly
Also enclosed a 2nd letter, in which this committee invites me to the banquet and 'to take part in the meeting'. I do not want to offend the crapauds, still less the Chartists. So the question is: in what form I should couch my refusal. Tell me your view by return. The thing must be declined, 1. because such meetings are, on the whole, humbug; 2. because at this moment it would be to expose oneself uselessly to governmental persecution, and Palmerston has his eye on me; 3. because at no time and in no place do I wish to appear alongside Herzen, not being of the view that old Europe should be rejuvenated with Russian blood. Should one's reply, perhaps, include some reference to Herzen's presence?

Jones has done something infinitely 'stupid', indeed gone completely off the rails, in leaving the management of the affair to the crapauds and the German louts. He sacrificed everything to the desire to show, at a big public meeting, that the foreign emigrations were in the tow of the Chartists. The meeting will be a large one and create an uproar, but as a result: 1. Urquhart and Co. (likewise The Times if the thing creates a sensation) will denounce the Chartists as being led by Russian agents. This is unavoidable. 2. It will provide the Ministry with a pretext for reviving the Aliens Bill. 3. Discord within the Chartist Party. Has already broken out. A section of the London Chartists maintains that Jones has arbitrarily departed from the Charter and compromised their whole cause by adopting the slogan ‘social and democratic republic’ when forming the branch committee which is to be the connecting link between the Chartists and the foreign emigration.

There is no denying the extent of Jones' energy, persistence and activity, yet he goes and spoils everything by the way he cries his wares, by his tactless striving after pretexts for agitation and his anxiety to be ahead of the time. If he can't agitate in reality, he seeks an appearance of agitation, improvises movements after movements (so that, of course, everything remains at a standstill) and periodically works himself up into a state of fictitious exaltation. I have warned him, but in vain.

Mr Golovin—Herzen's fidus Achates—has inserted in today's Morning Advertiser, under the heading 'February Revolution', a small notice to the effect that

He has heard that Herzen is to represent Russia, or rather liberal Russia, at the banquet. His name alone betrays that he is a German, or rather a German Jew.

a philistines  b A reference 10 'The Alliance of the Peoples. The International Committee', The People's Paper, No. 145, 10 February 1855.  c faithful Achates (Virgil, Aeneid)
In Russia the Czar is criticised for making especial use of these people. The emigration should take care not to fall into the same error.\(^a\)

If, as the Paris correspondent writes in the 2nd edition of today's Morning Chronicle,\(^b\) Bonaparte minor\(^c\) assumes personally the supreme command of the Army of the Rhine against Prussia, the 'campagne' might end badly for the French.

Your
K. M.


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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

On Tuesday\(^d\) you will be hearing from me at some length. Today no more than these few lines to explain the reasons for my silence:

1. Musch\(^e\) has had a dangerous gastric fever which he has still not shaken off (this is the worst of all).

2. The baby\(^f\) grew every day worse and was disturbing the whole household so that a few days ago a change of wet nurse became necessary.

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\(^a\) I. Golovin, 'To the Editor of The Morning Advertiser', in the section 'February Revolution', The Morning Advertiser, 13 February 1855. - \(^b\) 'Express from Paris', The Morning Chronicle, No. 27499, 13 February 1855. - \(^c\) nickname of Napoleon III given to him by Victor Hugo - \(^d\) 6 March - \(^e\) Edgar - \(^f\) Eleanor
3. My wife, although splendidly recovered from her confinement, has had a so-called whitlow on the index finger of her right hand. Though a minor affliction, it is extremely painful and irritating. The thing was operated upon yesterday.

4. First I had my eye trouble, now more or less over; then such a frightful cough that I had to swallow several bottles of medicine and even keep to my bed for a few days.

So you see the whole house was and, to some extent still is, a hospital.

I shall get you Herzen’s stuff; likewise yesterday’s People’s Paper, in which you can read about Jones’ and Herzen’s Common Proceedings. Should I throw Jones out if he comes again, or should I proceed ‘diplomatically’?

The doctor says I need a change of air, not having left the precincts of Soho Square for 2 years. So I should like to visit Manchester before my wife goes to Trier again. Should you, in view of your old man’s impending arrival or for any other reason, find it awkward to put me up, I could take a room in Manchester. I must at any rate—but not, of course, until everything’s all right here—get away from this place for a while, since the physical staleness also stultifies my brain.

Que dites-vous de la mort de Nicholas? I like the way The Times insinuates that his death was partly due to fright because ‘his worst enemy—Palmerston—has become Premier of England.’

Vale faveque.

Totus tuus.

K. M.

Have heard nothing from Cluss for months.

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a 'Immense Demonstration in St. Martin’s Hall’, The People’s Paper, No. 148, 3 March 1855. b What do you say to the death of Nicholas? c The Times, No. 21992, 3 March 1855, leader. d Good-bye and farewell. e All yours
Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

I cannot get away until Colonel Musch is visibly recovered. However, this week he has made rapid strides towards convalescence, today the doctor was exceedingly pleased, and next week everything may be all right. As soon as I can depart with a good conscience, I shall write to you. Next week, I imagine.

Yesterday we were informed of a very happy event, the death of my wife’s uncle, aged 90. As a result, my mother-in-law will save an annual impost of 200 talers and my wife will get almost £100; more if the old dog hasn’t made over to his housekeeper such of his money as is not entailed. Another question which will be settled is that of the Duke of Brunswick’s manuscript on the Seven Years’ War, for which old Scharnhorst has already offered large sums. My wife immediately registered a protest against any attempts by her brother to make a present of it to ‘His Most Gracious Highness’. Let the Prussian state acquire it for cash but not otherwise.

There is a prospect of another possible source of money. My wife had deposited 1,300 talers with one Grach, a banker in Trier. The fellow went bankrupt and, in her case, had acted fraudulently, since he was already insolvent (although unbeknown to the public) when he accepted her deposit. On the urgent plea of the wife of this Grach, my wife ‘relented’ and refrained from pursuing the matter in the courts. The Chief Public Prosecutor had stated that Grach would otherwise be brought before the Assizes. This Grach’s wife has now inherited a large fortune and, if she keeps her promise, we can count on the recovery of at least part of the loss. In any case this will mean that the ‘past’ has been discharged once and for all and a weight lifted from our shoulders.

Napoleon Bonaparte’s pamphlet—(Girardin denies in La Presse that he is the faiseur)—amused me very much. Despite the

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a Heinrich Georg von Westphalen  b Caroline von Westphalen  c Ferdinand von Westphalen  d Frederick William IV  e Joseph Charles Paul Napoleon Bonaparte  f maker
attempt to present 'le prince' in an imposing attitude, despite the French braggadocio, superficiality, and blunders in things military, the pamphlet is worth its weight in gold as a memorial to our Leroy, alias St-Arnaud, and generally as typical of the 'Imperial Barnum' and his round table.

There is one point you might clear up for me about the Crimean business, namely: General Evans declared before the committee, that the main reason for the melting of the army before Sevastopol was the absence of a road from the harbour of Balaklava; 1,000 men would have sufficed to build one in 10 days, but—et c'est la question—all men who could have been spared were employed in the trenches, and from the start the extent of the lines to be captured by the English was grossly disproportionate to their numerical strength. The question is: Could the French be regarded as the contrivers of this mischief?

A short while ago I took another look at Roman history (ancient) up to the time of Augustus. Internal history resolves itself plainly into the struggle between small and large landed property, specifically modified, of course, by slavery relations. Debtor-creditor relations, which play so large a part from the origines of Roman history, figure merely as an inherent consequence of small landed property.

Today I saw an advertisement for 3 works by Forster, a parson, all having in common the title Original Language.

As you will have seen, Mr Herzen is now having himself puffed in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung also. At the same time his speech (at Jones' meeting) is appearing in The People's Paper as a fly-sheet and in père Ribeyrolles' estimable L'Homme.

Your
K. M.


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a meaning Napoleon III - b G. Evans de Lacy, [Evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea.] The Times, Nos. 21994 and 21995, 6 and 7 March 1855. - c and that is the question — d i.e. 'Der Russe Herzen', Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 63, 4 March 1855. - e Discours d'Alexandre Herzen, exilé russe, prononcé au meeting tenu le 27 février 1855 dans St. Martin's Hall, à Londres, en commémoration des grands mouvements révolutionnaires de 1848 [s. l., s. a.], published on the Island of Jersey; L'Homme, No. 14, 7 March 1855.
Dear Engels,

I do not believe that the good Musch is going to get over his illness. You will understand how this prospect affects all of us here. My wife once again altogether down. However, the issue will soon be known.

Your

K. M.

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Dear Engels,

Musch has been improving visibly for the past few days and the doctor sees every reason for hope. If all goes well, Musch must go into the country straight away. He is, of course, terribly weak and wasted. The fever is got rid of and the constipation considerably abated. The real question now is whether his constitution is strong enough to undergo the whole treatment. However, I think it is. As soon as the doctor says he is out of danger, I shall come and visit you.

Dronke has arrived here and is applying for Freiligrath's post, Freiligrath having definitely broken with his principal.
You must forgive me for not writing more than these few lines. I am dog-tired from the long night vigils, since I am Musch's nurse.

Warmest regards from the whole family, Musch included.

Tell Lupus that Furrer, the Swiss with whom he used to be in touch, has gone bankrupt and actually done his resident tutor out of £14.

Vale faveque.a

Totus tuus,b

K. M.


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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 March 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

From day to day I have put off sending you a bulletinc because the ups and downs of the illness were such that I changed my opinion almost hourly. Latterly, however, the illness has assumed the character, hereditary in my family, of an abdominal consumption, and even the doctor seems to have given up hope. For the past week emotional stress has made my wife iller than ever before. As for myself, though my heart is bleeding and my head afire, I must, of course, maintain my composure. Never for one moment throughout his illness has the child been untrue to his own good-natured, and at the same time independent, self.

As for you, I cannot thank you enough for the kindness with

a Good-bye and farewell. - b All yours - c on Edgar Marx's condition
which you have worked in my stead, and for the sympathy you have shown towards the child.

Should there be any change for the better, I shall write to you at once.

Totus tuus,

K. M.

Notabene. There’s no sailing for America next Tuesday and it doesn’t do to send the chaps two articles at once every time. So give this Tuesday a miss.

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270

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 6 April 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Poor Musch is no more. Between 5 and 6 o’clock today he fell asleep (in the literal sense) in my arms. I shall never forget how much your friendship has helped to make this ghastly time easier for us. You will understand how I grieve over the child. My wife sends her warmest regards. I might, if I come to Manchester, bring her with me for a week, in which case we should, of course, stay at an inn (or perhaps take private lodgings). At any rate I must find some means of helping her over the first days.

Your

K. M.

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a All yours - b 3 April
Edgar Marx (Musch)
MARX TO ENGELES 213
IN MANCHESTER

28 Dean Street, Soho

[London,] 12 April 1855

Dear Engels,

I am thinking of coming up to Manchester with my wife on Wednesday a; she must have a change of scene for a few days. Unless I let you know to the contrary, Wednesday will be the day. I shall at any rate be writing again on Monday.

 Needless to say, the house has been very desolate and bereft since the death of the dear child b who was its life and soul. I cannot tell you how we miss the child at every turn. I've already had my share of bad luck, but only now do I know what real unhappiness is. I feel broken down. Since the funeral I have been fortunate enough to have such splitting headaches that I can neither think nor hear nor see.

Amid all the fearful torments I have recently had to endure, the thought of you and your friendship has always sustained me, as has the hope that there is still something sensible for us to do together in the world.

Your

K. M.

My wife has just brought me a line or two for you, which I enclose.

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a 18 April. b See previous letter.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 April [1855]

Dear Engels,

I shall be leaving with my wife for Manchester on Wednesday morning by the parliamentary train.¹⁴⁶

Dronke and I have just seen Badinguet crossing Westminster Bridge.⁶⁴⁴ A monkey in uniform.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER
IN BRESLAU

[London,] 17 April 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Eisner,

I shall be away from London for a few days in company with my wife. Dronke has kindly agreed to carry on with the articles during that time. He will today be sending you a report on Bonaparte's arrival.² In case I don't see him again, I am writing to you separately.

The 2 enclosed articles² constitute the beginning of a polemic against pan-Slavism.⁶⁶⁹ In my view it is high time that Germany be made seriously aware of the dangers threatening her. You may

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¹ [E. Dronke,] 'Der Besuch', Neue Oder-Zeitung, No. 183, 20 April 1855.
² F. Engels, 'Germany and Pan-Slavism'.
print these things *when* you think fit, for they have nothing directly to do with our regular articles. However I'm convinced that there is no time to lose. The alarm must be sounded in Germany.

In the same context the Berlin 'Critical Criticism'¹ will be lambasted for its arrogant stupidity.

Your

K. M.

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274

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife is most unwell; the household in general still very upset. From the day we left Manchester⁶⁴⁸ the weather here has been unremittingly awful.

Dronke, the little fool, refuses to send you the Bruno Bauer⁶⁴⁶ until you have sent him his 'rubbers'. The 'Petermann'⁶ got packed by mistake. Would already have been returned to you if I hadn't wanted to send it at the same time as the Bruno Bauer. Tell me how you wish it done. If you send the little fool his shoes, you might at the same time send me the Decker, which I forgot.⁶

I have written to Breslau.⁶⁴⁷ No answer yet. In the meantime write and tell me in greater detail how many sheets—whether in separate volumes or all together,—, charges, etc.⁶⁴⁹

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At long last a few more Tribunes from Cluss, together with a couple of lines in which he indicates that he will be writing.

Herewith 1. The Sunday Times on the 'Soho scorpions'. 2. A cutting from *The People's Paper* in which you may read about Mr Jones' curious negotiations with the City reformers, and 'how he was brought down' (clearly the chaps wanted to have the working plebs standing in the street outside their doors as mere supernumeraries, just for show and to demonstrate their movement's popularity). The business is very curious indeed.

Regards to Lupus.

Your

K. M.

The Political Fly-Sheets have now come out as a book. In the foreword Mr Tucker thanks me by name which, with an Aliens Bill in the offing, is not quite recommendatory.


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**275**

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 May\(d\) 1855

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My wife has been confined to bed since yesterday evening. As I cannot draw a bill before a week on Tuesday (next), I should be much obliged if you could send me some money (however little).

The devil take the Tribune! Certainly it is now absolutely essential that it should adopt an anti-pan-Slav line. If it doesn't,

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\(a\) i.e. E. Jones, 'Political Felony. Infamous Chicanery and Fraud of the Administrative Reform Association', *The People's Paper*, No. 158, 12 May 1855. \(b\) See this volume, pp. 407-08, 432, 455 and 473. \(c\) Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets, London, 1855, p. i. \(d\) March in the original. \(e\) 22 May
one might be compelled to break with the rag, which would be disastrous.

As you will have seen in an earlier no. of the Augsburg Allgemeine, as from next August, the great Herzen will be bringing out a Russian periodical here, the Polar Star.

My warm regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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276

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 June [1855]
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your article just arrived (4 o'clock in the afternoon). Our inebriated postman had already passed the door when Lenchen grabbed him and took away the letter. From Dana's letter, you will see that he is asking for 1. a column on the Prussian army for the Tribune, 2. a sheet on all the European armies for Putnam's Review. If you have no time to do the latter, you must send me the material and I shall have to do it. It is true that, in the latter case, my unfamiliarity with the subject would make for a sorry result, but I cannot let slip the £10 to be earned in this way, for, on the one hand, no money is yet coming in from the legacy and, on the other, expenses have been very heavy; added to which there has been a loss of earnings, since the worthy Dronke did not keep the Neue Oder-Zeitung supplied during my absence (despite his promise) and, as to the Tribune itself, there was still an overdraft outstanding (only cleared off by today's post).

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With regard to the Petermann, I sent it to Manchester by Pfänder, together with a note, while you were away in the lakes. Pfänder is now in Manchester again, so will be able to give you particulars.

For Lupus: Lost his bet. The pubs here open at 1 o’clock on Sundays, not half past twelve.

These lines in great haste. More in my next.

Your

K. M.

Apropos: Bruno Bauer has brought out a pamphlet on the Russian Church.

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277

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1855

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I did not send off any article last Friday because [articles dispatched] simultaneously from London and Manchester would have aroused the fellows’ suspicions. On Tuesday (last) I sent off an article of an entirely general nature on Bonaparte’s diplomacy, the treaties of 1815 and the Prussian Field Marshal Knesebeck. For at the Congress of Vienna the latter cracked some good jokes about the Poles.

Next Friday it will be virtually impossible to avoid writing a military piece about the affair at Malakhov and Redan on the anniversary of Waterloo. Tomorrow and the day after I shall go

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to the library and look up something on the Spanish army. You shall have what I can find by the end of this week in any case.

Regarding your pamphlet\textsuperscript{609} Elsner writes to me:

'You have far too lofty an idea of our booksellers if you believe that any one of them would consent to bring out something written by Engels. All those I asked refused, no doubt because they are afraid of acquiring the reputation of being revolutionary.... Should you intend making inquiries in Berlin, perhaps Alexander Duncker would be most likely to take the work.'

Weerth could negotiate with Duncker.\textsuperscript{659}

The demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon had quite a revolutionary air.\textsuperscript{654}

This short note is written to the accompaniment of an appalling toothache which has been plaguing me for a week now.

\textit{Salut!}

Your
K. M.

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278

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 June [1855]

Dear Engels,

When you have read the accompanying scraps, you will say: \textit{multa} instead of \textit{multum}.\textsuperscript{a} And rightly so. I was unable to find the most important item, viz. the number and calibre of guns for Spain, although I leafed rapidly through the whole book of \textit{Ordenanzas}. You'll find something in this respect about the mountain artillery in one of the notes. To judge by a passage in

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Non multa, sed multum} (not many, but much)
the Portuguese *Revisa militar*, Spanish artillery is largely on a French footing as regards matériel.

I have got together all manner of stuff, some of which may be of use.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.


I believe it’s that swine of a policeman. Was and still may be Prussian Consul General in Spain and Portugal.

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Dear Frederic,

The £5 received on Monday.

For 3 days I have been rummaging through a mass of stuff at the Museum without finding anything about the Neapolitan army save for the following, which may also be found in MacCulloch’s *Dictionary Geographical, Statistical* etc.

In 1848 the army nearly 49,000 strong (this seems to be its war footing, as I find it given {in a *Dizionario Politico*, Turin} as 26-27,000 strong in 1840). Of these, 32,000 infantry of the line, 5,000 cavalry, 4,000 artillery and engineers, and 8,000 gendarmes. They claim to be able to increase their army to 64,237 and this is given as the official war footing.
I discovered from Ricciardi that the son of Ferdinand I\textsuperscript{a} and father of King Bomba\textsuperscript{b} first engaged the Swiss—in 1824 or 1825—for 30 years (the Neapolitan army having aped the Spanish and mutinied) at 3 times the pay of the native army. Since the government of the Two Sicilies relies on Swiss and lazzaroni at home and on the Austrian army abroad, and itself estimates at zero its badly paid, undisciplined, demoralised, cowardly army, I believe that in any survey of the European armies, this estimate made by its own government could be accepted, the army put at zero, and its strength mentioned only en passant.

There might be something more detailed in Mariotti. But I couldn’t get hold of it as it was always ‘in hand’ whenever I asked for it.

Our family life here is still melancholy. My wife still very unwell. The memory of our poor, dear child\textsuperscript{c} torments us, and even interposes itself in his sisters’\textsuperscript{d} play. Such blows can only be mitigated slowly, with the passage of time. To me the loss is as poignant as on the first day and hence I can tell how much my wife is suffering. Should the Scotch money\textsuperscript{e} arrive in time I shall spend a few weeks in Kent, where plenty of cheap and pleasantly situated places are said to be available.

The scenes in Hyde Park last Sunday were disgusting, firstly because of the constables’ brutality, and secondly because of the purely passive resistance put up by the huge crowds.\textsuperscript{655} However, things are clearly seething and fermenting and we can only hope that great disasters in the Crimea will bring them to a head.

Yours
K. M.

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\textsuperscript{a} Francis I - \textsuperscript{b} Ferdinand II - \textsuperscript{c} Edgar (see this volume, p. 530) - \textsuperscript{d} Jenny and Laura - \textsuperscript{e} En allusion to the Scottish origin of the Westphalens; see also p. 526.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 17 July 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Strohn is here and, unfortunately, prevents me from sending an article to the Tribune today. I therefore intend to send off on Friday, under Tuesday's date, an article on the latest ministerial crisis, and I should be very grateful if, at the same time, you would send me one on, say, the Prussian army (assuming that nothing occurs in the theatre of war), so that 2 articles go off at once. For I shall be compelled to draw a bill on the Tribune next week, or rather overdraw and appreciably so at that, as I had already overdrawn last time, and this time several days have been missed.

A German returning from Yankeeland, Gustav Pöckel, brought me a line or two from Edgar and more detailed news about him and other acquaintances. Of late, Edgar had been working as a farm labourer near New York and intended to sell his farm in Texas. Schramm is said to be dying of consumption and is also in New York State. Ewerbeck passed through about eighteen months ago on his way to visit Cabet in Nauvoo. Fickler took over the Shakespeare Hotel after Lièvre went bankrupt, making the most of the occasion to do the dirty on him. Jacobi’s affairs are prospering; the Yankees like his ‘serious’ and ‘reserved’ manner. Field Marshal Blenker and a few other notorious swindlers from the days of the revolution comedy have bought up real estate with the stolen funds and, as regards swagger and brutality towards their workpeople, are said to put the Yankees completely in the shade. Heinzen has re-established himself in New York with his Pionier. All in all, things are going very badly for the Germans over there, at one and the same time harassed by the Maine Law, Know-Nothings and the crisis in agriculture and industry. Hence a substantial re-emigration to Germany, Canada and South America.

Through the mediation of German merchants in Paris (one of them a supporter of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung) Dronke has

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a 20 July · b On Marx's request Engels wrote 'War Prospects'. · c Edgar von Westphalen · d Conrad Schramm · e Abraham Jacobi
received an affirmative reply to his application for permission to return to Paris. He proposes to set off this week, as soon as he has recouped the ‘costs of production’.

Imandt is in Scotland for 4 weeks on a visit to Heise. He has placed his COTTAGE in Camberwell at my disposal in the meantime. The whole FAMILY will move there and avail themselves of the change of air until we can afford something bigger.

As to the enclosed letters:


No. II. I send you for your amusement Szeredy’s Asiatic Chiefs, together with the fellow’s appeal to me.657

No. III. Letter from Florencourt (the only one you need return). Contains an account of how things stand with the legacy.6 You will observe on the one hand that the legacy has increased by £515, while on the other all manner of delays are militating against its rapid realisation. This Florencourt is not the notorious one,6 but his brother.

Your

K. M.

Do you know of any book on the êtres6 of Little Johnny Russell?658

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281

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN PARIS

London, 28 July 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

I have been staying in the country for the past few weeks in a cottage lent me by a friend6 who is away in Scotland. That is why I did not get your letter until yesterday. I have, incidentally, taken

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6 See this volume, pp. 526 and 541. - 6 Franz von Florencourt - 6 life and doings - 6 The letter is written in Camberwell near London but datelined London. - 6 Peter Imandt (see previous letter)
steps to have my letters forwarded to me immediately from town.

I am, of course, surprised to hear that, despite your proximity to London, you are not thinking of coming over here, if only for a few days. I hope that you will think it over again and discover how short and cheap the journey from Paris to London is. If France's doors were not hermetically closed against me, I would pay you a surprise visit in Paris.

I have several friends in Paris, but I shall not be able to send you their addresses (I am not in town at the moment of writing) until I go to Soho, where I keep them.

Bacon says that really important people have so many relations to nature and the world, so many objects of interest, that they easily get over any loss. I am not one of those important people. The death of my child has shattered me to the very core and I feel the loss as keenly as on the first day. My poor wife is also broken down.

If you see Heine again, give him my regards.

Your

K. M.

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282

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 August 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The family (hence, for the most part, myself also) still in Camberwell. Pieper came and stayed with us for a week. I was thus prevented from writing, save for the necessary pieces for New York and Germany. The article on the 'Armies' is splendid. From the enclosed letter from Steffen you will see what a bad state our friend Daniels and Bürgers are in. I am particularly sorry about the first. I don't know whether, in my résumé of the

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a Edgar - b F. Engels, 'The Armies of Europe'. 
report by the visitor from Yankeeland, I mentioned that Conrad Schramm is consumptive and is taking a cure of ass's milk chez former Field Marshal Blenker.

In the past weeks I have sent the Tribune a series of articles—i.e. 3—about Lord John Russell in which the little man is passed in review from the very beginning. However, it will soon be necessary to say some words about the war and also, perhaps, about how the affaire is going in Asia.

Dronke has suffered a bitter disappointment. For it eventually transpired that the issue of a passport to Paris had been due to a misunderstanding on the part of the French Embassy; rather, express instructions had been given that he was not to be admitted into France. In a few days it will be decided whether or not he has obtained a post in Jersey.

Bonaparte has, within the bounds of pure reason, solved the problem I set him, namely 'to steal the whole of France in order to make a present of it to France again'. His manoeuvrings over the loan are significant experiments in that direction.

What do you think of the Austrian concentration of troops in Italy? Have you seen the 2nd Mémoire d'un Officier Général?

Your
K. M.


283. Marx to Engels. 1 September 1855

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER
1 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark, Camberwell

Dear Frederic,

Imandt has gone off to Montrose and chucked up his whole concern here for the highly dubious prospect of a post in

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a Pöckel (see this volume, p. 542) - b Marx quotes from his Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 195). - c Should be: Denmark street (see this volume, pp. 547 and 550).
Arbroath. I have taken over his goods and chattels and shall remain here until the arrival of the Scotch money. Then I shall rent some decent lodgings. Until then I shall have to keep the house in Dean Street. The country air has suited the whole family uncommonly well, my wife especially.

Received your article yesterday. The Russian report is now in all the Hamburg papers as well.

As regards Putnam's, we must now get a move on. In a letter I got from Dana he already evinced anxiety lest No. 2 should arrive too late. But it was there on time, as I see from a subsequent letter. Putnam has asked for another article on the Improvements in Modern Warfare. *The New-York Times* contains criticism which is generally favourable, but clearly grudging: off duty, Englishmen don't wear 'narrow trousers', their squadrons number more than 400 sabres, and a ? after 'sabres' too, and, lastly, the writer seems to be unaware that in England flogging is now restricted to 50 strokes and is inflicted only in exceptional cases. The business at Aldershot where, about 14 days ago, a soldier died from 30 strokes of the lash, is comment enough on the criticus concerning whose nonsense I have sent Dana the requisite observations.661

Have you been following Napier's row with Graham? The 1st article was in *The Times*, the 2nd in the *Advertiser* and the *Herald*. Today the *Advertiser's* first leader contains the exchange of letters between Charley and James. A reply from Graham to Napier's first articles is also, it seems, to appear in one of today's papers.

I wonder whether you have noticed that the Austrians made use of the time they were deploying their armies in Galicia to construct, under Hess' general supervision, railways of solely strategic importance; likewise fortifications directed against Russia.

I hope that you will now write and tell me something about yourself and your doings.

Your

K. M.

Unless I am mistaken, our Kościelski also appears in Pélissier's battle report.6

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If Admiral Bruat’s account in today’s *Times* is to be believed, the Russians are at starvation point. At any rate, there would not as yet appear to be any shortage of spirits.


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**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

6 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark Street
(not Hill, which is merely the general name for the whole place)
Camberwell

Dear Engels,

You may already have read about the death of our friend Daniels in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. He is no more nor less than a victim of the infamies of the Prussian Police. I shall be writing a few lines to his wife, and you must do the same. Address: Frau Doktorin Amalie Daniels, Schildergasse, Köln. It would be desirable if Lupus did likewise. I know by experience how welcome letters from friends are at such a time. I shall write a short obituary of our poor friend for the *Tribune*. So far as the German-American Press is concerned, I think the best plan would be to insert in the New York *Neue Zeit* (nominally edited by Bernhardt, in fact by Löwe of Calbe) a brief obituary notice signed by you, Freiligrath, Lupus and myself. Also to denounce the proceedings against Bürgers.

You will have heard that O’Connor died a few days ago.

Jones’ wife is mortally ill. The poor devil is at this moment in desperate circumstances.

A steamer is leaving on Tuesday. It is essential in the case of Putnam’s that the thing should be in New York by 10th October at

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*a The Times, No. 22148, 1 September 1855. b Kölnische Zeitung, 30 August 1855. c See this volume, pp. 548-49.*
the latest. Have you received the copy that was sent you? Those inane bits of hair-splitting did not appear in the *Tribune* but in *The New-York Times*, the *Tribune*’s rival paper. As for Aldershot, the business was simply as follows: About a fortnight ago 2 privates were sentenced, one to 50 lashes, the other to 30, for ‘disrespectful’ behaviour towards their superiors. As is often the case, the *cat-o-nine-tails* was steeped in urine. The first man had to be sent to hospital after receiving 40 lashes, and the second died shortly after receiving 30. There would appear to be no further question of an inquiry.

In *The Morning Advertiser*, Blind continues ‘to shake the despotic Powers of Europe to their very foundations’.

A German rag has reappeared in London, the actual *rédacteur en chef* being the ill-famed Sigmund Engländer, of Paris police memory. Chief contributors: Ronge, the Russian Herzen and a drunkard by the name of Korn, allegedly an ex-captain.

*Vale.*

Your

K. M.


Published in English for the first time

285

MARX TO AMALIE DANIELS

IN COLOGNE

London, 6 September 1855

28 Dean Street, Soho

My Dear Mrs Daniels,

It is impossible to describe the grief I felt on hearing that dear, unforgettable Roland had passed away. Although the latest news reaching me through Steffen had been far from reassuring, I did
not for all that ever abandon hope of your excellent husband's recovery. His was a sensitive, finely-tuned and altogether noble nature—character, talents and physical appearance in rare harmony. Seen amongst the others in Cologne, Daniels always seemed to me like the statue of a Greek god deposited by some freak of fate in the midst of a crowd of Hottentots. His premature decease is an irreparable loss not only to his family and friends but also to science, in which he gave promise of the finest achievements, and to the great, suffering mass of humanity, who possessed in him a loyal champion.

I am sufficiently acquainted with your heroic nature to be convinced that imperishable grief will not prevent you from remaining the loyal guardian of the beloved pledges left you by Roland. In his sons you will compensate the world twice over for the loss of the father.

The news of this new loss has revived in my wife such vivid memories of the death of our only little son* that her state of mind does not permit of her writing to you just now. She is weeping and lamenting like a child.

Consolation I will not venture to offer you since I myself am and shall remain inconsolable for [the] loss of a friend who was more dear to me personally than any other. Grief such as this cannot be alleviated, but only shared. As soon as I get over my first stormy emotions, I shall send an obituary to the New-York Tribune for the many friends of the departed in America. It is to be hoped that circumstances will some day permit us to wreak upon those guilty of cutting short his career vengeance of a kind sterner than that of an obituary.

You will need no assurance on my part that you can always count on me as a loyal and devoted friend.

With my heartfelt sympathy,

Yours

K. Marx

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* Edgar
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER
11 September 1855
3 York Place, Denmark Street, Camberwell

Dear Engels,

Like the Russians, I have been compelled by force supérieure to evacuate the Southern Side without, however, blowing everything up behind me.\(^{664}\) Indeed, my garrison will remain quietly here, whither I also propose to return in a week or so. In other words, I am obliged to withdraw to Manchester for a few days and shall arrive there tomorrow evening. I shall have to stay there incognito, so don’t let anyone know about my presence—Lupus, of course, excepted, should you by chance see him.

I have amended your letter\(^3\) just received, to accord with the latest telegraphic dispatches.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO MORITZ ELSNER\(^{665}\)
IN BRESLAU

London, 11 September 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho\(^b\)

Dear Elsner,

It was impossible for me to write last week because of legal proceedings taken against me by the worthy Dr Freund. He has actually compelled me to leave London for a week or so. During

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\(^a\) F. Engels, ‘The Fall of Sevastopol’.

\(^b\) The letter is written in Camberwell but datelined London.
the parliamentary recess this does not, of course, impair my efficiency as a correspondent. This month, therefore, you should not put me on your books until 11 September.

It goes without saying that, should your paper cease to pay yet still remain viable, my contributions will be at your disposal then as now.

Considering the difficult circumstances and the limited space at your disposal, your paper is, in my opinion, edited with great skill and tact, and in such a way that the intelligent reader may read between the lines. Nothing can be more fatuous than to censure you for receiving ‘constitutional’ money. Some very ‘constitutional’ citizens paid in shares for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. If these gentlemen subsequently came to regret it, they were at least never forbidden by the editorial board to go on paying.

If I were not so afraid of compromising this or that acquaintance by the mere fact of corresponding with him, I should long since have written to the Rhine Province in the interests of your paper. At all events, Lassalle did wrong in failing to draw attention to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in Cologne, etc. Circumstances would have allowed him to do so.

Should the *N. O.-Z.* go under, we shall have to console ourselves with the thought that all our present doings, activities and beginnings are purely provisional and no more than a *pis aller*.

With kindest regards.

Yours

K. M.

A German weekly rag has been started in London, its founder being the French ex(?)-policeman and Viennese refugee, Sigmund Engländner. Contributors: the Russian *Herzen*, Johannes Ronge and a drunkard by the name of Korn, allegedly a *capitaine*.663


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Published in English for the first time
Dear Elsner,

I have received both your letters, the first somewhat belatedly because my wife accidentally delayed sending it on to Manchester. After receiving your first letter I thought you had resigned from the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and for that reason at once ceased to send any articles. When your second letter arrived I was suffering from such a fit of toothache—which persisted until a few days ago—that I could no more write than I could hear or see.

I passed on your letter of 7 October not only to friends but also to adversaries, and the latter seemed thoroughly taken aback. That I and my friends are in no way affected by the dogmas of Messrs Temme and Simon of Breslau you will readily believe without any further assurance from me.

I do not see Hoyoll, but Lupus does—from time to time. Patriotism has led this Hoyoll to introduce the *Breslauer Zeitung* into the *Athenaeum* here, a circumstance which threatens to drive our little Wolff out of what is virtually the only home of the Muses in Manchester.

I have conveyed your greetings to Borchardt, whom I know well. Borchardt maintains a regular and intimate correspondence with Citizen Simon of Breslau. Upon his first asking me whether I knew that the *N. O.-Z.* lived in sin with the constitutionals, I replied: 'Qu'est ce que ça me fait?' Don't you know that, in my view, constitutionals and democrats, at least of the Prussian variety, are all much of a muchness? And is a distinction now to be drawn between democrats who have accepted one royal imposition while rejecting another and those who, having submitted to the one, also submit to the other? The *N. O.-Z.* expresses the most extreme views possible in the present condition of the Press. What more do you ask?

I have had letters from particularly well-informed people in Paris. According to them, the Empire's stock is sinking lower and

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* Wilhelm Wolff - What's that to me?
lower. In the faubourgs the slogan, 'Celui-ci s'en ira' is said to be on everyone's lips. Indeed, the gravity of the situation may be deduced from two public facts: the speech made by Rouland, the procureur-général,\(^b\) and Granier de Cassagnac's article in the Constitutionnel, 'Sur les terroirs de la Révolution future'.\(^c\) The probability of the latter is beyond doubt even to Mr Granier.

As for the scandal here over the 'refugee question' (Jersey, etc.), there's more smoke to it than fire.\(^d\) Public opinion has definitely turned against the government and, in fact, I believe that this was allowed for in the latter's calculations. So crassly, with such tragi-comical mouthings, did they accede to Bonaparte's first demands, as virtually to demonstrate that further concessions were not within the power of an English government. Had they been in earnest, they would have shown themselves more adroit and not have carried out the grotesque coup so long before the opening of Parliament. Palmerston, of course, has no love for the refugees, but regards them as wind-bags to be kept to hand so that he may occasionally threaten the Continent with a 'Quos ego'?\(^d\) His ministerial position, by the by, is exceedingly precarious. But it will still be difficult to unseat the old fox.

When you next write, kindly send your letter to my old address, 28 Dean Street, Soho, London, since I don't know how long I shall be remaining here, and letters sent to the above address will in any case come into the hands of my wife. Ronge is running kindergartens in London along with his wife; Kinkel, no less than Johanna,\(^e\) hopes that the revolution will not be unduly precipitate; in Brighton, Ruge gives an occasional lecture, leading the English to believe that the German language is the most debased of all; Tausenau, Meyen et tutti quanti\(^f\) abuse the French émigré riff-raff (not excluding Victor Hugo) for imperilling the 'right of asylum' of these 'officially authorised conspirators'.

Engels and Lupus send you their warmest regards. I haven't seen Borchardt for a fortnight.

Yours

K. M.

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\(^a\) 'This fellow will go' (paraphrase of the eighteenth-century French revolutionary song Ça ira). \(^b\) [G. Rouland.] Discours de M. le Procureur Général, Journal des débats politiques et littéraires, 5 November 1855. \(^c\) 'On the terrors of the future revolution'. \(^d\) 'Those whom...' (cf. Virgil, Aeneid, I, 135). \(^e\) Kinkel's wife. \(^f\) and all the rest
Dear Lassalle,

Herewith a very belated answer. In the first place, I did not get your letters until later because I was in Manchester whereas the letters were in London and my wife did not know for certain whether I hadn't already left Manchester. For another thing, I was plagued by the most atrocious toothache, so much so that I experienced what Hegel demands of sensual consciousness at the stage at which it is said to override consciousness of self—viz. the inability to hear, see, and therefore also to write.

As regards your query about the book entitled: Les mystères de la Bourse by Coffinières, I believe that this miserable concoction is still among the books I left behind in the fatherland. During my first stay in Paris the title misled me first into buying the thing and then into reading it. Mr Coffinières is a lawyer who, au fond, knows nothing about the Bourse and merely warns against the 'legal' swindles perpetrated by the 'agents de change.' So there's nothing to be got out of the book—neither facts, nor theory, nor yet even entertaining anecdotes. Moreover, it is now completely out-of-date. 'Sweet Donna, let him go'—i.e. Coffinières. 'He is not worthy of thy wrath.'

Weerth is now back in Manchester after a lengthy journey via the Continent (he returned from the West Indies at the end of July). In a week's time he will be off to the tropics again. It's very amusing to hear him talk. He has seen, experienced and observed much. Ranged over the better part of South, West and Central America. Crossed the Pampas on horseback. Climbed Chimborazo. Likewise stayed in California. If he no longer writes feuilletons, he makes up for it by recounting them, and his audience has the benefit of vivacious gesture, mime and waggish laughter. He is, by the by, full of enthusiasm for life in the West Indies and hasn't a good

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a at bottom - b stockbrokers - c Words of Leporello in Mozart's Don Giovanni, Act I (libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte).
word to say for the human riff-raff and the weather of this northern clime. And, indeed, things are bad here, very bad.

You will have read in the papers about the Jersey affair and the general to-do over the refugee question in England. I don't believe that this affair will take a serious turn. Nor, for that matter, do I believe that the government here had a serious end in view. Otherwise the row would have been saved up until just before the opening of Parliament. As it is, public opinion has been given time to swing back and, in many respects, has already done so.

Send your next letter to my old address in London as I'm not sure how long I shall stay up here with friend Engels. He and Lupus send you their warm regards.

Your
K. M.


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290

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 December 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Jones does not appear to be in London. At least, I haven't had an answer, either oral or written, to an urgent written enquiry. Thus, since my arrival here, I have been incarcerated within 4 walls which, after all, I can't spend the whole day haranguing. But just now it would be too risky to venture out of doors.

The document did not go off to the Union Bank until the day before yesterday. The delay was caused by all sorts of little things.

No reply yet from America, i.e. New York. The gentlemen would appear to be 'deliberating'. No letter from Washington, but

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a Presumably concerning Mrs Marx's inheritance (see this volume, p. 526). - b See next letter.
a Wecker and with it a note, patently by Cluss, attacking Schimmelpfennig. Alas, I used up the Wecker during an unconsidered moment in a place where 'hard words, soft paper, etc.' It contained the assertion that the Germans in America were utilitarians and pursued 'bread-and-butter' because 'Mr Marx is an economist and an abstruse one'. But in Mr Marx's case this could be attributed to the 'Old Testament'. 'By a well-known trick' he had 'turned “our relations” into a philosophical system'. That thoughtful young Germans in America should follow his lead was attributable to the fact that Germans are accustomed to echo clever writers belonging to the nation of the Old Testament etc.

Since about the time of my return here, the Advertiser has been the arena for a cockfight between Herzen and an anonymous antagonist. His antagonist reproaches him with being a humbug and having passed himself off as a kind of Russian Silvio Pellico. Even the title of his book is said to be a lie, inasmuch as he has never been in Siberia, etc. Feeble reply from Herzen: the title was humbug on the publisher's part, he [Herzen] had not been responsible for it and had immediately protested in the Globe, etc. against the attributes wrongly ascribed to him, etc. Whereupon his antagonist came forth again (yesterday) and gave evidence of fresh lies, also in respect of the Globe. Besides this attack, however, there was also a defence put up by an Englishman. Even if Herzen had not been in Siberia and was no Russian Silvio Pellico, his book was nevertheless amusing, an innocuous book: *'an honest man, look you, and soon dusht! He is a marvellous good neighbour in sooth; and a very good bowler; but, for Alisander, alas, you see, how 'tis.'* Finally, the Tub-Tub paper, as is its wont, declared that the contest was becoming too personal, etc., was now over and closed its columns to it. At all events this skirmish—even though the assailants were hardly brilliant—will do Herzen a great deal of harm in the eyes of the Cockneys.

Lina has informed me of some fresh details concerning the Cologne trial. The list of jurymen given in my pamphlet quite...
wrong, of course. Throughout the trial one of the jurymen—
Joest—drew caricatures of the accused, and passed the drawings
round in court. During the first week the worthy *jeune* a Saedt
always had a dagger lying in front of him. At length the ironical
laughter of the accused compelled him to 'wear the dagger under
his gown'. b Can one imagine a more affected *coxcomb*? Saedt with a
dagger! *C'est à crever de rire.* c

Bürgers whiles away his time sending Mrs Daniels 'endless
amounts of paper'. Also writes poetry. Exchanges not a word with
his fellow-sufferer.

A London daily *penny paper*, *The Telegraph*, is said to have already
dropped a number of hints about the underhand dealings of Dr
Freund and his fellow-swindler, a military man.

The 2 articles received. d

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

I almost forgot the most important point. A few weeks ago, 3 I
think, Zitschke came to see my wife. The conversation turned to
Minbach. e Quoth Zitschke: 'That old loafer had a splendid chance
of a passage. I had thought him long since at sea. Then I found
him sitting again at a table in Bibra's pothouse and looking very
down-at-heel.' Liebknecht, too, claims to have seen him recently.

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*a* young - b from F. Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft* - c It's enough to make you split your
sides with laughter. - d See this volume, p. 560.
Otherwise, everything as before. I still incarcerated. Jones not yet turned up.

Bürgers will be allowed to move to another fortress if he pays the travelling expenses himself. Weerth had half promised Bürgers' mother in Cologne to send her money for him. Hasn't kept his word.

Little Dronke corresponds regularly with Freiligrath. Had a great set-to with one of the partners, was on the point of giving up his post. To make himself look important, offered it to Freiligrath.

Your
K. M.


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292
ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 December 1855

Dear Marx,

Something can be arranged with the good Tribune people after all, you see, and the £200 are assured. So that a start can be made straight away, I shall do a military article this evening, then you must do a political one. Both of them can then go on Friday, *hoc facit* £4.

I return Dana's letter herewith. *Au fond*, it is all to the good that the noble Mirbach has settled down to a life of idleness in London, for after all nothing has been definitely settled with the New Yorkers about the Crimean articles. *At all events, I am now relieved of any indirect obligation to the chap, and il ne me regarde plus* I have said nothing at all here about the matter, otherwise it would give Lupus qualms of conscience in the end, and next time he would turn rebellious.

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*a 14 December . b that makes . c At bottom - d he's no longer any concern of mine*
Jmeyer wrote to me recently, not so much to inform me that he was still awaiting a letter from you, as to let me know what to say at my brother-in-law's at Christmas. He has heard nothing at all from the little man.

We shall bear in mind Mr Karl Joest and his caricatures. I believe I shall do an even better caricature of him when he is dangling from a lamp post.

Whether I shall be able to do an article on Tuesday depends, of course, on events, which are now very few and far between. Kars and Omer Pasha will have to be my victims today; if anything happens tomorrow I shall add it on.

The strike is going ahead here. The masters said that they were willing to pay, provided the Ashton rates were taken as a basis. The hands replied that if the masters chose Ashton, they would choose Oldham and be prepared to accept as a basis the average for the two places. Thereupon the masters gave an evasive answer and proposed yet a third place in the district as a norm. This was refused and there the matter rests. The hands seem to me to be completely in the right; but they obviously still have in mind a few old trade union traditions whereby only this or that machine may be operated and only in the specific, time-honoured manner. But they'll soon drop this rubbish. The neighbourhood is beginning to support them.

The editor of the Guardian, whom I've come to know, is a wise man in his own mind and a kind of oracle in the eyes of a number of philistines; apart from that a teller of dirty stories and a moderate carouser. He has obviously heard about me for, whenever I mention some shabby trick, he listens with attention and asks questions which show a desire to know. I shall gradually encourage the man's advances and then draw him out about the people on the Examiner and Times, after which I shall approach the latter rag. Après, on avisera.

Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Yours

F. E.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1855
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

This confinement to my room is beginning to weigh on me. Not one breath of fresh air yet. Meanwhile, another 1,000 Germans sent off yesterday. Jones supposed to be coming today, at last.

The day before yesterday evening I had a visit, you'll never guess from whom. Edgar Bauer—whom I hadn't seen for about a year—came to see me, and with him—Bruno. He's already been here a fortnight and intends to remain *about 6 months* 'in order to prove his assumptions' which he can hardly fail to do, considering the way he's begun. The man has aged visibly, his forehead has broadened and the impression he now gives is more or less that of a pedantic old professor. For the present he is lodging with Edgar in a hovel *somewhere about* the far end of Highgate and there he squats, amidst the most profound petty-bourgeois *misère*, *seeing* and hearing nothing. This he takes to be London and believes that, apart from the privileged 30,000, all the English live like Edgar Bauer. Hence his hatred and 'contempt' for the country is enormous. In his view, it's like living in 'Treuenbrietzen'. To anyone coming from 'Berlin', London is a veritable 'prison'. On the same occasion it also transpired that his present ideal is the 'East Frisian', 'Altenburgian' and *partly* 'Westphalian peasant', those true noblemen. He is, moreover, convinced that these clodhoppers cannot be wished away and will be the rocks upon which the modern, egalitarian fiddle-faddle, bemoaned by this man of the 'dissolution', will come to grief. It was most *curious* to hear the 'Criticism' *make the confession* that, in the final analysis,

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*a* Small town in Brandenburg symbolising provincialism. - *b* Pun on Bauer—a peasant and Bauer the name of Edgar.
Berthold Auerbach is its true cornerstone. He holds that, save for a few 'purely commercial towns', the towns of Germany are in decline, but that 'the country' is prospering fabulously. He knew not a thing about the rise of industry, but quietly bemoaned the fact that nothing is now being done in Germany save 'improvements'.

The 'English language' is 'wretched', completely romanised. For his consolation I proceeded to tell him that the Dutch and the Danes say the same of the German language and claim that the only fellows to have remained truly untainted by Romance are the 'Icelanders'.

The old boy has devoted much time to languages. He speaks Polish and declares in consequence the Polish language to be 'the most beautiful of all'. His linguistic studies seem to have been highly uncritical. He considers Dobrovský, for instance, to be a far 'more important man' than Grimm, and calls him the father of comparative linguistics. Moreover, he has let the Poles in Berlin persuade him that Lelewel has refuted Grimm's Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in a recent paper.

Apropos. He also told me that a fat volume (of German provenance) had appeared in Germany attacking Grimm's dictionary. The whole volume consists of howlers is shown to have perpetrated.

Despite all his efforts to adopt a humorous attitude, his gloom and despondency over the 'present' kept obtruding. In Germany—horrible indeed!—nothing is now read or bought save miserable compilations in the field of the natural sciences. When you come, we shall have great fun with the old boy.

Köppen has been working for years on a book on Buddhism. Rutenberg is the publisher of the Staats-Anzeiger. Mr Bergentroth, who used to drift about America (North and South) as commissioner (trade), has returned sans argent but with an illness.

I am still waiting for the 2nd edition of The Times or Morning Post. The news may make it necessary to couch the thing on Kars in somewhat more hypothetical terms. However, this would only require quite minor alterations (a few words in the conditional). I, for my part, believe that Kars has fallen.

Today there is a not uninteresting article in the Herald—or so my wife tells me—about Bonaparte's misgivings as to the true intentions of Viscount Palmerston. That Pam is in very bad odour at
court you may see from the *Times* article against Prince Albert. At the same time, again the old manoeuvre of presenting Prince Albert as an encumbrance to the 'Ministry'.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.


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* The *Times*, No. 22237, 14 December 1855, leader.
Dear Mr Engels,

How can you imagine that I would have been angry with you over that little drinking spree? I was very sorry not to have seen you again before you left, for that would have enabled you to see for yourself that I was only somewhat sulky in respect of my liege lord. Besides, such interludes often have quite salutory effects, but this time père Marx must have caught a bad chill during his nocturnal philosophic excursion with ‘the archbishop’s nephew’, for he fell seriously ill and has up till now stayed quietly in bed. He may perhaps be able to get up a little today and apply himself to the articles for America. However, I don’t think he is as much restored as he imagines. For three nights he rambled in his speech and was very poorly. He asks you to convey his regards to Weerth and to tell him that he was very annoyed with him for having written no more than 2 words when forwarding Reinhardt’s letter from Paris, and that he must above all fulfil his duty as a former editor of the Neue Rheinische and send out to America some articles from stock. As for that insufferable man, here, word for word, is what père Marx says now:

‘Ever drunk as a lord; boasting about his insinuating ways with women, meaning his being kicked out of bars; from the outset raucously inciting the English public in streets and alleyways, parlours, omnibuses and halfpenny steamboats, to take part in the great debates between Kinkel and Ruge; dragging every German by the ear to the Cranbourne Hotel; one of the most pompous ranters of

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a 'This date is established on the basis of Engels’ letter to Marx of 6 January 1852 (see this volume, pp. 4-5). When Engels was putting his archives in order he dated it ‘Beginning of January 1852’. - b A humorous reference to Engels. - c K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. - d Lüders
the Emigrés' Club, and hence also crudely venting his spleen on the out-of-the-way little church of the N. Rh. Z. Should he ask Weerth's protection, the latter must tell him to look for a post in one of the seven ministries to be set up by Kinkel, which should not present any difficulty in view of his great services to the great and only revolutionary party and of his influence on Kinkel's pair of court scribes, Meyen and Oppenheim. Generally speaking, should Weerth be approached by any of the blackguards, he must give them to understand that he, too, belongs to the "small, incorrigible, separatist church" of the N. Rh. Z, as Meyen put it when writing to America.'

So much for my exalted patient, 'old Crosspatch'.

Yesterday a very nice letter arrived from Cluss in Washington, from which Kinkel's boundless turpitude again emerges. Unfortunately I cannot enclose it as Freiligrath took it away with him yesterday. We shall send it tomorrow. Pass on bits of it to Weerth.

Freiligrath has a new story about Kinkel's toadyism towards the democratic grocers here, which I shall now treat you to. Freiligrath applies to a blind German democratic merchant here for a position. He acquaints him with his commercial testimonials, whereupon the cross-eyed cheesemonger tells him: 'I have had the privilege of making Professor Kinkel's acquaintance. I attended one of his lectures, after which the Professor called on me and at once offered to come to my house of an evening and read aloud free of charge the best German poetic works. I, of course, declined this exceptional offer, not being in a position adequately to reward a man like Professor Kinkel for such services. In addition, the gentleman would have had the expense of the omnibus fares, since he lives some distance away. Nevertheless, the Professor came and read aloud to me from German poets.—Amongst which a few little things by yourself, Mr Freiligrath—whereupon he told me that you were really a man of commerce and had already held a position, etc., etc. The Professor's wife also called on me and offered to sing and play to me.'—Doubtless the Professor's wife would also have obliged with dances and poses plastiques had she not been dealing with a blind connoisseur.

The future president of the German Republic, who goes chasing after the grocers here in order to read them his divine poetry and sometimes snatch a bite of supper, all but outshines the French Krapulinski.'

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a Johanna Kinkel \hspace{1cm} b living sculpture \hspace{1cm} c Louis Bonaparte (called after a character in Heine's 'Zwei Ritter')
It will also interest you to hear that your former chief, General Willich, has received a sound thrashing at the hands of the inferior refugees, since the latter are unable to grasp the difference between themselves and the superior refugees, and disapprove of the way the large revolutionary funds are being administered in the interests of the great men. It would further appear from Cluss' letter that Kinkel has used Willich's _mystifications_ and Schramm's letter to provide proof in America of their connections with Cologne. It will soon be time to come out with the true story. Kinkel has apparently been putting about in America too that Marx's party presents prizes for vice in order not to become moral heroes. Musch sends Frederick his love. The girls have already gone to school. You will, perhaps, remember that Pieper made the boy a present of his fine travelling bag. Yesterday he threatened to take it back and buy him something else instead. This morning the boy hid the bag, and just now he said: 'Moor, I've hiddened it well and if Pieper asks for it, I'll tell him I've given it to a poor man.' The slyboots!

Adieu.

Warmest greetings

Jenny Marx

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2

JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

[London, 9 January 1852]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer.

For the past week my husband has been very poorly and is for the most part confined to bed. Nevertheless he has managed to finish the enclosed sequel to his article, so that there may be no

\[a\] Marx's nickname - \[b\] K. Marx, _The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte_, II.
interruption in the printing thereof, supposing a start has really been made on it.

A few days ago we had a letter from Cluss in Washington—with whom I hope you have already made contact for you will find him in all respects an excellent support—from which Kinkel's boundless turpitude again emerges. For while this hypocrite fawns on Karl's friends in the most barefaced manner and writes to them, saying 'he has emphasised the need to get in touch with Marx and the most capable members of his party' (a downright lie), he seeks in the most perfidious way to blacken my husband's personal character and relates the most edifying tales about him and his friends drawn from Willich's mendacious innuendoes.

Karl, who doesn't feel strong enough today to write to you himself, asks me to tell you that you should provide some information in your paper about our poor friends in Cologne, the more so since Kinkel's party, along with its court scribes and its rowdies and its compliant Lithographische Korrespondenz, deliberately passes over their existence and all their sufferings in complete silence, which is all the more infamous as it is precisely to Becker, Bürgers and their erstwhile organ that Kinkel owes most of his popularity. But our people languish in prisons, are hideously treated, and now will have to spend another three months in jug while the great men of the future are pocketing thousands in the name of the revolution and are already handing out future ministerial posts.

How was your dear wife after the terrible voyage? What are your children doing? Have they all become more or less acclimatised?

But time is getting exceedingly short. I must hurry out and post this letter. Let us hope that the conclusion of his article will be easier for my dear Karl.

Farewell for the present,

Yours

Jenny Marx

Lupus is now somewhat recovered. He, too, will send something soon, as will Engels. Insistent reminders have also gone off to

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*Die Revolution* | b Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation in Cologne | c Hermann Becker | d Westdeutsche Zeitung. See also this volume, pp. 21-22 and 34. | e Louise
Dear Mr Engels,

As you see, I am still en fonction\(^b\) as secretary. My husband has still not altogether left his bed. He was indeed very poorly. Tomorrow he will attempt to take a short walk. His illness prevented him from getting anything done for America, although he did manage to strike some sparks out of Freiligrath and Pieper. I enclose herewith a most felicitous poem of Freiligrath's.\(^c\) Let our friend Weerth have a look at it as well. Perhaps he too will feel inspired to climb onto Pegasus. Send us the *Tribune* if you have finished with it. Next week you will receive a very nice letter from Cluss. Lupus hasn't got it just now. We hope to hear from you soon and may you enjoy your pale ale in the meantime.

Warm regards from the patient.

Jenny Marx


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\(^a\) Ferdinand Wolff

\(^b\) acting

\(^c\) F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', II.
JENNY MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER
IN NEW YORK

[London, 27 February 1852]

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

After a week of strenuous nocturnal labours, his days being taken up with domestic affairs, my husband's eyes are so wretchedly sore that he cannot possibly write to you today and I must assume all secretarial functions. He asks me to tell you that he has been unable to read through the whole of Eccarius' article, and that you yourself must correct the orthographic mistakes; for this admirable man, who writes excellently, has only just learnt his letters here and knows nothing of full-stops and commas. He is also sending you an article by a Hungarian who is familiar with the innermost secrets of the Hungarian émigrés. You yourself must decide whether you can use and publish it at this moment. At all events, it is essential to keep in with the man, since he has promised to provide us later on with original contributions by Perczel, Szemere, etc., whose intimate he is. My husband thinks you should, of course, correct the worst grammatical howlers that crop up in the article, but that a few peculiarities of style which might give it the stamp of a genuine Hungarian product could do no harm at all. He further requests you to return as soon as possible the five instalments of his paper on Napoleon if you should not succeed in publishing it. We might, perhaps, be able to bring it out in a French translation, although it would really be a pity about the German version. He would greatly prefer it if you could succeed in America, since the piece is bound to sell and could also be distributed in Germany, providing as it does an historical appreciation of the most important event of the present day. I hope that there will soon be some good news from you, dear Mr Weydemeyer, to wit that your dear wife has come smoothly through the great catastrophe, and that two births have taken place under your roof—a son and a journal. My very warmest greetings to your dear wife.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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See this volume, p. 26. - b Bangya. See also p. 32. - c K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, I-V.
So that it will not take so long, you might have each of the individual articles printed separately, because the thing is of immediate interest. Later, they could be combined into one. No. 5 goes off today. Next Friday he will be sending No. 6, the final instalment. As already mentioned, then, try to publish the work as a pamphlet. Otherwise, send the thing back, because come what may, we must get it published.

Many regards to Cluss also, and write soon telling us just how things are with you.

Lupus has just brought a brief scrawl on the latest events of the day in London.


JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

IN WASHINGTON

London, 15 October 1852

Dear Mr Cluss,

Today my husband has appointed me his deputy and I therefore hasten to assume the duties of a secrétaire intime. For my husband is under such pressure from without and within that he has had to tramp round all day on home business and now, just gone 5, has not yet returned to dispose, more especially, of the affair Brüningk v. Cluss. Do nothing, absolutely nothing about this matter until the next steamer. Imandt had meant to send a statement today proving that Willich and Kinkel had made insulting remarks about Mrs Brüningk. At the same time he will lay the blame for all the little-tattle at the door of that old buffoon, Ruge, presently knight-errant and champion of princely innocence, and will do so all the more easily as the rumour indeed arose and began to spread at the very moment when the old jackass declared Kinkel to be—witness his close friend Gross—an agent of the Prince of Prussia, at the same time revealing that Kinkel’s release had been

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a See this volume, p. 213. b Ibid., p. 92.
the prince's doing, but that Mrs Brüningk had also played a leading role in the affair and had put up the money for it. In Germany, these rumours were both current at once and (if Dronke's memory is to be trusted, though he cannot say for certain) it is said that in the self-same article Ruge spoke of the suspect circles frequented here by Gottfried. Well, this stupid affair is nothing but a conspiracy to avenge themselves on Marx-Cluss by imputing to them vile, anonymous gossip and slander—an art in which these curs have long since been practising with the greatest virtuosity. No sooner had the old Pomeranian a broken a lance for the princess than he paid a personal call on the great lady. No doubt Heinzen, too, still hopes to supplement his Whiggish source b by striking and exploiting a princely seam over here for his Janus. But how ridiculous, the way in which the rabble suddenly raises a hue and cry in two continents when, for so long, it has heaped scurrility upon scurrility, tittle-tattle upon tittle-tattle, calumny upon calumny. And withal there is really nothing to the article c which, at least, reveals in moderate, discreet, indeed veiled terms, what has been said bluntly and openly by her own guests. The revolting thing about it is that one would sooner keep this scum at a healthy distance than be forced to grapple with them, and over so paltry a matter to boot. My husband himself had intended to send you today an article written in his own name about how your article came to be published in the Wecker. But Imandt thought it absolutely essential that my husband, against whom the whole thing has been cooked up, should be left out of it, which is why he wanted to write the statement himself. Unfortunately it has not yet arrived! But you should do nothing about the matter until you receive further instructions. Meyen was saying today that Dronke, Willich and Kinkel had stated on their word of honour that they had never said anything defamatory about the woman. So the fellows had already been subjected to a cross-examination. As you see, here too, the thing is being conducted as a matter of the utmost importance. By the by, from his own viewpoint Schnauffer's reply d is excellent, witty and apt and, in truth, the two philosophers ought not to make so much fuss merely because a high-born lady is ill-used. Did anyone ask any questions when Ruge spread the most scurrilous, defamatory and socially ruinous rumours and things about my husband, and this at a time when

a Arnold Ruge; b See this volume, pp. 145-46; c Editorial Statement about A. Brüningk's letter in the Baltimore Wecker, 27 September 1852. See also this volume, p. 204.
my husband's lips were sealed by party considerations and out of regard for his friends in Germany.

Did anyone bother whether all this grieved me almost to death, when my child died, having imbibed at my breast torment, grief and care?—oh! and all the other sufferings—yet I was not called princess when I was born—but wherefore all this foolish commotion? We shall extricate ourselves somehow and prove the others responsible. But you must wait, at any rate, just one more posting-day.

The Brumaires have not yet arrived. My husband will send you by the next post the 2 People's Papers containing your articles.

My brother Edgar has at last written to his mother. Thanks to your kind efforts my letter reached him safely. Once again, may I say how grateful I am.

One more thing. Keep Jacobus Huzel on a fairly short rein so that he doesn't kick over the traces. There should be no chit-chat with the vermin since their line now is to implicate us and thus erase the memory of their past infamies. Some diplomacy is required in dealing with this bunch of purely objective, principled, honourable, worthy washerwomen.

You have, I suppose, been following the Cologne trial in the Kölnische. Today we received an account of Becker's interrogation. Since there was nothing against him, it had been agreed to leave Becker out of the thing altogether, and this will explain to you the manner of his defence, which will be eagerly seized upon by the democrats in order to claim Becker as one of their own and declare him the true hero—free, independent man of the people that he is and no blind follower of a secret society's cut-and-dried doctrine—, precisely because he is the weakest of all and has the greatest amount of democratic blood in his veins. Should that loud-mouthed Heinzen make use of this case to build up Becker, you can at once point out that the defence had been agreed upon beforehand and that, shortly before his arrest, Becker had insistently begged my husband to attack with him in his review all the official democrats—Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel, Willich, etc., etc.—and hold them up to ridicule. That he also wanted to have

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Willich's imbecile letters published. Further that, on his release, the democratic gentlemen could expect to fare no better, etc., etc. I am writing in something of a rush.

I must catch the post.

Farewell and warm regards,

Jenny Marx

Write again soon. Your letters invariably give us the greatest pleasure. My husband is always saying that if we had a few more chaps like Cluss, we might yet get something done. In the meantime, don't do too much. Best let dog eat dog, otherwise they might band together to combat the 'common enemy', the wicked, infamous blight—Marx and his clique.


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

6

JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 October 1852]

Dear Mr Cluss,

You will have been following the monster trial of the communists in the Kölnische Zeitung. During the sitting of 23 October the whole thing took such a splendid and interesting turn, and one so favourable to the accused, that we are beginning to regain some of our confidence. As you can imagine, the 'Marx party' is busy day and night and is having to throw itself into the work body and soul. This overloading with work also accounts for my again appearing before you as deputy reporter. Mr Willich's close friend, Mr Dietz, now also in America, has contrived to have all the documents, letters, minutes, etc., etc. of Willich's clique stolen from him. They were produced by the prosecution as evidence of the party's dangerous activities. In order to establish a

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See this volume, pp. 223-24.
link between these and the accused, they now proceeded to think up a spurious connection between my husband and the notorious spy Cherval. Thus my husband became the bridge, the spurious link, between the theoreticians of Cologne and the men of action, incendiaries and robbers, in London. Stieber and the prosecution expected wonders of this coup. It burst like a bubble. New effects had to be conjured up, hence the tissue of lies at the sitting of 23 October. Everything adduced by the police is untrue. They steal, forge, break into desks, perjure themselves, bear false witness and, withal, claim this licence vis-à-vis communists, who are hors [de] la société. This and the way in which the police, at their most rascally, are usurping all the functions of the prosecution, pushing Saedt into the background, and submitting unattested scraps of paper, mere rumour, reports and hearsay, as real legally proven facts, as evidence, is truly hair-raising. We here had to supply all proofs of the forgery. Hence my husband had to work all day and late into the night. Affidavits had to be obtained from the publicans, and the handwriting of the alleged minute-takers, Liebknecht and Rings, officially authenticated to provide proof of forgery on the part of the police. Then every one of these things had to be copied out 6-8 times and dispatched by the most divers routes to Cologne, via Frankfurt, Paris, etc., since all letters to my husband as well as all letters from here to Cologne are opened and detained. The whole thing has now become a struggle between the police on one side and my husband on the other—they blame him for everything, the entire revolution and even the conduct of the trial. Finally Stieber has now declared my husband to be an Austrian spy. In return, my husband looked out a glorious letter, written to him by Stieber in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung days, which is really damning. We likewise discovered a letter from Becker in which he makes fun of Willich’s imbecilities and his ‘military conspiracies’. Out of hatred for Becker, Willich gave directions here in London to the witness Lieutenant Hentze, from whom up till now he has been receiving alms. In short, things are about to happen which would seem unbelievable if one wasn’t experiencing them oneself. All this business with the police is distracting the public, and hence the jury, from the actual prosecution of the communists, while bourgeois hatred of the dreadful incendiaries is paralysed by the horror inspired by the villainy of the police,—so much so that we can now even believe in

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Jenny Marx to Cluss. 30 October 1852

our friends' acquittal. The struggle against official power, armed as this is with money and every kind of weapon, is not, of course, without interest and will be all the more glorious should we emerge the victors. For on their side there is money, power and everything else, whereas we were often at a loss where to get the paper on which to write our letters, etc., etc.

The enclosed statement was issued today by Freiligrath, Marx, Engels and Wolff. We are sending it to the Tribune today. You could publish it as well.

Excuse me for such a confused letter but I, too, have had some part in the intrigue and have done so much copying that my fingers are afire. Hence the muddle. Your essay in the Turn-Zeitung has been much applauded here. My husband thought it first-rate and the style, in particular, exceptionally brilliant. There are others who prefer you in a less theoretical vein and would like you always to remain the same old humorous, light-hearted Cluss.

We have just received from Weerth and Engels whole parcels full of commercial addresses and pseudo-commercial letters so that we can send off the documents, letters, etc.

Another load of tremendous scandal has just arrived with the Kölnische. Two further packages are being dispatched at once to commercial addresses. A complete office has now been set up in our house. Two or three people are writing, others running errands, others scraping pennies together so that the writers may continue to exist and prove the old world of officialdom guilty of the most outrageous scandal. And in between whiles my 3 merry children singing and whistle, often to be harshly told off by their papa. What a bustle! Farewell, dear Mr Cluss, and write again soon to your friends.

By permission of the higher authorities,
London, 10 March [1853]

For weeks my dear Karl has been indisposed and, during the past few days, has again been suffering from his old liver complaint which almost developed into hepatitis, a disease I find all the more frightening for its being hereditary in his family and the cause of his father’s death.\(^a\) Today he is better again, is getting his *Tribune* article into shape,\(^b\) and has asked me to write to you. I must at once plunge into a circumstantial tale of woe which almost equals the bad luck of Weydemeyer and Cluss.\(^c\) Please don’t be angry with me if I dilate. On 6 December, at the same time as your manuscript copy of the *Revelations*,\(^c\) my husband sent another one to Schabelitz’s son in Basle. Schabelitz was delighted to receive it, wrote saying it was a masterpiece, that it ought to be across the border within a fortnight and that he would run off 2,000 copies, sell them at 15 silver groschen a piece and, after deducting the printing costs (low in Switzerland), share the profits with my husband. We would be justified in counting on at least £30 sterling—with no risk of disappointment. Moreover he intended to send 40 copies to London immediately. For 4 weeks we hear nothing. My husband writes. Answer: the printing was held up by the compositors’ Christmas junketing; he intends to be across the border in a fortnight at the latest and to send us 40 copies. All we hear, and this through a third party, is that the smuggling operation has run into unexpected difficulties and that he has had to smuggle across the 1,800 copies in small parcels over a period of 14 days, but that everything will be across by about the beginning of February, when he will charge one of his own clerks with forwarding the pamphlet and distributing it to the booksellers and will send him there, but that he, however, will send us a specimen copy at once. Good. We wait expectantly for 4 weeks. Then my husband writes to inquire, believing that the pamphlets have long since reached the furthest corners of Germany and that all he need now do is draw a bill on him. Then, yesterday, the following letter arrived.\(^d\)

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\(^a\) Heinrich Marx. \(^b\) Probably Marx’s and Engels’ ‘British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—‘Turkey’. \(^c\) K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. \(^d\) See also this volume, p. 287.
Dear Marx, I have just heard that the whole consignment of *Revelations*, amounting to 2,000 copies, which had been lying in a village on the other side of the border for the past 6 weeks, was intercepted yesterday while being conveyed elsewhere. What will happen now, I do not know; first of all, a complaint lodged by the Baden government with the Federal Council, then, no doubt, my arrest or at least commitment for trial, etc. In either case, a terrific shindy! This briefly for your information; further communications, should I be prevented from making them myself, will reach you through a 3rd party. When writing to me, use the address: A modiste in Basle, etc.

That's all; what do you think of it? He leaves 2,000 copies, i.e. the entire edition, lying in a village for 6 weeks, and then writes to tell us that they have been confiscated. Not a word about the copies for London, nothing about those for Switzerland, etc. Have the things been printed, did the Prussian police buy them for a hefty sum, or God knows what? Suffice it to say that this is the 2nd pamphlet to have been entirely suppressed. Mr Stieber, who has become Chief of Police in Berlin and announced a *magnum opus* on conspiracies, etc., and Mr Willich, owner and administrator of the American funds, come out of the affair sain et sauf; the Cologne trial has been utterly obliterated, the party is still not quite cleansed of all taint, and the government is triumphant! At this moment the pamphlet would have had the most tremendous effect. The hearts of the German police would have quaked and trembled at this thunderbolt falling among them. If we had the means, we would have it printed again *au moment* in Altona in order to enrage the government, but that is impossible. All that can be done now is for you to bring it out as a feuilleton in some paper or other. Could not the type then be used to produce a pamphlet which you could at once send over here? Since printing in Europe has become almost impossible but is now entirely a matter of honour for the party, you should at least have it printed *à tout prix* as a feuilleton. The publication of the pamphlet is now a necessity as against all our enemies, and will, more than anything else, further the interests of the Cologne people and sway public opinion in their favour. Interest in them must be reawakened. Becker's attempted escape failed only because of lack of interest and outside help. Above all, proof of the pamphlet's existence must be given and this can only be done by its being printed, even if only as a feuilleton on the other side of the ocean.

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*a* Wermuth/Stieber, *Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* -
*b* safe and sound -
*c* at once -
*d* at all costs -
*e* Hermann Becker
8. Jenny Marx to Engels. 27 April 1853

You can imagine what effect this news had on my husband’s state of health, etc.

Jenny Marx

First published in Voprosy istorii KPSS, No. 3, Moscow, 1962

Printed according to a letter from Cluss to Weydemeyer of 28 March 1853

Published in English for the first time

8

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 27 April 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

It is for me a hateful task to have to write to you about money matters. You have already helped us all too often. But this time I have no other recourse, no other way out. I have written to Hagen in Bonn, to Georg Jung, to Cluss, to my mother-in-law,\(^a\) to my sister\(^b\) in Berlin. Ghastly letters! And so far not a word from a single one of them. So there’s no other course left open to us. I cannot describe what things are like here. My husband has gone to the City to see Gerstenberg. You can imagine what kind of an errand that must be for him. Meanwhile I am writing these lines. Can you send us something? The baker warned us that there’d be no more bread after Friday. Yesterday when he asked: ‘Is Mr Marx at home?’ Musch managed to fend him off by answering: ‘No, he ain’t upstairs’ and then, with three loaves tucked under his arm, shot off like an arrow to tell his Moor about it.

Farewell.

Jenny Marx

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\(^a\) Henriette Marx . \(^b\) probably Anna Elisabeth Franziska von Westphalen
ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER\textsuperscript{502}

IN NEW YORK

Washington, May 15th 1853

... Marx has written me a very jolly letter in which he says that everyone was greatly amused by my description of the doings of Willich, that 'brother of the guild of misery'.\textsuperscript{693} He says that, amid peals of Homeric laughter, they resolved \textit{en grand comité}\textsuperscript{a} to wish his 'life' as unhampered a course as possible. He remarks: 'If the lunacy of this \textit{drôle}\textsuperscript{b} were not intermixed and interlarded with cunning calculations as to how best to fill his belly without doing any work, he would long since have found his way to the lunatic asylum.' In return for my report, Marx is going to send me in his next a copy of the passage relating to Willich in \textit{The Great Men of the Exile}.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution. Marx says he has no time for translation; if you or I or someone else will undertake to translate it, and if we let him know where he left off, he will take upon himself to write the whole of the conclusion.\textsuperscript{694} Marx is of the opinion that as a pamphlet, the thing will \textit{not} sell, and certainly not pay for itself; he would be perfectly satisfied with a feuilleton. (So whatever remains to be done would be left to us.)

Raveaux's former followers—philistines—long in need of another saint, have put red Becker\textsuperscript{c} in Raveaux's place. \textit{À tout seigneur tout honneur}\textsuperscript{d}...


\textsuperscript{a} in full committee. \textsuperscript{b} rascal. \textsuperscript{c} probably Max Joseph Becker. \textsuperscript{d} Honour to whom honour is due.
... Today received a letter from Marx's wife which unfortunately I would seem to have placed outside my pocket when on the omnibus. Marx had just returned from Manchester (20th May). He is delighted with your Reform article; likewise your introduction to Hirsch's statement. Marx's only regret is that not all our things are able to appear under your auspices, but that the names of the two ciphers from the Hornisse must be given precedence. Otherwise he is satisfied with the Reform. Dronke has at last obtained a post as clerk in Bradford at £10 a month.

Pieper would appear to have been shown the door by Rothschild some time ago; the part he played in the communist trial makes it difficult for him to find a berth elsewhere.

Rothschild, was at university with him, has paid him nothing to date, but would do so if he possibly could; Pieper must see to this au moment, having no other recourse.

Eccarius is still not restored.

Lupus, due to pressure from without, is very ill disposed...

The Tribune leaders on the Eastern Question are all by Marx; he wrote them without adding any of the usual news trivialities so that Dana went and changed some of the longer historical expositions, etc., into Tribunese and published them as leaders. The Tribune is a well-spring from which Marx cannot afford to cut himself off, hence he intends to turn a blind eye and would rather we didn't make any direct reference to the fact, even though he resents it—, that his more objective looking pieces appear without his name, while the articles that do appear under his own name are no more than dregs...


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a J. Weydemeyer, 'Nationalökonomische Skizzen'.
b J. Weydemeyer, 'Der demokratische Mouchard'.
d Goldieb Kellner and Heinrich Heise.
e probably Wilhelm Karl Rothschild.
f presently.
g On the Tribune editors' tampering with Marx's and Engels' articles see also this volume, pp. 331-32.
ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

Washington, June 14th 1853

Dear Weyd.,

Just received your letter. As regards Pieper's article, Marx wrote some time ago—4 months, perhaps—in reply to my apology for making use of one of his letters, saying that I shouldn't get such silly ideas into my head. Though in no way given to flattery he had found that I only made use of his letters on rare occasions and certainly never for my own personal ends; in any case, they were deliberately written for me to make use of. I shouldn't think him so niggardly of his ideas; Pieper and red Wolff are there, writing down everything he says...


JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 9 September 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

Imandt was here just now and told us that Dronke was studying Spanish and he believed he had seen him with the little grammar, 'the one that was sold'. If, dear Mr Engels, you could question

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a Ferdinand Wolff - b G. Franceson, Grammatik der spanischen Sprache. See this volume, p. 364.
Dronke about the wretched little book as soon as you receive this letter, Karl would be much obliged to you; for we might thus be able to clear the matter up to the confusion of Isegrim\(^a\) before he leaves. To you it may seem funny that we should make a thing of this stupid business, but one must have experienced the whole thing to understand it—such crude, boorish tones, such churlish behaviour, such brutal shouting, such outbursts and anger in front of myself and the children. It would be splendid if the sold booklet were in the hands of a bosom friend! But do not mention Imandt's name. It is already very late and I am addressing these lines to your house to make sure they reach you tomorrow. More pleasant news. Bamberger is threatening to take proceedings over the Swiss affair.\(^b\) Schabelitz has asked him to sue my husband because of a passage in a letter in which Karl promised to pay half the expenses if the thing sold. Please send the letter which you still have in the file.\(^\text{699}\) Karl likewise begs you yet again to let him have the notes about the Russian and Turkish troop deployment.\(^c\) He is continually having to write about the business since it hasn't yet been settled, and the Americans are besotted with the Eastern Question.

Today Karl has been forcing himself to write another long article on economics\(^d\) and, being very tired, has asked me this evening to take up the pen on his behalf.

Farewell, and warmest regards from us all.

Jenny Marx

Lupus, or so we hear, is leaving tomorrow morning. He has not said good-bye to me and the children.

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\(^{a}\) Wilhelm Wolff (a pun: Isegrim—a wolf, character in Goethe's 'Reineke Fuchs'). \(^{b}\) See this volume, pp. 579-80. \(^{c}\) ibid., p. 366. \(^{d}\) K. Marx, 'The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel's Bank Act'.
JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, 24 November 1853]

Dear Mr Engels,

I have made out the postal order to William Wolff, with Charles Marx as the sender. a

The statements attacking Willich's scrawl b will hardly catch tomorrow's steamer since Miskowsky, 'the missing Russian officer', has not as yet been traced. He lives somewhere in Whitechapel and his address has been mislaid. Nor was it known to Kossuth, whom we approached indirectly. A messenger has just left for Whitechapel. Unluckily for the gallant Willich, the man has been back here for some months, possesses a certificate signed by Kossuth to the effect that he fought in the Hungarian campaign, and will now be able to provide a first-hand account of the duel. c

Père is busy with the next instalment of the Palmerston article, c and hopes to receive some small aid tomorrow.

With warmest regards.

Jenny Marx

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Bd. 1, Berlin, 1929

ADOLF CLUSS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER
IN NEW YORK

Washington, December 12th 1853

Dear W.,

Herewith 1 article 'from Wisconsin' d; I think you'd be well advised to bring it out in two parts, with 'to be continued' in between.

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Just received 1 letter from Marx, dated 28th Nov. Dronke, it seems, has sent you a statement which you should hold back if it is not already too late. Dronke was supposed to send this statement to Marx in London, instead of which he sent it to you in New York.

Marx has answered Willich at length, in very learned, 'Hegelian' fashion. Splendid, so far as I can see, and plentifully buttressed with documents; I shall probably send you the thing tomorrow, but haven't yet had time to read it through, and so do not know what to do with it. It is voluminous. 20 pages of large note paper. Marx had already written it when my letter arrived informing him that we were taking care of the answer. He now considers that, since it isn't every day one meets with such a lying codger as Willich, it would be rather disagreeable if the thing had to be shelved. He authorises me to make deletions if his article repeats what we have already said, or conflicts with ours in matters of detail.

More about this when I send you the thing.

The accompanying letter, dashed off in great haste, partly by Monsieur and partly by Madame Marx, concludes as follows:

'Yesterday evening (27th Nov.) the Waschlapiskis and Schelmufskis held a meeting. Harney was in the chair. The people almost tore him to pieces. Down, down, rascal, traitor, renegade, and he wasn't permitted to take the chair. People jumped onto the platform, everyone was belabouring everyone else, the Schelmufskis acted as Harney's guards.'

Again: 'As regards the Reform, Karl has done everything in his power. Pieper, driven by necessity, has gone to work in a French shop, where he sells sunshine, i.e. the newly-invented lampe réverbère! He cannot write just now. Accordingly Karl has roped in Heise and given him a subscription to the reading room since he hadn't got the required penny. He has also written to Germany asking for help.'

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* See this volume, pp. 399 and 400-01.  
* b K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.  
* c J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacobi, 'An die Redaktion der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung', see also this volume, p. 402.  
* d An allusion to petty-bourgeois refugees, using names of characters in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. See also this volume, p. 401.  
* e lamps with reflectors
Treat the bit about Heise as confidential.

Your

Ad. Cluss


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, end of March 1854]

Dear Mr Engels,

Karl asks you to send Lassalle's address by return. You did not return Lassalle's first letter, which gives it.

Warmest regards from the whole family.

Yours

Jenny Marx


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Published in English for the first time

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 May [1854]

Dear Mr Engels,

I am sending you herewith a packet of old abusive paperasse, and with it the very latest ordure by Wiss, Dulon, etc. Some of it

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* See this volume, pp. 414-17.  
* waste paper  
* Probably E. Wiß, 'Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit', see also this volume, p. 449.
will amuse you. For the past five days Karl has been plagued by rheumatic pains in his teeth, ears and face, so severe that he hasn't been able to sleep a single night and today feels seriously indisposed. Nothing we tried did any good. We went through the whole pharmacopoeia, from Pfänder to Raspail. But still the same terrible pain. Not until tonight was some sweating induced by Spanish fly, opium, etc., and a slight improvement noticeable. He's not in a condition to put pen to paper, but urgently begs you, dear Mr Engels, to be sure and send him an article on Tuesday so that we don't miss another whole week, as we did last. Otherwise it would make too big a hole in the money-box. Cordial regards from the whole family and from

Jenny Marx

Heise and the little man have written Imandt a quite crazy letter. It reeked of brandy.

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

17

JENNY MARX TO FREDERICK ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, 23 May 1854]
3 o'clock in the afternoon

Dear Mr Engels,

Your article has just arrived. It's already been addressed and I shall put it in the post at the same time as this note. Karl was tremendously pleased when he heard the postman's portentous double knock. Voilà Frederik, £2, we're saved! he cried. Unfortunately he is still very, very unwell and asks me to tell you that he is

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Lazarus and Peterkin Pint-pot rolled into one. There can be no question of writing. He labours over Gladstone's long speeches and is very annoyed at not being able to write just now when he's got enough material on Mr Gladstone and his schemes. If you possibly can, do concoct something again for Friday. Anything will do, Karl says. I truly detest bothering you in this way, but send something if possible.

I enclose herewith the latest dispatch from Cluss and would ask you to return his letter and not tell Heise anything about it. The fellow chatters so and, should little Meyen or other eminent men hear anything prematurely, communications to Cluss would at once stop. It's all very amusing and the gentlemen should be allowed to carry on undisturbed.

In his last letter to Imandt, consisting of a whole lot of little snippings glued together, Heise said he had now again given up the military dodge since the Russians waged war differently from the way the Tribune said; he intended to apply himself henceforward to doux commerce.

Karl and I send our heartiest thanks for the articles, and the three little ones send their love.

Yours
Jenny Marx

Our Edgar is said to be loafing about in New York again and to be coming here and then going on to Germany! What a band of loafers!

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* 26 May. Engels wrote 'The Present Condition of the English Army—Tactics, Uniform, Commissariat, etc.' on 25 May.

* b Probably Cluss' letter to Marx of 30 April 1854.

c gentle commerce

d Jenny, Laura and Edgar

e Edgar von Westphalen
NOTES

1 This letter was first published in English considerably abridged in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*. A selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—3, 27, 303

2 This refers to Chapter I of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, which Marx wrote from December 1851 to March 1852, immediately following the coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 11, Note 64). It is closely linked with other works by Marx and Engels analysing the 1848-49 revolution in France (Engels' *Letters from France*, Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, see present edition, Vol. 10) and was originally intended as a series of articles in the weekly *Die Revolution*, which Joseph Weydemeyer began preparing in December 1851 for publication in New York.

Marx and Engels considered this journal highly important for the dissemination of scientific communism and took great pains to provide Weydemeyer with material. They sent him their own articles and those of their associates—Ernest Jones, Wilhelm Pieper, Johann Georg Eccarins, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff and others. In connection with the forthcoming publication of the journal the *Tum-Zeitung*, No. 3, carried the following announcement on 1 January 1852: 'Die Revolution, a weekly journal edited by J. Weydemeyer, associate editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* suppressed by the police in Frankfurt am Main, is published every Saturday in co-operation with the editorial board of the former *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (K. Marx, Fr. Engels, Freiligrath, etc.).'

Weydemeyer managed to put out only two issues (on 6 and 13 January 1852), following which publication ceased for lack of funds. The first issue reproduced part of 'Review, May to October 1850' published by Marx and Engels in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10), and also announced the forthcoming publication of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and 'Neuste Offenbarungen des Sozialismus oder "Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle, par P. J. Proudhon". Kritik von K. M.' (the latter was not written by Marx). The second issue carried the rest of the 'Review' and part of Chapter II of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see present edition, Vol. 6).
Weydemeyer received Chapter I of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, mentioned here, as well as the rest of the work, when publication had ceased, but with the help of Adolf Cluss he succeeded in bringing out two more issues of the 'non-periodic journal' *Die Revolution* in May and June 1852 which carried this work and satirical poems by Ferdinand Freiligrath (see Note 13). Weydemeyer failed to buy up from the printer even half of the 1,000 copies of the work printed. Only about 150 copies were sent to Europe, and approximately the same number sold in the USA in 1852 and 1853. Cluss and other associates of Marx in the past revolutionary struggle in Germany (Johann Schickel, Conrad Schramm, Franz Arnold and others) greatly contributed to disseminate his work among former subscribers to *Die Revolution* in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Cincinnati, Washington and other large cities.—3, 391

3 Wilhelm and Ferdinand Wolff intended to write articles for *Die Revolution*. In a letter of 19 December 1851 Marx promised Weydemeyer (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 519) to send him by the next steamer the following material: 1. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* by K. Marx; 2. *Der Staatsstreich in Frankreich* by Ferdinand Wolff; 3. *Nemesis* by Wilhelm Wolff. Weydemeyer announced this in the first issue of *Die Revolution* on 6 January 1852, being unaware as yet of Marx's decision not to publish Ferdinand Wolff's article.—3

4 The reference is to the progressive newspaper, the *New-York Daily Tribune*, to which Marx contributed from August 1851 to March 1862. A large number of articles for this paper were written at his request by Engels. Marx beginning to send his own articles to New York only in August 1852. He wrote the first ones in German, and his friends, generally Engels, translated them into English. By the end of January 1853 he started writing his contributions in English. Marx's and Engels' articles in the *New-York Daily Tribune* dealt with major questions of foreign and home policy, the working-class movement, the economic development of European countries, colonial expansion, and the national liberation movements in oppressed and dependent countries. The articles at once attracted attention by their factual information, acute political judgment and brilliant style. This was acknowledged by the editors of the *Tribune*, who wrote, in a leading article on 7 April 1853, of the need 'to pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent'. They went on: 'Mr Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics.' In a letter to Mrs Marx of 1 July 1853, Charles Dana, one of the editors, wrote that her husband's articles were highly thought of by the *Tribune* owners and the reading public.

Articles by Marx and Engels were widely disseminated in America, many of them being reprinted in the *Tribune's* special editions—the *New-York Weekly Tribune* and the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*. Some of the *Tribune's* articles were translated into German and published in German-language American newspapers. Marx's and Engels' articles in the *Tribune* were also read in Europe. From 1853 to 1855 Marx wrote regularly for the newspaper sending, as a rule, one or two contributions every week.

Sometimes the editors of the *New-York Daily Tribune* tampered with Marx's and Engels' articles, publishing them as editorial leaders and occasionally making insertions in the text. In 1855 all Marx's and Engels' articles were published without the authors' names. Marx repeatedly protested against such
practices but his financial circumstances compelled him to accept the editors' terms (see, for instance, this volume, pp. 367, 395, 404). Marx ceased contributing during the Civil War in the USA.— 3

Marx has in mind Article VII of Engels' series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. These articles were printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over Marx's signature from 25 October 1851 to 25 October 1852. While writing them Engels constantly exchanged views with Marx who read his articles before sending them off to the newspaper.

Only in 1913, when the correspondence between Marx and Engels was published, it became known that the articles had been written by Engels. Some articles of the series were published in German refugee newspapers in America. The German translation of the first two articles appeared in the *New-Yorker Abendzeitung* at the end of October 1851 without any reference to the source; a free translation of the beginning of the first article was published in Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter* on 1 November 1851.— 3

In November 1851 Cluss wrote to Marx about the need to disseminate the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in America, noting that Magnus Gross, the New York distributor, was not giving it sufficient publicity. When Weydemeyer went to America, he accepted Marx's proposal that he should take upon himself the sale and distribution of the *Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 489). On 6 February 1852 he informed Marx that he hoped to sell about 200 copies of it at $1 instead of the $4.50 fixed by the Hamburg publisher Schuberth. Marx, however, was unable to have the necessary number of copies sent over from Europe.— 3

Engels alludes to his stay at the Marxes' in London from about 20 December 1851 to 3 January 1852 (see also this volume, p. 567).— 4

The reference is to the special imperial patent of 31 December 1851, which abolished the constitution introduced by the Austrian Government on 4 March 1849.

When speaking about the Prussian Constitution, Engels has in mind the one promulgated on 31 January 1850, which abolished all the democratic gains of the 1848-49 revolution and was based on high property qualification and unequal representation.— 5

Probably an allusion to Conrad Schramm who had a duel with Willich in September 1850.— 6

At the beginning of 1851 Conrad Schramm, wishing to play a joke on Willich, sent him a letter purportedly written by Hermann Becker, a Cologne Communist League member, reflecting the views of the Willich-Schapper group. In reply Willich sent a number of letters to Becker expounding an adventurer plan of 'revolutionising' the Rhine Province. Becker informed Marx of Willich's plans in a letter of 27 January 1851. During the Cologne trial Marx made use of these letters to expose the sectarian adventurer tactics of the Willich-Schapper group (see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. II, p. 452).— 6, 569

Engels describes here the reaction of the European Press to Louis Bonaparte's policy of unrestrained social demagogy on the one hand and increased personal power on the other after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851. On 1 January 1852, a solemn service in honour of the President for which 190,000 francs were assigned was held in Notre Dame de Paris; the eagles on state banners (symbol
of Napoleon's Empire) were restored. The Prince President moved to the royal palace of the Tuileries, where on 14 January a new Constitution was proclaimed under which all power was concentrated in the hands of the head of the State elected for a term of 10 years, the composition and legislative functions of all the higher state institutions were also placed under his control. A detailed analysis of the methods and essence of the demagogic policy pursued by Bonaparte in the social sphere and of repressions against the democratic and working-class movements is given in Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11).—7

This letter was published in English for the first time, slightly abridged, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—7, 15, 40, 52, 79, 94, 569, 576

The reference is to the first of the two satirical poems by Freiligrath written on Marx's request specially for *Die Revolution* on 16 and 23 January 1852. The poet ridiculed the so-called German-American loan which Kinkel tried to raise in the USA (see Note 27). Kinkel's activity in America was described by Cluss in his letters to Wilhelm Wolff of 4-6 November and to Marx in mid-December 1851. Freiligrath's poems were published in German in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, Nos. 10 and 27, 7 March and 4 July 1852, printed in Stuttgart and Tübingen. The first poem was also published in English in *Notes to the People*, No. 50, 10 April 1852. Both the *Morgenblatt* and *Notes to the People* carried an introduction, the contents of which were not identical in the two publications. The editors of the present edition have insufficient proof that it was Marx who wrote this introduction, though Freiligrath is known to have asked him to do so (*Freiligraths Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels*, Berlin, 1968, Bd. 1, S. 42-43).

In America the first poem was published by Cluss in English in the newspaper *The National Era*, No. 282, 27 May 1852 (reproduced from the *Notes to the People*) with additions to the introduction made by Cluss, relating it to conditions in America. *Die Revolution* did not publish the poems until June 1852.—8, 108, 119

On 12 January 1852 Hirsch made a statement, but as early as February 1852 he was found to be a Prussian police spy and was expelled from the Communist League. For this reason Marx, in a letter of 20 February 1852 (see this volume, p. 41), asked Weydemeyer not to publish Hirsch's statement. When in the spring of 1853 Hirsch published his anti-Marx and Engels article 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie' in America, in an attempt to justify the splitting activity of Willich and Schapper, Cluss and Weydemeyer, in order to expose Hirsch, published his first statement in the *Belletristisches Journal und Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 7, 29 April 1853.—8, 41, 66

The Communist League was the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just. The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the personal participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848-49.

In 1849-50, after the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was reorganised. In the summer of 1850, disagreements of principle arose in the League's Central Authority between its majority headed by Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper separatist group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking
into account the actual political situation and the practical possibilities in Germany and other European countries. After 15 September 1850 the Willich-Schapper group broke away from the League and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority.

Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, soon after the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16), the London District, on a motion by Marx, declared the League dissolved. However, many of its members, particularly in Germany and America, continued to be active for a long time.—8, 143

Members of the Communist League (see Note 15) were arrested by the Prussian police in May 1851 and accused of 'treasonable conspiracy'. The accused remained in detention for about eighteen months. Eleven Communist League members (Heinrich Bürgers, Peter Nothjung, Peter Röser, Hermann Heinrich Becker, Karl Otto, Wilhelm Reiff, Friedrich Lessner, Roland Daniels, Johann Jacob Klein, Johann Ehhardt and Abraham Jacobi) were brought to trial which began in Cologne on 4 October and lasted till 12 November 1852. It was rigged by the Prussian police on the basis of fabricated documents and forged evidence which included the so-called Original Minute-book of the Communist League Central Authority meetings and documents stolen by the police from the Willich-Schapper group. The trial was accompanied by an anti-communist hue and cry in the official press of Germany and other countries. On the basis of forged documents and perjury seven of the accused were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of three to six years. Marx, Engels and their friends and associates in England, Germany and America supported the Cologne prisoners in the press and supplied counsel for the defence with documents and material exposing police fabrications. The provocative actions of the prosecution and the contemptible methods of the Prussian police state were exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and by Engels in the article 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—9, 113, 131, 195, 351

The reference is to Engels' series of articles on England written for *Die Revolution*. Two articles got lost on their way to the USA (see this volume, p. 16). Manuscripts of the last two articles have survived (see present edition, Vol. 11). The first of these was written by Engels on 23 January and published on 15 November 1852 in the *Turn-Zeitung* (New York) to which Weydemeyer contributed. The second, written on 30 January 1852, was not published during Engels' lifetime, but was used by Weydemeyer in a number of his own writings for the press.—10, 39, 80

Engels is expressing the wish that Wilhelm Wolff should write for *Die Revolution* on current events as he did earlier in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the column 'Aus dem Reich' ('From the German Empire').—10

Between February and early April 1852, in compliance with Jones' request, Engels wrote for his journal *Notes to the People* a series of articles, the first of which was entitled 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last' (see present edition, Vol. 11). Jones received it on 5 February 1852.—11, 38

On 16 January 1852 Jones informed Engels about Harney's sudden refusal to write on foreign policy for *The Notes to the People*. Harney explained his position by
his friendly connections with the supporters of the parliamentary reform (see Note 28). The conflict between Jones and Harney arose at the end of 1850. Jones headed the revolutionary wing of the Chartists and worked to create a mass proletarian party in England, trying to unite all the revolutionary proletarian elements and revive Chartism on a socialist basis. Harney advocated a 'united national party' to be formed on the basis of diverse national associations, including bourgeois ones, to campaign for universal suffrage. Harney's attempts to create a 'mass party of reform' and an independent press organ completely failed by the autumn of 1852.—11

21 The decrees on the resignation of de Morny, Minister of the Interior, and the appointment of Persigny to this post, on the resignation of Fould, Minister of Finance, and on the confiscation of the property of the Orleans were signed by Louis Bonaparte on 22 January 1852 and published in *Le Moniteur universel* on 23 January and *Le Constitutionnel* on 24 January.—12

22 Pieper's article 'Die Arbeiter Association in England' was written on 15 January 1852, but as *Die Revolution* had ceased to appear the article was published in *Die Reform*, Nos. 41, 42 and 44 on 20, 21 and 31 August 1853.—13

23 The announcement published in the *Turn-Zeitung* in connection with the starting of *Die Revolution* (see Note 2), was repeated in two issues of *Die Revolution* in January 1852. It read: 'Die Revolution is published every Saturday, from January on, under the editorship of the undersigned and in co-operation with the editorial board of the former *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Marx, Engels, Freiligrath, etc.). Its task will be to present as clear a picture as possible of the class struggle which is increasingly concentrating in the Old World, to culminate in the abolition of all class distinctions. It will keep its readers abreast of all the changes occurring in the industrial and commercial relations between the different nations and classes of the people and in their political attitude towards one another, changes which prepare revolutionary explosions.'

'New York, January 1852

J. Weydemeyer'.—13

25 When the Communist League (see Note 15) split, and Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the German Workers' Educational Society in London, the spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper faction (located in Great Windmill Street) 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, as trustees, held part of the Society's money to be used under the Central Authority's control for the needs of the League and to help political refugees. They were accused of stealing this money. A libel campaign against Bauer and Pfänder was started in the press (*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, 7 January 1851; *Republik der Arbeiter*, New York, Nos. 19, 20 and 21 for 23 and 30 August and 6 September 1851). In the statement made on 21 January 1852 and mentioned here, Pfänder refuted the libel and said that on 20 November 1850 the court had acknowledged the charge to be invalid (see present edition, Vol. 38, Note 328).

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in February 1846 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities
played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work.—14, 195, 217, 226, 336

25. This refers to the workers' society founded in London in January 1852 with Marx's support. It consisted of those who had withdrawn from the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 24) and had the carpenter G. L. Stechan, a refugee from Hanover, as its chairman. An active part in organising this society was also played by Georg Lochner, a worker, Communist League member and close friend of Marx and Engels. The society did not survive long, many of its members, Stechan included, coming under the influence of the Willich-Schapper faction and rejoining their organisation.—14, 72, 233

26. Agitation and Emigration were the names Marx gave to two rival German petty-bourgeois refugee organisations in London which appeared in the summer of 1851—the Agitation Union headed by Ruge and Goegg and the German Emigration Club headed by Kinkel and Willich. The aim of both these small organisations was to raise money for an 'immediate revolution' in Germany.—14, 42, 44, 97, 151

27. The reference is to the so-called German-American revolutionary loan which Kinkel and other petty-bourgeois refugee leaders tried to raise among the German emigrants in Europe and America in 1851-52 to finance an 'immediate revolution' in Germany. Kinkel's trip to the USA for this purpose in September 1851-March 1852 was a failure. In a number of their works (e.g. The Great Men of the Exile, The Knight of the Noble Consciousness, present edition, Vols. 11 and 12), Marx and Engels ridiculed this idea of Kinkel's and denounced the attempts to produce a revolution artificially when the revolutionary movement was on the wane.—15, 73, 115, 121

28. In January 1852 The Northern Star was sold by O'Connor to A. G. Flemming and D. MacGowan. In 1849 a radical political trend among the Free Traders founded the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association to campaign for an electoral reform (the so-called Little Charter) and a taxation reform. By opposing their programme to that of the Chartists and at the same time borrowing some of their demands though in an extremely curtailed form, the bourgeois radicals expected to split the Chartist movement and to influence the workers. The bourgeois radicals, supported in their campaign by Cobden, Bright and the reformist elements among the Chartists under O'Connor, failed and the Association ceased to exist in 1855.

In writing about a Chartist faction connected with the supporters of the financial and parliamentary reform, Marx has Harney's group in mind (see Note 20).—15, 68, 89

29. The letter to Weydemeyer and two articles of the series on England (see Note 17) which Engels mentions have not been found.—16

30. Engels draws an ironical parallel between the policy of Bonapartism in the social sphere and the views of German 'true socialists' (Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege and others), who in the mid-1840s indulged in the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood and of pseudo-socialist ideas, and denied the need for political struggle and a revolution. Marx and Engels criticised this ideological trend of the reactionary German petty bourgeoisie particularly in The German Ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5), and in the Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose and the Manifesto of the Communist Party (Vol. 6).—17
The Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851 caused a republican uprising of artisans, workers in small towns, local peasants, tradesmen and intellectuals in about 20 departments in South-East, South-West and Central France. The Bonapartists thoroughly concealed the genuine scale of the republican movement. The true character of the movement and its brutal suppression by police and troops became known only in the last years of the Second Empire (see present edition, Vol. 43, Marx to Engels, 19 December 1868).—17

Engels has in mind his article 'England' which he intended to send to Weydemeyer with the letter (see Note 17).—18

The Roman wall (so-called Hadrian's Wall) was erected in North England in the second century to defend the Roman province of Britannia against the raids of the Picts (tribes then inhabiting the territory of what is now Scotland) and extended between the Solway and the Tyne (from Carlisle to Newcastle) over a distance of about 120 kilometres. After the fall of Roman rule in the fifth century Hadrian's Wall was destroyed.—18

These are Marx's covering notes to Stechan's contributions to Die Revolution, which Marx promised to Weydemeyer in his letter of 23 January 1852. The material contained some concrete facts concerning the persecution of the participants in the socialist and communist movements in Germany and the position of the Communist League members, Bürgers, Becker, Daniels, Otto and others, then under investigation in Cologne, but it was not a finished article. The material reached Weydemeyer in New York before 17 February but was not used because Die Revolution had ceased to appear.—19

On the confiscation of the property of the Orleans, the appointment of Persigny Minister of the Interior, and the resignation of Minister of Finance Fould, see Note 21.—21

The 'glorious revolution' of 1688 in England established a constitutional monarchy based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the financial bourgeoisie.—21

Kossuth was given an enthusiastic reception on his arrival in England in October 1851. Some bourgeois liberals and government representatives, in particular the Foreign Secretary Palmerston, used this welcome as an excuse to eulogise British constitutional freedoms. This served as a hypocritical cover for the unseemly role played by Britain in supporting the suppression of European revolutions, including that in Hungary.

The Great Exhibition in London, held from 1 May to 15 October 1851, was the first world trade and industrial exhibition, and was portrayed by some as the beginning of an era of 'universal peace'.—21

The reference is to the verse added by Freiligrath to the second poem which he had written for Weydemeyer's newspaper on 25 January 1852 (see Note 13) and sent to Marx on 25 January 1852 to have his opinion:

Das heißt: dafern Du Babel nicht beglücktest
Endlos mit Briefen, Karten, Inseraten,
(Plakaten gar) — dafern Du Dich nicht bücktest,
Und um ein Wörtlein nur von Deinen Thaten
Feig vor der Presse krochest und so Dich drücktest,
(Gleich Virtuosen oder Akrobaten,)
Daß Dich zuletzt, nach manchem sauern Schritt,
Wirklich in Holz die Illustrierte schnitt!
Here Freiligrath alludes to the fact that Kinkel, by flattery and fawning, succeeded in having an article about himself, together with a portrait, printed in the Illustrated News on 30 November 1850.

When the poem was published, the additional verse about Kinkel was not included, which means that Freiligrath complied with Marx's recommendation.—21

Freiligrath's second poem contained verses addressed to Hans Andersen which Marx mentions here. They were prompted by Freiligrath's grudge against Andersen who, while in London, did not recognize him when they chanced to meet. He felt all the more bitter because the Danish storyteller had enjoyed his hospitality in Germany.

When the poem was published in Die Revolution the editors supplied the following note to Andersen's name: 'Herr Andersen himself appears here not merely as an individual but as the epitome of a peculiar type of literary lion and parasite to which the revolution seemed to have dealt the death-blow but which is again coming up and boastfully asserting itself everywhere.' In Freiligrath's gesammelte Dichtungen published in Stuttgart in 1870 (Bd. 4, S. 5-6) the poem was printed without the 11 verses devoted to Hans Christian Andersen.—22

In a letter to Marx of 25 January 1852 Freiligrath quoted a letter from Ebner who expressed surprise at not having received any letters from Marx and Pieper and promised to discuss with the publisher Löwenthal the possibility of printing Marx's works. It later transpired that Ebner was an Austrian police informer, of which Marx and his friends were not aware at the time.—22

Marx refers here to the ruling of the Board of indicting magistrates concerning the members of the Communist League arrested and detained under investigation in Cologne (see Note 16). He quotes it probably from the letter of the lawyer Bernbach received in January 1852 (it has not been found). This same letter was also used by Marx when he described the proceedings to Weydemeyer in a letter of 13 February 1852 (see this volume, p. 34).—22

The letters of Marx and Engels to The Times and The Daily News on the Cologne Communist Trial were not published in view of the editors' hostility to the leading figures of the revolutionary movement. The original of Engels' letter to The Daily News has not survived. It may be that Engels did not do the final editing (see this volume, p. 29). For Marx's and Engels' letter to The Times see Vol. 11 of the present edition.—24, 25

The New-York Daily Tribune published in all 19 articles of Engels' Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany. Marx intended to write the last, twentieth, article, but did not do so.—25

Eccarius wrote an article about the English machine-building workers' strike (see Note 79) for Die Revolution, but since the latter had ceased publication Weydemeyer proposed to publish the article in the New-Yorker Demokrat.—26, 117

Marx refers here to his work on political economy which he started as early as 1843. He conceived it as a critique of bourgeois political economy and an analysis of the economic structure of bourgeois society in his time and its ideological basis. His initial research resulted in the writing of Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (see present edition, Vol. 3) which were to serve as a basis for the whole work. On 1 February 1845, Marx signed a contract with
Carl Leske, a Darmstadt publisher, for the publication of his two-volume 'Kritik der Politik und National-Ökonomie'. This plan did not materialise as a whole, however, because Marx was busy writing other works (The Holy Family, The German Ideology, etc.). The contract with Leske was cancelled in February 1847.

Marx returned to his economic studies when he was in London, in the period of emigration, after the defeat of the 1848-49 bourgeois-democratic revolutions. From the spring of 1850 onwards he regularly visited the library of the British Museum, where he made a deep and thorough study of the economy of different countries, England in particular, critically analysed works by classic bourgeois economists, and made extracts from books by English, French, American and other economists and from official documents and periodicals. The notes and extracts made by Marx in the 1850s fill several dozen special notebooks. At that period Marx was especially interested in the history of landed property and rent, the history and theory of money circulation and prices, and economic crises.

In 1851 and 1852 Marx renewed his attempts to find a publisher for his work on economics, but he could not find one either in Germany or in America.

The vast stock of facts and theoretical material on political economy accumulated between 1850 and 1853 was systematised and arranged in the manuscripts of 1857-58 (also known as the Grundrisse), part of which, after a further revision, was published in 1859 as the first part of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Work on the economic manuscripts of the 1850s was an important stage in Marx's writing his main economic treatise, Capital, published in 1867.

[Notes]

Here Engels has in mind the Willich-Schapper faction (see Note 15) which existed till early 1853.

The publication of Harney's weekly, The Friend of the People, the first issue of which appeared on 14 December 1850, was discontinued at the end of July 1851.

Harney seems to have sent to Marx the proofs of the first issue of the resumed publication, which came out on 7 February 1852.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers was founded in 1851. Gerald Massey's article, mentioned by Marx, was published in The Friend of the People, No. 1, on 7 February 1852 and entitled 'The Engineers, Operative and Co-operative'.

The reference is to Harney's speech at the Chartist meeting in London on 3 February 1852, the opening day of the English Parliament.

Marx may have had in mind O'Connor's speech in the Court of Chancery (2-5 February 1852) where he and the directors of the Chartist National Land Company founded in 1845 gave evidence on the Company's financial activity, and its compliance with the parliamentary Act of August 1851 which envisaged the disbanding of this Chartist organisation. O'Connor's evidence was published in The Northern Star, No. 744, 7 February 1852.

The Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali, who had actually secured his position as independent ruler of the country and strove to secede from the Ottoman Empire, carried out a number of important socio-economic reforms in the 1820s-30s in the sphere of agrarian relations, organisation of the state apparatus, industry and the navy. In his reforms Mohammed Ali received a
certain assistance from French ruling circles who supported him in the struggle against the Sultan in order to strengthen their own position in the Middle East. On Mohammed Ali's invitation a large number of French officers, military instructors and engineers went to Egypt.—31

This letter (without Jenny Marx's postscript) was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953 and the journal *Mainstream*, New York, 1953, No. 3.

An extract from Jenny Marx's postscript was first published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 29, Stuttgart, 1906-07.—33

Marx wanted someone to start a campaign in the American Press in defence of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16). This letter was used by Cluss as a basis for a large article published in Cincinnati in the democratic newspaper, *Der Hochwächter*, No. 80, 14 April 1852. On Marx's request, Weydemeyer also delivered the material about those accused in Cologne to the *New-York Daily Tribune*, which published it considerably abridged and with some editorial remarks as a leading article 'Justice in Prussia' in No. 3446, 4 May 1852.—34

An allusion to the fact that Kinkel, a participant in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, was taken prisoner and sentenced to life imprisonment. In November 1850, with the help of Carl Schurz, he escaped from the prison in Spandau to England.—34

In a letter of 6 February 1852 (with a postscript from Cluss) Weydemeyer informed Marx of the suspension of *Die Revolution* (see Note 2) and Cluss' and his intention to continue publication of Marx's works written in London, as announced in the first issue of the journal. Weydemeyer also wrote that on 4 February 1852 Dana published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* an article by Ludwig Simon (a deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly), 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', attacking Marx and Engels.—37, 44

The reference is to the former deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly. The *Frankfurt Left*—the petty-bourgeois Left wing of the National Assembly which was convened after the March revolution in Germany and opened its session in Frankfurt on 18 May 1848. The main aim of the Assembly was to put an end to the political disunity of Germany and draw up an all-German Constitution. However, it failed to take a decisive stand on the basic problems of the 1848-49 German revolution and ceased to exist on 18 June 1849.—37

*March associations* (thus named after the March 1848 revolution) were branches in various German towns of the Central March Association, founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly. Fröbel, Simon, Ruge, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and displayed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against counter-revolution, for which Marx and Engels criticised them sharply in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see K. Marx, 'The Frankfurt March Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, present edition, Vol. 9).—37, 42, 44

In writing about the King of Prussia being imposed on the German people Marx had in mind the all-German central government headed by a hereditary emperor and the Imperial Parliament—the Reichstag, which were envisaged by
the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt Assembly. On 28 March 1849 the Assembly offered the imperial crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia but he refused to accept it from the 'people's representation'.—42, 44

59 Karl Vogt was a member of the Imperial Regency of five formed in Stuttgart on 7 June 1849 by the rump of the National Assembly which moved there from Frankfurt. The attempts of the Regency to implement by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution, drawn up by the Frankfurt Assembly and rejected by the German princes, failed.—42, 44

60 Cluss made a statement about the congress of American guarantors of the 'German-American loan' (see Note 27) to be held in Cincinnati on 3-8 February 1852. Cluss protested against being named as one of the guarantors. On Marx's instructions he exposed the adventurism of the whole idea. Cluss dispatched the text of the statement to Marx in London at the end of February 1852 and had it published in the Turn-Zeitung, No. 6, 1 March 1852.—42, 70, 92

61 Straubinger—German travelling journeyman. Marx and Engels ironically applied the name to some participants in the German working-class movement of the time who were connected with guild production and displayed petty-bourgeois sectarian tendencies.—43, 137, 410

62 On 16 February 1852, amidst alarming rumours of Louis Bonaparte's intention to invade the British Isles, Russell moved in Parliament a Local Militia Bill for England and Wales. The government was granted the right, in the event of an enemy attack, to increase the strength of militia detachments previously used only within their respective counties and to subordinate them to the regular army command. When the Bill was discussed in the House of Commons, Palmerston moved an amendment that it should apply also to Scotland and Ireland, and that the word 'Local' be deleted. Palmerston had recently resigned from the Cabinet (see Note 74) and the adoption of the amendment moved by him was considered by Russell as an expression of non-confidence in the government and served as a pretext for Russell's resignation on 20 February 1852. The Tory Cabinet headed by Derby was formed on 23 February 1852. The Bill became law in July 1852.—44, 49, 284, 520

63 This name was given in England to Free Traders who advocated government non-interference in economic life. In the 1840s and 1850s the Manchester men formed a separate political group which joined the Liberal Party as its Left wing in the 1860s. The centre of Free Traders' agitation headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, was Manchester.—44, 69, 355

64 'Voting by ballot to prevent bribery and intimidation by the bourgeoisie' was the fourth point of the People's Charter published in 1838 as the programme of the General Working Men's Association in London (see F. Engels, The Condition of the Working-Class in England, present edition, Vol. 4, p. 518).—45

65 Marx's letters to Lassalle mentioned here have not been found.—46

66 Engels replies to a letter of 9 February 1852 in which Weydemeyer acknowledged receipt of Engels' first letter dated 23 January (see this volume, pp. 15-19); Engels' earlier letters had not reached Weydemeyer.—52

67 Engels has in mind his article 'England, I' written for Die Revolution. About the whole series see Note 17.—52
Engels recalls the time when he fought in the ranks of the revolutionary detachments of the Palatinate provisional government (its seat was in Kaiserslautern) against the Prussian troops during the campaign for the Imperial Constitution (see Note 77). Engels was an aide-de-camp of August Willich who commanded a workers' corps. This corps was covering the retreat of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent troops to Switzerland and was the last to cross the border on 12 July 1849.—52

The reference is to the counter-revolutionary coalition of European powers—the resurrected Holy Alliance as Engels calls it—formed during the suppression of the 1848-49 revolutions. See Marx's and Engels' article 'The New "Holy Alliance"' (present edition, Vol. 8) and Engels' 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852' (Vol. 10).—53

British troops under Wellington fought Napoleonic France during the Peninsular War, 1808-14.—53

Engels characterised this Bill in his article 'England, II' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—53

The Anti-Corn Law League was founded in 1838 by the manufacturers Cobden and Bright. In the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, the League strove to repeal the Corn Laws which were introduced in England in the fifteenth century and limited or banned corn imports for the benefit of the landed aristocracy. The League's aim was to reduce corn prices on the home market and together with them workers' wages. It made wide use of the free trade slogan, demagogically preaching that the interests of workers and industrialists coincided. In 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed, which signified victory for the industrial bourgeoisie, advocates of free trade (see Note 65). That same year the League declared itself dissolved, but in fact its branches continued to exist. In February 1852, in view of the protectionist tendencies of the Derby Ministry, attempts were made to revive the League.—53, 56, 61, 69, 512

The Peelites—a group of moderate Tories who rallied around Sir Robert Peel in the 1840s and supported his policy of concessions to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in the economic sphere while preserving the political domination of the big landlords and financiers. In 1846, in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, Peel repealed the Corn Laws. This caused great dissatisfaction among the Tory protectionists and led to a split in the Tory party and the secession of the Peelites. After Peel's death (1850), the Peelites formed a political group without any definite programme; they participated in the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry (1852-55) and merged with the Liberal Party in the late 1850s and early 1860s.—54, 129

Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in the Whig Ministry of Russell, was dismissed because in a conversation with the French ambassador in London he had expressed his approval of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851, without consulting other members of the Ministry. The dismissal occurred on 19 December 1851, though in principle the British Government did not disagree with Palmerston's point of view and was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France.—54, 456

Aliens Bills were occasionally passed by the British Parliament on the pretext of guarding British subjects against the allegedly hostile actions of foreigners residing in England. These Bills were in fact directed against members of the
international revolutionary-democratic and working-class movement who lived in England as political refugees.—54, 523

76 Engels did not write a special article on this subject for Weydemeyer, but expressed some of his ideas on matters of the cotton industry and the development of world trade in letters to Marx (in particular, on 2 March and 20 April 1852, see this volume, pp. 57-58 and 82-83), who in his turn shared them with his American friends. These ideas were reflected in articles by Class and Weydemeyer published in 1852 in American democratic periodicals, e.g. Weydemeyer's 'Die Lage Europa's' in the Turn-Zeitung, No. 10, 1 July 1852.—55

77 The campaign for the Imperial Constitution, which was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 56) on 28 March 1849, was the last stage of the 1848-49 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Despite its limited character, the Constitution was a step forward in solving the problem of Germany's unification. But it was rejected by the majority of German governments. In May 1849 popular uprisings in support of the Constitution broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate. The insurgents received no support from the Frankfurt National Assembly and the movement was suppressed in July 1849. Engels devoted his work The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution to this subject (see present edition, Vol. 10), but did not fulfil his wish to elucidate this problem in one of the articles of Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.—56

78 In 1844, to satisfy the Austrian Government, Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary, ordered that the letters of Italian revolutionary refugees should be handed over to the police to be opened. This was the case with the letters of the Bandiera brothers (members of the conspiratorial organisation) to Mazzini containing the plan of their expedition to Calabria. The aim of the expedition was to start an uprising in Italy against the Neapolitan Bourbons and Austrian rule. The participants in the expedition were arrested and the Bandieras executed.—56

79 The machine-building workers' strike which started in late December 1851 in several towns of South-East and Central England was organised by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (see Note 48) with the aim of abolishing overtime and improving working conditions. The employers responded with a lock-out on a national scale. After three months' struggle the workers were defeated and compelled to resume work on the former terms.—57

80 The anonymous letter of 29 February 1852 informed Marx that he and his friends were under Prussian police surveillance and hinted that there might be a traitor in their organisation.—58

81 Marx's letter to Amalie Daniels has not been found; judging by Marx's letter to Freiligrath (see this volume, p. 23), it could have been written after 26 January 1852.—59

82 Jones' letter to Weydemeyer of 3 March 1852 was intended for Die Revolution. It described the condition of various classes of English society and analysed the development of class struggle in England. Judging by Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of 24 May 1853, the letter was published in the American democratic papers at the end of 1852 or beginning of 1853.—59, 60, 70, 319

83 The National Reform League was founded in London in 1849 by the Chartist leaders Bronterre O'Brien, G. W. M. Reynolds, the Owenite socialist Lloyd
Jones and others. The League campaigned for universal suffrage and social reforms.

The meeting was reported in *The Times*, No. 21053, 3 March 1852—59

84 An abridged translation of this letter was first published in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence*. 1846-1895, A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—60, 198, 330, 472, 562

85 Apparently, while writing the concluding part of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx somewhat changed his plan; the work includes not six, but seven chapters, the last of which he sent to New York on 25 March 1852 (see this volume, p. 70).—60, 575

86 The role of protectionism at the different stages of capitalist development and the influence of the Corn Laws on the economic structure and class relations in capitalist society were the subject of a special economic research by Marx. See in particular *The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class*, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade', Marx's speech included into Engels' *The Free Trade Congress at Brussels* (present edition, Vol. 6) and also *Capital*, Vol. III, Book III, Part VI, Chapters XXXVII and XLIII.—61


88 In 1853 these notes were used by Cluss almost unchanged in the article 'Das "beste Blatt der Union" und seine "besten Männer" und Nationalökonomen' written against Heinzen and other petty-bourgeois democrats (see present edition, Vol. 12).—65

89 In their polemic articles against Heinzen published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in 1847 (Engels' *The Communists and Karl Heinzen* and Marx's *Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality*, see present edition, Vol. 6) Marx and Engels revealed the narrow-minded democratism of the German petty-bourgeois radicals, in particular their failure to understand the need for the centralisation and unification of Germany.—65

90 Hochstuhl's visit to the USA being delayed, Cluss received seven copies of the pamphlet *Zwei politische Prozesse* only in July 1852 when Conrad Schramm arrived there.—66

91 A reference to the Rules of the Communist League drawn up by the Central Authority in Cologne in December 1850 after the split in the League in September 1850 (see Note 15).—66

92 An abridged translation of this letter was first published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—66

93 An allusion to a duel between Dronke and Sazonov, a Russian emigrant in Geneva, in early August 1851.—67

94 Engels began to study Slavonic languages (Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Czech) at the end of 1850 and wanted to write a comparative grammar of these languages. He studied Russian most thoroughly. Extracts made by Engels from Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and *The Bronze Horseman* and Griboyedov's *Wit Works* *Woe* have survived. In the early 1850s he made extracts from Bowring's *Specimens of the Russian Poets* on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century poets.
and writers: Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Karamzin, Zhukovsky, Krylov and others. He knew many works by Czech and Serbian authors on the history of literature and folk art and also studied the history and culture of the Slav peoples on the basis of books by West European authorities. — 67

Engels alludes to the portraits of George Washington, John Milton, Robert Blum and others printed in Harney's *The Friend of the People*. The portrait of Kościński (1746-1817), a leader in the Polish liberation movement, was printed in No. 6, 13 March 1852. — 68

On 14 March 1852 Louis Bonaparte decreed the conversion of the state five per cents. The holders of five per cent papers were offered reimbursement of their nominal value or their exchange for papers of the same nominal price but bringing in 4 1/2 per cent revenue. The measure was carried out with the help of the banking houses. The decree was published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 74, 14 March 1852. — 68

Marx has in mind the plan suggested by Weydemeyer (in his letter to Marx of 10 March 1852), after the weekly *Die Revolution* ceased to appear, to publish the manuscripts held by Weydemeyer as separate pamphlets. The first issue was to contain Freiligrath's poems; the second, Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; the third, Eccarius' article on the English machine-building workers' strike; the fourth, Cluss' article on the campaign for abstention from strong drinks; the fifth, his own article against Kinkel's memorandum; the sixth, Engels' article on England, and so on. However, Weydemeyer managed to issue two pamphlets only (see Note 2). — 70

Weydemeyer fulfilled Marx's instructions (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 163). Marx relates, not quite accurately, the story told by the Greek writer Athenaeus (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.) in his book *Deipnosophistai* (Dinner-Table Philosophers). The Egyptian Pharaoh Tachos, alluding to the small stature of the Spartan King Agesilaus, who had come with his troops to the Pharaoh's help, said: 'The mountain was in labour. Zeus was afraid. But the mountain has brought forth a mouse.' Agesilaus replied: 'I seem to you now only a mouse, but the time will come when I will appear to you like a lion.' — 70

On 23 March 1852, on Marx's instructions, Wilhelm Wolff wrote in a letter to Cluss (to be passed on to Weydemeyer) that, instead of an article against Kossuth, Szemere was going to publish a pamphlet of 10 sheets about Görgey, Batthyány and Kossuth. Attempts to find a publisher in the USA in 1852 failed however, and only in 1853 did the newspaper *Die Reform* (Nos. 18-28, 1 June-6 July) publish the second section of the article, devoted to Görgey. The book appeared in Hamburg in 1853. — 70, 77

The reference is to preparations to start *The People's Paper*. — 72

In February 1852 the *Morning Courier* and *New-York Enquirer* published Szemere's letter against Kossuth. Cluss informed Marx and Wolff of this in a letter at the end of February 1852. — 73

Marx means the *Central Committee of European Democracy* founded in London in June 1850 on Mazzini's initiative. It included Ledru-Rollin, Daras and Ruge and united bourgeois and petty-bourgeois refugees from different countries. In March 1852 the Central Committee of European Democracy actually dissolved
due to disagreements between Italian and French democratic refugees.—73, 171, 433

2 December 1851—the day of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in France.

The capture of Rome was effected by French troops on 1 July 1849 as a result of the intervention of France, Austria, Spain and Naples against the Roman Republic proclaimed on 9 February 1849. After this event the republic ceased to exist.—79

Marx refers here to Class' letter of 18 March 1852. Class reported on the activities of German petty-bourgeois emigrants in the USA and his opposition to the Congress of Kinkel's guarantors in Pittsburgh. This statement, dated 18 February, was published in the Baltimore Wecker and reprinted in the Demokratisches Tageblatt (Cincinnati), No. 145, 20 March 1852, under the title 'Eine verdeckte Batterie'.—76

The reference here is to Weydemeyer's letter to Marx and Engels of 6 April 1852. The part addressed to Engels bore no date, thus giving rise to Engels' doubts.

Engels has in mind here a meeting of the German petty-bourgeois refugees convened in New York on 3 April 1852 by the representatives of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173) and presided by Fickler. Goegg and Fickler, who vied with Kinkel in raising funds in the USA for the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27), tried to make Kinkel's supporters agree to the association of the rival emigrant organisations. This was also reported in Class' letter to Wolff of 4-6 April 1852.—79

Judging by Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of 11 May 1852 Müller-Tellering's letter containing slanderous attacks on Marx was not accepted by the American newspapers.—80

The reference is to the non-periodic journal Die Revolution (see Note 2).—80

Engels was in London for a few days in mid-April 1852 (at Easter).—81

Bas-empire (Lower Empire)—the name sometimes given in historical literature to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire; it came to denote a state at the stage of decline and dissolution. Here it refers to the proclamation of the Second Empire in France then being prepared by Bonapartist circles and effected on 2 December 1852.—82, 453

Only an extract from this letter has survived, quoted by Class in his letter to Weydemeyer of 6 June 1852. Marx made use of the economic data contained in Engels' letter to him of 20 April 1852 (see this volume, pp. 81-83) supplementing his political conclusion: 'On the other hand, it explains the flaccid condition of politics in this country. Given such prosperity, the Tories cannot, for their part, compete with the "blessings of Free Trade", even though they are at the helm, while the Free Traders, for their part, refrain from provoking political agitation because, so long as business is flourishing, the manufacturers do not want political upheavals and disturbances.'—83

A short extract from this letter has survived, quoted by Class in his letter to Weydemeyer of 8 May 1852.—84

The Society of 10 December—a secret Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements, political adventurers and reactionary military. Its members were active participants in and organisers of the coup d'état on 2 December 1851. Marx gave a detailed analysis of this
society in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—88

114 The reference here is presumably to the five chapters from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* dispatched by Marx to Weydemeyer in New York between January and March 1852 and, after the manuscript had been copied, returned enclosed in Weydemeyer's letter of 6 April 1852.—88

115 A reference to the division at the second reading of the Militia Bill (see Note 62) in the House of Commons.—89

In the spring of 1852 negotiations were carried on to set up a new editorial board of *The Northern Star*, a Chartist newspaper published by O'Connor from 1837 onwards. Harney turned down Jones' proposal to publish the Chartist newspaper jointly, would not let Jones buy *The Northern Star*, acquired it himself and continued the publication first under the title *The Star* and from 24 April 1852 *The Star of Freedom*. This revealed the disagreement in principle existing between Jones and Harney, the latter seeking to turn the newspaper into the mouthpiece of the Right-wing Chartists and bourgeois radicals. In May 1852, Jones started a new Chartist weekly, *The People's Paper*.—89, 93

116 Engels wrote this letter on Weydemeyer's letter to him of 12 April 1852.—90

In April 1852 Engels wrote only Article XIV; the next articles (XV-XIX), devoted to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution and the popular uprisings of 1849 in its support, were written in July-September 1852.—90

117 Engels visited Marx in London in the first half of April 1852 and returned to Manchester about 13 April.—92

118 Gymnastic clubs—organisations of German democratic emigrants, including workers, set up in the USA by former participants in the 1848-49 revolution. At a congress in Philadelphia on 5 October 1850 the gymnastic clubs united into a *Socialist Gymnastic Association* (Sozialistischer Turnverein) which maintained contacts with German workers' organisations in America and published the *Turn-Zeitung*, a newspaper to which Weydemeyer and Cluss contributed regularly in 1852 and 1853.—92, 282

119 Marx quotes Cluss' letter to him of 15 April 1852. Cluss' previous letter of 4-6 April, mentioned here, was addressed to Wilhelm Wolff and informed him of a meeting of the German petty-bourgeois refugees held in New York on 3 April 1852 (see Note 106).—93

120 The reference is presumably to the copies of Marx's letters of 15-22 August and 2 December 1851 to the journalist Ebner, in which he exposed the activities of Ruge, Kinkel, Willich and others (see present edition, Vol. 38). Later these literary sketches became part of the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see Note 131). Marx's letters to Ebner became known to the Austrian police.—93

121 An allusion to Willich's participation in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—93

122 In a letter of 9 April 1852 Weydemeyer informed Marx that, due to the assistance of a German emigrant worker who had donated 40 dollars, the printing of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* had become possible.—94

123 The reference is to a letter Wilhelm Wolff wrote to Weydemeyer on 16 April
1852, immediately after the death of Marx's youngest daughter Franziska, in reply to Weydemeyer's letter describing the difficulties encountered in publishing The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.—94

126 Weydemeyer wanted to publish Pfänder's statements (see Note 24, and this volume, p. 14) in one of the issues of the planned non-periodic journal Die Revolution; this intention was not carried out.—94

127 This letter has not been found.—95

128 The International Industrial Exhibition in New York was held in July 1853.—95, 120, 349

129 Weydemeyer complied with Marx's request and reported this in the article 'Die Lage Europa's' published in the Turn-Zeitung, No. 10, 1 July 1852.—96

130 Marx presumably wrote to Cluss about the conflict between Jones and Harney (see Note 116) on 30 April 1852. This letter has not been found. Cluss mentioned it in his letter to Marx of 22-24 May 1852.—96

131 It was in early 1851 that Marx and Engels conceived the idea of publishing a satirical exposé of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois democratic emigration. Engels wanted to publish a series of articles about 'continental democracy' in the weekly Friend of the People (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 278) and in the autumn of 1851 he began writing a satirical article about Karl Schapper. As is seen from Marx's letters to Ebner (see Note 122), he had the literary portraits of Ruge, Kinkel, Willich and others ready as early as 1851. In late April and early May 1852 he continued collecting facts and material on this subject and received great help in this from Cluss and Weydemeyer, who sent him newspaper cuttings describing activities of various emigrant organisations in America.

On the basis of the facts collected Marx and Engels drew up a political pamphlet during May and June 1852. It was tentatively entitled The Great Men and was to consist of two parts. Only the manuscript of the first part has survived. The pamphlet was not published during the authors' lifetime, but separate chapters became known to the émigré leaders, its 'heroes' (see this volume, p. 124). Some excerpts were sent to Cluss in America in May 1852.

A proposal to publish the manuscript was made by a Hungarian émigré, Bangya, who, as it turned out later, had been a police spy since 1851 and kept Greif, a Prussian police agent in London, fully informed about Marx. Marx learned about Bangya's actions only at the end of 1852 and publicly exposed them in the article 'Hirsch's Confessions' (see present edition, Vol. 12).

The manuscript copy that has survived was written mainly by Engels with additions by Marx. The first pages are in Dronke's hand. The pamphlet is published in Vol. 11 of the present edition.—98

132 After Kinkel's return from the USA, the committee which was to organise the 'German-American revolutionary loan' decided at its sitting in London on 16 April 1852 to reactivate the local sections. With this aim in view it distributed an instruction circular drawn up by Kinkel and Willich. Marx writes here about a copy of it made and sent to him by Bangya. On Bangya's spying activities, see Note 131.—100

133 An allusion to the fact that in 1844-45 Mazzini protested in the press against Italian revolutionary emigrants' letters being opened by the police. His pamphlet, 'Italy, Austria and the Pope. A letter to Sir James Graham', was published in May 1845 in periodicals and separately. At that time James...
Graham was Home Secretary and it was on his orders that Italian revolutionary
emigrants’ letters were delivered to the police.—101

On 14 April 1849, the Hungarian National Assembly, on Kossuth’s initiative,
proclaimed the independence of Hungary and the overthrow of the Habsburg
dynasty. On 2 May the Defence Council was replaced by a Council of Ministers
headed by Szemere. Kossuth was elected ruler of Hungary. The siege of Ofen
(Buda) by the Hungarian army under Görgey lasted from 4 to 21 May 1849
and ended in the taking of the fortress. The storm was effected after the defeat
of the Austrian troops near Komarom on 22 April 1849, which provided
favourable conditions for the Hungarian revolutionary army to march on
Vienna. See Engels’ appraisal of the military operations during the siege of
Buda in his article ‘Buda’, present edition, Vol. 17.—101

The battle of Idstedt (a village in northern Schleswig) was fought on 24-25 July
1850 by the Schleswig-Holsteinian and Danish troops and was the concluding
episode of the national liberation uprising in Schleswig-Holstein against Danish
rule in 1848-50. Under public pressure the Prussian Government, together with
other states of the German Confederation, started a war against Denmark in
1848, but repeatedly betrayed the insurgents and on 2 July 1850 concluded
peace with Denmark, leaving the insurgents to fight alone. As a result, the
duchies remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. See Engels’ detailed
analysis of this battle on pp. 451-52 of this volume.—103

As from 1852 Engels made a thorough study of the history of warfare,
planning to write a military history of the 1848-49 revolutions, the Hungarian
and Italian campaigns in particular. For this purpose he studied the works by
Clausewitz, Jomini, Willenau, Hoffstetter, Klintzel, Görgey and many others.
However, he failed to implement his plan.—104, 128, 249

These are extracts from two letters which Marx sent to Cluss in the USA on 7
May and on about 15 May 1852. The extracts were quoted by Cluss in his letter
to Weydemeyer of 31 May 1852. It cannot be established with certainty when
each extract was written. However, the analysis of the letters from Cluss to
Marx of 22-24 May 1852 and to Weydemeyer of 25 May 1852 leads to the
conclusion that the first paragraphs belong to the second letter and the rest
must be from that of 7 May, though passages from the second letter are
interpolated: this applies in particular to the passage containing quotations
from Bernbach’s letter of 3 May 1852, which could not have been received in
London earlier than 13 May.—105

After his expulsion from the German Workers’ Educational Society in London
in the spring of 1850, Müller-Tellering (on the exposure of his intrigues in that
Society, see present edition, Vol. 38, pp. 229-30) wrote a lampoon—
Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels. The
inscription on the envelope quoted here by Marx is a direct allusion to that
publication. In compliance with Marx’s wish Cluss returned to Müller-Tellering
everything he had received.—105

Demagogues in Germany were the participants in the students’ opposition
movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. The name
became current after the Karlsruhe Conference of Ministers of the German
States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of
the demagogues.—106, 229
The reference is to György Klapka’s ‘Political Programme’ dated April 1852. Marx wrote the introductory and concluding remarks to it (see present edition, Vol. 11) planning to publish them in the New-York Daily Tribune. But the plan was not realised in this form. In September-November 1852 Marx had the articles ‘Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston’ and ‘Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon’ (see present edition, Vol. 11) published in that newspaper. He warned revolutionary democrats against premature action and maintained that any reliance on support from Louis Bonaparte in the struggle to liberate Hungary and Italy from Austrian rule would only contribute to strengthening the Second Empire.—106

In a letter to Marx of 6 February 1852 Weydemeyer promised to dispatch the first 50 copies of The Eighteenth Brumaire published as a special issue of the journal Die Revolution. Since the printing was delayed they were dispatched through Korff much later, but Marx did not receive them. For lack of money Weydemeyer failed to buy up all the copies printed and sent only 10 copies on 13 August 1852, which reached London in early September. At the end of October 1852 Marx received 130 copies more from Cluss.—106

See notes 17 and 44.—107

In September 1851 arrests were made in France among members of local communities who belonged to the Willich-Schapper group (see Note 15). The conspiratorial tactics of this group enabled the French and Prussian police, with the help of the agent-provocateur Cherval, who headed one of the Paris communities and at the same time was in the pay of the Prussian and French police, to fabricate the case of the so-called Franco-German plot. In February 1852 the accused were sentenced on a charge of plotting a coup d’etat. Cherval was allowed to escape from prison. Attempts of the Prussian police to incriminate the Communist League led by Marx and Engels failed. Marx publicly exposed these provocations in his Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne and Herr Vogt (see present edition, vols. 11 and 17).—112, 130, 242, 270

The reference is to the members of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London (see Note 24).—113

Parliamentary trains—a name given in England in the nineteenth century to special trains which, by a parliament act of 1844, ran daily with a speed of no less than 12 miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny a mile.—113, 323, 534

Marx arrived in Manchester probably on 27 May 1852 and stayed with Engels till the second half of June. They devoted this time to writing their joint pamphlet The Great Men of the Exile.—114, 181

An allusion to the attempts of Willich’s supporters (former members of the volunteers’ corps during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising) to form a special military unit in the USA in view of an allegedly imminent revolution in Europe. In a letter to Engels of 17 June 1852 Weydemeyer appraised these actions as an attempt to form one more makeshift organisation of petty-bourgeois emigrants.—115

In their pamphlet The Great Men of the Exile Marx and Engels made use of the assessment of the newspaper Der Kosmos and Ruge’s and Kinkel’s contributions to it which Marx gave in his letters to Engels of 21 and 28 May, 1851 (see present edition, Vol. 38).—117
The first edition of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* put out by Weydemeyer had *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* on its title page.—117

The reference is to the cuttings from American newspapers enclosed in Cluss' letter to Marx of 27 May 1852.—117

Korff, the responsible publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was dismissed as from 1 April 1849 for business incompetence, inclination to intrigues and meddling in the management of the newspaper.—120

The reference is to the reviews of military operations in Hungary written by Engels and published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from February to May 1849 (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9). On 1 December 1851 Weydemeyer informed Engels that Korff had published one of these articles in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* in his own name.—120

All that has survived from this letter is a short extract quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 13 July 1852. The following passage from Cluss' letter may give an idea of what Marx wrote in the non-extant part of his letter:

'A few days ago Marx wrote in haste some more lines from Manchester promising details next week. He has only 3 copies of *Brumaire* left.

"The history of the war between mice and frogs" [i.e. the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (the first notebook up to Kinkel's departure to America) will appear *anonymously*. Marx regrets that he has to interrupt his studies in order to "clear the cesspool". Nevertheless, I think this is very good because it will protect the next revolution to some degree against this joint swindler company. In Marx's opinion, the whole thing is done in a very lively way and will come to us as soon as it is printed. He authorises us, if we think it *economically and politically viable*, to have it published in America. Think this over for a while.'—122

Marx refers here to the French Provisional Government's decree of 16 March 1848 which added an extra 45 centimes to every franc of direct taxes levied on landowners (land tax, taxes on movable property, windows and doors, patents). The tax became a new burden mainly for small peasants and caused them to join the opposition to the Second French Republic.—122

In early July 1852 a number of French and German newspapers reported the arrests in Paris of members of a secret organisation who were making preparations for the assassination of Louis Bonaparte and aimed at restoring the republic. According to the newspapers, the arrested were mainly workers, several of whom had taken part in the June 1848 uprising. The newspapers maintained that the plot was directed by refugees in London and Brussels.—126, 128

Engels has in mind the fact that Adolphe Chemu, the author of *Les Conspirauteurs. Les sociétés secrètes; la préfecture de police sous Casanrück; les corps francs* (Paris, 1850), was simultaneously an organiser of secret societies during the July monarchy and a police informer, and that this was reflected in the book. Marx and Engels published a review of this book in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch ökonomische Revue*, No. 4 (see present edition, Vol. 10).—128

This refers to two documents issued in Waitzen (Vác) by Görgey, commander of the Upper Danubian Hungarian Corps, after the surrender of Buda to the counter-revolutionary troops of the Austrian Field Marshal Windischgrätz:
Görgey unjustly accused Kossuth and the Defence Council headed by the latter of deserting the capital, and in fact counterposed the Corps to the Defence Council and put forward an independent plan of conducting the war. The documents were published in A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn*, 1. Bd., Leipzig, 1852, S. 149-54.—

The due d’Enghien was condemned to death on a charge of conspiring against Napoleon and was executed by firing squad on 21 March 1804.—

Marx may have made up his mind to write on this subject when he was staying with Engels in Manchester from the end of May to second half of June 1852, but he did not carry out his plan until August, when he devoted a few articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* to analysing political parties in England and exposing the anti-popular essence of the English electoral system. These articles were 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs', 'The Chartists', 'Corruption at Elections' and 'Result of the Elections' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—

The *Mazas*—a Paris prison.—

*Claremont*—a house near London, residence of Louis Philippe after his flight from France in 1848; a centre of Orleanist intrigues to restore the Orleans dynasty in France.—

*Orlando innamorato*—a chivalrous poem by Boiardo, an Italian Renaissance poet, published in Italy in 1495. In the sixteenth century, adaptations of this poem were made by Lodovico Domenichi and Francesco Berni; most popular was that of Berni which appeared in 1541 and was repeatedly republished. Boiardo’s poem was republished in London in the 1830s.—

Here Engels alludes to the article 'Saedt' which he and Marx published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 225, 18 February 1849. The article ridiculed the mental limitation of Saedt, a Cologne public prosecutor since 1848, in connection with his poor speech for the prosecution at the trial of Kinkel in February 1849, on a charge of insulting the Prussian garrison at Mainz.—

The reference is to the Prussian criminal code introduced in April 1851. Until then the *Code pénal* introduced in 1811 in western and south-western Germany occupied by the French had been in force in Rhineland Prussia. The *Code pénal* determined the penalty for perjury, libel and similar crimes.—

Only a passage of the letter has survived as it was quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 6 August 1852. The date of Marx’s letter, 20 July, was given by Cluss.

An abridged translation of this letter was first published in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965.—

This rough copy of Marx’s letter to Kinkel is published according to Marx’s letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50). Marx also quotes it in his letter to Cluss of 30 July 1852 (see ibid., pp. 139, 140).—

Only a passage of this letter has survived in the form of a long quotation in Cluss’ letter to Weydemeyer of 16 August 1852. The date is given by Cluss.—
In a letter to Cluss written at the end of June 1852, Huzel gave an account of Kinkel's slanderous attacks on Marx and Engels. Cluss quoted an extract from it in his letter to Marx of 4-5 July 1852 and Marx copied it in his letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50).—139

Marx ironically calls Gottfried Kinkel Johann after his wife Johanna, who exerted a great influence on him (see Marx and Engels, The Great Men of the Exile, IV and V, present edition, Vol. 11).—139

This refers to the article 'Gottfried Kinkel' written by Marx and Engels in April 1850 and published unsigned in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue, No. 4, 1850 (see Note 185).—139

In a letter of 14 November 1851 Kinkel proposed that Cluss become a guarantor of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan.—140

This letter of Marx to Kinkel has survived only as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 16 August 1852 and is reproduced in Marx's letter to Engels of 6 August 1852 (see this volume, pp. 149-50). The texts are identical, with the exception of italics.—140

The American Revolutionary League—an organisation of German refugees in the USA set up in January 1852 by the petty-bourgeois democrats Goegg and Fickler who had arrived in the USA to raise the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27).—141, 150, 155, 161

The reference is to the secret conspiratorial organisation of German refugees in Paris—the German People's Union (Deutscher Volksverein) set up in 1832. When it was banned in 1834, a new secret revolutionary-democratic organisation of German artisans—the Outlaws' League (Bund der Geächteten) was formed.—143

The League of the Just was established between 1836 and 1837 in Paris as a result of the split in the Outlaws' League and was the first political organisation of German workers and artisans. It had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England. Its members were greatly influenced by the ideas of utopian socialism, that of Weitling in particular. In 1847 it served as a basis for the creation of the Communist League, the first international organisation of the proletariat (see Note 15).—143

The reference is to the Addresses of the Central Authority to the League written by Marx and Engels at the end of March and in June 1850 and to the Address of the Central Authority in Cologne dated 1 December 1850 and drawn up by the associates of Marx and Engels, mainly Bürgers. The Address of the Central Authority of March 1850 and that of the Central Authority in Cologne were published in a number of German bourgeois newspapers (see Kölnische Zeitung, No. 156, 1 June 1851, Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger, No. 177, 28 June 1851, and others).—143

The reference is to the convention signed in Vienna on 20 May 1852 by the Austrian and Russian emperors and the King of Prussia in connection with the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851. The signatories agreed to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France on certain conditions, which included the consent of the head of that regime to restrict the claim for power to his own lifetime and not to try to restore the Bonaparte dynasty.—143

Only a short extract of this letter has survived as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 15 October 1852.—144
Marx has in mind the article on political parties in England which he wanted Engels to translate into English. This was in fact Marx's first own contribution to the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Marx wrote his first articles for the *Tribune* in German and sent them to Engels to be translated into English. Sometimes Engels divided a long article into two, which Marx then sent to the newspaper as separate articles. In this case too Engels divided the material received into two parts, which Marx sent to New York on 6 and 10 August entitled 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs' and 'The Chartists' (see present edition, Vol. 11). From the end of January 1853 Marx himself wrote his articles for the paper in English.—145

Marx expresses his apprehension that Dana would refuse to print the article, because in the presidential election campaign in 1852 the *New-York Daily Tribune* supported the candidature of Scott, a representative of the American Whigs.

The Whigs—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 party existed under this title from 1834 to 1854. The intensification of the struggle over slavery caused splits and led to regroupings in the ranks of the Whigs. The majority of them, with a section of the Democratic Party and the farmers' party (Free Soilers), formed the Republican Party, which opposed slavery. The rest of the Whigs sided with the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of the slave-owning planters.—145

The series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* over Marx's signature (see Note 5).—148

In the margins of this letter there were vertical lines drawn by Marx at some time which has not been ascertained.—148, 153, 168

Marx learned of these facts from Cluss' letter of 4-5 July 1852.—149

The reference here is to Kossuth's circular of 28 June 1852 which Marx received from Cluss together with a letter of 22 July 1852. In the circular Kossuth urged the German refugees in America, in view of the imminent presidential elections, to demand that the USA should effect an armed interference in order to carry out a revolution in Europe. To expose the adventurist nature of this appeal, Cluss had the circular published in *The New-York Herald*. This was the immediate reason for Kossuth's departure from America on 14 July 1852 as he had officially declared himself a supporter of non-interference in the home affairs of host countries. The circular was also published in *The People's Paper*, No. 14, 7 August in the section 'Foreign News' under the title 'Secret Circular by Kossuth'.—150, 153, 158

The reference is to Kinkel's letter to Huzel of 6 February 1852 (see p. 152).—151

Presidential elections were to be held in France in May 1852 according to the Constitution. The petty-bourgeois democratic emigrant circles hoped that democracy would win in France and Louis Bonaparte would be removed from power because the Constitution stipulated that the outgoing President could not stand for re-election. After the coup d'etat of 2 December 1851, however, the question of the President being re-elected practically no longer arose.—154
About 16 August 1852 Marx sent Engels a long article, which, while being translated, was divided into two ('Corruption at Elections' and 'Result of the Elections'). On their dispatch to New York they were dated 20 and 27 August respectively (see present edition, Vol. 11).—158

This letter was first published in English abridged in K. Marx, On America and the Civil War, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972. In the margins of the original there were vertical lines drawn by Marx at a time which has not been ascertained.—159

The reference here is to the separatist organisation formed by the Willich-Schapper adventurist sectarian group after the split in the Communist League (see Note 15).—160, 162

An allusion to the unsuccessful attempt made in 1846-47 to publish Marx's and Engels' work The German Ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5).—161

This letter of Marx's has not been found.—161, 183, 185, 254

The reference is to the London committee of The People's Paper, set up for financing and distribution of the paper. Its 13 members were Chartists and members of the bourgeois-radical opposition who wanted to use the newspaper in the interests of the latter.—162, 175

Engels has in mind the second part of the article on the English electoral system written by Marx about 16 August 1852 (see Note 187).—164

On the instructions of Marx and Engels, Weydemeyer took the manuscript of The German Ideology to Westphalia where he failed in his negotiations for its publication with Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel, publishers in Bielefeld (see Note 190).—164

Engels has in mind the second part of the article on the English electoral system written by Marx about 16 August 1852 (see Note 187).—164

This reference to Huzel’s letter to Cluss of 20 July 1852 which Cluss sent to Marx and which contained information about Kinkel’s preparations for a congress of guarantors in America in the autumn of 1852, and gave a list of European guarantors of the loan.

Huzel had a high opinion of Marx's work, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, which he had read thanks to Cluss: 'I am also firmly convinced now that with his philosophy of destruction he will show us many more treasures with which we, despite all the devilish difficulties, can and must conquer the world.—In the Eighteenth Brumaire I find the loftiest ideas expressed in the most revolutionary way.'—166

The reference is to the two documents: 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' and 'An das Comite zur Förderung der deutschen Nationalanleihe und an die Garanten dieser Anleihe in Amerika. London. 12. August 1852'. The first contained the terms for a preliminary agreement to amalgamate the American Revolutionary League and the German Emigration Club (see notes 173 and 26).

The second document was an address to the committees and guarantors of the 'German-American revolutionary loan' (see Note 27). Its aim was to secure guarantors' preliminary consent to and approval of the amalgamation of these two organisations, which was to be finally formalised at the congress of the Revolutionary League at Wheeling (West Virginia) on 18 September.
1852. On these documents see also this volume, pp. 168-69 and 173.—166, 167

168 The *Holy Grail*—according to a medieval legend, the cup used by Christ at the Last Supper, the object of quests by mythical figures.—166

169 This is Marx's reply to Imandt's letter of 27 August 1852. With it Imandt sent Marx the 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' and the circular to the guarantors of the loan (see Note 197) passed on to him by Kinkel and Willich. Enclosed also was a letter from Kinkel and Willich to Imandt of 26 August in which they asked the latter to give his opinion on the above-mentioned documents not later than 2 September 1852.

Imandt took part in the guarantors' congress; on his actions towards the exposure of Kinkel's and Willich's adventurist schemes see this volume, pp. 131-32 and 133-37.—167

169 Marx quotes from 'An das Comité zur Förderung der deutschen Nationalanleihe und an die Garanten dieser Anleihe in Amerika. London. 12. August 1852.'—167

200 The *Friends of Light* (Lichtfreunde)—a religious trend that arose in 1841 and was directed against the pietism predominant in the Lutheran Church and distinguished by extreme mysticism and bigotry.—168, 172

169 Marx learned all these facts from Bangya's letter of 30 August 1852. Bangya, being in the service of the Prussian police, tried by these means to worm his way into Marx's confidence. Marx soon became aware of Bangya's provocative activity and broke off all relations with him (see this volume, pp. 267-70).—169, 177

201 Marx alludes in a passage in the address to the guarantors of the loan issued on 12 August 1852 (see Note 197). In reply to the guarantors' proposal to found a newspaper, the document stated that revolution 'no longer needs the pen but the sword. A newspaper in London is of no use for the revolution'.—170, 174

201 The *Centralisation* was set up in 1836 as the leading executive organ of the Polish Democratic Society which arose in France in 1832 after the suppression of the national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 and united Left-wing Polish emigrants, the small nobility (szlachta) and the bourgeoisie. Its programme envisaged restoration of Poland's independence, abolition of the feudal obligations and the inequality of social estates, free transfer of land allotments to peasants, and a number of other progressive measures. In the summer of 1849 the seat of the Centralisation was moved to London.—172

202 The material on Vetter, Mazzini and Kossuth was used by Marx in the article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' written for the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—172

203 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 21 September 1852. Cluss writes: 'Herewith English notes for the *Herald*. Lexow will no doubt attend to them if you din it into him that the rotten elements and buffoons have got to be rendered harmless for the
revolution. The agent mentioned therein is General Vetter, a generalissimo of
the Kossuth-Mazzini army. He vanished from London for a considerable
stretch of time, no one knew where to. He was travelling on a passport in
which he figured as an American painter, and with a singer by the name of
Ferenze (his mistress). She gave concerts in all the important places. The rest
you may read in the English. Vetter has now told the “big-wigs” (i.e. Kossuth)
that, circumstances being what they are, he thinks he can do no better than go
to America with Ferenze. Mazzini et Kossuth are said to be resigned to their
fate and to have decided to leave the initiative to the French.—On 14 and 15
September—yet another intrigue conducted by Kinkel behind the backs of the
guarantors in London—the pro-Kinkel guarantors are to hold a meeting in
Antwerp with a view to adopting a congressional resolution that will, it is
hoped, serve as a weapon against the resolution passed by the American and
Swiss guarantors.’ After this Cluss quotes fragments from Marx’s letter which
are reproduced here in full.

‘Notes for the Herald’ mentioned by Cluss are a version of Marx’s article
‘Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—
Palmerston’ sent by Marx to Dana presumably after 5 September 1852. When
publishing it in the New-York Daily Tribune the editors dated it 28 September
1852. The editors of the present edition have no information whether this
material was published in The New-York Herald.—172

202 Here the fragment from Marx’s letter ends and is followed by a sentence which
reveals to some extent the contents of the lost part of Marx’s letter: ‘Marx has
now received 10 Brumaires and a letter from you. He does not complain about
the material damage but solely about that caused him by this troublesome affair
from the political and literary points of view; he says he must now fight his way
through with fibs.’ A few lines further Cluss again quotes Marx: ‘I also took
notes ... at the section meeting there.’—174

203 Cluss does not say that this paragraph is by Marx, but textually it almost
coincides with Marx’s letter to Engels of 30 August 1852 (see this volume, p.
170).—174

204 The plans to have Marx’s Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte republished in
Germany and published in English did not materialise at that time. The second
edition appeared only in 1869 in Hamburg.—175

210 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract quoted by Cluss in
his letter to Weydemeyer of 26 March 1853.—176

211 The only part of this letter that has survived is an extract quoted by Cluss in
his letter to Weydemeyer of 28 September 1852.—178

212 In a memorandum entitled ‘Drei Jahre in Paris’, L. Häfner, a German
petty-bourgeois refugee, gave his opinion of the German émigrés in Paris in
1849-51.—178, 183, 185

213 This letter was published in English in full for the first time in The Letters of
Karl Marx, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction

214 Marx did not carry out his intention to write a concluding article to Engels’
Notes 621

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany. The last, twentieth, article of the series did not appear in the New-York Daily Tribune. The 1896 English edition and a number of subsequent editions had as the concluding article Engels' 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (see present edition, Vol. 11) which did not belong to this series of articles.—181, 199

215 Marx alludes to a passage in Massol's letter of 25 July 1852. Massol informed Marx that Proudhon had published a book on the coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851 and stressed that Proudhon was only a populariser, while Marx was engaged in a serious analysis of the events: 'Dig, search, keep at it; that is your lot, let French mouths do the vulgarising'.—182

216 The Manchester archives—documents of the Communist League, letters and other materials relating to the revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels kept at Engels' house.—183, 198, 245

217 The reference is to the information bulletin Lithographierte Correspondenz published by Weydrome in New York from August to October 1852.—185

218 Engels has in mind the state of Heinzen's New York newspaper Janus which published attacks on the Communist League and carried insinuations against Marx and Engels personally.—185

219 The reference is to the great fuss in the newspapers over Louis Bonaparte's tour of France on 14-16 September 1852, whose purpose was to secure support in the provinces, among the French clergy in particular, for his proclamation as Emperor of France under the title of Napoleon III, which took place on 2 December 1852.—185

220 The Customs Union of the German states was set up in 1834 under the aegis of Prussia because of the need to create an all-German market. During the 1848-49 revolution the Customs Union practically ceased to exist, but in 1853 Prussia managed to revive it and it continued to exist up to 1871.

By the 'Customs Union business' Marx means a conference on the subject which was to be convened in Vienna on 30 October 1852.—186, 195

221 The first part of this letter was first published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and dated 'beginning of September 1852'. The part dealing with the statistics from factory inspector Horner was first published in Marx/Engels, Gesamtausgabe, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929 and Marx and Engels, Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXI, Moscow, 1929 as a separate document mistakenly dated 11 March 1853.

The whole letter, with the verified date, 23 September 1852, and Engels' memorandum on the English translation of the first chapter of Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte made by Wilhelm Pieper, was first published in Marx and Engels, Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962.—188

222 Engels alludes to the active preparations being made by Bonapartist circles to proclaim an empire in France (see Note 219).—189

223 These figures were also used by Marx in his article 'Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis' (see present edition, Vol. 11) written on 12 October 1852 for the New-York Daily Tribune.—189

224 Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress)—a literary trend in Germany in the 1780s.—192
Marx received Zerffi's letter at the end of August 1852 and used the facts it contained in the article 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston' (see Note 206).—194

The Volksverein—an organisation set up in London on 11 August 1852 in a new attempt to amalgamate various groups of German refugees whose representatives concluded the 'Entwurf des Unionsvertrags' (see Note 197). The agreement was signed by Goegg on behalf of the Revolutionary League in America, and by Kinkel and Willich as members of the managing committee of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see notes 173 and 27). The aim of the Volksverein was to attract Englishmen as well as German refugees. However, owing to its adventurism and to persisting discord among the petty-bourgeois emigrants, the Volksverein was as short-lived as other such emigrant organisations before it.—194

Two religious opposition movements, the so-called German-Catholicism, and the Protestant 'free communities', appeared in the 1840s. They sought to establish an all-German national church and rejected the supremacy of the Pope and many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church. They expressed the German bourgeoisie's discontent with the reactionary system in Germany and its striving to unify the country politically. In 1850 the German-Catholics merged with the 'free communities'.—194, 267

The reference is to Louis Bonaparte's tour of France (see Note 219). Zerffi's letter to Marx of 22 September 1852 contained, in particular, details about his reception in Lyons.—195

Marx ironically calls Bürger's manuscript 'Das Wesen des Kommunismus', a pun on Feuerbach's 'Das Wesen des Christentums'.—195

Honi soit qui mal y pense (Shame be on him who evil thinks)—the motto of the Order of the Garter instituted by Edward III of England in 1350.—195

In view of the financial difficulties of The People's Paper the bourgeois members of its London committee (see Note 192) tried to obtain control over it and to hinder further development of the revolutionary proletarian tendency which Jones was following more and more thanks to Marx's active assistance. On 15 and 21 September Jones' opponents held two Chartist meetings at which they attempted to substantiate their accusations against Jones. However both meetings expressed confidence in Jones and the Executive of the National Charter Association.—195

Harney failed in his attempt to create a 'united national party' in England in the autumn of 1852 in order to campaign for general suffrage at the cost of repudiating the other five points of the People's Charter and the social demands of the Chartists.—196

An allusion to the behaviour of the French philistines during Louis Bonaparte's tour of the country (see Note 219).—196


On Herzen's relations with Herwegh see A. I. Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, Part V ('Story of the Family Drama').—199
Marx made use of the facts he learned from Zerffi’s letter of 5 September 1852 in writing the article ‘Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston’ (see present edition, Vol. 11).—200

Engels’ letter to Dünkel has not been found.—204

The reference is to Kinkel’s escape from prison (see Note 54).—206

Wiss’ statement is quoted in Marx’s and Engels’ The Great Men of the Exile (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 303).—206

On Marx’s request, Cluss sent to The New York Daily Tribune on 1 November 1852 his reply to the article ‘The German “Lone Star”’, in which he criticised the activity of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173), headed by Goegg, Ruge’s supporter. The editors refused to publish it.—207

Massol’s letter to Marx of 25 July (see Note 215).—207

Weydener’s article against Heinzen was published in the New Yorker Demokrat on 29 January 1852, that of Cluss, ‘Karl Heinzen und der Kommunismus, oder der führende Richter auf der wilden, verwegenen Jagd nach dem Schatten seines lahmen Kleppers’, in the same newspaper at the end of June-beginning of July 1852.—207

Piece Taschereau (the Taschereau document) was fabricated by the French police after the February 1848 revolution in order to discredit Blanqui. It was published on 31 March 1848 in the bourgeois journal La Revue rétrospective edited by Taschereau.—209

The Athenaeum — the name of the clubs which existed in a number of cities in England, including London and Manchester, and frequented by men of letters and scientists.—209, 233, 241, 293, 554

The Congress of the American Revolutionary League (see Note 173) was held in Wheeling, West Virginia, USA, in September 1852.—210, 267

The article written by Marx on 12 October 1852 for the New-York Daily Tribune was translated by Engels into English and sent by Marx to New York on 15 and 19 October as two articles: ‘Protectionism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis’ and ‘Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement’ (see present edition, Vol. 11).—210

Marx and Engels attacked The Times and The Daily News for supporting the Prussian reactionaries on the issue of the Cologne Communist Trial (see Note 16) in their ‘Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press’ written on 28 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—210

The reference is to the interrogation of Bürgers on 9 and 10 October 1852 during the Cologne Communist Trial.—211

An allusion to the article on the political parties in England written by Marx on 16 October 1852. Engels translated it into English and Marx sent it to New York as two articles on 2 and 9 November. The first one was published in the New-York Daily Tribune on 29 November under the title ‘Political Parties and Prospects’, the second on 25 November without any title (see present edition, Vol. 11, the title ‘Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party’ was supplied by the editors of the present edition).—212
250 The reference is presumably to Cluss' article in the Baltimore Wecker in which he mentioned false accusations of spying brought against Mrs Brüningk by Kinkel and Willich (see this volume, p. 152).—214, 574

251 Here Engels refers to the attempt of the police agent Stieber, a witness for the prosecution at the Cologne trial on 18 October 1852, to ascribe to the Communist League participation in the so-called Franco-German plot (see Note 143).—215

252 Haupt, a former member of the Communist League, was arrested at the time of the Cologne Communist Trial and gave false evidence during the investigation. The police released him before the trial and he escaped to Brazil. His evidence, damaging to the accused, was cited in Seckendorf's speech for the prosecution on 3 November 1852.—215

253 The translation into English of Marx's article written on 16 October 1852 (see Note 249).—215

254 For details on the arrest of Kothes and Bernbach see Marx's Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. II).—216

255 On Engels' advice (see this volume, pp. 208-09), Marx tried through Weerth to get information from the bookseller Duncker about a certain Eisenmann with whom Bangya had allegedly negotiated the publication of Marx's and Engels' pamphlet, The Great Men of the Exile.—216

256 Marx's letter to lawyer Schneider II of 26 October 1852 has not been found. —216

257 Engels' letter to Marx of 26 October 1852 has not been found. —218

258 Engels refers to Marx's letter to Schneider II of 26 October 1852 which contained Stieber's evidence (see Marx's letter to Engels of 26 October 1852). Engels sent two copies of it by messengers to Cologne on 27 October: the original in Marx's hand care of Braubach Bros and a copy care of Johann Philipp Becker. Marx himself sent the third and fourth copies, addressed to Hermann Ebner and Georg Gottlob Jung, from London. This is proved by a list of documents dispatched to Cologne during the Communist Trial drawn up by Engels on about 31 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. II).—218

259 At the Cologne trial on 23 October 1852 Stieber presented in evidence against the accused the so-called Original Minute-book of the meetings of the Communist League Central Authority, alleged to have been formed again by Marx in London after the arrests in Cologne. According to Stieber's false evidence, the Minute-book was compiled by Rings and Liebknecht. In reality it was fabricated by the spy Wilhelm Hirsch, exposed by and expelled from the Communist League about 19 February 1852. Because of his expulsion it was decided to change the place and day of the weekly meetings of the London District members of the Communist League. Hirsch did not know about this and continued to date the fabricated minutes Thursday, whereas the meetings were then held on Wednesdays. By sending samples of Hirsch's and later Rings' and Liebknecht's handwriting to Cologne, Engels wanted to provide counsel for the defence with documents which would expose the actual author of the 'Original Minute-book'. Thanks to the material supplied by Marx and Engels the police fabrications were exposed and the 'Original Minute-book' was rejected as evidence for the prosecution (see present edition, Vol. II).—218, 223
The ‘Original Minute-book’ (see Note 259) presented by Stieber to the jury mentioned letters allegedly written to Marx by Mrs Daniels, the wife of one of the accused. On 25 October 1852, the Kölnische Zeitung, No. 273, published a statement made by King’s Counsel Müller, father of Mrs Daniels, denying that Mrs Daniels had corresponded with Marx and declaring Stieber’s ‘Original Minute-book’ a ‘mystification’.—219, 301

The reference is to Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11). Marx began writing the pamphlet at the end of October 1852, when the trial of the Communist League members was still in progress in Cologne, and completed it in early December. On 6 December a copy of the manuscript was sent to the publisher Schabelitz junior in Switzerland, and on the following day a second copy was dispatched to Cluss in the USA. The pamphlet was published in Basle in January 1853, but almost the whole edition (2,000 copies) was confiscated by the police in March in the Baden frontier village of Weill on the way to Germany. In the USA the work was first published in instalments in the democratic Boston Neu England-Zeitung and at the end of April 1853 it was printed as a separate pamphlet by the same publishers.—220

An allusion to the campaign in French government circles for the proclamation of an empire (see Note 219).—221

In the list of documents dispatched to Cologne during the Communist Trial this letter of Marx, which has not been found, is dated Monday, 25 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 590).—222

This is presumably a slip of the pen, for in Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, Chapter III, ‘The Cherval Plot’ (present edition, Vol. 11, p. 413), it is said that Cherval was admitted to the League of the Just in 1846, i.e. before it was reorganised into the Communist League in June 1847.——222

This material was used by the lawyer Schneider II in his speech at the trial on 4 November 1852 and later by Marx in the pamphlet Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 415, 417 and 418).—222

The reference is to Marx’s correspondence with Hermann Becker concerning the publication of Marx’s works. Negotiations to that effect started in December 1850 and resulted in the publication of the first issue of Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx in Cologne at the end of April 1851. It contained the article ‘Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction’ and part of the first article from Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly’ written by Marx in 1842 (see present edition, Vol. 1). Publication was discontinued following Becker’s arrest.——222

Roland Daniels sent his manuscript ‘Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie’ from Cologne in mid-February 1851 for Marx to review it. In his letter to Daniels of 29 March (it has not been found) Marx expressed his opinion of the manuscript. Daniels’ work remained unpublished because of his arrest in June 1851 in connection with the Cologne Communist Trial.——222

Marx has in mind the minutes which Hirsch kept in the Workers’ Society presided over by Stechan, a refugee from Hanover (see Note 23).——222

Stieber’s letter to Marx of 26 December 1848, which Marx quotes below.—222

Marx’s letter to Schneider II of 26 October 1852 (see Note 256).—223
271 This excerpt from Becker's letter to Marx of 27 January 1851 is quoted by Marx in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 482).—224

272 Marx's letter to Bernbach has not been found.—224

273 Van Diemen's Land—the name initially given by Europeans to the island of Tasmania, which was a British penal colony up to 1853.—224

274 The reference is to the duel between Barthélemy and the French refugee Cournet about 25 October 1852 in which the latter was killed. Barthélemy was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.—224, 295

275 This letter of Stieber's was used by the lawyer Schneider II in his speech at the trial on 4 November 1852 to expose Stieber's past spying activity; Marx quoted this letter in full in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 485-36).—226

276 The separatist Central Authority was set up by the Willich-Schapper group after the split in the Communist League in September 1850 (see Note 15).—226

277 This refers to the *Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees* founded by the German Workers' Educational Society in London on 18 September 1849. The Committee included Karl Marx, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder, Karl Blind, Anton Füster and Frederick Engels (from 3 December 1849). In mid-September 1850 Marx and Engels withdrew from the Refugee Committee because the majority of its members had come under the influence of the Willich-Schapper group.—227

278 Here Marx ironically writes about Stieber's attempt, in his evidence on 18 October 1852, to reduce the disagreements existing between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper group to the question of personal rivalry. He ascribed to Marx an aspiration to become a dictator of Germany after a future revolution and to appoint his associates and friends ministers.—227

279 In this connection see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 422-23). In his speech on 4 November 1852 Schneider II exposed Stieber's falsification of facts connected with the confiscation of Marx's letter to Kothes.—228

280 Engels' letter to von Hontheim of 30 October 1852 has not been found.—231

281 The *Red Catechism (Roter Katechismus für das deutsche Volk)* and the letter accompanying it were written by Moses Hess who supported the Willich-Schapper group. The letter was faked by imitating Marx's handwriting. Marx exposed this forgery in a statement sent to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser* and published in that newspaper on 2 November (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 380-81). Schneider II's intention to read this statement of Marx at the trial on 4 November drew a protest from the prosecution, but they were forced to give up the idea of using 'the accompanying letter' against the accused (see also K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 443-45).—232

282 On Engels' advice, Marx gave evidence on the points listed above, had it certified and sent to Cologne where it was used at the trial by Schneider II.—232
Notes

283 This refers to Dronke’s letter to Engels of 30 October 1852 in which he warned against Bangya’s suspicious behaviour.—292

294 On 21 October 1852 Duncker wrote to Weerth that there was no publisher by the name of Eisenmann (see Note 255). Rothes was arrested because the police had intercepted a letter which Marx sent to his address to be delivered to Bernbach (on this see Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 422-24).—292

285 Engels’ letter to Strebel of 31 October 1852 has not been found.—294

286 The list of documents drawn up by Engels is published in the present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 590-91.—294

287 The reference is to the accompanying letter to the Red Catechism (see Note 281).—296

288 The reference is to a letter of 28 October 1852 composed by Bangya in the name of Charles Collmann, a publisher invented by him, concerning the preparations made for publishing Marx’s and Engels’ manuscript The Great Men of the Exile. The letter was not written on a publishers’ notepaper and had no post marks. It contained Bangya’s note dated 3 November 1852 asking Marx to acquaint himself with Collmann’s letter.—297, 299

289 The reference is to Bürgers’ trip from Cologne to Hanover, Hamburg, Berlin, Breslau and Dresden made in May 1851 on an assignment from the Cologne Central Authority. The prosecution tried to present Bürgers’ trip and his participation in drawing up the Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League, and also Nothjung’s journey to Leipzig in May 1851 mentioned below, as proof of their involvement in a communist plot.—298

290 The Crystal Palace was built of metal and glass for the first world trade and industrial exhibition in London in 1851.—298

291 After the ‘Original Minute-book’ was exposed at the trial as a forgery (see Note 259), Stieber sent police lieutenant Goldheim to London. On his return Goldheim stated at the trial on 3 November 1852 that the book mentioned was not a ‘minute-book’, but a ‘notebook’, and that it was actually sold by H. Liebknecht, alleged to be the compiler of the minutes, to the Prussian agent Fleury and contained notes on communists’ secret meetings at Marx’s house. Goldheim asserted that he had seen a cash receipt in Liebknecht’s own handwriting. He also spoke of a ‘top secret meeting’ at Marx’s on 27 October 1852 in connection with the Cologne trial. On 4 November 1852 lawyer Schneider II proved that this evidence for the prosecution was also false. On this see Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 429-35 and 438-39).—299, 301

292 Marx was in Manchester in May-June 1852.—301

293 The meeting in memory of Robert Blum in London on 9 November 1852 was organised by Arnold Ruge and his associates. Speeches were made by Ruge, Tausenau, Rouge and other bourgeois radicals and democrats.—301, 306

294 Marx learned about this from lawyer Schneider II’s letter of 1 November 1852.—301
On Bangya’s provocative role in the matter of publishing Marx’s and Engels’ pamphlet The Great Men of the Exile see Marx’s article ‘Hirsch’s Confessions’ (present edition, Vol. 12).

The second part of the pamphlet (see Note 151) was probably not written, though the last lines of this work contain a definite hint that the account of German petty-bourgeois refugees’ activities will be continued. Marx’s pamphlet Herr Vogt, Chapter XII: ‘Appendices’, Section 6 ‘The War between Frogs and Mice’ contains material on the activity of petty-bourgeois refugee organisations in 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 313-15).—242

Fleury’s statement proving the falseness of Goldheim’s evidence was not published in the Kölnische Zeitung. Counsel for the defence got possession of it after the trial. Marx quoted it in Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442).—243

Marx wrote this statement on 21 October 1852; the text has not survived. Marx explains in Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne why the German newspapers refused to publish it (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 436).—244

Marx gives these facts in Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 442 and 451-52). Additional information about Hirsch’s contacts with the Prussian police agents Greif and Fleury, and the role of the Prussian Embassy in London during the Cologne trial, is to be found in Herr Vogt, ‘Appendices’, Section 4 ‘The Communist Trial in Cologne’ (see present edition, Vol. 17).—245

The reference is to the publication in October 1852 of a lithographed statement of accounts and of a statement by Reichenbach who was the treasurer of the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27). Reichenbach refused to be in charge of the funds because the idea of the revolutionary loan did not justify itself. Later Marx quoted extracts from Reichenbach’s statement in Herr Vogt, ‘Appendices’, Section 6 ‘The War between Frogs and Mice’ (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 314).—245, 246, 275, 282, 302

On Engels’ advice Marx wrote to the Frankfurt journalist Ebner asking him whether it would be possible to publish the pamphlet on the Cologne Communist Trial there (see this volume, pp. 238-39 and Note 122). Marx’s letter to Ebner has not been found.—245

The ‘Friends of Italy’—an organisation founded in London in May 1851 by the English bourgeois radicals on Mazzini’s initiative in order to interest the English public in Italy’s national liberation.—246

Only the author’s copy of this letter has survived in Marx’s notebook for 1860 among material relating to his work on Herr Vogt.—247

Marx sent the German original of the statement to Cluss in America on 18 November 1852. Marx’s letter has not been found. The statement dated 18 November 1852 was published in the New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung No. 39, 10 December 1852. Its text differed from the English version edited by Engels at Marx’s request and published in English papers, dated 20 November 1852.—247

The appeal to German workers in America was written by Marx on behalf of a committee founded in London to organise aid to the communists accused in Cologne. It was signed by the members of the recently disbanded Communist
League who were resident in London—Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Ernst Dronke, Wilhelm Liebknecht and other German refugees, and also by Ernest Jones. The appeal was sent to Cluss on 7 December 1852 and published in American German-language newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 11).—247

305 Little Germany—a name given ironically by Engels to a district in Manchester where German refugees lived.—249

306 The New York printer withheld copies of Marx’s The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see this volume, p. 160).—251

307 After the 1830 revolution in France, the opposition movement of the so-called demagogues (see Note 139) became more intense in Germany. This caused new police repressions and arrests and increased emigration, especially after an attempt had been made to effect a coup d’état in Frankfurt am Main on 3 April 1833 with the aim of establishing a republic.—251

308 Marx analysed Disraeli’s budget in ‘Parliament.—Vote of November 26.—Disraeli’s Budget’ written on 10 December 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—253

309 The reference is to the so-called Franco-German plot (see Note 143) inspired to a great extent by Cherval, an agent of the Prussian and French police. On this see Marx’s Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-20.—255

310 Facts proving Bangya’s provocative role in the matter of publishing Marx’s and Engels’ manuscript The Great Men of the Exile were cited by Marx in the article ‘Hirsch’s Confessions’ (see present edition, Vol. 12).—256

311 In a letter to Bangya of 28 October 1852 the fictitious publisher Collmann (see Note 288) expressed readiness, for the authors’ reassurance, to place the manuscript at their disposal for 48 hours.—257, 258

312 After the Bonapartist coup d’état of 2 December 1851 intensive preparations were made to proclaim France an empire. On 21 and 22 November 1852 a referendum was held on the issue: on 2 December France was officially proclaimed an empire, and the Prince President Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. In the period preceding the proclamation of the empire numerous decrees concerning, among other things, the economy and finance were promulgated. Here Marx has in mind two decrees of 18 November 1852: on the foundation of the Société générale du Crédit mobilier and on the handing over of several railways to the Compagnie du chemin de fer de Lyon à Avignon founded on 8 July 1852 (both decrees were published in Le Moniteur universel, No. 325, 20 November 1852). The Crédit mobilier became a big joint-stock bank which acted as intermediary in credit and stockjobbing operations and took part in building railways in France and other European countries.—257, 263

313 Engels went to London in the second half of December 1852 and stayed there until 10 January 1853.—257, 271, 304

314 The original of this letter has not survived. It is quoted in Cluss’ letter to Weydemeyer of 6-7 January 1853. This letter was published in English in part in K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to the Americans. 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—259
On the publication of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* see Note 261.—259

A reference to the world trade and industrial exhibition in London (see Note 37).—260

In a letter to Marx of 21 November 1852 Cluss expressed doubt whether Massol was right in alleging that Proudhon had taken a revolutionary stand in his new works in contrast to those of the 1840s (Massol's letter of 25 July 1852 was sent to Cluss by Marx for information). Cluss' opinion was shared by Weydemeyer.—260

*Free Soilers*—members of a mass radical-democratic party of US farmers in the 1840s and 1850s; it merged with the Republican Party when the latter was formed in 1854.—262

*Mormons*—members of a religious sect founded in the USA in the 1830s.—262

This presumably refers to Marx's contacts with petty-bourgeois circles of French refugees in London.

*Frères et amis*—a form of address used in official documents and public speeches at the time of the French Revolution. Later, royalists used it in referring to republicans.—263

The original of this letter has not survived. The text is given according to Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 6-7 January 1853.—265

Marx's letter to Brüningk has not survived.—265

The reference is to the publication of Reichenbach's accounts and statement (see Note 299).—266

Marx spoke of these facts in *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and 'Hirsch's Confessions' (see present edition, vols. 11 and 12).—267

News from Schabelitz (see this volume, p. 264) led Marx to believe that *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* had already been published in Basle. On how matters stood as regards this publication see Note 261.—270

Steps to publish Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in Switzerland failed.—270

See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 417-18.—270

In the letter mentioned here Dana informed Marx that he would pay £ 1 for each article, but promised double pay for articles on vital problems of current politics.—273

The original of Marx's letter has not been found. This fragment is reproduced as quoted in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 17 February 1853.—275

'Communia'—a colony founded by Weitling's associates in Iowa (USA) in 1849 to put in practice the principles of Weitling's utopian communism. The colony ceased to exist in 1853 owing to inner conflicts and financial difficulties.—275, 450

At the beginning of 1853 the German liberal historian Professor Gervinus was brought to trial on a charge of incitement to high treason and an attempted breach of the peace in publishing *Einleitung in die Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts.*
a book which reactionary circles considered an apology for the democratic system and a criticism of monarchy.—276

328 The international Peace Congress was convened by the bourgeois pacifist organisation, Peace Society, in Manchester at the end of January 1853. Free Traders were especially active at it. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions against anti-French military propaganda in England and against the increase of armaments.

Cobden’s pamphlet is assessed and the Peace Congress described in Marx’s article ‘Capital Punishment.—Mr. Cobden’s Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England’ (see present edition, Vol. 11).—276

329 The reference is to the armed conflict between Turkey and Montenegro which was a vassal possession of the Sultan and sought full independence. In early 1853 Turkish troops invaded Montenegro, but the stance adopted by Russia and pressure from Austria soon compelled the Sultan to withdraw them.—277, 278, 288

334 Marx made this rough note in English on J. G. Mayer’s letter of 3 February 1853. Marx used the pseudonym Charles Williams when he sent his letters to Szemere in Paris c/o Mayer.—277

335 A reference to the Milan insurrection started on 6 February 1853 by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and supported by Hungarian revolutionary refugees. The aim of the insurgents, who were mostly Italian workers, was to overthrow Austrian rule. The insurrection was badly organised and was soon suppressed. Marx analysed it in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 508-09, 513-16, 532 and 535-37).—278, 283, 307

336 Bellinzona—an administrative town in the Swiss canton of Tessin (Ticino). In the main cities of this canton, a centre of Italian emigration in the nineteenth century, there were print-shops where the supporters of Italy’s national liberation had their literature printed.—278

337 Kossuth, who after the defeat of the Hungarian revolutionary army crossed into territory dependent on Turkey and was interned in the fortress of Vidin (Bulgaria), appealed to the insurgents still in the fortress of Komarom on 2 October 1849 to continue the struggle promising speedy support from Britain. However, the Hungarian insurgents had already accepted Austrian terms of capitulation.—279

338 This letter was published in English for the first time, considerably abridged, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—280, 344

339 Here Marx refers to a letter from Kossuth to Mayne Reid intended for the press. Mayne Reid published a statement in a number of English newspapers (see, e.g., M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and The Times, The Daily News, No. 2105, 18 February 1853) assuring on behalf of Kossuth that the latter did not take part in the Milan insurrection (see Note 335) and declaring that the address ‘In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy’ circulated over Kossuth’s signature during the insurrection was a forgery.—280

340 Marx quotes this statement of Della Rocco in the article ‘The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli’s Speech.—Napoleon’s Will’ (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 515).—281
Marx has in mind here the English workers' movement for observance by the manufacturers of the Ten Hours' Bill adopted by Parliament in 1847, for its application to all categories of workers and for the repeal of the 1850 law, which despite the 1847 Bill established a 10½-hour working day. Marx analyses this movement in 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—282

Marx refers to the speech made by John Russell, leader of the Whig Party and member of the Aberdeen Coalition Government, at the opening of Parliament on 10 February 1853. Marx analysed this speech in 'The Italian Insurrection.—British Politics' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—282

A reference to John Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry of 1852-55 (the Cabinet of All the Talents), which consisted of Whigs, Peelites and representatives of the Irish faction. Marx described this Ministry in 'A Superannuated Administration.—Prospects of the Coalition Ministry, &c.' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—284

A reference to questions in Parliament in connection with rumours that the reactionary governments of the continental powers, Austria in the first place, intended to demand that the British Government should deport political refugees, Mazzini and Kossuth in particular. On 3 March 1853 Palmerston denied in the House of Commons that such demands had been made and declared that, should they be made, the British Government would categorically reject them. However, on 4 March, Aberdeen, head of the Cabinet, stated in the House of Lords that the government was ready to take proceedings against the refugees.—284

In June 1850 the British Parliament debated the Anglo-Greek conflict over the so-called Pacifico incident. The house in Athens of this Portuguese merchant, a British subject, was burnt in 1847 and this served as a pretext for Palmerston to send ships to the Greek coast and present an ultimatum to the Greek Government.—284, 455

The debate on the Address took place at the opening of Parliament in 1850. The usual procedure of drawing up a reply to the Speech from the Throne was used as a pretext for a comprehensive criticism of Russell's Whig Government, of which Palmerston was a member.—284

On 3 March 1853 the radical Hume moved in the House of Commons that all tariffs which were in the slightest degree protectionist should be annulled. Marx expressed his opinion on Hume's motion and on Gladstone's and other Cabinet members' attitude to the question in 'Achievements of the Ministry' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—284

Philhellenes—here non-Greek supporter of Greek independence in 1821-29.—284

Engels revealed the essence of the dispute on the Eastern Question between The Times and The Daily News and described Urquhart's views in 'The Turkish Question' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—286

A reference to the trade agreement concluded between Prussia and Austria on 9 February 1853. Marx analysed it in 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—The Times and the Refugees' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 537-38).—286

Marx has in mind his articles for the New-York Daily Tribune: 1. 'Capital
Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England' (28 January); 2. 'Defense.—Finances.—Decrease of the Aristocracy.—Politics' (8 February); 3. 'The Italian Insurrection.—British Politics' (11 February); 4. 'The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will' (22 February); 5. 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (25 February); 6. article of 1 March with additional information about the attack on Francis Joseph and about Kossuth (presumably not published by the newspaper); 7. 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden' (4 March). The article 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—The Times and the Refugees', which Marx planned to send off on 11 March, was presumably written between 12 and 18 March and published on 4 April 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 11).—288

A reference to articles by Aurelius Ferenc Pulszky, a Hungarian journalist and supporter of Kossuth. As an émigré in London he contributed to the New-York Daily Tribune from 1853 to 1860. He signed his articles 'A. P. C.', presumably an abbreviation for Aurelius Pulszky's Correspondence. Marx did not learn about Pulszky's contribution to the New-York Daily Tribune until several years later.—288

The entente cordiale—an expression used to denote the rapprochement between France and Britain after the July 1830 revolution.

The Holy Alliance—an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. The Holy Alliance, in which the main role was played by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was dissolved in the late 1820s, but after the 1830 and 1848-49 revolutions attempts were made to resurrect it.—289

In compliance with Marx's request Engels wrote for the New-York Daily Tribune between 12 March and early April 1853: 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey' (jointly with Marx), 'The Real Issue in Turkey', 'The Turkish Question' and 'What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—289

An allusion to Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce case. Lassalle was in charge of it from 1846 to 1854 and, after the divorce had been granted by the court in July 1851, tried in particular to secure for the Countess her share of the common property of the former couple.—293, 478

Engels used this information in the article for the New-York Daily Tribune 'The Real Issue in Turkey' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—295

A reference to the Canada Clergy Reserves founded in 1791-1840, which consisted of a seventh of the revenue from the sale of lands in Canada and were used chiefly to subsidise the Established and Presbyterian churches. The discontent of other churches with such a distribution of funds compelled the British Parliament to pass a law in 1853 authorising the Canadian legislative bodies to distribute these funds among the different churches according to the proportion of the population professing their respective beliefs. Marx described this Bill and the debate on it in the House of Commons in 'Achievements of the Ministry' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—295

This letter is a reply to Cluss' letter of 6 March 1853. The unanswered letters were presumably written on 25 February and 2 March 1853.—298
Marx has in mind the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* in the *Neu-England Zeitung* by Cluss in the USA (see Note 261). For this Cluss used a second copy of the manuscript sent by Marx to New York on 7 December 1852. The newspaper published only three fragments on 6 March, 2 and 28 April 1853.—298

Barthélemy was Willich's second during the latter's duel with Schramm in Ostend in September 1850. See Marx's *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 492-95).—299

Cluss' letter to Marx of 24 March 1853.—301

A reference to a no-longer-existing letter to Bangya which Marx presumably wrote in Manchester during the period from the end of May to the second half of June 1852 while he and Engels were working on *The Great Men of the Exile*.—301

An allusion to Harvey Birch, the main character in Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—301

Hirsch asserted in his confessions that the documents of the Willich-Schapper group had been stolen not by Remer, as was pointed out by Marx and Engels, but by Feinty (see, in particular, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 390 and 406, and this volume, pp. 226-27).—302

On the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, see notes 261 and 359.—302

Engels' letter to Marx of 8 April 1853 has not been found.—303

Jomini's best known works on the Napoleonic wars are: *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la Révolution de 1792 à 1801*, t. 1-15, Paris, 1819-24; *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même au tribunal de César, d'Alexandre et de Frédéric*, t. 1-4, Paris, 1827. The first edition of Clausewitz's works, *Hinterlassene Werke über Krieg und Kriegführung*, was published in ten volumes in Berlin in 1832-37. The Napoleonic wars were dealt with in works in volumes 5-8.—305

In February 1846, when an attempt was made to start a revolt in the Polish lands to secure the national liberation of Poland and the insurgents managed to win a temporary victory in Cracow, the Galician peasants also rose in revolt. The oppressed Ukrainian peasants hated the Polish szlachta, and the Austrian authorities succeeded in several places in turning the rebellious peasants against the Polish insurgents. After the suppression of the Cracow revolt, the Galician peasants were also crushed.—306

A reference to the Russell Whig Cabinet (July 1846-February 1852), the Derby Tory Cabinet which replaced it (and was in power till December 1852) and the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet (see Note 343).—306

In the early 1850s the struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany again became acute: in particular, Austria, with the support of Russia, hampered Prussia's attempts to restore the Customs Union (see Note 220). After the coup d'état in France in December 1851 a new war threatened Europe because Bonapartist circles wished to restore the frontiers of the First Empire. In connection with this Austria made certain concessions when negotiating a trade agreement with Prussia (see Note 350).—307
The spring campaign of 1849 in Northern Italy began after Austria and Piedmont resumed hostilities on 12 March. At the decisive battle of Novara on 22-23 March 1849 the Austrian army under Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese troops. As a result Austrian rule was restored in Northern Italy.—310

The Világos affair—the capitulation of the main forces of the Hungarian revolutionary army under Görgey to Paskievič’s troops on 13 August 1849.—310

The Hungarian revolutionary army relieved Komárom on 22 April 1849 (see Note 134).—310

In the spring of 1849 Hungarian troops under Bem marched to the Banat, a district in the Serbian Voivodina, then part of Hungary.

In speaking of the manoeuvre before Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Engels has in mind the successful operations of Bem’s troops during the campaign in Transylvania in February-March 1849. During the general advance of the Russian troops in summer 1849 Bem returned to Transylvania, again marched to Hermannstadt, drove out the Russian garrison but, faced by superior forces of the Russian and Austrian armies, was compelled to retreat.—311

The extract from this letter is printed as quoted by Cluss in a letter to Weydemeyer of 3 May 1853. It was published in English for the first time abridged in K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans: 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—312

The reference is to a series of articles by Pieper published under the general heading 'A Critical History of French Socialism' in The People’s Paper, Nos. 31-33, 4, 11 and 18 December 1852. Weydemeyer and Cluss planned to publish these articles in Die Reform, but Pieper did not finish the series.—312

Here Marx has in mind Pieper’s material difficulties. On 18 April 1853 Pieper applied to Engels for help, as he could not receive money due to him for private lessons. On receipt of Pieper’s letter Engels probably wrote to Marx between 19 and 23 April 1853 inquiring about Pieper’s situation. Engels’ letter has not been found.—314

Marx received Engels’ article on Switzerland on 26 April 1853 and dispatched it with his own article to New York on 29 April 1853. The editors published the material on Switzerland as two articles. The first article, including Marx’s material, was entitled ‘The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection’ and was published on 14 May 1853; the second article appeared on 17 May 1853 under the heading ‘Political Position of the Swiss Republic’; the date of its dispatch from London—1 May 1853—was arbitrarily supplied by the editors (see present edition, Vol. 12). The newspaper published both articles over Marx’s name, though the first was written by Marx and Engels, and the second by Engels.—311, 319, 321

Marx’s letter to Strohn is not extant.—315

In April 1853 as a pretext for reprisals against political refugees, the British authorities accused the proprietor of a rocket manufactory in Rotherhithe, in London, of a conspiracy with Kossuth which Marx ironically calls ‘Kossuth’s gunpowder plot’ by analogy with the Catholic gunpowder plot against James I in England in 1605. In March 1853 the Prussian police arrested several liberal and radical bourgeois leaders in Berlin in an effort to trump up a new conspiracy case. These government and police actions are described in Marx’s

381 Marx presumably refers to his letters to Cluss of 25 March and 17 April 1853 (see this volume, pp. 298-300 and 312-14) and one of about 10 April 1853 which is not extant. As emerges from Cluss’ letter to Marx of 28 April 1853, Marx dealt in it with the publication in America of Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne as a separate book.—317

382 An allusion to the past of Henri Savoye, professor of German at Louis-le-Grand college in 1841-48 and the author of several works on Germany and the German language.—317

383 An abridged translation of this letter was published for the first time as an editorial note to Engels’ letter to Marx of 3 December 1851 in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—319

384 This money was collected in America in compliance with the appeal of Marx, Engels and their associates to help the Communist League members accused in Cologne and their families.—323

385 On 21 May 1853 Jones published in The People’s Paper an appeal to organise workers’ meetings in favour of the People’s Charter. At the time Marx wrote several articles for the New-York Daily Tribune on the revival of the Chartist movement (see present edition, Vol. 12).—325

386 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May and returned to London on 20 May 1853.—325, 335

387 An abridged translation of this letter was published for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, London, 1934. It was erroneously dated ‘about 18 May 1853’. In later English publications the date of the letter was verified (see Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965).—325

388 Willich slanderously represented his duel with Schramm in September 1850 (see Note 360) as an attempt by Marx and Engels to get rid of him by having him killed. Marx refuted this slander in his pamphlet, The Knight of the Noble Consciousness (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 492-95).—326

389 Die Reform was the organ of the American Workers’ Association consisting mostly of German emigrant workers. Though officially its editor was the petty-bourgeois democrat Kellner, the newspaper’s tendency was determined to a great extent by Weydemeyer, who became the newspaper’s actual editor in the summer of 1853. Under his influence the paper retained its commitment to the working class for some time. It often reprinted Marx’s and Engels’ articles from the New-York Daily Tribune. Marx persuaded his associates (Eccarius, Pieper and Dronke) to co-operate with Die Reform, which regularly published articles and reports by Cluss and Weydemeyer, some based on material from Marx’s letters. Towards the end of its existence (1854), the petty-bourgeois influence of its editor-in-chief, Kellner, became dominant.—326

390 Marx and Engels talked about this during Marx’s visit to Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—326
In a statement made shortly after the publication of the final instalment of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne in the New-England-Zeitung* No. 59, 22 April 1853, Willich threatened the imminent exposure of Marx in that newspaper, and the disclosure of facts he had not hitherto wished to make public. However, he only carried out his threat six months later by publishing a slanderous article, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', in the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. Marx replied with *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12).—330

Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—332

A reference to efforts to find a job in Manchester or Liverpool for Wilhelm Wolff, who had lost his last teaching possibilities with Reichenbach's departure to the USA.—334

In his statement 'An die Redaktion der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung' of 2 May 1853 published in the newspaper on 13 May, Willich called Cluss Marx's agent.—336

A reference to a unit formed by Willich in November 1848 in Besançon (France) out of German émigré workers and artisans. The practices and morals of this unit were satirically described by Marx and Engels in *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 312-15).—336

The ideas expressed by Engels here were used by Marx in 'The British Rule in India' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—339

*Tartary*—a name given in the nineteenth century to a part of Turkestan in Central Asia.—339

Engels refers to Weitling's lost work 'Allgemeine Denk- und Sprachlehre nebst Grundzügen einer Universal-Sprache der Menschheit', written in the first half of the 1840s.—341

In 1853, with the active support of the Polish democratic refugees, Alexander Herzen founded the Free Russian Press in London to evade tsarist censorship. Pointing to this aspect of Herzen's activity, Lenin wrote in his article 'In Memory of Herzen' that he 'was the first to raise the great banner of struggle by addressing his *free Russian word* to the masses' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 31). Nikolai Ogarev, another prominent figure among the Russian revolutionary democrats, also took part in the management of the Free Russian Press. Besides a large number of books, pamphlets and leaflets, the Free Russian Press published the periodicals *Polar Star* and *Bell*, which played a great part in developing the revolutionary and democratic movement in Russia. In April 1865 the Free Russian Press was moved to Geneva, where it continued functioning up to August 1867.—345

A reference to Cluss' letter to Marx of 29 May 1853.—345

Mark lived in Chelsea (4 Anderson Street, London, S.W. 3) from August 1849 to April 1850.—345

The facts mentioned here were described in greater detail by Marx in a letter to Cluss also written on 14 June 1853 (see Note 407).—348

The *Edda*—a collection of Scandinavian mythological and heroic sagas and lays; two versions dating back to the thirteenth century are extant.—328
638 Notes

494 A reference to H. Ch. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: why it exists, and how it may be extinguished*, Philadelphia, 1853. A quotation from Marx's 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery' is given on pp. 203-04 of that book.—345

495 The *laws of Manu* (Māṇava Dharmas—Castra)—an ancient Indian collection of instructions defining the duties of each Hindu according to the dogmas of Brahminism. Indian tradition has it that these laws were drafted by Manu, the mythical father of the people, approximately between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.—348

496 Only an extract of this letter has survived as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 28 June 1853. Part of it was published in English for the first time in *K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—348

507 Further Cluss gives the substance of Marx's letter in his own words: 'About the money business Marx says: He has never accepted any financial support; as for the case trumpeted forth by Willich, it was roughly as follows: Marx, it is said, had rented a house in Chelsea (London) as a subtenant, paid his monthly rent regularly, often at the price of great privation. Then the actual owner of the house suddenly turns up and seizes on Marx, as the sublessor has paid nothing for a year. English law authorises this procedure. Marx cannot pay, a broker is installed in the house, etc. Marx in a very unfortunate position.—He is a member of the Refugee Relief Committee. The moneys are paid out weekly to individual refugees. The total sum, however, which is provided for the greater part by our friends in Europe, is lying idle, and so Marx is 'saved', by being granted the necessary sum on condition that he pays it back in fixed instalments when it is required for other refugees—those, it appears, who are alone entitled to relief. This he did conscientiously, and paid back everything, partly out of his own earnings and partly out of money he got from his family. C'est tout [That's all].

'I have no lack of material to spin this out; on the contrary, there is an abundance of it. The same applies to the sacrifices he made for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, when the bourgeoisie fell away after the June Revolution [proletarian uprising in Paris in 1848], and the democratic petty bourgeoisie after the state of siege was introduced in Cologne. That's quite something. Marx says he spent about 7,000 talers for the *N. Rh. Z.*... He says, too, that I can and should make use of all the material he gives me, without however involving him in this business as a witness. Reform: Marx says I am right. He says half Germany will come to New York for the industrial exhibition, and as we have no other publication in this city, we should simply take no notice of the stupidities of the *Hornisse* gentlemen [the editor of the *Reform* Gottlieb Kellner and its London correspondent Heinrich Heise published *Die Hornisse* in Cassel in 1848-50] and prudently steer our own course. As is well known, Talleyrand always called to his statesmen: "Avant tout, pas de zèle, pas de zèle!" ['Above all, not too much zeal, not too much zeal!'].—348

498 A twenty-five thousand-strong political demonstration was organised by the Chartists in Halifax on 26 June 1853 on the occasion of the funeral of Benjamin Ruston, an old Chartist worker. Marx wrote about this demonstration in the article 'Russian Policy Against Turkey.—Chartism' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—350
Presumably the reference is to Marx's letter to Cluss sent off about 14 June 1853 (see this volume, pp. 348-50).—351

Marx stayed in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—351

Charles Anderson Dana’s letter to Mrs Marx of 1 July 1853.—354

Marx analysed this debate and Bright's speech in the article 'The Turkish War Question.—The New-York Tribune in the House of Commons.—The Government of India' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—355

In April 1851 Abraham Jacobi was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine for his dissertation 'Cogitationes de vita rerum naturalium' at Bonn University.—355

In a campaign for a revival of the mass movement, leaders of the revolutionary Chartists headed by Jones organised mass meetings all over the country in June and July 1853. Most important were the meeting in Blackstone-Edge (19 June), the meeting and demonstration in Halifax on 26 June (see Note 408), and meetings in Oldham (27 June), Newcastle (3 July) and Mount Sorrel (10 July).—355

Engels was in London at the end of July and beginning of August 1853 on the occasion of his mother's visit to England (see this volume, p. 350).—356

This is a covering note to Marx's article 'Michael Bakunin' written for The Morning Advertiser and published on 2 September 1853 datelined 30 August (see present edition, Vol. 12). It is extant as a copy in Mrs Marx's hand. The signature and address are in Marx's own writing.—358

As Cluss' letter to Marx of 23-24 October 1853 and Pieper's letter to Jacobi of 3 September 1853 show, references for Abraham Jacobi, who intended to leave for the USA, were sent to America in early September 1853. But there is no mention of this in Marx's extant letters to Cluss and Weydenmeyer and excerpts from them.—359

Bakunin wrote to George Sand on 9 July, and in her letter to Marx of 20 July George Sand refuted the calumnious rumours about Bakunin.—360

Marx's statement, a draft of which is quoted below, was not published by The Morning Advertiser. In view of this Marx put it in The People's Paper, No. 71, 10 September 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12). The texts of the published statement and the draft are not identical.—362, 364

The laws on suspects—the decree passed by the French Convention on 17 September 1793 and other measures of the Jacobin revolutionary government which declared all persons suspect and subject to arrest who in any way supported the overthrown monarchy, including all former aristocrats and royal officials who had not testified their loyalty to the revolution. These laws were drawn up in such a way that even people not involved in counter-revolutionary activity could be placed in the category of 'suspects'.—363

Engels' reply to Marx's letter of 3 September 1853 containing a request for his comments on Marx's draft statement to The Morning Advertiser (see Note 419) has not been found.—363

A reference to Wilhelm Wulff's impending departure for Manchester. He lived there from the first half of September 1853 to the end of his life in 1864.—364
Marx refers here to the articles on Russian foreign policy, in particular with respect to Turkey, in *The Morning Advertiser* (e.g. of 6 and 7 September 1853, etc.) and in the *New-York Daily Tribune*. Those in *The Morning Advertiser* were written by Karl Blind and those in the *Tribune* by Adam Gruwoski.—365

In a letter of 31 July 1853 sent to Ferdinand Freiligrath who passed it on to Marx on 18 August, the Communist League member Carl Wilhelm Klein reported on the formation of a new Communist League community in Philadelphia, where he was living in emigration at the time. He asked the Communist League members in London to help him establish contacts with the communities in Germany and to send in articles for *Gradaus*, a German refugees' newspaper close to the Working Men's Association in Philadelphia at the time. Simultaneously, Marx received from Cluss and Weydemeyer, in reply to his inquiry, information about Klein's own unseemly conduct in Philadelphia. Taking into account Klein's influence among the Solingen workers, Marx recommended that Cluss should maintain contact with him. Marx's reply to Klein's letter has not been found.—365, 367

An extract from this letter is extant as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 3 October 1853.—366

Presumably an allusion to the fact that Poesche used the article 'Geld' in Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon* (Vol. 12, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam, Paris and Philadelphia, 1848, pp. 285-91) as a source for his article.—367

The article 'The Western Powers and Turkey.—Imminent Economic Crisis.—Railway Construction in India' was written jointly by Marx and Engels on 19-20 September 1853.—368, 370


Presumably Marx mentioned his intention to write articles on these subjects in a no longer extant letter to Engels written between 17 and 28 September 1853.—374

Marx's 'The War Question.—Financial Matters.—Strikes' (dated 7 October 1853) suggests that Engels sent in the promised material and Marx worked it up for this article (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 409-19).—374, 376

In September 1853 the Preston manufacturers responded with a lockout to one of the biggest strikes by English workers in the 1850s. The strike was started by the weavers and spinners of mills in and around Preston who demanded a ten per cent wage rise; they were supported by workers in other trades. The lockout lasted until February 1854, but the strike continued after that date. To break the strike the Manufacturers' Association started bringing workers to Preston from Ireland and from English workhouses. In March 1854 the leaders of the strike were arrested, and as funds were low the workers were compelled to return to work. The strike ended in May 1854 (see K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes', present edition, Vol. 12).—374, 378, 513

Textile mill workers and some 5,000 miners went on strike in Wigan (see K. Marx, 'Panic on the London Stock Exchange.—Strikes', present edition, Vol. 12).—376
Marx carried out his plans in February and March 1854 by writing 'Russian Diplomacy.—The Blue Book on the Eastern Question—Montenegro' and 'Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question' (see present edition, vols. 12 and 13). He wrote two articles on Denmark (21 October and 4 November 1853): 'Arrest of Delescluze.—Denmark.—Austria.—The Times on the Prospects of War Against Russia' and 'Persian Expedition in Afghanistan and Russian Expedition in Central Asia.—Denmark.—The Fighting on the Danube and in Asia.—Wigan Colliers' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—376

Only part of this letter is extant.—377

At first Wilhelm Wolff intended to emigrate to the USA.—377

A reference to the first article in the series Lord Palmerston which Marx was working on from early October to early December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12). The pamphlet Lord Palmerston was intended for the New-York Daily Tribune. Simultaneously the articles were published in the Chartist People's Paper, which published eight articles from 22 October to 24 December 1853 as a single series, each article being preceded by the editorial note: ‘Written for the New York Tribune by Dr. Marx, and communicated by him to us’. The New-York Daily Tribune published only four articles (their contents corresponded to six articles in The People’s Paper) as leaders, outwardly unconnected and with different titles. The sixth and eighth articles of the series were not published in the Tribune at all.

At Marx’s request Cluss translated into German the first article published in the Tribune. It was published abridged in New York in the German-language workers’ newspaper Die Reform, Nos. 72, 73, 74, 77 and 78, 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 November 1853. In December 1853 Cluss translated the second and third articles of the pamphlet from the Tribune and the fourth from The People’s Paper. The editors of this edition do not have a complete file of Die Reform for 1854 at their disposal; it is therefore impossible to say whether the publication of the German translation was continued.—378

On 5 August 1853 the House of Lords rejected the Combination of Workmen Bill which would have granted limited rights to workers’ organisations. In this context Marx denounced the anti-working-class policy of both the ruling oligarchy and the liberal and radical bourgeoisie. In the atmosphere of a mass strike movement, the manufacturers created ‘an association for the purpose of aiding the trade in regulating the excitement among operatives in the Manchester district’ and resolutely opposed the organisation of workers’ associations (see K. Marx, ‘The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament’, present edition, Vol. 12). Marx thought it necessary to draw the workers’ attention to the fact that the bourgeoisie was consolidating its forces; with this aim in view he wanted to provide Jones with facts before his tour of the strike districts. In an article written on 7 October, i.e. the day after his meeting with Jones, Marx wrote: ‘The London press, it appears, was anxious to withhold the fact from the eyes of the world, that the Factory Lords were systematically arraying their class against the class of Labor, and that the successive steps taken by them, instead of being the spontaneous result of circumstances, are the premeditated effects of a deep-laid conspiracy of an organized Anti-Labor League!’ (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 412).

To help the strikers a group of Chartists headed by Jones suggested the setting up of a coordinating workers’ organisation, The Mass Movement, which
was to unite Chartists, members of co-operative associations, trade unionists and unorganised workers (see Note 498).—378

359 In this letter Marx continues to set forth for his associates in America certain propositions of the economic theory he was then elaborating (see Note 45). At the time of writing this letter Marx had received from Cluss his article 'Das beste Blatt der Union' und seine besten Männer und Nationalökonomen published in the New York workers' newspaper Die Reform in September 1853, for which Cluss had made use of Marx's earlier letters. (For the text of this article and its analysis see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 623-32.) The question of rent was among the problems raised in the article. These notes by Marx are directly related to this subject and to the critique he began earlier of the American vulgar economist H. Ch. Carey.—378, 387

Presumably Marx continued this letter the next day, 6 October 1853.—383

360 On Tuesday, 18 October 1853, Marx dispatched to New York 'The Turkish Manifesto—France's Economic Position'. Engels may have taken part in writing it.—388

This letter was known earlier only from a copy of it in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 2 November 1853 and partly as rendered by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 4 November 1853. The extract published in Marx and Engels, Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, and Marx und Engels, Werke, Bd. 28, included part of Cluss' text by mistake (the last paragraph).—390

As the editors did not regularly send copies of the New York Daily Tribune to him, Marx asked Cluss and Weydemeyer to send him the issues containing his articles. Cluss was compelled to copy out the article 'Revolution in China and in Europe' because he could not buy the newspaper in time. Marx's letter (presumably of August 1853) containing a request for this article has not been found.—390

362 Cluss corrected the misprints when this article from Marx's Lord Palmerston was published in Die Reform.—390

363 The Turkio-Egyptian fleet was destroyed by combined Russian, English and French squadrons at Navarino (Greece) on 20 October 1827.—394

364 In October 1853 Weydemeyer became editor-in-chief of Die Reform. As Cluss wrote to Marx on 23-24 October 1853, Weydemeyer was compelled to write almost the whole newspaper himself. In view of this Cluss requested Marx to get his associates to contribute to the newspaper.—396

365 Only an extract from this letter is extant as quoted by Cluss in his letter to Weydemeyer of 7 December 1853.—397

367 Eccarius' articles on the economic and political situation in France were published in The People's Paper from September 1852 to May 1853.—397

368 Marx's letter to Jones has not been found.—397

369 Here Marx replies to Cluss' letter of 23-24 October 1853 in which Cluss wrote about the difficulties he had encountered in publishing the translation of Marx's first article from Lord Palmerston (see Note 436) in Die Reform. The Tribune published Marx's work anonymously, as leading articles, so Die Reform prefaced its publication with an editorial note: 'The interest aroused by Palmerston's name at the present time has induced us to print this rendering
from the *Tribune*. This essay reveals a more than average knowledge of British affairs by the author, and though it bears no signature, it is easy to tell who the author is.'—398

460 A few lines below Cluss writes: 'Marx added some notes on Urquhart because Jones, in a paper I am to receive, characterises him in a tactless way as an ally of the Russians' [Jones' article 'A Russian Movement in England', *The People's Paper*, No. 80, 12 November 1853]. Marx writes [this letter is not extant] that he gave Jones a dressing down for this. I have made up a short article out of the 'Urquhartade'. Marx's article, 'David Urquhart', was published by Cluss unsigned in *Die Reform*, No. 112, 19 December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12).—398

451 Engels' letters to Marx of October-December 1853 have not been found.—399

452 Engels arrived in London at the end of December 1853.—400

453 A reference to Dronke's letter to Engels written from Switzerland at the end of July or the beginning of August 1850. An extract from it was quoted by Marx in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 486).—401

454 On 23 November 1853 Engels wrote a special letter—a statement against Willich, which Marx included in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-95).—401

455 Steffen's letter of 22 November 1853, Miskowsky's letter of 24 November 1853, and Kossuth's certificate of 12 November 1853 concerning Miskowsky were included in Marx's *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 504-05 and 494-95).—401

456 Here and below the reference is to the meetings organised by the Polish refugees in London on Monday and Tuesday, 28 and 29 November 1853, to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—401

457 Presumably Marx refers to Engels' letter which was written on about 14 December 1853 and is not extant.—403

458 A reference to the London Convention of 15 July 1840 on support for the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali and to the London Convention of 13 July 1841 which laid down that in peacetime the Straits would be closed to warships of all powers.—404, 432

459 Marx did not realise his plan to continue publishing the series of articles on Palmerston in the *New York Daily Tribune*. The last article dispatched to New York and recorded in his notebook on 6 December 1853 was not published in that newspaper. In *The People's Paper* it appeared as the eighth in the series 'Lord Palmerston' and ended with the words 'To be continued'.—404

460 Marx agreed to J. C. Juta's proposal to contribute to the newspaper *Zuid Afrikaan* published in English and Dutch. Of the three articles sent by Marx *The Zuid Afrikaan* published only one—'The War in the East' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—405

461 Engels went to London for Christmas 1853 and left for Manchester on 1 January 1854.—406

462 A reference to the war of Napoleonic France against Spain in 1808-14 which ended in France's defeat.—406
Marx refers to Charles Dana's letter to Mrs Marx of 16 December 1853 in which he presumably wrote about Engels' article 'The War on the Danube' published in the New-York Daily Tribune on 16 December as a leader. A week earlier, on 7 December, Dana had published another article by Engels, 'Progress of the Turkish War', also as a leader (see present edition, Vol. 12).—407

Dana wrote to Mrs Marx about this on 16 December 1853.—407

About 16 December 1853 the London publisher Tucker published anonymously the pamphlet Palmerston and Russia in Tucker's Political Fly-Sheets, No. 1 (a reprint from the Glasgow Sentinel) (see Note 541). The pamphlet reproduced the article of the same title published in the New-York Daily Tribune on 4 November 1853, the second in this newspaper's publication of Lord Palmerston.

The second edition of Palmerston and Russia, referred to here, was issued with Marx's participation in early February 1854. Marx made some amendments and additions on the basis of the People's Paper publication. On how the whole series of articles Lord Palmerston was written and published see this volume, Note 436, and present edition, Vol. 12.—408, 432

Engels analysed the fighting between the Russians and the Turks at Oltenitza (4 November 1853) and Citatea (6 January 1854) in 'The Progress of the Turkish War', 'The War on the Danube' and 'The Last Battle in Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—408

At the battle of Sinope between Russian and Turkish naval squadrons on 30 (18) November 1853, during the Crimean war, the Turks were defeated.

After the battle of Sinope, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British Ambassador to Constantinople, handed the Sultan a recommendation from the British Government to conclude a three months' armistice with Russia; at the same time he tried to get British squadrons sent immediately to the Black Sea.

The Vienna Protocol was signed on 5 December 1853 at the conference of representatives of Britain, France, Prussia and Austria. In this Protocol, as in the subsequent Note of 12 December, the four powers offered to mediate in the conflict between Russia and Turkey. As a basis for negotiations they demanded the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians, renewal of former treaties between Russia and Turkey, guarantee of Christians' rights by special firmans and a reform of the administrative system in Turkey. In a Note of 31 December 1853 the Turkish Government stated its conditions for peace negotiations with the powers mediating: 1) the preservation and guarantee of Turkish territorial integrity; 2) Russian evacuation of the Danubian Principalities; 3) renewal and observance of the London Convention of 1841 (see Note 488); 4) respect of the Sultan's sovereignty. These conditions were approved by a new Vienna conference of the ambassadors on 13 January 1854 and forwarded to the Russian Government. However, Russia refused to accept the mediation of the powers and agreed to direct negotiations with Turkey. The participants in the Vienna conference rejected Russia's proposals.—408

A reference to Palmerston's short resignation of his post as Home Secretary (16-24 December 1853). His resignation was not accepted, however (on this see Marx's article 'Palmerston's Resignation', present edition, Vol. 12).—409

31 January 1854 was the day of the opening of the British Parliament.—409
A reference to the Note signed by the British, French and Prussian Ambassadors in Constantinople on 12 December 1853 and handed to Turkey on 15 December 1853 (see Note 467).—409

An allusion to the wars of Napoleonic France and the liberation struggle of the European peoples against its rule waged up to 1814.—409

Engels’ letter to Steffen has not been found.—409

When Engels was in London (see Note 461) he presumably discussed with Marx his plan to write such a work for the English Press. This plan did not materialise.—409

Neither Marx’s note to Wilhelm Wolff, nor Wolff’s letter to Marx has been found.—410

The reference is to the Turkish Government’s Note of 31 December 1853 (see Note 467).—410

By the original (first) Vienna Note Marx means the draft agreement between Russia and Turkey drawn up by the Austrian Prime Minister Buol and adopted at the conference of the French, British and Prussian Ambassadors in Vienna at the end of July 1853. It obliged the Sultan to observe the terms of the Kuchuk-Kainardji (1774) and the Adrianople (1829) treaties on the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Sultan Abdul Mejid agreed to sign the Note but demanded a number of changes and reservations which the Russian Government found unacceptable.—410

Marx alludes ironically to the leading article in The Times of 20 January 1854 which stated in particular: ‘Nevertheless, to all these considerations the Emperor Nicholas opposes a proud intractable temper, heightened, perhaps, by the religious enthusiasm or hereditary excitability of his family, and stimulated by the enthusiasm of his people, which is mixed with a barbarous contempt for nations whose power they cannot compare with their own.’—410

Marx refers to the speeches made by Cobden and Bright at the Manchester Reform meeting on 24 January 1854 and reported in The Times, No. 21647, 25 January. The speeches, dealing mainly with the foreign policy problems, were analysed in Marx’s and Engels’ article ‘Fortification of Constantinople—Denmark’s Neutrality—Composition of British Parliament—Crop Failure in Europe’ (see present edition, Vol. 12).—411

Cluss’ letter to Marx has not been found.—411

Here Marx writes about issue No. 11 in Tucker’s Political Fly-Sheets series being prepared for publication on the basis of Marx’s Lord Palmerston (see Note 465). The pamphlet was printed in February-March 1854 anonymously and entitled Palmerston, What Has He Done? It reproduced with slight amendments the text of the fourth (except the first four paragraphs) and the fifth articles of the People’s Paper publication.—412

This offer was made by Dana in a letter to Mrs Marx of 16 December 1853. These plans did not materialise.—412

The reference is to the second edition of the pamphlet Palmerston and Russia in Tucker’s Political Fly-Sheets series (see Note 465). In subsequent editions of this series this work was entitled Palmerston and Poland.—412
Marx has in mind the articles from his Lord Palmerston published in *Die Reform* in Cluss’ translation. They corresponded to the second and third articles (‘Palmerston and Russia’ and ‘A Chapter of Modern History’) in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the fourth in *The People’s Paper* (see Note 436).—412

Marx wrote about this meeting also in a letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of 1 June 1854 (see this volume, p. 455). Marx described Urquhart in his article ‘David Urquhart’ published in *Die Reform* on 19 December 1853 (see present edition, Vol. 12).—412

In a letter to Nicholas I of 29 January 1854, Napoleon III proposed as a condition of preserving peace that Russia should withdraw her troops from the Danubian Principalities. On 14 February 1854 the letter was published officially in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 45. Nicholas I’s reply, containing a refusal to accept Napoleon III’s proposal, was sent off on 9 February 1854 and published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 64, 5 March 1854.—414

In a letter to Marx of 27 March 1854 J. J. H. Smuts, editor of *The Zuid Afrikaan*, refused to accept any further contributions from Marx, for, he wrote, ‘the amount of remuneration claimed by [Marx] for such correspondence, entirely exceeds the means which my establishment allows me to apply to such a purpose’.—414

At Marx’s request Engels wrote on 13 March ‘Retreat of the Russians from Kalafat’ (see present edition, Vol. 13). The *Greek revolution*—the revolt of the Greek population in Epirus, the mountain regions of Thessaly and other territories still subject to Turkey; Marx assessed these events in the article ‘The Greek Insurrection’ (see present edition, Vol. 13).—414, 444

Marx has in mind Lassalle’s letter of 10 February 1854. Engels’ letter to Marx mentioned here has not been found.—417

In 1853, with the growth of a massive strike movement of the British proletariat, a group of Chartists headed by Ernest Jones proposed to create a broad workers’ organisation, The Mass Movement, which was to unite trade unions and unorganised workers with the primary aim of coordinating strikes in the various districts of the country. The organisation was to be headed by a regularly convened Labour Parliament consisting of delegates elected at meetings of both unorganised workers and of the trade unions associated with The Mass Movement. The Labour Parliament assembled in Manchester on 6 March 1854 and was in session till 18 March 1854. It discussed and adopted the programme of The Mass Movement and set up an Executive of five members. Marx, elected honorary delegate to the Parliament, sent a letter to it (see present edition, Vol. 13), in which he formulated the primary task of the British labour movement—the necessity to create an independent proletarian mass political party. Marx regarded the convocation of the Labour Parliament as an effort to free the labour movement in Britain from narrow trade union limitations.

The attempt to found The Mass Movement failed because the majority of the trade union leaders did not approve of associating the trade unions with the political struggle and did not support the idea of creating a single mass workers’ organisation. By the summer of 1854 the strike movement had abated and this also cut short the participation of broad masses of workers in the movement. After March 1854 the Labour Parliament never met again.

490 Marx's letter to Lassalle has not been found.—417

491 Presumably Lassalle's letter to Marx of 7 March 1854.—418

492 Marx's letter to Engels mentioned here has not been found.—418

493 Lassalle's letters to Marx of 10 February and 7 March 1854.—419

494 Enos and Rodosto—points on the European coasts of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara where the British and the French army respectively were to disembark. Marx assessed this plan in the article 'English and French War Plans.—Greek Insurrection.—Spain.—China' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—419

495 Engels' ideas expressed here were partly used by Marx in the article 'Russia and the German Powers.—Corn Prices' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—420

496 Engels sent his manuscript 'The Fortress of Kronstadt' to The Daily News on 30 March with a letter in which he offered to contribute to this newspaper as a military observer (see this volume, pp. 423-26).

'The Fortress of Kronstadt' was not published during Engels' lifetime; in the present edition it is included in Vol. 13.—420

497 Marx refers to Lassalle's letter of 7 March 1854 (on it see this volume, p. 419).

On Palmerston Lassalle wrote in particular:

'True, Palmerston never deserved—not by a long shot—the totally usurped reputation which he enjoys, and has lately been even more primitive than before; but neither is he a Russian agent, at least not consciously. His attitude I can best describe to you in the words he said to a friend of his as early as December: Je veux la Russie, je ne dis pas ruiner, mais lui donner un soufflet pour toute sa vie! [I want—I don't say to destroy Russia—but to give it a slap in the face that it would remember for ever!]

'It is a fact that he pressed for war from December, etc., and answered every objection that Russia could not concede this or that with "Tant mieux!" ["All the better!"]? (F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften herausgegeben von Gustav Mayer. Band III. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx. Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922, S. 73).—422

498 The reference is to the secret correspondence of the British envoy to St. Petersburg, Hamilton Seymour, and the British Foreign Secretary Russell, concerning the negotiations between Seymour and Nicholas I on the Turkish question at the beginning of 1853. This correspondence and other documents pertaining to the pre-history of the Crimean War were published as a Blue Book, Correspondence Respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. Parts V, VI, London, 1854. Marx gave a detailed analysis of these documents in 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—422

499 Marx's letter to the editors of the New-York Daily Tribune of 27 March has not been found. It may have been sent off to New York on 28 March 1854 with the article 'Declaration of War.—On the History of the Eastern Question'.—422
Marx used the information he got from Hammer's book later when writing 'Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The Austrian Summons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—423

On the outbreak of the Crimean War Engels offered his services as military observer to The Daily News and sent the editors his article 'The Fortress of Kronstadt' (see Note 496) on 30 March, and after 3 April 1854, at the request of the editors, the article 'The Russian Army', which was to open a series of articles on the Russian army and navy. The article was set, and Engels probably received the proofs on 12 April 1854, with a letter from the editor H. J. Lincoln, who asked Engels about his terms. Engels pinned great hopes on this collaboration, believing that permanent work on the newspaper would enable him to give up his commercial activity and move to London. However, as can be seen from Engels' letter to Marx of 20 April 1854, Lincoln cancelled the previous contract when he discovered Engels' political views. Some of the propositions formulated in the article 'The Russian Army' were elaborated in 'The Military Power of Russia' (see present edition, Vol. 13) and 'The Armies of Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 14) published in the New-York Daily Tribune and Putnam's Monthly.—423

John Watts consented to recommend Engels as chief military correspondent to The Daily News in his letter to Engels of 27 March 1854.—424

Marx translated into English this description of the Russian landing at Dobrudja and included it in his article sent to the USA on 4 April. The editors published the lesser part of the article as a leader 'The European War' (it included Engels' text) and entitled the larger part 'The War Debate in Parliament' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—427

Wasserpotacken—a name applied in the seventeenth century to Poles living in Upper Silesia and engaged in floating timber on the Oder; later the name was used for the whole Polish population of Upper Silesia which was under German rule from the mid-eighteenth century.—427

Engels has in mind H. J. Lincoln's letter of 1 April 1854.—427

Gluss' letter has not been found.—428

This refers to the stand taken by Palmerston as Foreign Secretary on the problem of Cracow which, according to the Vienna Treaty of 1815, was considered a free city. In Parliament and the press Palmerston passed himself off as a friend of Poland; but in fact betrayed its interests when in 1840 the population of Cracow protested against the unlawful occupation of that city by Austrian troops since February 1836 and when in November 1846, after the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Cracow, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed an agreement on the annexation of Cracow to the Austrian Empire. Marx exposed Palmerston's actions in his pamphlet Lord Palmerston (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 358-70).—430, 432

Marx's reply to Lassalle written between 10 February and 7 March has not been found.—430

An allusion to Lord Palmerston (see present edition, Vol. 12). Excerpts made by Marx from Parliamentary (Blue) Books in March-May 1853 and from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates for 1831-48 in July-August and September-November 1853 in connection with this work are extant.—432
The Unkiar-Skelessi treaty of defensive alliance was concluded by Russia and Turkey on 8 July (26 June) 1833. It provided for mutual aid in the event of war with a third power. A secret article of the treaty freed Turkey from the obligation to give military aid to Russia in return for an undertaking to close the Straits to all foreign men-of-war on Russia's demand.—432, 456

The First Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42) was launched by Britain with the aim of colonising Afghanistan but ended in Britain's defeat.—432

In 1838 the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies granted a French company a concession to extract sulphur in Sicily. In April 1840 the British Government, referring to the treaty of 1816 which forbade Naples to grant other countries commercial privileges infringing British interests, ordered its Mediterranean fleet to open hostilities and compelled Naples to cancel its agreement with the French company.—432

Marx refers to the attitude of the Whig Government, in which Palmerston held the post of Foreign Secretary, towards Italy and Hungary during the 1848-49 revolution.—432

A reference to Cluss' letter to Marx of 4 April 1854.—433

The report of Gorchakov, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army on the Danube, to Nicholas I was reprinted by The Times on 19 April 1854 from a special supplement to the Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg of 6 April 1854 and entitled 'The Russian Passage of the Danube'. The same issue of The Times carried an item 'The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea' reprinted from Pесонь ванако (and not from Газета ванако as Marx wrote) about military operations on the Caucasian coast.—433

Engels refers to H. J. Lincoln's letter of 18 April 1854. Engels' reply has not been found.—435

A reference to Pieper's letter to Engels of 12 April 1854.—435

The reference is to Herzen's address 'The Free Russian Community to the Russian Soldiers in Poland' printed in the Free Russian Press in London about 25 March 1854 in connection with the outbreak of the Crimean War. Herzen called upon the Russian soldiers 'not to use arms against Poland'. The address was immediately reprinted by a number of English, French, Italian and Polish newspapers, The Daily News (No. 2471, 21 April 1854) among them.—437

This letter of Marx has not been found.—439

An allusion to Marx's articles on India ('The British Rule in India', 'The East India Company.—Its History and Results' and others—see present edition, Vol. 12) written in 1853, when the British Parliament debated the prolongation of the East India Company Charter.—439

Engels' letter to Cluss has not been found.—441

Kossuth, jointly with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, criticised the US Senate in the press refusing to prolong George Sanders' powers as Consul in London. This American public figure and journalist maintained contacts with petty-bourgeois emigrants in London. The American newspapers, The New York Herald and The New York Times in particular, attacked Kossuth for his criticism and accused him of meddling in US domestic affairs. Clippings from the American newspapers were sent to Marx by Cluss in his letter of 4 April 1854. Marx forwarded them to Engels probably in his letter of 22 April.—441
Weydemeyer, editor of *Die Reform*, received a review of Schimmelpfennig's book *The War Between Turkey and Russia* written jointly by Engels and Heise, when the newspaper ceased publication (Weydemeyer to Engels, 16 May 1854). He sent it on to Cluss who wanted to insert it in some other newspaper, preferably *Der Deutsch-Amerikaner*, a weekly published from March 1854 in Chicago by Eduard Schläger (Cluss to Marx, 25 May 1854). The editors of the present edition have no file of *Der Deutsch-Amerikaner* for that period and the fate of the review is unknown.—443

An allusion to Schimmelpfennig's proposal to contribute military articles to *Die Reform*. In a letter to Marx of 13 April 1854 Cluss asked for Marx's advice on this point.—444

The reference is to a number of reforms carried out in the Ottoman Empire in the spheres of finance, the army, administration and legislation (known as *tanzimat*) between 1839 and the early 1870s. Their practical implementation met with fierce resistance on the part of feudal reaction, particularly at the first stage, prior to the Sultan's new rescript (*hatti-humayuni*) in 1856.—444

Odessa was bombarded by a united Anglo-French squadron on 22 April 1854. For details see Marx's 'The Bombardment of Odessa.—Greece.—Proclamation of Prince Daniel of Montenegro.—Manteuffel's Speech', present edition, Vol. 13.—444, 446, 452

Marx refers to the notice published by the Russian Ministry of Finance in a special supplement to *Kommersantien sania*, Nos. 40 and 41, 6 (18) and 8 (20) April 1854 and reprinted in the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, No. 377, 8 (20) April 1854. Marx apparently used a report reprinted in *The Times*, No. 21726, 27 April 1854, from the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*—446

In 1838 and 1839 the great powers held negotiations to regulate relations between the Netherlands and Belgium which had seceded from the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a result of the 1830 revolution. Previously England supported Belgium, jointly with France, but this time it sided with Russia, Austria and Prussia who sought to impose on Belgium the peace terms worked out by the great powers. France found itself isolated and was compelled to agree to these terms. Louis Philippe's diplomatic defeat was regarded in France as a serious foreign policy humiliation.

In 1839, when the Turkish-Egyptian conflict over Syria, which had been occupied by the Egyptians in 1833, flared up anew, and France supported the Egyptian Pasha Mohammed Ali, Britain, seeking to prevent a growth of French influence in that area, brought diplomatic pressure to bear on France. On 15 July 1840 a convention was signed in London by Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Turkey promising to support the Sultan of Turkey (see Note 458). Louis Philippe, fearing a conflict with this coalition, made a new concession and refused any further support to Egypt.—447

Marx's conspectus of H. H. Parish's *Diplomatic History of the Monarchy of Greece* (London, 1838) made early in May 1854 when he was studying the history of Greece is extant.—447

The editors of this edition do not have *La Presse* at their disposal. Marx may have used a reprint of this material in *L'Indépendance belge*, No. 123, 8 May 1854.—447
Whitechapel—a district in London where many foreign emigrants lived. The fire mentioned in this letter happened in Whitechapel on 29 April 1854.—449, 451

Engels lived in Berlin as an army volunteer from September 1841 to about late September 1842.—449

Here Marx has in mind the patrons of Stehely’s confectionery in Berlin in the 1840s, radical-minded men of letters, students and members of ‘The Free’ (see Note 535).—449

‘The Free’—a group of Berlin Young Hegelians which came into being in the first half of 1842. Among its principal members were Bruno Bauer, Eduard Bathy, Edward Meyer, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner. The system existing in the country was critiqued by ‘The Free’ in an abstract manner, their statements were devoid of real revolutionary content, their ultra-radical form often compromised the democratic movement. Many of ‘The Free’ renounced radicalism in the following years.

For a criticism of ‘The Free’ see K. Marx and F. Engels, The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism (present edition, Vol. 4).—449

The information on Wiss given in the previous letter was passed on to Cluss by Marx in a letter written probably in the first week of May 1854. Marx’s letter has not been found.—450

Engels’ irony is directed at Willich, who in his article ‘Doctor Karl Marx und seine “Enthüllungen”’ (Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung, No. 33, 28 October 1853) wrote that Schramm’s second Miskowsky vanished without trace after the duel between Schramm and Willich (see Note 360).—451

In a letter of 30 April 1854 Cluss informed Marx, among other things, that Die Reform ceased publication.—453

This is Marx’s reply to Lassalle’s letter of 20 May 1854 in which the latter asked for information on the plans of the political emigrants in England in connection with the Crimean War and also for Marx’s articles on Palmerston which had been published in London as a separate pamphlet (see notes 465 and 480).—454

Marx’s letters to Lassalle written in the second half of 1854 have not been found.—454

A series of twelve pamphlets under the general title Tucker’s Political Fly-Sheets was published in London by Urquhart’s follower Tucker in 1853 and 1854, exposing Palmerston’s foreign policy. The first two issues reproduced some sections of Marx’s Lord Palmerston (see notes 465 and 480). In 1855 Tucker reprinted the series in one volume.—455, 472

On 8 May 1852 Russia, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark signed the London Protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, confirming the indivisibility of the Danish Crown lands, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Among the legitimate claimants to the Danish Crown the London Protocol mentioned the Russian Emperor (as a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp who reigned in Russia as Peter III). He waived his rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg who was proclaimed successor to King Frederick VII. The London Protocol thus created...
a precedent for the Russian Tsar to claim the Danish Crown in the event of the
Glücksburg dynasty dying out.—456

543 The Quadruple Alliance was concluded in April 1834 between Britain, France,
Spain and Portugal. Even at the time the treaty was concluded, conflicts of
interests appeared between Britain and France which later aggravated relations
between the two countries. This treaty was formally directed against the
absolutist 'Northern Powers' (Russia, Prussia and Austria), but in actual fact
allowed Britain to strengthen her position in Spain and Portugal under the
pretext of rendering military assistance to both governments in their struggle
against the pretenders to the throne, Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in
Portugal.—456

544 A reference to the London conventions of 1840 and 1841 (see Note 458).—457

545 Giovane Italia (Young Italy)—a secret organisation of Italian bourgeois
revolutionaries founded by Mazzini. It existed in 1831-34 and 1839-48, its aim
being struggle for the independence and unity of Italy.—458

546 Engels apparently refers to Napier's report published in The Times, No. 21758,
3 June 1854. It described the action between an English frigate and steamer
and three Russian merchant ships near the fortress of Gustavsvaern on 23 May.
Two Russian ships were sunk, the third captured. The report called this 'a very
gallant feat of arms'.—460

547 In June 1854 Engels simultaneously made notes from A. Görgei, Mein Leben
und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 (Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1852) and
from F. Hellwald von Heller, Der Winter-Feldzug 1848-1849 in Ungarn (Wien,
1851) written on Windischgrätz's instructions.—460

548 Engels refers to military reports of the Austrian Command published in the
official Wiener Zeitung and also in Der Lloyd, Österreichischer Correspondent, Die
Presse and other Austrian newspapers, mostly over Windischgrätz's signature.
Engels used them as his main source when writing articles for the Neue
Rheinische Zeitung on the course of the 1848-49 revolutionary war in Hungary
against the Austrian monarchy (see present edition, vol. 8 and 9).—460

549 The reference is to the demands presented to Chancellor Nesselrode by Austria
and Prussia after the signing of the treaty on 20 April 1854 (see present
Principalities and other territories occupied by the Russians.—461

550 Marx mentions Colonel Grach here because Engels named him in the article
'The Siege of Silistria' (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 240-42).—461

551 An allusion by Ruge to Marx, Engels and their associates in the Communist
League.—462

552 Engels' accompanying letter has not been found.—464

553 On Friday, 23 June 1854, the article written by Marx jointly with Engels was
sent to New York. The New-York Daily Tribune published part of it on 10 July
as a leader, 'The Russian Retreat'; the other part, containing details about
military operations at Silistria, was added by the editors to Marx's article
dispatched earlier (on 16 June) and published on 8 July 1854 also as a leader,
'State of the Russian War' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—464

554 Marx apparently has in mind English Press reports on the move of the
Circassian troops to Tiflis (Tbilisi), which began in May, and news about the
activity of the Anglo-French mission under Rear Admiral Edmund Lyons. According to The Times, the aim of the latter was to establish contact with the Circassian leaders (primarily with Shamyl) for a joint attack on the Russian towns of Sandjak and Anapa. This aim was attained.

For an appraisal of these events see Engels' 'The War' and Marx's and Engels' 'The Russian Retreat' (present edition, Vol. 13).—464

This letter has not been found.—466

Sentence to six-year imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial, Bürgers and Becker served their terms in Glatz and Weichselmünde.—468

Marx refers to the fourth bourgeois revolution in Spain (1854-56) which began with a pronunciamento in Madrid on 28 June 1854. Marx analysed the revolutionary events in Spain in several articles written in 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—469

Engels compiled with Marx's request and sent (by Tuesday, 1 August) material for their joint article 'That Bore of a War' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—472

At the evening sitting of the House of Commons on 24 July 1854 the leader of the House, John Russell, announced that Sevastopol had been destroyed and captured by the Anglo-French squadron. However, replying to a question by Disraeli, leader of the Tory opposition, he was compelled to take his words back. The false claim of the capture of Sevastopol by the Allies was deleted from the text of Russell's speech published in The Times.

At the sitting of 25 July 1854 Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War, gave reasons for the unsatisfactory food supply of the British expeditionary army and fleet and did his best to justify the Cabinet and War Administration. The speeches of Russell, Disraeli and Herbert were published in The Times, Nos. 21802 and 21803, 25 and 26 July 1854. Marx attended the debates on the war in the House of Commons on 24 and 25 July and described them in detail in 'The War Debates in Parliament' and 'The Policy of Austria.—The War Debates in the House of Commons' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—472

The summary of Thierry's book written by Marx in French at that time is extant.—473

The Federal Diet—the central organ of the German Confederation formed in 1815. It met in Frankfurt am Main and consisted of representatives of the German states. The Federal Diet was a vehicle of the German governments' reactionary policy. It ceased to exist during the 1848-49 revolution, was restored in 1851, and existed till 1866.—475

This is presumably an allusion to the Mainz Central Investigation Commission instituted by decision of the Conference of German states in Karlsbad in 1819 for an investigation into the 'tricks of the demagogues' (see notes 139 and 307), i.e. for the struggle against the opposition movement in the German states.—475

The Guelphs—a political party in Italy formed in the twelfth century, during the period of strife between the popes and the German emperors. Consisting mainly of the upper strata of merchants and artisans in the Italian towns who supported the popes, it bitterly opposed the party of the Ghibellines, who supported the emperors. The two parties existed till the fifteenth century.—476

See notes 380 and 139, 307.—478
565 The reference is to Marx's part of the article sent to the *New York Daily Tribune* on 29 August 1854. The article was tampered with by the editors, who published the part concerning Bomarsund (written by Engels) as a leader in issue No. 4182 for 13 September 1854. A few sentences from Marx's text were included in the news review in the same number. News about Kars, mentioned by Marx here, was included as a separate paragraph in Pulszky's article also published in that number (see present edition, Vol. 13, Note 293).—480

566 In connection with the bourgeois revolution which started in Spain in 1854 (see Note 557), Marx made a thorough study of the history of the nineteenth-century Spanish revolutions. The result was a series of articles, *Revolutionary Spain*, written between August and November 1854 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—480

567 Marx apparently has in mind the meeting of his mother, Henriette Marx, and his wife, Jenny, in Trier in July-August 1854.—481

568 In the original *Lebensmittel*, a term used by Marx and Engels as an economic category in a number of works, including *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital*.—481

569 Zouaves—French colonial light infantry.

*Les singes* (the apes)—a derogatory nickname for the generals who supported Napoleon III.

On anti-Bonapartist sentiments in the French army, the disturbances among the Zouaves in the French force at Varna in the summer of 1854, see Engels, 'The Attack on Sevastopol' (present edition, Vol. 13, p. 473).—482

570 Engels' article on the military operations in the Caucasian theatre of war sent in by Tuesday, 19 September 1854 (witness entry in Marx's notebook: 'Dienstag. 19 September') was lost, having been dispatched by the *Arctic* which sank in the Atlantic on 27 September 1854.—483

571 For Tuesday, 26 September 1854, Engels wrote 'The Attack on Sevastopol' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—483

572 Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—484

573 The siege of Sevastopol by the Anglo-French-Turkish forces lasted from 13 (25) September 1854 to 27 August (8 September) 1855.—484

574 Marx refers to an article in the series *Revolutionary Spain* which was sent to America on 30 September 1854. The *Tribune* editors published it as two articles in Nos. 4220 and 4222 on 27 and 30 October 1854 as articles IV and V in Marx's series.—484

575 Engels' letter of 25 (Monday) or 26 (Tuesday) September 1854, mentioned by Marx, has not been found.—484

576 Marx wrote about Saint-Arnaud in three articles sent to New York on 6, 9 and 16 June 1854 as emerges from entries in Marx's notebook. The first article has not been found in the issues of the *New York Daily Tribune*, *New York Weekly Tribune* and *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune* available to the editors of the present edition. The material relating to Saint Arnaud in the article of 16 June, 'State of the Russian War', was omitted by the *Tribune* editors, and hence only part of the biographical essay on Saint-Arnaud is extant in the article 'Reorganisation of the British War Administration.—The AustrianSummons.—Britain's Economic Situation.—St. Arnaud' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—484
Notes

655

The Tribune editors added the following sentence at the end of Marx's article 'Espartero': 'Our readers can judge whether the Spanish Revolution is likely to have any useful result or not.'—485

The Tribune editors added the following sentence to Article 1 of Marx's Revolutionary Spain (published on 9 September 1854): 'Let us hope that the additions now being made to their annals by the Spanish people may prove neither unworthy nor fruitless of good to themselves and to the world.'—485

By 'Baron Nicholson's court' Marx means a club—the Judge and Jury Society—formed by Renton Nicholson in London in 1841. Its visitors staged parody trials presided over by Nicholson himself, who was called Lord Chief Baron.—486

This article was probably not written because the entry concerning its dispatch is crossed out in Marx's notebook.—486

A reference to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) in which almost all European countries took part.—488

In 1769, the English journalist John Wilkes criticised King George III's Speech from the Throne in his newspaper The North Briton. He was expelled from the House of Commons and outlawed. After his forced flight to France, Wilkes returned to England in 1758, was elected to Parliament four times but each time his election was declared invalid. He was not admitted to Parliament until his fifth election.

In connection with 'Wilkes' case' letters published in the London newspaper The Public Advertiser from 1768 to 1772 and signed Junius became very popular. The author campaigned for Wilkes' rehabilitation and for democratisation of the political system in Britain. In 1772 Junius' letters were published as a book. It was established later that they had been written by the journalist Philip Francis.—489

In February 1792 the coalition of European feudal and absolutist states launched a war against revolutionary France. Britain supported this coalition and after France had been proclaimed a republic on 10 August 1792 and King Louis XVI executed in January 1793, it openly entered the war on the side of the coalition in early 1793.—489

The suggestion that Robert Adair, British diplomat and Fox's confidential agent, was sent to St. Petersburg with the aim of upsetting William Pitt's plans was made by G. Tomline in Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt, in 3 Volumes, London, 1821.—489

In 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, Admiral Byng was ordered to lead a squadron to the Mediterranean. The squadron was defeated at the battle of the Minorca on 20 May 1756. The government placed the entire responsibility for this on the admiral, who was brought to England under arrest, sentenced to death and shot in March 1757.—490

The reference is to a short period (November-December 1808) during the Peninsular War (see Note 462) when the French forces were led by Napoleon himself.—490

In 1833-40 Spain was the scene of the so-called first Carlist war between the reactionary feudal and Catholic forces headed by the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos (brother of Ferdinand VII) and bourgeois-liberal forces
supporting the government of Regent Maria-Cristina. The Carlists were defeated.—490

This letter was published in English for the first time abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art. Selections from Their Writings, N. Y., 1947, p. 194.—490

The Congress of Verona of the Holy Alliance (see Note 353) was held from October to December 1822. It decided in favour of French armed intervention against revolutionary Spain and continuance of Austria's occupation of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and condemned the national liberation uprisings of the Greek people against the Turkish yoke.—490

The Order of St Andrew, the highest order in the Russian Empire, was introduced by Peter the Great in 1698.—491

The Laibach Congress (January-March 1821) of the Holy Alliance openly proclaimed the principle of interference by the countries of the Alliance in the internal affairs of other states in support of feudal and monarchist regimes.—493

The Bidassoa—a river in the Western Pyrenees on the border between France and Spain. The allusion is to the Peace of the Pyrenees concluded by France and Spain on Faisans Island on the Bidassoa on 7 November 1659 which helped France seize supremacy in Western Europe from Spain.—494

A system of treaties concluded at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) as a result of the defeat of Napoleonic France.—495

A reference to the diplomatic manoeuvres of the European powers in connection with the national liberation movement of the Greek people against the Turkish yoke (1821-29).—496

This is presumably an allusion to Chateaubriand's pamphlet De Buonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes pour le bonheur de la France et celui de l'Europe published in 1814.

The Spanish branch of the Bourbon dynasty succeeded to the Spanish throne in accordance with the will of the childless Habsburg, King Charles II, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and great-great-grandson of Henry IV, who became King Philip V of Spain in 1700.—497

Marx alludes ironically to Chateaubriand's journey to Jerusalem, after which he published his three-volume Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem in 1811.—498

In a letter of 1 November 1854 Charles Dana proposed that Marx should use for his military articles The War with Mexico by R. S. Ripley, a book on the operations of the American army in the war against Mexico in 1846-48. Dana wrote: 'This will gratify the national amour propre of our readers, and convince them still more thoroughly that your articles are written in all probability by Gen. Scott' (see also this volume, p. 407).—498

On Tuesday, 21 November, Marx sent an article to New York in the series Revolutionary Spain, as indicated in his notebook: 'Dienstag. 21. November. Spain. Intervention.' The article was not published in the New-York Daily Tribune and the manuscript has not been found.—498

See Note 234. An extract from this letter was published in English also in Marx and Engels, On the United States, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—501
Engels' letter has not been found.—501, 510

Marx's letter to Freund has not been found.—502

Neither Marx's letter to Lassalle nor Lassalle's reply has been found.—502

Marx contributed to the Neue Oder-Zeitung during 1855, writing his first article for it on 29 December 1854. Marx's articles were published unsigned, but marked 'x'. As there was practically no workers' press during the years of reaction, Marx's contributing to the Neue Oder-Zeitung made it possible to maintain contact with Germany and keep German readers informed on the vital problems of international and domestic politics, the working-class and democratic movement, and economic development in the capitalist countries, primarily Britain and France. Marx regularly sent articles on the operations in the Crimean War, and made frequent use of entire reports by Engels for the New-York Daily Tribune, translating them into German; he also sent the Neue Oder-Zeitung abridged versions of Engels' articles, with occasional changes and additions. Articles from the Neue Oder-Zeitung are published in vols. 13 and 14 of the present edition.—502

The reference is to the Welcome and Protest Committee formed by the Chartists, headed by Jones, for Barbès' expected arrival in Britain after he was amnestied, and against Napoleon III's intended visit. Barbès was released from prison on Napoleon III's order of 3 October 1854 in acknowledgment of the chauvinist stand he took when the Crimean War broke out. Marx and Engels censured Barbès' behaviour in the article 'The Sebastopol Hoax.—General News' written on 5-6 October 1854: 'From this moment Barbès has ceased to be one of the revolutionary chiefs of France' (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 491). On 18 October 1854 the emigrant L'Homme, Journal de la démocratie universelle, published in London, carried Barbès' letter of 11 October in which he confirmed his attitude to the war but at the same time declared his hostility to the Bonapartist regime. This statement, however, did not save his political reputation and shortly afterwards he gave up politics.—502

At one of the meetings held by the Welcome and Protest Committee in London on 26 and 28 November 1854 Jones said among other things that 'the democracy of Britain did not own the word foreigner—it looked on the exiles not as Frenchmen, or Italians, but as men, as brothers... At the same time, it desired to give the forthcoming demonstration a truly national and English character. If exiles were on the committee, it might be said the exiles have got up the affair, and that it was not a genuine manifestation of British feeling. Therefore the committee would number only British names though it hoped to gather round itself hearts from every land' (The People's Paper, No. 135, 2 December 1854).—503

Marx has in mind the national liberation war in Spain against the Napoleonic rule (1808-14).—504

The reference is to the last, the third unpublished article of Marx's series Revolutionary Spain, sent to New York on 8 December 1854. The manuscript has not been found.—504

Marx carried out his plans in the article 'Progress of the War' which he wrote jointly with Engels on 14-15 December 1854.—505

Engels planned to write a critique of pan-Slavist ideas. Ever since his removal to Manchester in 1850 Engels had been studying the language, literature and
history of the Slav peoples. As can be judged from Marx' letters to Engels of 16 May and 26 June 1855, Marx negotiated the publication of Engels' pamphlet in Germany (see this volume, pp. 555 and 539). But these plans of Marx and Engels remained unfulfilled.

In April 1855 at Marx's request Engels wrote two articles on this subject under the title 'Germany and Pan-Slavism' (see present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 158-62). They were published in the Neue Oder-Zeitung and under changed titles in the New-York Daily Tribune (see Note 649).—505, 534, 535, 539

Engels spent Christmas in London. Engels' letter written on about 15 December 1854 has not been found.—505

Marx refers to the trial of the French Blanquist worker Emmanuel Barthélémy, accused of murdering two Englishmen. The English Press made a great fuss over the trial, which did not succeed in clearing up the motives behind the murder. Barthélémy was sentenced to death and executed on 22 January 1855.—505

In compliance with this plan Marx wrote two articles, on 29 December 1854 and 1 January 1855, which were published in the Neue Oder-Zeitung on 2 and 4 January 1855 under the general title 'Rückblicke' ('In Retrospect'). This marked the beginning of Marx's collaboration with this newspaper (see Note 603).—507

The formation of a Foreign Legion for the purpose of reinforcing the British in the Crimea was envisaged by the Enlistment of Foreigners Bill passed in Parliament on 22 December 1854. The Legion was not formed however owing to protests against the use of foreign mercenaries.—508, 520

This letter was published in English for the first time abridged in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art. Selections from Their Writings, N. Y., 1947, p. 106.—508

Marx and Heine met and became friends in Paris at the end of December 1843. Marx supported Heine in his disputes with the radical petty-bourgeois opposition who attacked Heine for his criticism of Ludwig Börne, one of their prominent representatives.—509

In reply to attacks in the Allgemeine Zeitung in April 1848 Heine stated in the supplement to No. 144 of the same paper, on 23 May 1848, that he was compelled to accept the pension his French friends (the historian Mignet, in particular) succeeded in obtaining for him as he was in great straits owing to the prohibition of his books in Germany.—510

In a letter of 7 January 1855 Lassalle asked Marx to list the works containing official statistical data on the changes in England's economic position after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see Note 72).—511

Marx has in mind his economic notes made from September 1850 to August 1853, when he resumed his economic research (see Note 45).—511, 522

In January 1854 Marx wrote the following articles for the Neue Oder-Zeitung: 'The Opening of Parliament' (on the 24th), 'Comments on the Cabinet Crisis' (on the 26th) and 'Parliamentary News' (on the 27th). At Marx's request Engels wrote for the New-York Daily Tribune the article 'The European War' (about 29 January) (see present edition, Vol. 13).—514
The reference is to the Aberdeen Coalition Government (see Note 343) which was defeated in the House of Commons on 29 January. On the basis of the material mentioned here and sent by Marx to Engels with his next letter of 31 January 1855, Engels wrote the article 'The Late British Government' for the New-York Daily Tribune on 1 February 1855. The same subject was used by Marx in the articles 'The Defeated Government' and 'Two Crises' for the Neue Oder-Zeitung in early February 1855 (see present edition, Vol. 13).—515

In April 1853 and from March to May 1854 Marx devoted several articles to Gladstone's financial policy. They were published in the New-York Daily Tribune, the Neue Oder-Zeitung and The People's Paper. The most detailed analysis of Gladstone's budget is given in 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies, 'Achievements of the Ministry', 'L. S. D., or Class Budgets, and Who's Relieved by Them', 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget' (see present edition, Vol. 12), 'British Finances.—The Troubles at Preston', 'British Finances' and others (Vol. 13). It has not been established which articles Marx sent to Engels.—515

The Irish Brigade—the Irish faction in the British Parliament from the 1830s to the 1850s. With the equilibrium existing between the Tories and the Whigs, the Irish Brigade, alongside the Manchester men (see Note 63), could influence the alignment of forces in Parliament and sometimes decide the fate of the government.—516

The reference is to the Franchise Bill. As early as February 1852 Russell made a preliminary statement of his intention to introduce it (see his speech in the House of Commons on 9 February 1852, The Times, No. 21034, 10 February 1852); however, it was never debated in Parliament.—516

Marx refers to the 'Removal of Some Disabilities of Her Majesty's Jewish Subjects' Bill, introduced by Russell in the House of Commons on 24 February and aimed at admitting Jews to the House. Russell's Bill passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. Marx assessed it in the article 'Parliamentary Debates.—The Clergy Against Socialism.—Starvation' (see present edition, Vol. 11).—516

At the sitting of the House of Commons on 31 May 1853 Russell stated that the British Parliament should not sanction a state subsidy to the Catholic Church in Ireland because the Catholic clergy were not sufficiently committed to the English Crown and the Constitution. Russell's speech was published in The Times, No. 21443, 1 June 1853.—516

These Bills were introduced in Parliament in November 1852. Marx analysed and assessed them in the articles 'The Indian Question.—Irish Tenant Right' (see present edition, Vol. 12) and 'From the Houses of Parliament.—Bulwer's Motion.—The Irish Question' (Vol. 14).—517

The Transportation Bill, which abolished deportation of criminals to penal colonies, was passed on 12 August 1853. After preliminary detention the transportees were given release certificates granting them the right to reside in Britain under police surveillance, employed as cheap labour for public works. Marx assessed this Bill in 'The War Question.—British Population and Trade Returns.—Doings of Parliament' (see present edition, Vol. 12).—518

Marx refers to the proposals on the public debt moved by Gladstone in the House of Commons on 8 April 1853. For details see Marx's articles 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies', 'Achievements of the Ministry'.

Notes
'Affairs in Holland.—Denmark.—Conversion of the British Debt.—India, Turkey and Russia', 'The Russian Humbug.—Gladstone's Failure.—Sir Charles Wood's East Indian Reforms' (present edition, Vol. 12).

At the sitting of the House of Commons on 28 July 1853 Gladstone moved a resolution on measures for creating a public consolidated fund to pay for shares of the South Sea Company, which in fact meant the failure of the plan for conversion of the public debt (see K. Marx, 'Financial Failure of Government.—Cabs.—Ireland.—The Russian Question', present edition, Vol. 12).—518

Here Marx gives the date of the reception in Constantinople of the news of the battle of Sinope on 30 (18) November 1853 (see Note 467).—518

On the Note of the four powers see Note 467; on the Vienna Note see Note 476.—518

The reference is to the article 'On the History of the Eastern Question' published in the Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg, No. 336, 18 February (2 March) 1854 in connection with John Russell's speech in the House of Commons on 17 February 1854. The article alluded to the collusion of the Russian and British governments in the Turkish question supporting its statement by reference to Seymour's secret correspondence in 1853 and the memorandum of 1844. Marx analysed the position adopted by the two powers in the articles 'The Documents on the Partition of Turkey' and 'The Secret Diplomatic Correspondence' (see present edition, Vol. 13).—519

Under a law in force in England since 1662 paupers who changed their place of residence or applied to a parish for alms could be returned to their former place of residence by court decision. On 10 February 1854 a Settlement and Removal Bill was introduced in the House of Commons envisaging prohibition of forced settlement of paupers in England and Wales. The Bill was rejected by Parliament.—520

Under a law in force in England since the early eighteenth century newly elected MPs were to take an 'oath of abdication' denying the right of any heirs of James II to the throne: the oath contained expressions of loyalty to Christianity. Refusal to take the oath deprived an MP of the right of active participation in the work of Parliament.—520

Engels' article 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 15 and also Note 620).—520

The reference is to Ferdinand Lassalle's letter to Marx of 27 January containing cuttings from the January issues of the Düsseldorfer Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung, and Roland Daniels' letter of 16 January 1855.—521

Marx writes about the traditional banquets of petty-bourgeois emigrants held to mark the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France.—521

A reference to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 24).—521

A reference to the International Committee set up by representatives of the London Chartist Organising Committee (as the Welcome and Protest Committee was called since February 1853; see Note 604) and also French, German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and other petty-bourgeois refugees. Jones was its President. At the end of 1855 the International Committee became an
Notes

independent organisation; renamed the International Association in 1856, it operated until 1859.—521

Judging by extant documents, Herzen did not attend the meeting, but received a written invitation to become a member of the International Committee (see Note 638).—521

An allusion to Herzen's view of 'old Europe' and 'young Russia' expounded most clearly in Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie, par A. Iscander, Paris, 1851; La Russie et le vieux Monde. Lettres à W. Linton. Esq., par A. Herzen; Le peuple russe et le socialisme. Lettre à Monseigneur J. Michelet, professeur au Collège de France, par A. Herzen. Seconde édition, 1855, and other works. These publications were used by Marx and Engels.—523

This may be a reference to Herzen's reply to Ivan Golovin's slanderous article (see this volume, pp. 523-24): 'Reply to Mr. Golovin. To the Editor of The Morning Advertiser', published in The Morning Advertiser on 15 February 1855.—525

Marx refers to the anonymous pamphlet De la conduite de la guerre d'Orient. Expédition de Crimée. Mémoire adressé au gouvernement de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon III par un officier général, Bruxelles, 1855. Its authorship was ascribed to several persons, Prince Napoleon (Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) among them. Marx assessed it in the articles 'On the History of the French Alliance' and 'The Brussels Mémoire' and Engels in 'Fate of the Great Adventurer' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—526

In January and February 1855 Marx read B. G. Niebuhr's The History of Rome, a new edition in three volumes, London, 1847-51, and simultaneously made a summary of it entitled 'Römische Geschichte'.—527

Badinguet—a nickname given to Napoleon III because in 1846 he escaped from prison in the clothes of the mason Badinguet. In April 1855 Napoleon III made an official visit to England.—534

Marx and his wife returned to London from Manchester about 6 May 1855.—535

In 1854, in connection with the Crimean War and the exacerbation of the Eastern Question, Bruno Bauer published several pamphlets, among them De la dictature occidentale, Die jetzige Stellung Rußlands und Rußland und das Germanenthum. It has not been established which of these is referred to here.—535

Marx may have had in mind his letter to Eisner of 17 April 1855, but he could have written to him after his return from Manchester, i.e. after 6 May 1855.—535

Marx has in mind the supporters of the Administrative Reform Association set up in May 1855 on the initiative of liberal circles in the City. Taking advantage of the alarm in the country caused by the plight of the British army in the Crimea, the Association hopped by means of mass rallies and with the Chartists' support to bring pressure to bear on Parliament and win broader access to government posts for members of the commercial and finance bourgeoisie. The Association failed in its strivings and soon ceased to exist. Marx repeatedly wrote about the Association's activity and its relations with the Chartists; see for instance his article 'The Agitation Outside Parliament' (present edition, Vol. 14).—536
Marx considered it essential to publish a critique of pan-Slavist theories in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in order to counteract the influence exerted on American public by the articles and pamphlets of a pan-Slavist contributor to the newspaper, A. Gurowski. The *New-York Daily Tribune* published after heavy editing Engels' two articles on pan-Slavism (see Note 609) under the titles "The European Struggle" and 'Austria's Weakness' on 5 and 7 May 1855 respectively (see present edition, Vol. 14).—536

Dana's letter to Marx of 1 June 1855.—537

Engels wrote the survey 'The Armies of Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 14) from June to September 1855. He was helped in this work by Marx, who collected material for him on various European armies, the Spanish and the Neapolitan in particular, at the British Museum library. The survey was published unsigned in *Putnam's Monthly* in August, September and December.—537, 540

On 29 June Engels wrote 'From Sevastopol' (see present edition, Vol. 14) about the Allies' unsuccessful storm of Sevastopol on 18(6) June 1855—the fortieth anniversary of Waterloo. The main French attack was directed against Malakhov Hill and the English against the Redan (Third Bastion).—538

In a letter of 13 August 1855 which has not survived, Engels asked Weerth, then in Hamburg, to negotiate with Duncker about his, Engels', pamphlet on pan-Slavism (see Note 609). As emerges from Weerth's reply to Engels of 24 August, his negotiations with Duncker failed.—539

A mass demonstration organised by the Chartists was held in Hyde Park on 24 June 1855, in protest against a series of anti-popular measures adopted by Parliament (in particular, the prohibition of Sunday trading). Marx took part in this demonstration with other German revolutionary democrats and described it in 'Anti-Church Movement.—Demonstration in Hyde Park' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—539

Marx has in mind the police reprisals against the participants in the second mass demonstration held, despite the police prohibition, in Hyde Park on Sunday, 1 July 1855, in protest against Sunday Trading Bill (on the first demonstration see Note 654). Marx describes the events in which he took part in 'Agitation over the Tightening-up of Sunday Observance' (see present edition, Vol. 14).—541

A law prohibiting the sale of spirits had been in force in the State of Maine since 1851.

Know-nothings—a secret political organisation formed in the USA in 1854 against emigrants; the members of this organisation swore to answer 'I know nothing' to all questions about its activity and aims.—542

A reference to Szeredy's letter to Marx of 15 July 1855 containing a request for assistance in publishing and distributing his novel *Asiatic Chiefs* in Britain and the USA.—543

Marx made this request because he intended to write the pamphlet *Lord John Russell* (see present edition, Vol. 14).—543

Marx's pamphlet *Lord John Russell* was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 28 August 1855 condensed into a single article. The pamphlet was published in full in German in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* as a series of six articles.
On the first Mémoire see Note 642; the second Mémoire—Deuxième mémoire adressé au gouvernement de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon III sur l'expédition de Crimée et la conduite de la guerre d'Orient, par un officier général, Genève, mai 1855—was ascribed to the French journalist Tavernier and the Belgian officer, adjutant of the War Minister, T. F. Sterckx. Like the first Mémoire it was aimed at justifying the actions of the French Command in the Crimean campaign.—545

Marx's letter to Dana has not been found.—546

On 15 June 1855 Charles Napier published in The Morning Advertiser his letters criticising the administrative system in the British Navy, the lack of talent among commanders, and in particular the criminal irresponsibility of James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, which came to light during the military operations of the Anglo-French fleet in the Baltic Sea in 1854 and 1855. The Times published Napier’s article on 24 August 1855. Marx wrote about Napier's letters and his correspondence with Graham in the articles ‘Napier’s Letters.—Roebuck’s Committee’, ‘Napier’s Letter’ and ‘Another British Revelation’ (see present edition, Vol. 14).—546

The information Marx had access to was presumably unreliable. It has not been established what newspaper he meant. Herzen met Engländer in 1849, but he already knew at that time that he was an agent of the French and Austrian police and would have nothing to do with him.—546, 553

Here Marx compares his enforced departure for Manchester (see Marx to Moritz Eisner, 11 September 1855, this volume, pp. 550-53) with the evacuation of the Southern Side of Sevastopol by the Russian troops on 28-29 August (8-9 September) 1855.—550

This is Marx's reply to Eisner, who wrote in his letter of 4 September 1855 about the financial straits of the Neue Oder-Zeitung to which Marx contributed during that year (see notes 603 and 612).—550

Eisner's letters of 3 and 7 October 1855 to Marx.—554

The reference is to two Prussian Constitutions. The first was imposed by King Frederick William IV simultaneously with the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly on 5 December 1848. It introduced a two-chamber system. The King retained the right not only to rescind the Chambers' decisions but also to revise certain articles of the Constitution. The further strengthening of the reaction led in April 1849 to the dissolution of the Second Chamber elected on the basis of the 1848 Constitution, to the replacement of universal suffrage with a three-class electoral system based on a high property qualification and to the introduction of a new, still more reactionary Constitution which came into force on 31 January 1850.—554

On 10 October 1855 L'Homme, the French refugee newspaper printed in Jersey, carried an open letter by a leader of petty-bourgeois democratic emigrants, Felix Pyat, to Queen Victoria in connection with her visit to France in August of that year. Anti-Bonapartist in content, this letter was provocative and adventuristic like all Pyat’s utterances. It caused a polemic in the English and emigrant press, and serious fears that the so-called Aliens Bill might again come into force (see Note 75). To curry favour with Napoleon III the
Governor of Jersey expelled several French refugees from the island, Victor Hugo among them.—555, 557

Lassalle’s letters to Marx of 24 September and October (exact date not established) 1855.—556

Marx lived in Paris from the end of October 1843 to 3 February 1845 when, on the demand of the Prussian Government, he was expelled from France and compelled to move to Brussels.—556

An allusion to Georg Weerth’s former activity as a journalist. During the 1848-49 revolution he wrote essays and feuilletons (in verse and prose) for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—556

Marx’s letter to Jones has not been found.—557

The reference is to a book by Herzen which came out in London in early October 1855. It included the second and fourth parts of *My Past and Thoughts* and was entitled *My Exile in Siberia* (two volumes, London, 1855). The title was supplied by the publishers, Hurst and Blackett, and on about 17 October Herzen lodged a protest with them against the arbitrary change of the title. Reviews published in *The Leader* (No. 290, 13 October), *Critic* *London Literary Journal* (No. 25537, 15 October), *Atlas* (20 October), *Athenaeum* (No. 1460, 20 October), *The Economist* (10 November) and other papers highly appraised Herzen’s book.—558

Engels’ two articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* were sent to the USA by the steamer *Asia*, which sailed from Liverpool and reached Halifax on 19 December. The newspaper published the first article as a leader entitled ‘The State of the War’ on 21 December 1855 and the second also as a leader, ‘The War in Asia’, on 26 December 1855. Engels’ authorship of these articles was established during the preparation of this volume.—559

In his letter of 20 November 1855 Dana informed Marx that the Tribune editors had agreed to publish two articles by Marx every week and to pay him 10 dollars for each.—559, 560

Judging by Dana’s letter (see Note 675) Marx proposed to organise the dispatch of articles to the *New York Daily Tribune* directly from the Crimea probably expecting that the German emigrant O. Mirbach, a former Prussian artillery officer who intended to leave for Constantinople, would be the correspondent.—560

The article written by Engels on 12 December 1855 and edited by Marx was sent to the USA by the steamer *Pacific* on 16 December and published in the *New York Daily Tribune* on 29 December 1855 under the title ‘The Asiatic Campaign’. Marx’s and Engels’ authorship of this article was established during the preparation of this volume.—561

A nickname given to Bruno Bauer by Marx and Engels in the first half of the 1840s. The Young Hegelians called their own trend ‘critical criticism’. See Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* (present edition, Vol. 4).—562

Engels stayed in London from about 24 December 1855 to early January 1856.—563

Possible alterations in Engels' article of 12 December 1855 (see Note 677).—563

Marx sought to get his associates, former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, including Weerth, to contribute to Weydemeyer's *Die Revolution* (see Note 2).—567

Joseph Weydemeyer left Europe on 1 October 1851. Owing to autumn storms the voyage lasted 38 days and the ship did not reach New York till 7 November 1851.—570

This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—572

The reference is to a journal which Becker, Weydemeyer and Bürgers planned to start in the spring of 1851; their plan did not materialise.—575

At the sitting of the Cologne jury on 23 October 1852 Stieber presented as evidence a faked 'Minute-book' (see Note 259) which provided the defence with an additional material to expose the false nature of the whole trial.—576

Marx and Engels used addresses of several businessmen and trading houses for safe conveyance of the documents to the defence counsel at the Cologne Communist Trial, Schneider II, Esser I and von Hontheim. The list of these addresses is given in Vol. 11 of the present edition, pp. 590-91. See also this volume, p. 218.—578

The editors of the present edition do not have the original of this letter at their disposal and it is printed according to a copy in Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer of 28 March 1853.—579

An allusion to the fact that financial difficulties prevented Weydemeyer and Cluss from buying up from the printers all the copies of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* printed in New York.—579

Jenny Marx presumably refers to the unsuccessful attempt to publish Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*.—580

The *American funds*—money raised for the so-called German-American revolutionary loan (see Note 27).—580

The excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer given here expounds the contents of part of Marx's letters to Cluss, which has not survived. The letter was probably written on about 1 May 1853, when Marx was visiting Manchester.—582

The reference is to Cluss' letter to Marx of 10 April 1853.—582

Engels planned to publish *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* in German in *Die Reform*. The last, twentieth, article of this work did not appear in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and was probably not written (see Note 214).—582

The excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer given here contains an account of Jenny Marx's letter to Cluss of 20 May 1853 which has not survived.—583

Marx visited Engels in Manchester from 30 April to 19 May 1853.—583
This excerpt from Cluss' letter to Weydemeyer gives the contents of part of Marx's letter to Cluss which has not survived. The letter may have been written in February 1853.—584

Marx's letter to Cluss has not survived.—584

Jenny Marx presumably asks Engels to return Marx's letter to Jacob Schabelitz which she mentions here. The letter, which has not been found, was written at the end of November 1852. In his reply to Marx of 1 December Schabelitz agreed to accept Marx's terms for the publication of the pamphlet Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.—585

The circumstances of the duel between Schramm and Willich referred to here were distorted by the latter in the slanderous article 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"'. Miskowsky was Schramm's second (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 494-95, and also Note 360).—586

Probably a slip of the pen. The meetings of Polish refugees were held on 28 and 29 November 1853 (see Note 456).—587
NAME INDEX

A

Abdul Mejid (Abd Ul Medjid) (1823-1861)—Sultan of Turkey (1839-61).—277, 289

Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of (1784-1860)—British statesman, Tory, leader of the Peelites from 1850, Foreign Secretary (1828-30 and 1841-46) and Prime Minister in the Coalition Ministry (1852-55).—284, 295, 424, 432, 444, 446, 452, 516, 518

Adair, Robert (1763-1855)—British diplomat, associate of Charles James Fox.—489

Agestius (c. 444-c. 360 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 401-c. 360 B.C.), brother of Agis II.—70

Agis II (died c. 401 B.C.)—King of Sparta (c. 427-c. 401 B.C.).—70

Agostini, Cesare (1803-1855)—Italian revolutionary, follower of Mazzini; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; after its defeat emigrated to England; subsequently parted with Mazzini.—289

Albert, Prince Consort of Queen Victoria of Great Britain (1819-1861).—423, 564

Albers—secretary at the Prussian embassy in London in the 1850s.—243

Alexander I (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—492, 404-96

Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great) (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman of antiquity.—310, 541

Alexander, William—English 18th-century physician; author of The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time.—208

Altenstein, Karl (1770-1840)—Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1817-38).—462

Andersen, Hans Christian (1805-1875)—Danish writer, poet, and author of fairy tales.—22

Anneke, Carl Friedrich Theodor (Fritz) (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer, discharged from the army for his political views; member of the Communist League; one of the founders and secretary of the Cologne Workers’ Association in 1848; editor of the Neue Kölnische Zeitung; lieutenant-colonel in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—92, 139, 149, 351

Anneke, Mathilde Franciska (née Giesler) (1817-1884)—German writer, wife of Friedrich Anneke; contributed to German democratic periodicals in 1848-49, and later to German refugee newspapers in the USA.—331

Anschütz—German musician, participant in the democratic movement of the 1840s in Germany, emigrated to London in the 1850s; friend of Ernst Dronke.—91, 97

Anstey, Thomas Chisholm (1816-1873)—British lawyer and radical politician; M.P. (1847-52); Attorney General for Hong Kong (1854-59).—440

Arconati Visconti, Constanza, Marquise
(1797-1870)—participant in the Italian national liberation movement.—200

Arena, Antoine (d. 1544)—French satirist.—356

Arercino, Pietro (1492-1556)—Italian Renaissance author of lampoons against the Pope and European monarchs.—128

Aretino, Ludovico (1474-1533)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of L’Orlando furioso.—390

Arnim, Ludwig Achim (Joachim) von (1781-1831)—German romantic poet.—440

Arnold, Franz—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; after its defeat emigrated to the USA, became an associate of Adolph Cluss in the early 1850s, disseminated Marxism in the USA.—350

Athenaeus (late 2nd-early 3rd cent.)—Greek rhetorician and grammarian.—70

Auerbach, Berthold (1812-1882)—German liberal writer of stories idealising the life of German peasants, later an apologist for Bismarck.—563

Auerswald, Hans Adolf Erdmann von (1792-1848)—Prussian general, Right-wing deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; killed during Frankfurt uprising in September 1848.—225

Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus) (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—527

Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d’Orléans, duc d’ (1822-1897)—son of Louis Philippe, King of France; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1840s, Governor General of Algeria (1847-48); emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—17, 200

Avrangab, Mohi ud-din Mohammed (1618-1707)—ruler of the Grand Mogul Empire in India (1658-1707).—992

B

Babeuf, François Noël (Gracchus) (1760-1797)—French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the Conspiracy of Equals.—195

Bach, Alexander, Baron von (1813-1893)—Austrian statesman, lawyer; Minister of Justice (1845); Minister of the Interior (1849-59).—106

Baton, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans (1561-1626)—English philosopher, founder of English materialism; naturalist, historian and statesman.—544

Badinguet—see Napoleon III

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—67, 306, 350-63, 373

Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850)—French realist novelist.—203

Bamberger, Louis (b. 1821)—German refugee in London, editor of the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung (1848-51).—273, 321, 351

Bamberger, Simon—London banker.—273, 287, 294, 304, 315, 323, 351

Bandiera brothers, Attilio (1810-1844) and Emilio (1819-1844)—officers of the Austrian Navy; leaders of the Italian national liberation movement, members of the Young Italy society; executed for their attempt to raise a revolt in Calabria (1844).—56

Bangya, János (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat Kosuth's emissary abroad and at the same time agent provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus.—31, 32, 45, 71, 93, 95, 101, 120, 124, 126, 130-32, 200, 208, 214, 232-34, 237-42, 252, 254, 256, 257, 267-70, 275,
Barbes, Armand (1809-1870) — French revolutionary, leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; was active in the 1848 revolution, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in the popular insurrection of 15 May 1848, pardoned in 1854; emigrated to Belgium and abandoned politics.—32, 502, 521

Barnum, Phineas Taylor (1810-1891) — American showman, exhibited various freaks and rarities.—4, 103, 527

Barthélémy, Emmanuel (c. 1820-1855) — French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy and participant in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the Société des Proscrits Démocrates et Socialistes in London; sided with the Willich-Schapper group; executed in 1855 on a criminal charge.—128, 198, 224, 296, 299, 300, 505, 510, 515

Barthold, Friedrich Wilhelm (1799-1858) — German historian.—160

Batthyány, Kázmér, Count of (1807-1854) — Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian revolutionary government of Széchenyi (1849); after the suppression of the revolution emigrated to Turkey, and then to France.—26, 31, 45

Batthyány, Lajos, Count of (1806-1849) — Hungarian statesman, liberal aristocrat; Prime Minister of Hungary (March-September 1848); pursued a policy of compromise with the Austrian monarchy; shot after the suppression of the revolution.—70

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882) — German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical nationalist after 1866.—37, 38, 76, 85-87, 94, 97, 102, 146, 147, 449, 462, 486, 490, 505, 535, 538, 562

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1880) — German journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty; brother of Bruno Bauer.—151, 314, 450, 507, 562

Bauer, Heinrich (1813-c. 1852) — German shoemaker, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, treasurer of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee; emigrated to Australia in 1851.—14

Bayard, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de (c. 1475-1524) — French warrior called by his contemporaries the chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.—453

Bayer, Joseph August (1821-1864) — Austrian army officer and writer; Chief of Staff of Görgey's army during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, taken prisoner when the army capitulated in 1849, sentenced to death and later commuted to imprisonment in a fortress, pardoned in 1850.—310

Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de (1732-1799) — French dramatist.—38, 297, 300

Becker, August (1814-1871) — German writer, member of the League of the Just in Switzerland, supporter of Weitling; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, where he contributed to democratic newspapers.—154

Becker, Hermann Heinrich (1820-1885) — German lawyer and journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the Westdeutsche Zeitung (May 1849-July 1850); member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to five-year imprisonment; later a national-liberal.—9, 29, 23, 34, 115, 142, 143, 212, 222-24, 242, 245, 262, 468, 499, 570, 575, 577, 580
Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s and the international working-class movement; fought as an officer of the Swiss army in the war against the Sonderbund; prominent figure in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; active member of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels. —490

Becker, Max Joseph (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA. —72, 562

Beckmann—Prussian police spy in Paris in the early 1850s; Paris correspondent of the Kölnerische Zeitung. —194

Beckmann—Beckmann's wife. —194

Bedau, Marie Alphonse (1804-1863)—French general, moderate republican politician; Vice-President of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851. —199

Beljield, James—a friend of Marx and Engels in Manchester. —219

Belina, duke of—see Victor, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de Bellune

Bem, Józef (1795-1850)—Polish general, prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey. —311

Benningsen—American clerk in Kossuth's office. —261

Beranger, Pierre Jean de (1780-1857)—French poet and song writer, author of political satires; democrat. —497

Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist; petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; left Germany in 1850. —563

Bernbach, Adolf (1822-1875)—Cologne lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; member of the Communist League; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1832); corresponded with Marx; subsequently a liberal. —20, 22, 24, 106, 107, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 142-43, 215, 216, 224, 230, 239

Bernard, Martin (1808-1883)—French revolutionary, democrat, leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; prominent in the 1848-49 revolution, was sentenced to exile after the events of 13 June 1849, fled to England in the early 1850s and returned to France after the 1859 amnesty. —50

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jacques Henri (1737-1814)—French author, naturalist and traveller. —447

Bernays, Karl Ludwig (1815-1879)—German radical journalist, member of the League of the Just, an editor of Vorwärts!, the German refugees' newspaper published in Paris with Marx's collaboration; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution. —274

Bernhardt—German democrat, refugee in the USA, an editor of the New York Zeitung. —347

Bernays, François (1625-1688)—French physician, traveller and writer. —332-33, 341

Berry, Charles Ferdinand de Bourbon, duc de (1778-1820)—nephew of Louis XVIII of France. —496

Bertin, Louis Marie Armand (1801-1854)—French journalist; Orleanist; publisher of the Journal des Débats in 1841-54. —68, 334

Beauca, von—Cologne patrician, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852). —206, 238
Bianchi, A.—French democrat, emigrant in London in the 1850s.—32, 73
Bibra, L.—German innkeeper in London.—599
Bischoffsheim, Louis Raphael (1800-1873)—French owner of a joint-stock bank with a branch in London.—385, 411, 481
Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—50, 51, 53, 68, 71, 73, 74, 76-77, 135, 136, 308, 388, 417, 418, 442, 502
Blank, Karl Emil (Emilius) (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; held socialist views in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—5, 25, 89, 99, 185, 250, 286, 428, 561
Blank, Marie (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister, married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—272
Blench, Johann Ludwig Urbain (1790-1861)—German military writer, commander of the Berlin civic militia in June 1848.—160
Blind, Friederike—Karl Blind's wife.—873, 377, 389, 506
Blum, Robert (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.—241
Boeckh, Adolf Friedrich, Baron (1807-1865)—author of works on forestry, taught at St. Petersberg Forestry Institute in 1840-53.—505
Boiardo, Matteo Maria (c. 1441-1494)—Italian Renaissance poet, author of L'Orlando innamorato.—131
Boissier, Jean Baptiste (1820-1889)—French republican, deputy to the Legislative Assembly in 1849; took part in the demonstration on 13 June 1849; later an emigre.—458, 461
Bonaparte—see Napoleon I
Bonaparte—dynasty of emperors of France (1804-14, 1815 and 1852-70).—388
Bonaparte, Jerome (1784-1860)—younger brother of Napoleon I, King of Westphalia (1807-13), Marshal of France from 1850.—171
Bonaparte, Joseph (1768-1844)—oldest brother of Napoleon I, King of Spain (1808-13).—406
Bonaparte, Louis—see Napoleon III
Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul, Prince (1822-1891)—son of Jerome Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III.—526
Bonaparte, Pierre Napoleon (1815-1881)—cousin of Napoleon III; dep-
Buchheim — German democrat, refugee in London in the 1850s. — 499
Bulow, Adam Heinrich Dietrich, Baron von (1757-1807) — Prussian army officer and military theoretician. — 427
Bürgers, Heinrich (1820-1878) — German radical journalist, contributor to the Rheinische Zeitung (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; member of the Communist League Central Authority from 1850; sentenced to six years imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852). — 20, 23, 34, 134, 137, 195, 197, 212, 217, 238, 240, 262, 247, 251, 468, 544, 547, 558, 560, 570
Bürgers, Lene — Heinrich Bürgers' sister. — 491
Buridan, Jean (c. 1300-c. 1358) — French logician and nominalist philosopher. — 170
Burns, Mary (1821-1863) — Irish working woman, Frederick Engels’ first wife. — 443
Bute, John Stuart, Earl of (1713-1792) — British Tory statesman, Prime Minister (1761-63). — 488
Butler, James Armor (1827-1854) — British army officer, organised the defence of Silistria (1854). — 472
Butler, Samuel (1612-1680)—English satirical poet, author of the poem Hudibras.—334
Byng, John (1704-1757)—British admiral, commanded a squadron in the Minorca expedition (1756); executed for breach of duty.—490
Byron, George Gordon Noel, Lord (1788-1824)—English romantic poet.—440
Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of Voyage en Icarie.—71, 73, 135, 156, 542
Cádiz, Pedro de la (1600-1681)—Spanish dramatist.—447
Cammarano, Salvatore (1801-1852)—Italian actor, painter and playwright, wrote librettos for operas of Donizetti and Verdi.—199
Campbell, Sir George (1824-1892)—British official in India (1843-74), author of works on India; subsequently M.P., liberal.—347
Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, co-proprietor of Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg from 1823.—102, 217, 254
Canning, George (1770-1827)—British statesman and diplomat, Tory; Foreign Secretary (1807-09, 1822-27) and Prime Minister (1827).—431, 494, 495
Capo d'Istria, Giovanni Antonio (Joannes), Count (1776-1831)—Greek statesman and diplomat; was in the service of Russia from 1809 to 1822, Second Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Russia (1815-22); President of Greece (1827-31); assassinated by foreign agents.—447
Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—American vulgar economist, protectionist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—62, 93, 345, 346, 378, 381, 384, 387, 392
Carrel, Armand (1860-1836)—French liberal journalist, co-founder and editor of the newspaper La Nationale.—497
Carron-Nisas, Marie Henri François Elisabeth, baron de (1767-1842)—French army officer, political leader and man of letters, took part in the French Revolution; Bonapartist during the Consulate and the Empire; fought in wars of Napoleonic France; author of works on military science.—159
Cassagnac—see Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe de
Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, second Marquis of Londonderry (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman; Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—54
Catherine II (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—489
Catullus (Gaius Valerius Catullus) (c. 87-c. 54 B.C.)—Roman poet.—462
Cavaignac, Louis Eugène (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; Governor of Algeria after the February 1848 revolution; War Minister of France from May 1848, directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—157, 199
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—170, 362, 447, 480, 493
Chazes, Adolphe—physician and democratic journalist, a leader of the democratic associations in Vienna during the 1848 revolution; refugee in Paris in the early 1850s.—194
Chambry, Georges, marquis de (1783-1848)—French general and military writer, fought in wars of Napoleonic France.—160
Chassé, Adelbert von (1781-1838)—German romantic poet.—457
Chapman—one of Marx’s creditors in London.—9
Charles X (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—497
Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto) (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1831-49).—310
Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe (1810-1865)—French military and political figure, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers; opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—199

Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1822-24), represented France at the Congress of Verona (1822).—447, 492-96

Chenu, Adolphe (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, secret police agent-provocateur.—52, 128, 301

Chedessoff (Chedessov), Mikhail Ivanovich (d. 1859)—Russian general, took part in the Patriotic war against Napoleon in 1812, commanded a corps and the infantry reserve during the Crimean war.—427

Cherval, Julien (real name Joseph Grämer)—Prussian policeman, spy for Prussia and France at the same time in Paris; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the separatist Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the French police, acted as a spy and agent-provocateur under the name of Nugent in 1853 and 1864.—112, 126, 130, 132, 215, 217, 222, 230, 243, 255, 301, 478, 577

Chesney, Francis Rawdon (1789-1872)—British army officer, general from 1855.—393, 426

Choiseul, Étienne François, duc de (1719-1785)—French diplomat and statesman, ambassador to Rome (1753-57) and Vienna (1757-58), Prime Minister of France (1758-70), and also Minister for Foreign Affairs (1758-61 and 1766-70) and Minister for War and the Navy (1761-66).—488

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—89

Clarendon, George William Frederick, fourth Earl of, fourth Baron Hyde (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (May 1847-early 1852), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70).—516

Clausewitz, Karl von (1780-1831)—Prussian general and military theoretician.—305

Cloots, Jean Baptiste, baron de (Anacharsis) (1755-1794)—French author and politician, close to the Left Jacobins during the French Revolution, member of the Convention; Prussian by birth.—363

Cluss, Adolph (1825-1905)—engineer, member of the German and American working-class movement, member of the Communist League, secretary of the Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); emigrated to the United States (autumn 1848); in the 1850s one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America; later gave up politics; American architect well known in the late 19th century.—6, 18, 21, 24, 40, 42, 65, 71, 76, 81, 84, 85, 91, 92, 96, 98, 99, 102, 105-08, 115, 117, 122, 135-37, 139, 140, 141, 146, 148, 149, 152, 157, 158, 160-61, 164, 166, 172-74, 176, 180, 194, 196, 204, 205-08, 213, 216, 235, 255, 259-61, 263, 265-66, 271, 274, 282, 290, 293, 298-302, 303, 311-12, 315, 317, 318, 331, 335, 345, 348, 351, 366, 367, 370, 371, 377, 378, 387, 390, 391, 394, 396, 397, 398, 402, 403, 407, 409, 411, 428, 433, 437, 439, 441, 442, 444, 450, 453, 454, 461, 463, 469, 478, 479, 491, 525, 536, 558, 568, 569-70, 571, 573-76, 578-82, 584, 586-88, 590

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader
Coeurderoy, Ernest (1825-1862)—French journalist, republican, revolutionary; shared anarchist views; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in France; emigrated after its defeat.—135, 136, 138

Coffinières, Antoine Siméon Gabriel (1786-c. 1865)—French lawyer, author of works on civil law.—556

Condé, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, prince de (1736-1818)—French general and politician, took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), commanded the French Lower Rhine army in 1762; during the French Revolution commanded detachments of counter-revolutionary émigrés in the wars against the French Republic.—17, 489

Cooper, James Fenimore (1789-1851)—American novelist.—217, 301

Cornelius, Wilhelm—German radical journalist and businessman, friend of Marx; refugee in London in the 1850s.—434, 502

Cortés, Hernán (Fernando) (1485-1547)—Spanish conqueror of the Aztec state (Mexico) in 1519-21.—501

Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cotta­dorf (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a big publishing house from 1832.—391

Coutnet, Frédéric (1808-1852)—French naval officer, republican, discharged from the Navy for his political views in 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in France; emigrated to London after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; was killed in a duel with Bartheley.—224, 299

Csorich (Ćoric), Anton, barun od Monte Croto (1795-1864)—Austrian general, Croat by birth, lieutenant-field marshal (from 1849), took part in suppressing the October 1848 uprising in Vienna and in the war against revolutionary Hungary; War Minister in 1850-53.—460

Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy, prince (1770-1861)—Polish magnate; close friend of Emperor Alexander I of Russia; Russian Foreign Minister (1804-06); President of the Polish Government during the insurrection of 1830-31, after its suppression headed the Polish monarchist émigrés in Paris.—45

D

Damm—German democrat; President of the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849, later emigrated to England.—154-56, 255


Daniels, Amalie (1820-1895)—wife of Roland Daniels.—22, 59, 107, 223, 224, 230, 232, 301, 547, 548, 549, 559

Daniels, Franz Joseph—big wine merchant in Cologne, brother of Roland Daniels.—386

Daniels, Roland (1819-1855)—German physician, member of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League from 1830, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted; friend of Marx and Engels.—9, 20, 22, 115, 142, 195, 212, 222, 238, 275, 386, 468, 479, 521, 544, 547, 549

Dannenberg, Pyotr Andreyevich (1792-1872)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube and in the
Crimea in 1853-54.—470

Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) —Italian poet.—329

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right-wing Jacobins.—363, 521

Da Ponte, Lorenzo (1749-1838)—wrote librettos for a number of Mozart’s operas.—556

Darasz, Albert (1808-1852)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; a leader of democratic organisations of Polish emigrants, member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—171, 459

Dosent, Sir George Webbe (1817-1896)—English philologist specialising in Scandinavian languages, journalist; assistant editor of The Times (1845-70); had contacts with diplomatic circles.—276

Decker, Karl von (1784-1844)—German general and military historian, took part in wars against Napoleonic France.—535

Delane, John Thaddens (1817-1879)—English journalist, editor-in-chief of The Times.—276

Delane, William Frederick Augustus (d. 1858)—English lawyer, one of the financial directors of The Times, father of John Delane.—276

Delia Rocco, Heinrico Morozzo—Italian refugee, associate of Mazzini.—280

Demidovs,—Russian aristocratic family, owners of minefields and iron and steel works.—411

Demuth, Helene (1820-1890)—housemaid and friend of the Marx family.—181, 364, 465, 537

Demul, Joseph—candidate for Manchester in the 1852 elections to Parliament.—111

Derby, earls of—British aristocratic family, many of them cotton magnates.—411

Derby, Edward Godfrey Smith Stanley, Earl of (1799-1869)—English statesman, Whig until 1853, later a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—44, 49, 53-54, 56, 58, 69, 119, 147, 197, 215, 515

Desmoulins, Lucie Simplice Camille Bernard (1760-1794)—French writer, prominent figure in the French Revolution. Right-wing Jacobin, friend of Danton.—363

Deutsch, Simon (1822-1877)—Austrian bibliographer of Hebrew literature, radical; contributed to the Vienna Der Radikale in 1848; later emigrated to Paris, had connections with the Prussian police.—126

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French Enlightenment philosopher, atheist; leader of the Encyclopaedists.—194

Diebich-Zabelkowsky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count (1785-1851)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief (1829) of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and, from December 1830, of the army which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—394

Dietz, Oswald (c. 1824-1864)—German architect; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to London; member of the Communist League Central Authority, after the split of the League belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, was a member of its Central Authority; later took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—14, 181, 226, 230, 316, 570

Diezel, Gustav (1827-1864)—German scholar, lawyer.—505

Duxfeld, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; sympathised with the Young England group in the 1840s, later a
Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—61, 132, 197, 253, 276, 295, 472, 483, 516, 517, 519

Dobrovsky, Josef (1753-1829)—Czech scholar and public figure, founder of Slav philology; his works contributed to the Bohemian national movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.—563

Dobrovsky, Josef (1753-1829)—Czech scholar and public figure, founder of Slav philology; his works contributed to the Bohemian national movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.—563

Domenichi, Lodovico (d. 1564) — Italian poet, author of an adaptation of Boiardo’s L’Orlando innamorato.—131

Donatus, Aelius (4th cent.)—Roman grammarian.—188

Donizetti, Gaetano (1797-1848)—Italian composer.—199

Douglas, Sir Howard (1776-1861)— British general and military writer, author of works on artillery and fortification.—426

Drule, Friedrich Wilhelm (b. 1820)— German journalist, democrat, refugee in London in the 1850s.—151, 154, 173, 194


Dubois, André Marie Jean Jacques (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), later Bonapartist.—47

Durand—French democrat.—199

Dussart, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848).—52

Dulon, Rudolph (1807-1870)—German pastor, a leader of the Friends of Light movement, which opposed the official church; emigrated to the USA in 1853.—71, 173, 417, 459, 462, 588

Duncker, Alexander (1819-1897)—German publisher.—539

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher.—216, 232

Dundas, Henry, Viscount Melville (1742-1811)—British statesman, Lord Advocate for Scotland (1775-83), Home Secretary (1791-94), President of the Board of Control for India (1793-1801); Secretary for War (1794-1801), First Lord of the Admiralty (1804-05).—498

Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), later Bonapartist.—47

Dürer, Peter—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, brother-in-law of Gustav Struve.—45

E

Eber, Hermann—German journalist, secret agent of the Austrian police in the 1840s-50s.—22, 99, 222, 238, 276, 483

Eckardt, 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; a leader of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; took part in the English trade union movement.—26, 40, 107, 117, 120,
Eisner, Karl Friedrich Moritz (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung in the 1850s.—502, 506, 507, 534, 539, 550, 553-55

Engel, Johann Jacob (1741-1802)—German writer, critic and philosopher, shared the philosophical views of the 18th-century Enlightenment.—307

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—350

Engels, Elise (1834-1912)—sister of Frederick Engels.—249


Englisch, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon Condé, duc d' (1772-1804)—French prince, a Bourbon; fought against the French Republic in the counter-revolutionary émigré army; shot on the order of Napoleon I.—129

Engländer, Sigmund (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist, emigrated to France (1848) and later to England; secret police agent.—126, 548, 558

Erhard(t), Johann Ludwig Albert (born c. 1820)—German shop assistant, member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted.—143

Ermen, Franz—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—249

Ermen, Gottfried—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—36, 249, 329, 339

Ermen, Peter (Pitt) (born c. 1810)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—165, 322

Ersch, Johann Samuel (1766-1828)—German bibliographer, professor of geography and statistics in Halle.—462

Esparrago, Baldomero, duque de la Vittoria (1793-1879)—Spanish general and politician; leader of the Progresista Party; Regent of Spain (1841-43), head of government (1854-56).—485

Estimase, Charles Marie Esprit (1815-1859)—French general, Bonapartist; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830-40s, in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, and in the Crimean war.—482

Espe y Mina, Francisco (1781-1836)—Spanish general, a guerrilla leader during the War of Independence (1808-14); active participant in the revolution of 1820-23, fought against the Carlists in 1833-36.—490

Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848; counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—228

Estrees, Louis Charles Cesar Letellier, comte d' (1695-1771)—French marshal, took part in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), commanded the French army on the Rhine in 1762.—489

Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba (1826-1920)—wife of the emperor Napoleon III.—276, 297, 300

Evans, Sir George de Lacy (1787-1870)—British general, liberal politician, M.P.; commanded a division in the Crimean in 1854.—527

Everbeck, August Hermann (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters, leader of Paris communities of the League of the Just (1841-46), member of the Communist League, which he left in 1850; Paris correspondent of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49.—45, 58, 66, 85, 87, 360, 542

Feddersen—an acquaintance of Ernst Dronke in Switzerland.—296
**Ferdinand I** (1751-1825)—King of the Two Sicilies (1816-25).—541

**Ferdinand II** (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), son of Francis I.—541

**Ferdinand VII** (1784-1833)—King of Spain (1808 and 1814-33).—497

**Ferenczi**—Hungarian singer.—170

**Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von** (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—45, 161

**Fickler, Joseph** (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the revolution emigrated to Switzerland, later lived in England and America.—92, 96, 151, 156, 173, 250, 542

**Fischer**—German journalist, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, after its suppression emigrated to the USA, editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* in New Orleans.—52

**Fleury, Charles** (real name Carl Friedrich August Kraus) (b. 1824)—London merchant, Prussian spy and police agent.—235, 236, 240, 242-44, 302, 313, 321

**Florencourt, Franz von** (1803-1886)—German writer, editor of a number of periodicals, first liberal and later conservative; brother-in-law of Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's step-brother).—543

**Florencourt**—relative of Jenny Marx, brother of Franz von Florencourt.—343

**Flügel, Johann Gottfried** (1788-1855)—German lexicographer.—289

**Forster, Charles**—English theologian and traveller, author of works on Biblical history.—326-27, 502

**Fouil, Achille** (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist, repeatedly Finance Minister between 1849 and 1857, Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—17, 21, 47, 200, 388

**Fourier, François Marie Charles** (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—449

**Fox, Charles James** (1749-1806)—British statesman, Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806).—489

**Frosen, C. F.**—German philologist, author of Spanish language manuals.—364, 584

**Francis, Sir Philip** (pseudonym*Junius*) (1740-1818)—English journalist and politician, bourgeois radical, author of lampoons against the reactionary regime of George III.—489

**Francis I** (1777-1830)—King of the Two Sicilies (1825-30), son of Ferdinand I.—541

**Franck, Gustav** (d. 1860)—Austrian democrat, a refugee in London in the early 1850s.—154, 156, 173

**Frederick I** ("Barbarossa" or "Redbeard") (c. 1123-1190)—German King (from 1152), Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90).—474, 475

**Frederick II** (1194-1250)—German King (1212), Holy Roman Emperor (1220-50).—475

**Frederick II** (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—51, 365, 474, 488

**Frederick VII** (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—452

**Frederick William IV** (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—307, 526


**Freiligrath, Ida** (1817-1899)—wife of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—42

**Freiligrath, Wolfgang**—son of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—23
Freire, Manuel (1765-1834)—Spanish general, took part in the war of liberation from Napoleonic rule (1808-14).—492

Freund—German physician in London, doctor of the Marx family in the 1850s.—453, 462, 464, 465, 469, 481, 490, 498, 500-02, 556, 559

Friedländer, Max (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist, editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung and Die Presse, to which Karl Marx contributed in the 1850s-60s; cousin of Ferdinand Lasalle.—502

Friedländer—owner of a school in London.—282

Friedländer.—315

Fröbel, Julius (1805-1893)—German writer and publisher of progressive literature; democrat, later a liberal; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to the USA after the revolution, returned to Europe in 1857.—44

Friedrich, R. A.—Austrian philologist, wrote a manual of Slav languages.—201, 204

Furrer, Jonas (1805-1861)—Swiss politician, moderate liberal, lawyer; President of the Diet (1848) and then of the Swiss Confederation, Burgomaster of Zurich.—529

Fürstenberg, Baron von—Prussian landowner, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206


G

Gallenka, Antonio (pen-name Mariotti) (1812-1895)—Italian journalist, took part in the Italian national liberation movement; from the 1830s lived mostly in England; contributed to the British press; wrote a number of works on the history of Italy.—541

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; in the 1850s and 1860s took part in the revolutionary movement in South America and the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s.—198

Garnett, Jeremiah (1793-1870)—English journalist, a founder and editor (1844-61) of the Manchester Guardian.—561

Garthe—German democrat, a refugee in London in the 1850s.—155

Gebert, August—Mecklenburg joiner; member of the Communist League in Switzerland and later in London; after the split in 1850 belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group.—151, 169, 176-77

George III (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—488

Gerstenberg, Isidor (d. 1876)—London banker, adherent of Gottfried Kinkel.—150, 321, 322, 502, 581

Gerstenzweig—German merchant in London.—499

Gervinus, Georg Gottfried (1805-1871)—German historian, liberal; editor of the Deutsche Zeitung (1847-48); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—276

Gibbon, Edward (1737-1794)—English historian, author of The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.—326

Gibson, Thomas Milner (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, later liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—57, 111

Gipperich (Gibberich), Joseph—German tailor, member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League; agent of the Prussian police, one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police; refugee in England from 1852.—222

Girardin, Delphine de (1804-1855)—French writer; wife of Émile de...
Girardin.—47

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, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51), later Bonapartist.—47, 526

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the second half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94),—284, 331, 334, 355, 515-19, 590

Gnam—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1850.—17

Gbegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; later member of the First International.—141, 146, 151-52, 154-56, 161, 166, 167, 173, 182, 267, 434, 499

Goebb, Karl (Charles)—American writer of German origin; was close to the German democratic refugees in the United States (1850s); co-author with Theodor Poesche of a book advocating 'united states of the world' under the aegis of the USA (1852).—211, 238, 244

Goebb, Karl (Charles)—Anarchist of German origin; took part in the revolutionary movement there in 1848-49, after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; owner of a public house in London which was the meeting-place of German refugees.—271, 310, 318, 498

Goldheim—Prussian police officer, secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.—240, 242, 244, 314-16, 318, 319, 321, 521

Goldschmidt—Danish journalist, author of an anti-Kinkel article published in the Kölnische Zeitung early in 1852.—95

Galavin, Ivan Gavrilovich (1816-1890)—Russian liberal landowner, journalist; emigrated to England, was close to Herzen and Bakunin in the 1840s and 1850s.—306, 359-61, 373, 438, 523, 524

Gorchakov (Gorchakov), Mikhail Dmitrievich, Prince (1793-1861)—Russian general, commanded the Russian army on the Danube (1853-54), commander-in-chief of the Southern army (September 1854-February 1855) and of the army in the Crimea (February-December 1855); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland (1856-61).—433, 470

Görgey, Arthur (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (April-June 1849), War Minister (from May 1849); voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility, opposed development of the revolution and advocated agreement with the Habsburgs.—70, 101, 104, 128, 131, 134, 212, 267, 304, 310-11, 460

Gorowski, Thaddäus—Polish refugee, member of the Polish Democratic Society.—172

Götz, Theodor—German democrat, refugee in England, a friend of Karl Marx.—508, 521, 522

Grach—Trier banker.—526

Grach—wife of the banker Grach.—526

Grach, Friedrich (1812-1854)—Prussian colonel, served in the Turkish army from 1841, commanded the defence of Silistria in 1854.—461

Graham, Sir James Robert George (1792-1861)—British statesman, Whig and later Peelite; Home Secretary in the Peel Government (1841-46), First
Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34, 1852-55).—56, 101, 129, 132, 252, 546.

Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adalphe de (1806-1880)—French journalist, unprincipled politician, Orleanist before the 1848 revolution and later Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps législatif during the Second Empire, contributed to Le Constitutionnel, editor-in-chief of Le Pays in the 1850s.—126, 555.

Grant, James (1802-1879)—English radical journalist and writer, editor of The Morning Advertiser (1850-71).—358.

Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of (1815-1891)—British statesman, Whig, subsequently a Liberal Party leader; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74 and 1880-85); Lord President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-66), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).—456.


Greiff—Prussian police officer, one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—242-45, 270, 281, 301, 313.

Grey, Sir Henry George, Earl of (1802-1894)—British Whig statesman; Secretary at War (1835-39) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1846-52).—519.

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist, one of the founders of Germanic philology, author of Die deutsche Grammatik and of folklore adaptations, professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—563.

Gross, Magnus—German democratic journalist, a refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—6, 260, 573.

Grotter, Johann Gottfried (1774-1851)—German scholar, literary historian.—462.

Gülich, Gustav von (1791-1847)—German economist and historian, author of works on the history of economics.—82.

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister; expressed the interests of big financial bourgeoisie.—48, 61.

Häibling von Lanzenauer—German landowner, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206.

Haering—Prussian postal clerk.—316, 319.

Hafiz, Shams ud-din Mohammed (c. 1300-c. 1389)—Persian poet, Tajik by birth.—341.

Hafner, Leopold (b. 1820)—Austrian army officer, author of a reference book on military science.—159.

Guillemot, Armand Charles, comte de (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, took part in the wars of the French Republic and of Napoleonic France, Chief of Staff of the French interventionist army in Spain (1823), ambassador to Constantinople (1824).—497.

Guillermain—refugee from Lyons.—76.

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister; expressed the interests of big financial bourgeoisie.—48, 61.

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister; expressed the interests of big financial bourgeoisie.—48, 61.
democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to France, Paris correspondent of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung and Kölnische Zeitung; police agent.—178, 194, 208

Hagen, Theodor (1823-1871)—member of the Communist League in Hamburg, publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.—381

Hain, August—German refugee in London, member of the Communist League, supported Marx and Engels during the split in the League in 1850.—86, 87

Halil Pasha (d. 1856)—Turkish military leader and statesman, repeatedly held ministerial posts; Capudan Pasha (Naval Minister) in 1854-55.—408

Hammer—member of the Communist League in Magdeburg, belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, opponent of Marx and Engels.—169, 177

Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, Baron von (1774-1856)—Austrian historian, Orientalist, author of works on Turkish history.—423, 428

Hansen—Cologne worker, member of the Communist League, emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s.—79

Harney, 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, Red Republican and Friend of the People; associate of Marx and Engels; in the early 1850s was close to petty-bourgeois circles and temporarily withdrew from the revolutionary trend in the labour movement.—11, 30, 31, 43, 60-61, 67, 89, 93, 96, 99, 107, 162, 163, 166, 266, 268, 262, 461, 587

Harney, Mary (d. 1853)—wife of George Julian Harney.—282

Harrington, Harro Paul (1798-1870)—German radical writer, emigrated in 1828, lived in various countries of Europe and America including the USA.—117

Hatzfeldt, Sophie, Countess of (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Ferdinand Lassalle.—339, 478

Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Edmund, Count of (d. 1798)—husband of Sophie Hatzfeldt.—293

Hauy, Herman Wilhelm (born c. 1838)—German shop assistant; member of the Communist League; arrested with other Cologne communists, he turned King’s evidence and was released before the trial; fled to Brazil (summer 1852).—143, 144, 145, 197, 215

Heauer, Kasper (1812-1833)—a foundling discovered in Nürnberg in 1828 and placed in the care of the Bavarian state; the story of his origin and tragic death provided the theme for a number of literary works.—36

Heywood, Abraham (1801-1884)—British lawyer and journalist; Tory at the beginning of his career, later Peelite; appointed Secretary of the Poor Law Board in 1854.—319

Hebrard, Bonhard—Prussian consul-general in London in the 1890s-60s.—100, 232

Hecker, Friedrich Franz Karl (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—6, 98

Hecksher, Martin—Frederick Engels’s physician, a German resident in Manchester.—353

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—43, 65, 87, 104, 306, 462, 556

Heilberg, Louis (1818-1852)—German journalist; political refugee in Brussels, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846) and later of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to London at the end of 1850.—124

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German
revolutionary poet.—61, 121, 276, 401, 438, 455, 469, 504, 509, 544, 568, 587

Heinzen, Karl (1809-1850)—German radical journalist, for a short time took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; from 1847 onwards, opponent of Marx; refugee in Switzerland and England, from the autumn of 1850, in the USA.—6, 17, 52, 59, 60-62, 65, 94, 117, 141, 146, 161, 173, 185, 208, 263, 273, 308, 310, 351, 367, 391, 394, 395, 396, 417, 421, 423, 462, 542, 574, 575

Heise, Heinrich (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist, an editor of the newspaper Die Hornisse (1848-50); took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later a refugee in England.—86, 114, 115, 121, 162, 187, 349, 356, 397, 419, 420, 421, 441-45, 451, 454, 463, 469, 471, 478, 479, 543, 583, 587-89

Helmich, Julius—Westphalian publisher and bookseller; 'true socialist'; refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—118, 161

Henry IV (Henri IV) (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—475, 497

Hentze, A.—German army officer, member of the Communist League, belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—15, 143, 155, 161, 223, 229, 237, 335, 577

Herbert, Sidney, Baron of Lea (1810-1861)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; Secretary at War (1847-49 and 1852-53) and Secretary for War (1859-60).—284, 472, 508

Hermstadt—Cologne banker, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 238

Herweg—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, refugee in London in the 1850s.—155, 156, 243

Herwegh, Georg Friedrich (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland; subsequently member of the German Social Democratic Party.—199, 262

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, journalist and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical Polarnaya Zvezda (Polar Star) and the newspaper Kolokol (The Bell).—199, 235, 273, 275, 282, 286, 306, 317, 325, 345, 360, 362, 373, 436, 438, 521-25, 527, 537, 548, 553, 558

Hess, Heinrich Hermann Josef, Baron von (1788-1870)—Austrian general, subsequently field marshal; took an active part in crushing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commander-in-chief in Hungary, Galicia and the Danubian Principalities in 1854 and 1855.—346

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a leading 'true socialist' in the mid-40s; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group, later supported Lasalle.—89, 90, 192, 232, 236

Hillgärtners, Georg—German democrat, emigrated after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—152

Hippocratus (c. 450-c. 377 B.C.)—Greek physician, father of medicine.—344


Hochstahl—German democrat, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—66, 72

Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde) (1808-1865)—French writer, member of secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and the July monarchy, police agent.—52

Hoffstetter, Gustav von (1818-1874)—Swiss army officer and military writer, took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847), fought in
Garibaldi's army in 1849.—103

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—128

Holyoake, George Jacob (1817-1906)—English journalist, reformist, Owenite and Chartist in the 1830s and 1840s, prominent figure in the cooperative movement.—196

Honneim, Richard von (d. 1857)—Cologne lawyer, counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—222, 228, 231

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—281, 291, 465

Horner, Leonard (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; Factory inspector (1833-56), member of the Factory Inquiry Commission in 1833 and of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841; took the side of the workers.—189

Hoyer, Johann Gottfried von (1767-1848)—Prussian general and military historian.—160

Hoyoll, Philipp (b. 1816)—German artist; émigré in Manchester in the 1850s.—554

Hudson, J. W.—secretary of the Athenaeum club in Manchester in the 1850s.—209, 239

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, opposed Louis Bonaparte, banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—524, 555

Hüther, Friedrich Wilhelm (born c. 1817)—German tailor, member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—28

Hübemann, Baron—diplomatic representative of the Austrian government in the USA at the end of 1851 and in the first half of 1852.—117

Hume, Joseph (1777-1855)—British politician, a radical leader, M.P.—59, 284

Hunt, Thornton Leigh (1810-1873)—English radical bourgeois journalist, took part in the Chartist movement in the 1840s and 1850s.—196

Huzel, Jacob (born c. 1820)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA, sided with Marx and Engels in the early 1850s; friend of Adolph Cluss.—92, 139, 140, 149, 150, 152, 166, 266, 336, 575

Huzelwitt—German refugee in the USA in the 1850s.—92

Imandt, Peter (born 1824)—German teacher, took part in the Baden uprising of 1849; member of the Communist League; emigrated to Switzerland, later lived in London; supporter of Marx and Engels.—122, 125, 151, 154-56, 158, 161, 162, 167, 205, 207, 224, 233, 235, 241, 243, 274, 275, 290, 313, 356, 359, 359, 372, 386, 401, 417, 442, 446, 468, 478, 480, 482, 498, 543, 545, 573, 574, 584, 589, 590

Immermann, Karl Leberecht (1796-1849)—German writer, journalist and critic; prominent figure in the development of the German theatre.—262

Iskander Bey (Alexander Ilinski) (1819-1861)—Polish-born Turkish general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey; commanded Turkish troops on the Danube (1853-54), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—470

Jacobi, Abraham (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), emigrated to England (1853) and later to the USA, disseminated Marx-
ism there, fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union; President of the Medical Academy in New York (1885-89).—20, 212, 551-53, 355, 358, 372, 375, 402, 403, 542, 587

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician, a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—353

*Jellacic* (Jellachich), Josef, Count (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1848-59), took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—160

*Jenzi, Samuel Friedrich* (1809-1849)—Swiss publisher, radical, editor of the comic newspaper *Der Gukkasten* (Berne).—292

*Jérôme*—see Bonaparte, Jérôme

*Joest, Karl*—Cologne manufacturer, juryman in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 559, 561

*Johnson, A.*—Bank of England clerk, acquaintance of Ferdinand Freiligrath.—32, 37, 43, 131, 146, 147, 152, 227

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, duc d'Orléans, prince de* (1818-1900)—French admiral, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—129, 200, 222

*Jonnin, Henri, Baron von* (1779-1869)—Swiss-born general in the French and later the Russian army; military theoretician, author of works on strategy and military history.—565


*Jones, Jane* (d. 1857)—wife of Ernest Jones.—547

*Jones, Richard* (1790-1855)—English economist.—62

*Jones, Sir William* (174-1794)—English Orientalist and lawyer, author of works on Oriental languages and literature.—341

*Jordan, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German author, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing and later Centre) (1848).—199

*Julius, Gustav* (1810-1851)—German democratic journalist, 'true socialist'.—236

*Jung, Georg* Gottlieb (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, responsible publisher of the Rheinische Zeitung, democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, later a national-liberal.—267, 223, 581

*Junius*—see Francis, Sir Philip

*Juta, Jaan Carel* (b. 1824)—Dutch merchant, brother-in-law of Karl Marx, husband of his sister Louise.—350, 351, 406

*Juta, Louise* (1821-c. 1865)—Karl Marx's sister, Jaan Carel Juta's wife.—350, 351

*K

*Kamm, Friedrich* (d. 1867)—German brushmaker, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849, emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution, member of the German Workers' Society in Geneva, emigrated to the USA in 1852.—152, 204

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—412

*Karger*—German democrat, refugee in the USA in the 1850s, contributor to the German-language newspaper *Pionier*.—433

*Kassler, Franz Georg Friedrich von* (1794-1848)—German military historian.—152
Kellner, Gottlieb Theodor (1819-1898)—German democratic journalist, took part in the democratic movement in Cassel during the 1848-49 revolution; publisher of Die Hornisse (1848-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851, editor of Die Reform (1853-54) and publisher of the Philadelphia Demokrat (from 1856).—273, 312, 318, 326, 349, 366, 428, 583

Keogh, William Nicholas (1817-1878)—Irish lawyer and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament, repeatedly held high judicial posts in Ireland.—516

Khrulev, Stepan Alexandrovich (1807-1870)—Russian general, army commander on the Danube and in the Crimea during the Crimean war, distinguished himself at the defence of Sevastopol.—470


Kinkel, Johanna (née Mockel) (b. 1810—German writer, wife of Gottfried Kinkel.—141, 164, 313, 535, 568

KINSKI, Countess (née Zichy) (b. 1824)—Austrian noblewoman.—194

Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher; radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber in 1849; later member of the Progressist Party.—125

Kiss, Miklós (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth's agent in France and Italy; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles.—171, 194, 268

Klapka, Georg (1820-1892)—general, commanded one of the Hungarian revolutionary armies in 1848-49, commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849); emigrated in 1849, maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the amnesty (1867).—101, 196, 198, 311, 460

Klein, Carl Wilhelm—German worker, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA (1852), helped to organise workers' associations there; active in the working-class movement in Germany in the 1860s and 1870s, member of the First International.—365, 367, 390, 391, 398

Klein, Johann Jacob (c. 1818—physician in Cologne, member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted.—20

Klose, G.—German refugee living in London, member of the Communist League, supported Marx during the split of the League in 1850.—124

Knesebeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von der (1768-1848)—Prussian field marshal-general, took part in the wars against Napoleon.—538

Köppen, Karl Friedrich (1808-1863)—German radical journalist and historian; Young Hegelian.—563

Korsy, Hermann—Prussian officer; democrat; discharged from the army for his political views (1847); responsible publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—118-20, 160

Korn, Philipp—Hungarian bookseller and writer, commanded the German Legion of the Hungarian revolutionary army during the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated to
Turkey and then to England; re­
turned to Hungary in 1860.—548,
553
Kościelski, Władysław (1818-1895)—
Polish democrat, emigrant, general in
the Turkish army under the name of
Sefer Pasha (1850s).—360, 546
Kościński, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura
(1746-1817)—prominent figure in
the Polish national liberation move­
ment in the 1790s; took part in the
American War of Independence in
1776-83; leader of the Polish upris­
ing of 1794.—68
Kossuth, Lajos (1802-1894)—leader of
the Hungarian national liberation
movement, head of the Hungarian
revolutionary government during the
1848-49 revolution; after the defeat
of the revolution emigrated first to
Turkey and later to England and the
USA; sought support among
Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—13,
21, 30-31, 70, 73-74, 101, 106, 128,
131, 141, 150, 151, 153, 158, 170,
171, 194, 197, 212, 237, 246, 261,
267-68, 269, 273-81, 283-84, 290,
291, 294, 299, 302, 304, 310, 316,
318, 356, 401, 441, 448, 504, 586
Kothes, D.—Cologne merchant, demo­
crat; witness for the defence in the
Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—
215, 216, 228, 292, 299, 302, 309
Kräusler—Prussian professor, juryman
in the Cologne Communist Trial
(1852).—207
Kriege, Hermann (1820-1850)—German
journalist, 'true socialist', member of
the League of the Just; from 1845 to
1848 lived in emigration in New
York where he founded and edited
the newspaper Der Volks-Tribun; ac­
tive in democratic organisations dur­
ing the 1848-49 revolution in Ger­
many; again emigrated to the USA
after its defeat.—353
Krog, Gerhard Christoph von (1785-
1860)—Danish general, commander­
in-chief of the Danish army (July
1848-April 1849, 1850) in the Schles­
wig-Holstein war.—452
Künzler, H.—Prussian army officer,
ent figure in the German working-class movement; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863).—46, 76, 88, 290, 293, 334, 339, 350, 354, 417-18, 419, 422, 430-33, 478, 481, 491, 502, 511, 514, 521, 543, 558, 556, 557, 588

Law, John (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20); notorious for his speculative scheme (issuing of paper money), which ended in a complete failure.—263

Lawley, Francis Charles (1825-1901)—British journalist, Gladstone's private secretary (1852-54); the Times correspondent in the USA (1854-65).—518

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 where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—31, 42, 50, 71, 73, 135, 136, 141, 246, 282, 295, 296, 299, 300, 317, 388, 401, 439, 459

Le Flo, Adolphe Emmanuel Charles (1804-1887)—French general, politician and diplomat, representative of the Party of Order, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—48

Legenbre, Louis (1752-1797)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a leader of the Right-wing Jacobins, friend of Danton.—521

Lehmann, Albert—German worker residing in London, leading figure in the League of the Just and the German Workers' Educational Society in London, later member of the Communist League, after its split (1850) belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group and its Central Authority.—41-42

Lehon, Charles Amé Joseph, comte de (1792-1868)—Belgian politician and diplomat, envoy to Paris (1831-42), enjoyed protection at the court of the Orleans.—47

Lehon, comtesse—wife of Charles Lehon, lived in Paris in the 1830s-1850s, enjoyed protection at the court of the Orleans.—47

Lehon, Louis Xavier Léopold, comte de (1832-1879)—French politician, Bonapartist, Chef de Bureau of Minister of the Interior Morny (from 2 December 1851), member of the Corps législatif (from 1856), son of Charles Lehon.—47-48

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—440

Leiden, Kosmas Damian—wine-merchant in Cologne, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—207, 238

Lelewel, Joachim (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants in 1847-48.—172, 563

Lensch—see Demuth, Helene

Leroy, Pierre (1797-1871)—French writer; utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism; emigrant in England in 1851-52.—71, 73, 74

Leroy, Achille—see Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—345

Leuer—Cologne merchant, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1832).—207, 238

Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von (1814-1848)—Silesian landowner, Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—225

Liebknecht, Ernestine (d. 1867)—
Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—485-86.

**Liebknecht, Wilhelm** (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League and the First International, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—15, 372

**Lieber, Karl**—Bavarian army officer, wrote a book on the military art in Ancient Greece and Rome.—160

**Louis IX, 'Saint'** (1214-1270)—King of France (1226-1270).—497

**Louis XV (1710-1774)**—King of France (1715-1774).—489

**Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)** (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15, 1815-24).—492, 494, 496, 497

**Louis Napoleon**—see Napoleon III


**Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke** (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to The Times; Whig and later Liberal; M.P.; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855-58).—277

**Löwen, Darya {Dorothea) Khristoforovna, Princess** (1785-1857)—wife of the Russian diplomat Khristofor Andreyevich Lieven; hostess of political salons in London and Paris.—204, 266, 443

**Löwen, Khristofor Andreyevich, Prince** (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), ambassador to London (1812-13).—431

**Lièvre, Eugène**—French democrat, supporter of Hermann Krieg in the 1840s, emigrant in the USA in the 1850s.—323, 324, 542

**Lindenau, Bernhard August** (1779-1854)—astronomer and statesman in Saxony, moderate liberal; Minister of the Interior (1831-34), Prime Minister (1831-34).—462

**Linton, William James** (1812-1897)—English engraver, poet and journalist; democrat; republican; publisher of The Leader; sympathised with the Right-wing Chartists, contributed under the pen-name Spartacus to Chartist publications; lived in the USA from 1866.—107

**List, Friedrich** (1789-1846)—German economist, advocated protectionism.—45, 147

**Loch, George**—candidate for Manchester in the 1852 elections to Parliament.—111

**Lochner, Georg** (born c. 1824)—carpenter; active in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—15, 372

**Löwe, Wilhelm** (known as Löwe of Calbe, after the Prussian district of Calbe, which he represented in the Frankfurt National Assembly) (1814-1886)—German democratic politician, Vice-President of the Frankfurt National Assembly, adhered to the Left wing; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution left Germany, but returned after the amnesty of 1861; sympathised with the progressists.—80, 92, 96, 156, 154, 224, 274, 300, 370, 547

**Löwenherz**—Frankfurt am Main publisher in the 1840s and 1850s.—99, 239

**Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count** (1790-1874)—Russian general, commanded a corps on the Danube (1853-54) and the Southern army (1855); commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea (early 1856).—470

**Lüders, Wilhelm**—German democratic journalist, contributed to democratic newspapers in the 1840s and 1850s; refugee in London.—5, 6, 567

**Lüning, Otto** (1818-1858)—German
physician and journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, national-liberal after 1866.—97

Lupus—see Wolff, Wilhelm

Lütgen, A.—author of Feldzug der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Armee und Marine im Jahre 1860, a book about the war between Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark.—451

Lycurgus—legendary Spartan law-giver said to have lived in the 9th-8th centuries B.C.—195

Maas, Benjamin (1822-1891)—German physician, utopian socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA after its defeat.—52

MacColl, John Ramsay (1789-1864)—Scottish economist who vulgarised David Ricardo’s theories.—62, 540

MacGregor, Dougal—English printer; radical; supported the Chartists and printed The Northern Star (1837-45), later became its owner (January-April 1852); a creditor of Ernest Jones.—162, 482

Macchiavelli, Niccolò (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—31, 125

Mador—French mechanic; democrat; emigrated to Britain in the early 1850s.—10, 25, 271

Mahmud II (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—394

Major, Adolph (born c. 1819)—German journalist and chemist, agent-provocateur who infiltrated into the Communist League; emissary of the separatist Willich-Schapper group in France in late 1850 and 1851; one of the accused on the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852.—199

Mallinger—Kossuth’s Paris correspondent.—268, 270

Millardet—French worker, socialist, chairman of the Fraternity communist club in Paris in 1848, emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—71

Mallesbury, James Howard Harris, Earl of (1807-1889)—British statesman, Tory, later Conservative, Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59).—446

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a population theory.—62, 345, 382

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-52).—132, 296, 349

Mariotti—see Gallenga, Antonio

Marx, Edgar (Musch) (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—117, 406, 421, 453, 454, 457, 524, 528, 589, 590, 593, 541, 543, 549, 569, 578, 581, 590

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Eduard Aveling in 1884.—509, 511, 515, 521, 524

Marx, Francis Joseph Peter (1816-1876)—British conservative journalist; landowner; friend and associate of David Urquhart.—360, 361, 363, 439-40

Marx, Franziska (1851-1852)—Karl Marx’s daughter.—78, 79, 84

Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838)—Karl Marx’s father, lawyer and Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—287, 579

Marx, Heinrich Guido (1849-1850)—Karl Marx’s son.—575

Marx, Henriette (née Pressburg) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx’s mother.—50, 183, 481, 581

Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter; journalist; active in the international working-class movement; married Charles Longuet in 1872.—23, 181, 421, 440, 453, 454, 541, 569, 578, 590

Marx, Laura (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter; married Paul Lafargue in 1868; active in the French working-class movement.—185, 186, 421, 453, 454, 541, 569, 578, 590

Marx, Louise—see Juta, Louise

Massy, Gerald (1828-1907)—English poet, sympathised with the Chartists; editor of the newspaper The Spirit of Freedom (1849); contributed, under the pen-names Bandiera and Spirit of Freedom, to Harney's Chartist publications The Red Republican and The Friend of the People; was influenced by Christian socialism and the reformist cooperative movement; withdrew from the working-class movement in the mid-1850s.—30

Massot, Marie Alexandre (1805-1875)—French journalist; utopian socialist; contributed to the newspapers La Réforme and Voix du Peuple (1848-50); friend of Proudhon.—31, 51, 67, 73, 74, 166, 180, 182, 186, 189, 196, 207, 260

Manius, Charlemagne Émile de (1818-1888)—French lawyer; Bonapartist; Prefect of the Paris police (1851); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of Police (1852-53).—17, 268

Mayne Reid—see Reid, Thomas Mayne

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary; a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London in 1850; sought support of the Bonapartists in the early 1850s but later opposed Bonapartism.—31, 54, 42, 46, 50, 59, 71, 73, 74, 76, 101, 106, 107, 135, 136, 141-42, 170, 172, 246, 268, 278-82, 283-84, 290, 295, 299, 315, 321, 371, 401, 454, 458, 459

McElrath, Thomas (1807-1888)—American lawyer, publisher and politician, supported the abolitionists; co-founder and business manager of the New York Daily Tribune.—387

Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48), organiser of the Holy Alliance.—494

Mevissen, Gustav von (1813-1899)—German banker and politician, a leader of the Rhineland liberal bourgeoisie in the 1840s.—284

Meyer, Eduard (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.—124, 151, 154, 225, 304, 447, 497, 555, 568, 574, 590

Meyer—an acquaintance of Marx and Engels.—411, 421, 443, 478, 561

Meyer (Mayer), Joseph—German tailor; emigrated to England in the early 1850s; supporter of Willich; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—41-42, 277

Mierszowski, Ludwik (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31 and in the 1848-49 revolution in Poland, Italy and Germany; later, a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sympathised with Bonapartism.—138

Mill, James (1773-1836)—Scottish philosopher (follower of Bentham), and economist, adherent of Ricardo's theory.—62

Miller, Johann Martin (1759-1814)—German poet and writer, representa-
tive of sentimentalism in German literature.— 74
Millerbacher, August Joseph—Austrian postal official, shareholder of a publishing-house in Prague.— 160
Mina—see Espoz y Mina
Minié, Claude Étienne (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.— 12
Minié, Claude Étienne, Count von (1804-1879)—French army officer, inventor of a new type of rifle adopted by the French army in 1852.— 12
Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party; supported Louis Bonaparte in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.— 49, 311
Monteith, William (1790-1864)—British general, diplomat and military historian; fought in the Russo-Persian war (1804-12) on the side of Persia; military and diplomatic adviser to the Persian government during the Russo-Persian war of 1826-28; criticized Palmerston's foreign policy in the 1840s.— 440
Montez, Lola (1818-1861)—adventuress and dancer mistress of Ludwig I, King of Bavaria in 1846-48.— 300
Montefio, Eugénie—see Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba
Montmorency, Mathieu Jean Félicité, comte de (1822), duc de (1767-1826)—French general and reactionary politician; Foreign Minister (1821-22), participant in the Verona Congress of the Holy Alliance (1822).— 493
Moreau, Jean Victor Marie (1763-1813)—French general, fought in the wars of the French Republic against the coalition of European states.— 310
Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (December 1851-January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56 and 1857-59), half-brother of Napoleon III.— 12, 17, 47
Morris, Mowbray (1818-1874)—English publisher, manager of The Times from the late 1840s.—276
Mott, Lucretia (1793-1880)—public figure in the USA; leader of women's movement for the abolition of slavery in the USA.—371
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—556
Müller, Franz Joseph—legal counsel in Cologne; conservative; father-in-law of Roland Daniels.—219
Müller-Tellering, Eduard von (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and journalist; democrat; contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; published slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—80, 86, 87, 96, 263, 274, 331, 336
Münch-Bellinghausen, Franz Theodor, Baron (b. 1787)—Prussian official, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206
Musch—see Marx, Edgar

N

Nadaud, Martin (1815-1898)—French bricklayer, journalist; follower of Proudhon; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), adherent of the Montagne party; was banished after the coup d'etat of 2 December 1851, lived in England up to 1859.—73, 417
Napier, Sir Charles (1786-1860)—British admiral, fought in the wars against Portugal (1810 and 1833-34) and in Syria (1840); commanded the British fleet in the Baltic in 1854; M.P.—458, 460, 546
Napier, Sir Charles James (1782-1853)—British general; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14), commanded the British troops that conquered the Sind (1842-43), ruler of the Sind (1843-47).—310
Napier, Sir Joseph (1804-1882)—British politician, Tory M.P., Attorney-General for Ireland (1852) in the Derby Cabinet, Lord Chancellor for Ireland (1858-59).—517
Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick (1785-1860)—British general and military historian, fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).—424, 496, 501, 506
Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—10, 51, 103, 158, 197, 305, 310, 406, 408, 411, 490, 496, 538
Nasmyth, Charles (1826-1861)—British army officer, war correspondent of The Times at Strelitz’s headquarters on the Danube (1854); took part in the defence of Silistria.—472
Naut, Stephan Adolf—Cologne merchant, responsible publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1849).—133, 468
Neumours, Louis Charles Philippe Raphael d’Orleans, Duc de (1814-1896)—son of King Louis Philippe of France; general; took part in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution.—126
Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-55), Chancellor of State from 1845.—370
Newcastle, Henry Pelham Fiennes PelhamClinton, Duke of (1811-1864)—British statesman, Peelite, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852-54), Secretary for War (1854-55), and Colonial Sec-
Newton, William—British trade-union leader, radical, sympathised with Chartism; co-founder and leader of the Amalgamated Society of Mechanical Engineers.—196

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—44, 45, 53, 143, 285, 234, 362, 410, 414, 423, 424, 446, 518, 519, 524, 525

Nicholson, Renton (1809-1861)—publican in London, changed his occupation several times.—486

Nohra, Peter (1821-1866)—tailor, member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—20, 134, 137, 143, 212, 231, 238

Nowaïri (Novaïri), Schéhab-Eddyn-Ahmed ibn-Abdulwalhab (c. 1280-c. 1332)—Arabian historian.—340

O'Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855)—Left-wing Chartist leader, owner and editor of The Northern Star; reformist after 1848.—15, 31, 67, 547

O'Flaherty, Edmond—British Treasury official in charge of collecting taxes in Ireland in 1854.—519

Omet Passa (Michael Lattas) (1806-1871)—Turkish general of Croatian origin, commander-in-chief on the Danube (1833-51), in the Crimea (1855) and in the Caucasus (1855-56).—368, 420, 424, 429, 134, 138, 458, 486, 561

Opitz, Martin (1597-1639)—German poet and translator, founder and theoretician of classicism in German literature.—471

Oppenheim—London banker.—275

Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard (1819-1886)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; editor of Die Reform (Berlin) in 1848; refugee in 1849-50; later a national liberal.—225, 568

Orléans—royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—12, 21, 47-49, 126, 129, 200

Orléans, Duke of—see Louis Philippe I

Orléans, prince d'—see Joinville, François

Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie

Osten Sacken, Dmitriy Yerejevich, Count (1788-1881)—Russian general; during the Crimean war commander of a corps in the south of Russia (1853-54) and of the Sevastopol garrison (late 1854-55).—470

Oswald—German emigrant in London, tobacco merchant.—151, 154, 173

Oswald, Eugen (1826-1912)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; emigrated to England after its defeat.—116

Ottenberger, Joseph (b. 1768)—Austrian scholar, teacher of history in Prague, author of a manual on military science in Ancient Rome.—160

Oser I (1815-1867)—King of Greece (1832-62), member of the Bavarian ruling family of Wittelsbach.—447

Otto, Karl Wunsch (born c. 1810)—German chemist, member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49) and of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to five years imprisonment.—20, 212

Ota, Karl Christian (1817-1873)—Danish democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia, emigrated to the USA in 1854.—458, 461

Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) (43 B.C.-c. A.D. 17)—Roman poet.—199

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—192

Oxord, Joseph—head of the London firm in which Ferdinand Freiligrath was employed.—305, 387, 389, 528

P

Pacifico, David (1784-1854)—British tradesman of Portuguese origin in Athens.—456

Pakington, Sir John Somerset (1799-
1880)—British statesman, Tory, Secretary for War and the Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59, 1866-67), Secretary for War (1867-68).—295


Parm—see Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount

Parish, Henry Headley—British historian in the first half of the nineteenth century.—455

Paskievich (Paskiewilsch), Ivan Fyodorovich, Prince (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal-general, fought in wars against Napoleonic France; commander-in-chief (from the summer of 1831) of the Tsarist troops who suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; Lieutenant (governor) of the Kingdom of Poland from 1832; commander-in-chief of the army which crushed the Hungarian revolution (1849), and of the troops on the western and southern borders of Russia (1854), commanded the Russian army on the Danube (April-June 1854).—461

Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46), repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—195, 284, 306, 422

Pélissier, Aimable Jean Jacques (1794-1864)—French general, Marshal from 1855; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s-early 1850s; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856).—546

Pellico, Silvio (1789-1854)—Italian writer, arrested in 1820 for his contacts with the Carbonari and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment; released in 1830, published a book describing the hardships of convicts in Austrian prisons (1832); later abandoned politics.—558

Pereczei, Mór (1811-1899)—Hungarian general, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated to Turkey and in 1851 to England.—32, 311, 572

Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63).—17, 21, 27

Peter the Hermit (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, peasant leader in the First Crusade (1096-99).—59

Petermann, August (1822-1878)—German geographer and cartographer, editor of the periodicals Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt in Gotha (from 1855).—535, 538

Péter, Johann—German democrat; music teacher; refugee in London in the 1850s.—419

Pfänder, Karl (c. 1818-1876)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; painter; emigrated to London in 1845, member of the League of the Just, of the Communist League Central Authority, and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 28, 43, 72, 95, 126, 463, 538, 589

Pfelsi—see Zerffi, Gustav

Pieper, Wilhelm (born c. 1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 29, 33, 37, 67, 71, 117, 146, 175, 179, 183, 184, 186-93, 213, 231, 235, 265, 275, 289, 292, 312, 314, 316, 319, 325, 330.
Pierce, Edward — Russian émigré in England in the mid-nineteenth century, an acquaintance of Marx and Engels. — 81, 100, 147, 179, 180, 184, 195, 202, 203

Pindar, Eduard — Russian émigré in England in the mid-nineteenth century, an acquaintance of Marx and Engels. — 81, 100, 147, 179, 180, 184, 195, 202, 203

Pitt, William (the Elder), from 1766 Earl Chatham (1708-1778) — British statesman, a Whig leader; Foreign Secretary and Secretary for War (1756-61), Prime Minister (1766-68). — 487

Pitt, William (the Younger) (1759-1806) — British statesman, Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06). — 487, 489

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878) — Pope (1846-78). — 448

Pleyel — Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848 revolution in Hungary, emigrated to the USA in 1852. — 214, 215, 310

Plumicke, J. C. — German army officer, author of Handbuch für die Königlich Preussischen Artillerie-Offiziere. — 305

Pöckel, Gustav — German refugee in the USA, acquaintance of Edgar von Westphalen. — 542, 545

Pöckel, Gustav — German refugee in the USA, acquaintance of Edgar von Westphalen. — 542, 545

Pölizei — acquaintance of Marx in London. — 182, 185

Poesche, Theodor (1826-1899) — German statistician; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, after its defeat emigrated to England and then to the USA; co-author with Karl Goepp of a book advocating 'united states of the world' under the aegis of the United States (1852). — 366, 369

Polignac, Jules Auguste Armand Marie, prince de (1780-1847) — French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist and clerical; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister (1829-30). — 497

Pompador, Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, marquise de (1721-1764) — mistress of King Louis XV of France, protectress of marshal Soubise. — 488

Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) (106-48 B.C.) — Roman general and statesman. — 349

Pott, August Friedrich (1802-1887) — German philologist, one of the founders of the comparative-historical method in linguistics. — 462

Pozzo di Borgo, Karl Osipovich, Count (1764-1842) — Russian diplomat of Corsican descent, envoy (1814-21) and ambassador (1821-35) to Paris, ambassador to London (1835-39). — 494

Priessnitz, Vincenz (1799-1851) — peasant in Austrian Silesia who discovered and began to use hydropathy. — 106

Prince of Prussia — see William I

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865) — French writer, economist and sociologist; one of the founders of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848). — 46, 74, 77, 135, 166, 182, 207, 257, 260-61, 263, 306, 381

Pruß, Robert Eduard (1816-1872) — German poet, journalist and literary historian; associated with Young Hegelians; publisher of the journal Deutsches Museum in Leipzig (1851-67). — 391

Pulszky, Francis (Ferenc) Aurelius (1814-1897) — Polish-born Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after its defeat, contributed to the New York Daily Tribune in the 1850s; returned to Hungary in 1867 after the amnesty; deputy to the Diet (1867-76, 1884-97). — 106, 289, 291, 293, 295, 299, 367, 369, 405, 418, 485

Pulszky, Theresa (1819-1866) — Hungarian authoress, wife of Francis Pulszky from 1848. — 106, 174, 299

Name Index

Püttman, Hermann (1811-1894)—German radical poet and journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s.—483

Pyat, Félix (pen-name Jules Mayret) (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician; democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated in 1849 to Switzerland and later to Belgium and England; was against independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the First International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—50, 74, 170, 174, 462

R

Redetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, commanded Austrian troops in Northern Italy (from 1831); suppressed the national liberation movement in Italy (1848-49); Governor-General of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia (1850-56).—278, 281

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford (1781-1826)—British colonial official; Governor of Java (1811-16).—348

Raspail, François Vincent (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist; sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—500, 589

Raspail (d. 1853)—wife of François Raspail.—200

Rath, vom—Cologne manufacturer, jurymen in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206, 258

Rau—an officer in Willich’s volunteer corps during the 1848-49 revolution.—356

Raveaux, Franz (1810-1851)—German politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49; imperial commissioner in Switzerland, one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; member of the Baden Provisional Government; emigrated to Belgium after the revolution.—582

Redcliffe—see Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount

Reeve, Emilia (d. 1865)—friend and admirer of Alexander Herzen.—158

Reeve, Henry (1813-1895)—English journalist and government official; Registrar to the Privy Council in 1853.—277

Reichsbach, Oskar, Count (b. 1815)—Silesian landowner; democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); emigrated to England (1850) and later to America.—80, 92, 96, 136, 150, 154, 161, 166, 167, 173, 224, 233, 245, 246, 266, 274, 275, 282, 286, 300, 302, 313

Reid, Thomas Moine (1818-1883)—British writer.—280, 290

Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph (b. 1824)—member of the Cologne Workers’ Association and of the Communist League, expelled from the League in 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—134, 157

Reinhardt, Richard (1829-1898)—German poet; emigrated to Paris; Secretary of Heinrich Heine; friend of the Marx family; later a businessman.—41, 44, 47, 49, 254, 290, 367

Remusat, Charles François Marie, comte de (1797-1875)—French statesman and writer, Orleanist. Minister of the Interior (1849), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Napoleon III’s regime during the Second Empire; Foreign Minister (1871-73).—47, 130, 132, 200, 222, 263

Reshid Pasha (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister.—410

Ruter, Max—Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—226, 227

Ribbertrop, Adolph—Prussian legal officer, refugee in Paris in the 1850s, August Ewerbeck’s friend.—87
Ribeyrolles, Charles (1812-1861)—French democratic journalist and politician, an editor of *La Réforme* (1846-49); after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; editor-in-chief of the newspaper *L'Homme* (1853-55); emigrated to Brazil in 1858.—527

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—62, 345, 372, 378, 381-83, 392

Ribeyrolles, Chartes (1812-1861)—French democratic journalist and politician, an editor of *La Réforme* (1846-49); after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England; editor-in-chief of the newspaper *L'Homme* (1853-55); emigrated to Brazil in 1858.—527

Ricciardi, Giuseppe, comte (1808-1882)—Italian writer and journalist, took part in the Italian national liberation movement, author of works on the history of Italy.—541

Richards, Alfred Bale (1820-1876)—English playwright and journalist, wrote under the pen-name Englishman; opposed Cobden and the Manchester men; engaged in polemics with the Urquhartists in the 1850s.—317, 373

Richter—German craftsman, emigrated to England in the 1850s; supporter of Willich.—28, 33, 43

Riego y Núñez, Rafael del (1785-1823)—Spanish army officer, participant in the War of Independence (1808-14); a prominent figure in the 1820-23 revolution; executed after its defeat.—492

Riggs, L. W.—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s, supporter of Marx and Engels.—28, 223, 372, 394, 577

Riley, Roswell Sabine (1823-1887)—American military writer, army officer, general from 1861, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48);—498, 506, 503, 506

Rizki, Pasha (1809-1859)—Turkish general and statesman, Capudan Pasha (Naval Minister) from December 1853 to January 1854, Seraskier (War Minister) from January 1854 to June 1853.—408

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875)—German economist and politician; leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution; advocated 'state socialism'.—125

Roesgen, Charles—employee in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester.—36, 36, 67, 164, 187, 209, 328, 329, 335, 339, 343, 344

Römer—German refugee in London.—499

Römulus Augustulus (born c. 460)—last Emperor of the West Roman Empire (475-76).—45

Ronge, Johannes (1813-1887)—German clergyman, democrat, an initiator of the German Catholics movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to England after its defeat.—42, 92, 96, 154, 173, 194, 207, 210, 213, 266, 499, 548, 553, 555

Ronge, Bertha Traun (née Meier)—wife of Johannes Ronge.—74, 555

Röser, Peter Gerhard (1814-1865)—cigar-maker; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49); member of the Communist League, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to six-year imprisonment; later sympathised with the Lassalleans.—20, 134, 157, 212, 228, 247, 308

Rothacker, Wilhelm (1828-1859)—German writer, democrat, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1850; editor of the newspaper *Hochwächter*, editor of the weekly *Die Menschenrecht* in Cincinnati (from 1853).—18

Rothschild, Wilhelm Carl (1828-1901)—one of the Frankfurt Rothschilds, studied at Göttingen University with Wilhelm Pieper.—343, 583

Rouland, Gustave (1806-1878)—French statesman, Bonapartist, President of the State Council (1863-64).—535

Rózycki, Karol (1789-1870)—Polish army officer, fought in the wars of Napoleonic France and in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, emigrated to France after its defeat.—138

Rudolf I (1218-1291)—Holy Roman Emperor (1273-91), founder of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria.—476
Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the Deutsh-Französische Jahrbücher; Marx’s ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—14, 42, 44, 45, 65, 79, 92, 93, 96, 116, 126, 128, 141, 145-46, 150, 155, 173, 194, 207, 210, 219, 246, 263, 266, 298, 304, 308, 317, 345, 349, 359, 362, 373, 401, 417, 434, 450, 459, 462, 555, 567, 573-75

Rumpf, E.—German tailor; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1851, supporter of Marx and Engels.—344

Rushton, William Lewis—English lawyer and philologist.—159

Russell, John Russell, Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65), President of the Council (1854-55).—39, 44, 50, 53, 252, 284, 293, 422, 429, 472, 516-20, 543, 545

Rutenberg, Adolf (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the Rheinische Zeitung (1842); national-liberal after 1866.—563

S

Sabatier—French emigrant in London in the 1850s; Blanquist.—32

Saalier, John (1814-1856)—Irish banker and politician, a leader of the Irish Brigade in Parliament; Junior Lord of the Treasury (1853).—516, 518

Saadi, Otto Joseph Arnold (1816-1886)—Prussian legal officer, Public Prosecutor in Cologne from 1848, prosecutor in the Gologne Communist Trial (1852).—132, 138, 145, 216, 220, 229, 559, 577

Saint-Arnaud, Armand Jacques Achille Leroy de (1801-1854)—French general, marshal from 1852; Bonapartist; War Minister (1851-54); an organiser of the coup d’état of 2 December 1851; commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea (1854).—452, 47, 184, 527

Sand, George (pen-name of Amadine Lucie Antoinette Dupin, baronne Dudevant) (1804-1876)—French writer of social novels; representative of the democratic trend in romanticism.—359-60, 362

Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de (c. 1797-1876)—Mexican general and politician, participant in the War of Independence (1821), President of Mexico (1833-36, 1844, 1846-48, 1853-55), commander-in-chief during the war with America (1846-48).—504

Sartiges, Étienne Gilbert Eugène de (1809-1892)—French diplomat, envoy to Greece, the USA and other countries.—117

Sassatkin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat, emigrated in the early 1840s.—32

Sassanian (Sassanian) dynasty—ruling dynasty in Persia (3rd-7th cent.).—340

Sauvage, Henri Charles Joseph (1802-1869)—Palatinate lawyer; democrat; emigrated to France in 1832, taught German there; supporter of Ledru-Rollin; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); expelled from France after the coup d’état of 2 December 1851.—317

Say, Jean Baptiste (1767-1832)—French economist, representative of vulgar political economy.—62, 162

Schabelitz, Jacob Christian (1804-1866)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, father of Jacob Lukas Schabelitz.—255

Schabelitz, Jacob Lukas (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Fraternal Democrats society from 1846, member of the Communist League; maintained contact with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s and the early 1850s.—255, 264, 272, 275, 282, 287, 289, 292, 296, 299, 324, 579, 585
**Schapper, Karl (1812-1870)**—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; a leader of the separatist group after the split in the Communist League in 1850; later a member of the General Council of the First International.—15, 66, 92, 121, 126, 156, 199, 222, 226, 227, 244, 264, 309, 378, 521

**Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von (1755-1813)**—Prussian general and politician; after the defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon I in 1806, head of the commission for a reform of the army; War Minister (1807-10) and Chief of Staff (1810-13); took an active part in the liberation war of the German people against Napoleonic rule.—526

**Schärttner—wife of August Schärttner.—162**

**Schärttner, 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, after its split in 1850 joined the separatist Willich-Schapper group and became a member of its Central Authority.—103, 151, 154, 169, 175, 244, 316, 318

**Schickel, Johann (1827-1909)**—shop assistant in Mainz, member of the Communist League; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—18

**Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)**—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—124, 154, 187, 429, 452, 558

**Schily, Victor (1810-1875)**—German lawyer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to France; member of the First International.—92, 122, 151, 154, 162, 164, 186, 193, 434, 446

**Schily—brother of Victor Schily.—187**

**Schimmelpenning, Alexander (1824-1855)**—Prussian army officer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, left Germany after its defeat; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—73, 92, 114, 125, 135, 151, 154, 204, 213, 224, 266, 297, 300, 319, 437, 438, 436, 439, 441, 443, 444

**Schlager, Eduard—German democratic journalist; refugee in the USA in the 1850s-70s; editor of the Neu-England-Zeitung and publisher of the Deutsch-Amerikaner in the early 1850s; returned to Germany in 1880.—349, 350, 356

**Schmidt, Ernst Friedrich Franz (d. 1853)**—German clergyman, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to the USA after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Kossuth.—52

**Schmolze, Karl Heinrich (1823-1859)**—German cartoonist and poet, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated after its defeat.—162, 313

**Schmaufer, Karl Heinrich (c. 1823-1864)**—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49, emigrated after the revolution, lived in the USA from 1851, edited the Baltimore Wecker.—157, 204, 491, 574

**Schneider II, Karl—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rheinisch District Committee of Democrats (1848); deputy to the Secular Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—195, 217, 221-24, 226, 228, 231, 234-35, 237, 240, 242, 244

**Schüler, Caroline—friend of the Marx family.—558**

**Schumann, Conrad (Konrad) (c. 1822-1858)**—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1849; responsible publisher of the Neue...
Rheinische Zeitung, Politischökonomische Revue; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 112, 115, 158, 274, 299, 325-26, 336, 542, 545, 569

Schramm, Rudolf (1813-1882) — German journalist, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; opposed Marx; supported Bismarck in the 1860s; brother of Conrad Schramm.—115

Schramm, Rudolf (1813-1882) — German journalist, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; opposed Marx; supported Bismarck in the 1860s; brother of Conrad Schramm.—115

Schulz (d. 1852) — chief of police in Cologne, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—142, 197, 227, 252

Schunck — owner of a Manchester trading firm.—353

Schunck — wife of Schunck.—353

Schürmann — German lawyer, counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—234

Schurz, Carl (1829-1906) — German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA, subsequently a US statesman.—74, 95, 125, 154, 167, 168, 172, 194, 197, 236

Schütz, Jacob Friedrich (1813-1877) — German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later a refugee in England, Switzerland and America.—92, 96, 115

Schüeber von Leuten — widow of an official resident in Frankfurt am Main.—225, 226

Scott, Winfield (1786-1866) — American general, commander-in-chief of the US army (1841-November 1861); during the war against Mexico (1846-48), commanded the army that captured Vera Cruz and Mexico City.—407, 501, 503

Scekendorf, August Heinrich Eduard Friedrich, Baron von (1807-1885) — Prussian legal officer, deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849-51; public prosecutor at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—238

Ségur, Alexandre Joseph Pierre, vicomte de (1756-1805) — French writer.—208

Seiler, Sebastian (c. 1810-c. 1890) — German journalist, member of the Brüssel Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to London in the early 1850s, moved to the USA in 1856.—36, 44, 45, 50, 275, 465, 466

Selim Pasha (Zedlinsky) — Turkish general of Polish descent, commanded the Turkish army on the Danube in 1853-54.—470

Senior, Nassau William (1790-1864) — English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory.—62

Seymour, George Hamilton (1797-1880) — British diplomat, envoy to St. Petersburg (1851-54).—422, 519

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616) — English dramatist and poet.—21, 162, 391, 440, 502, 558

Shamil (c. 1798-1871) — leader of the inhabitants of the mountains in Daghestan and Chechnya against the local feudal lords and tsarist colonisers in the 1830s-50s.—395, 418, 464, 477

Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount (1757-1844) — British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1801-04); as Home Secretary (1812-21) took repressive measures against the working-class movement.—54

Sigel, Albert (1827-1884) — German army officer, journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to England, and in 1853 to the USA; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—154, 173

Sigel, Franz (1824-1902) — Baden army officer; democrat; a military leader of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, then to England and, in 1852, to the USA;
took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—151, 158, 198, 310, 417
Simon, August Heinrich (1805-1860)—German lawyer, journalist and politician; democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution and became a businessman.—554
Simon, Ludwig (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents in June 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—39, 40, 42, 44, 55, 102
Simondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simon de (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism.—346
Smith, Fyodor Ivanovich (c. 1787-1865)—Russian military historian.—188, 311, 393
Simonov, Fyodor Ivanovich (1800-1854)—Russian general, commanded the Russian army on the Danube and the Crimea during the Crimean war, was killed at the battle of Inkerman.—470
Solís y Rivadeneira, Antonio de (1610-1686)—Spanish historian, poet and dramatist.—501, 503
Solomon—King of Judaea (c. 974-c. 937 B.C.).—349
Soubise, Charles de Rohan, prince de (1713-1787)—Louis XV's favourite; marshal, fought in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), commanded the French army on the Rhine (1761-62).—488-89
Soutille, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie (1769-1831)—Marshal of France and statesman, commanded the French forces in Spain from 1808 to 1814; War Minister (1830-34, 1840-45), Foreign Minister (1839-40), and Prime Minister (1832-34, 1839-40, 1840-47).—456
Spartacus—see Linton, William James
Spielmann—London banker.—322, 352, 356, 359, 368, 385
Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus), de (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—144
Staudau, Julius—German teacher; participant in the democratic movement in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution.—52
Stanley—see Derby, Edward Geoffrey
Smith, Stanley, Earl of
Stephan, Gottlieb Ludwig (born c. 1814)—Hanover joiner, member of the Communist League; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split in the League (1850); rejoined the supporters of Marx and Engels in December 1851; head of a workers' society in London from January 1852.—14, 15, 19, 72, 227, 233, 521
Steffen, Wilhelm—former Prussian army officer; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); emigrated to Britain in 1853 and afterwards to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—282, 289, 312, 401, 402, 409, 436, 480, 482, 521, 544, 548
Stehely—owner of the confectionery in Berlin where members of The Free group used to meet in the 1840s.—449
Stein, Carl—Cologne banker, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—143
Stein, Julius (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung (1850s); editor of the Breslauer Zeitung (from 1862).—502
Steinfesth—owner of the Manchester trading firm in which Georg Wreath was employed.—217, 219, 334, 336
Stenzel, Gustav Adolf Herold (1792-1854)—German historian.—160
Stéphanie-Louise-Adrienne (née Beauharnais) (1789-1860)—Grand Duchess of Baden (from 1811), relative of Napoleon III.—36
Stiebel, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—chief of
the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); jointly with Wermuth wrote the book Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.— 215, 218, 219, 222, 224-34, 240, 213, 298, 314-15, 318, 319, 321, 396, 577, 580

Stirner, Max (real name Schmidt, Johann Caspar) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—50, 55, 135, 170, 174, 449

Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine (née Dähnhardt) (1818-1902)—Max Stirner’s wife.—130, 170

Stopford, Sir Robert (1768-1847)—English admiral, Commander-in-Chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean (1837-41).—456

Strassoldo, Julius Cäsar, Count (1791-1855)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848-49; commanded a division stationed in Milan (1853); assistant of Radetzky.—281

Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount (1786-1880)—British diplomat, envoy and then ambassador to Constantinople (1810-12, 1825-28, 1841-58).—408

Strauss—German democrat, emigrated to London in the 1850s.—154

Strauss, David Friedrich (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and journalist.—462

Strue, Feedor (1820-1904)—German lawyer, journalist and publisher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—161, 175, 182

Strodtmann, Adolf (1829-1879)—German writer, demoral; took part in the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionary movement (1848), left Germany in 1850; Gottfried Kinkel’s biographer.—125


Struve, Amalie (d. 1862)—participant in the German democratic movement (1848-49); Gustav Struve’s wife.—45

Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870)—German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; a leader of German refugees in England; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union; returned to Germany in 1862.—45, 98, 142

Sutherland, Harriet Elisabeth Georgiana Lennox-Gower, Duchess (1806-1868)—big Scottish landowner, Whig.—273, 289

Szemere, Bartholomäus (Bertalan) (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and journalist, Minister of the Interior (1848) and head of the revolutionary government (1849); emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—31, 32, 45, 65, 71, 73, 77, 93, 95, 99, 101, 105, 106, 151, 133, 134, 174, 212, 237, 267-70, 277, 280, 291, 299, 302, 304, 313, 572

Sterely—Hungarian refugee in London, author of the book Asiatic Chiefs.—543

Stesztey, Miklós (1803-1875)—Hungarian army officer, military engineer and journalist; took part in the July 1830 revolution in France and the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated to England in 1850.—77, 93, 98, 100, 108

Stirmay, Pal, Count (1804-1883)—Hungarian refugee, emissary of Kossuth in Paris in the early 1850s.—268, 269

Sznyayde, Franz (1790-1850)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, general of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—138

T

Tacitus (Publius Cornelius) (c. 55-
Taschereau, Jules Antoine (1801-1874)—French journalist and politician, member of the editorial board of Le National; publisher of Rome rétrospective (1833-37 and 1848), in which a slanderous document against Blanqui appeared; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Right wing) in 1848-49; later Bonapartist.—209

Tausenau, Karl (1808-1873)—journalist in Prague, head of the Central Committee of Democratic Societies in Vienna during the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London in 1849.—126, 173, 194, 555

Tawernier—author of anonymous pamphlets (1855) criticising actions of the French army command in the Crimean war.—545

Taylor, Bayard (1825-1878)—American traveller, writer and journalist, correspondent of the New-York Daily Tribune.—439

Taylor, Tom (1817-1880)—English writer of comedies and journalist; in the 1850s contributor to and in 1874-80 editor of Punch.—179

Taylor, Zachary (1784-1850)—American general and politician, big planter and slave-owner; commanded American troops on the Rio Grande during the war against Mexico (1846-48); President of the USA (1849-50).—501, 503

Techou, Gustav Adolf (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat, participant in the revolutionary events of 1848 in Berlin, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; a leader of Revolutionary Centralisation, a refugee organisation in Switzerland; moved to Australia in 1852.—91, 92, 114, 130, 150, 152, 170, 174, 205, 244

Tellering—see Müller-Tellering, Eduard von

Temrie, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus (1798-1881)—German lawyer and writer, democrat; Left-wing deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1849; later a progressist.—23, 34, 554

Terence, Publius Terentius Afer (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman dramatist.—403

Tesseler, von—juryman at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—206

Thaly, Sigismund (1814-1886)—Hungarian engineer, relative and friend of Kossuth, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, chief of the Komarom fortifications; left Hungary after the fall of the fortress; returned after the amnesty in the 1860s.—159

Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin (1795-1856)—French liberal, historian of the Restoration.—41, 473-76

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—171, 263, 448

Thomas, Antoine Léonard (1732-1785)—French man of letters, shared views of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers; member of the French Academy (from 1767).—298

Thoré, Étienne Joseph Théophile (1807-1869)—French politician, lawyer and journalist, democrat, took an active part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to England after the events of 15 May 1848; returned to France in 1860.—50

Tolstoi, Yakov Nikolayevich (1791-1867)—Russian man of letters; emigrated to Paris in 1829; from 1837 correspondent of the Ministry of Public Education and secret agent of the 3rd Department (a political police department set up under Nicholas I).—437

Torrens, Robert (1780-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo’s teaching.—62
Trübner, Nikolaus (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London.—94, 102, 414, 472

Tucker—London publisher.—407, 412, 472, 473, 500, 556

Tischirner, Samuel Erdmann (c. 1812-1870)—German lawyer, democrat; extreme Left leader in the Saxonian Diet, an organiser of the May 1849 uprising in Dresden; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland after the defeat of the revolution; member of the Revolutionary Centralisation Central Committee; later moved to England.—417

U

Unger, Joseph (b. 1828)—Austrian lawyer and politician, author of works on civil law.—208

Urban, Karl, Baron von (1802-1877)—Austrian army officer of Romanian extraction, general from 1850; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary.—460

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turkoophile, carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of The Free Press newspaper.—284, 292, 357, 363, 364, 375, 395, 398, 407, 412, 413, 417, 419, 422, 428, 430, 438, 440, 448, 450, 455, 473, 486, 523

V

Valentini, Georg Wilhelm, Baron von (1775-1834)—Prussian general and military writer, fought in the wars against the French Republic and Napoleonic France; served in the Russian army (1810-11), fought in the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12.—417

Vallières—French revolutionary, democrat, supporter of Barrès; emigrated to London in the 1890s.—32

Vashenier, Louis—French democrat, an editor of the Proudhonian newspapers La Voix du Peuple, Le Peuple and others (1850); emigrated to England and later to the USA.—73

Vehse, Karl Eduard (1802-1870)—German historian, acquaintance of Georg Weerth.—237, 245, 254

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—504, 509

Vetter, Anton (Jaggenfeldt) (1803-1882)—Hungarian general, associate of Kossuth in 1848-49; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution.—170, 180, 257, 261, 293

Victor, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de Bellange (1764-1841)—French marshal, participant in the wars of Napoleonic France; War Minister (1821-23); an organiser of the French intervention in Spain (1825).—495

Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—276, 285, 446

Vilèche, Jean Baptiste Sériaphin Joseph, comte de (1773-1854)—French statesman of the Restoration, Legitimist; Prime Minister (1822-28).—492, 494, 497

Vinzenz, Gaius Julius (d. 68)—Roman procurator of Lugdunensis, one of the three provinces of Gaul; a Gaul by birth; raised a revolt of Gallic troops against Nero (67) offering power to Galba, Roman governor of Spain; committed suicide after the quelling of the revolt.—304

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—394, 923, 555
Visconti—see Arconati Visconti, Costanza, Marquise

Vittinghof—German refugee in London, supporter of Arnold Ruge.—499

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s and 1860s; exposed by Marx in his pamphlet Herr Vogt.—42, 44, 98, 125, 478

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—291, 449

Vorontsov, Mikhail Semyonovich, Prince (1782-1856)—Russian statesman, general, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France, commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Caucasus and Governor of the Caucasus (1844-54).—395, 472

Vulpian, Christian August (1762-1827)—German writer, author of the novel Rinaldo Rinaldini.—296, 390

Washington, George (1732-1799)—American statesman; commander-in-chief of the North American army in the War of Independence (1775-83); first President of the USA (1789-97).—485

Watts, John (1818-1887)—British journalist, at first utopian socialist and follower of Owen, later a bourgeois liberal.—424, 427, 435

Webb, James Watson (1802-1884)—American journalist and diplomat; owner and publisher of the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer (1829-61); US plenipotentiary in Vienna (1849-50).—105, 174, 396

Weber, Carl Maria von (1786-1826)—German composer.—153

Weerth, Georg (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; shop assistant; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinishe Zeitung (1848-49); friend of Marx and Engels.—5, 6, 10, 16, 22, 27, 29, 79, 88, 132, 194, 198, 201, 202, 211, 215, 216, 217, 221, 225, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 236, 237, 239-42, 245-51, 254, 255, 297, 304, 391, 397, 453, 556, 560, 567, 568, 571, 578

Weitling, Wilhelm (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, a tailor by trade; member of the League of the Just, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—72, 121, 122, 141, 173, 275, 296, 341, 351, 449

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded the British army in the wars against Napoleonic France (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—53, 195, 197, 250, 395, 487-88

Wenckstern, Otto von (1819-1869)—German journalist, member of The Times and Daily News editorial board.
in the early 1850s; Prussian spy in London.—438

Westphalen, Anna Elisabeth Franziska—Jenny Marx's sister.—581

Westphalen, Caroline von (d. 1856)—Jenny Marx's mother.—71, 409, 411, 463, 526, 575

Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); Jenny Marx's stepbrother.—409, 411, 526

Westphalen, Gerhard Julius Oscar Ludwig Edgar von (1819-1890)—Jenny Marx's brother, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846); lived in America in 1847-65.—71, 434, 542, 575, 590

Westphalen, Heinrich Georg von (1768-1855)—Jenny Marx's uncle.—50, 55, 526

Westphalen, Louise von (1805-1861)—Ferdinand von Westphalen's wife.—50

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851; fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10-11, 13-19, 20, 25-29, 32, 33-43, 50, 52, 54, 55, 59-62, 65, 67, 70-72, 77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103, 106-08, 114, 117-20, 123, 126, 129, 131, 133, 137, 157, 160, 161, 164, 174, 175, 178, 180, 182, 185, 207, 210, 228, 251, 261, 263, 273, 301, 302, 303, 304, 311, 312, 314, 318, 323-24, 325, 330, 331, 335, 350, 359, 367, 371, 377, 401-03, 409, 412, 429, 569-72, 579, 580-84, 586-88

Weydemeyer, Louise—Joseph Weydemeyer's wife.—3, 19, 34, 35, 42, 54, 65, 81, 97, 116, 311, 319, 570, 572

Whately, Richard (1787-1865)—English theologian, philosopher and economist; liberal.—62

Wilhelm, Franz—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; after its defeat emigrated to the USA, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—6

Wilkes, John (1727-1797)—English journalist and radical politician, M. P.; author of lampoons against George III's absolutism.—469

Wilks, Washington (c. 1826-1864)—English radical journalist, an editor of The Morning Star.—429

William I (Wilhelm I) (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—94, 96, 141, 151, 155, 573, 574

Williams, Charles—pseudonym used by Karl Marx for reasons of security.—277, 291

Willich, August (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, resigned from the army on account of his political views, member of the Communist League, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1858; general in the Union army during the Civil War.—6, 15, 29, 42, 44, 66, 72, 74, 80, 86, 92, 93, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103, 112, 114, 115, 120-21, 126, 128, 130, 132, 136, 141, 150, 152, 154-56, 158, 161, 162, 164, 167, 169, 172, 173, 195, 203, 206, 213, 222, 226, 235, 236, 244, 245, 260, 264, 265-66, 273, 274, 283, 296, 299, 304, 309, 313, 316, 317, 319, 325, 326, 330, 331, 335-36, 342, 345, 348, 351, 371, 378, 396, 398, 402, 408, 422, 444, 450, 569, 570, 573-77, 580, 582, 586, 587
Willisen, Karl Wilhelm, Baron von (1790-1879)—Prussian general and military theorist; royal commissioner in Posen (1848); commander-in-chief of the Schleswig-Holstein army in the war against Denmark (1850).—103, 104, 310, 451, 452

Windischgrätz, Alfred, Prince zu (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the army that crushed the uprising in Prague and Vienna (1848); led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution (1848-49).—460

Wingham—London magistrate.—223, 232, 235

Winkelried, Erni (Arnold) (d. 1386)—semi-legendary hero in the liberation war of the Swiss against the Habsburgs; legend has it that he sacrificed his life to secure victory over Duke Leopold of Austria in the battle of Sempach (1386).—14

Wiss, Georg Eduard—German physician and journalist, Young Hegelian, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to London in the early 1850s and then to the USA; editor of Der Deutsche Correspondent (Baltimore).—206, 449-50, 588

Wolff, Ferdinand (Red Wolff) (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); emigrated after the 1848-49 revolution; supported Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—3, 22, 164, 305, 386, 391, 509, 571, 584

Wolff, Pius Alexander (1782-1828)—German actor and dramatist.—455

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, prominent figure in the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after the revolution and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16, 26, 31, 32, 42, 43, 55, 58, 94, 108, 111, 115, 133, 140, 142, 149, 160, 189, 199, 211, 219, 224, 221, 260, 290, 304, 312, 313, 324, 334, 336, 355-58, 364, 369-72, 374, 377, 386, 394, 396, 397, 398-400, 402, 410, 412, 420, 421, 428, 444, 454, 458, 471, 480, 498, 506, 529, 536, 538, 547, 549, 554, 560, 570, 579, 578, 584, 586

Wood—innkeeper in London.—271

Wood, Sir Charles, Viscount Halifax (1800-1885)—British statesman, Whig; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), President of the Board of Control for India (1852-55), First Lord of the Admiralty (1855-58), Secretary of State for India (1859-66).—136, 517

Wróblewski, Stanislaw (1799-1857)—Polish revolutionary, utopian socialist, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants, member of Centralisation and of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—138, 359, 401, 438

Worth, William Jenkins (1794-1849)—American general, commanded American forces in the war against Mexico (1846-48).—503

Zürich—see Urban, Karl, Baron von
INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Abraham (Bib.).—326

Achates—character in Virgil's Aeneid, Aeneas' loyal fellow-traveller, whose name is symbolical of true friendship.—523

Afrasiab—character in old Persian legends, King of the legendary Turin; was repeatedly defeated in wars with Persia—342

Alcina—character in Ariosto's L'Orlando furioso—390

Bazile—character in Beaumarchais' Le barbier de Séville—297, 300

Birch, Harvey—character in J. F. Cooper's novel The Spy—217

Cerberus (Gr. myth.)—three-headed dog guarding the entrance to Hades; the name came to signify a fierce guard—150, 266

Christ, Jesus (Bib.).—41, 42, 73, 296

Corydon—shepherd suffering from unrequited love in pastoral poetry—336

Don Quixote—title character in Cervantes' novel—493

Faust—title character in Goethe's tragedy—262, 447

Fridolin—character in Schiller's ballad Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer, a kindly and modest enamoured youth—452

Goliath (Bib.).—a Philistine giant slain by David during the war between the Philistines and the Israelites—440

Jason (Gr. myth.)—leader of the Argonauts in quest of the Golden Fleece, which was guarded by a dragon—45

Jesus (Bib.).—see Christ, Jesus

John (Bib.).—one of the Twelve Apostles, Christ's favourite disciple—284

King Lear—mythological King of Britain, hero of a legend that provided the theme for Shakespeare's tragedy—162

Kobes I—a philistine, title character in a satirical poem by Heine; also nickname of Jakob Venedey (Kobes means Jakob in a dialect spoken in Cologne, where Venedey was born)—504, 509

Krapülsinski (Crapülsinski)—one of the main characters in Heine's poem Zwei Ritter, a spendthrift Polish nobleman (the name comes from the French word crapule meaning gluttony, hard drinking and also scoundrel, idler)—276, 438, 568

Lazarus (Bib.).—590

Leporello—Don Giovanni's servant in Mozart's opera Don Giovanni—556

Ligurio—character in Machiavelli's comedy Mandragola—125

Malvolio—character in Shakespeare's comedy Twelfth Night—440

Manu—legendary law-giver of ancient India; the Laws of Manu were compiled by Brahmins between the first and fifth centuries—348

Mary (Bib.).—310

Nemesis (Gr. myth.)—goddess of retributive justice—402

Nicka—character in Machiavelli's comedy Mandragola—125

Noah (Bib.).—patriarch, said to have survived the Deluge in a wooden ark built on an order from God—326
Pangloss, Doctor—character in Candide, a philosophical novel by Voltaire.—449

Pegasus (Gr. myth.)—winged horse; to mount Pegasus, an expression that originated in the fifteenth century in Europe on the basis of later myths, means 'to be inspired'.—571

Prince Charming.—440

Ralph—character in Samuel Butler's satirical poem Hudibras.—334

Renard—a cunning fox in ninth-century fables and in the later collections Le Roman de Renard widely known in Flanders, France, Germany and other countries.—287

Rhadamanthus (Gr. myth.)—son of Zeus and Europa; one of the judges of the dead in the lower world.—30

Rinaldo Rinaldini—robber, title character in the chivalrous romance by Christian August Vulpius.—296, 390

Rodomonte—character in Ariosto's poem L'Orlando furioso, a boastful knight.—52, 117

Ruggiero—character in Ariosto's poem L'Orlando furioso.—390

Sancho Panza (Pansa)—a character in Cervantes' Don Quixote.—170, 362

Schelmufski—character in works by the German satirist Christian Reuter (1665-after 1712); a liar and braggart, who liked to make up stories about his travels and adventures; Heine used this character in his poem Zweiter Ritter.—587

Schlemihl, Peter—character in Chamisso's Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte, who exchanged his shadow for a magic purse.—457

Siegwart—hero of Johann Miller's sentimental novel Siegwart. Eine Klöstergeschichte.—74

Snug—character in Shakespeare's comedy A Midsummer Night's Dream.—391

Uriah (Bib.)—husband of Bathsheba, a Hittite officer in the Israelite army. David who coveted his wife, contrived his death in battle.—442, 445

Waschlapski—character in Heine's poem Zwei Ritter, a Polish nobleman who leads a life of idleness in emigration.—401, 587
INDEX OF QUOTED
AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Marx, Karl


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— Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850 (published in 1850 under the
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The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (present edition, Vol. 11)


English Prosperity.—Strikes.—The Turkish Question.—India (present edition, Vol. 12). In: New-York Daily Tribune, No. 3809, July 1, 1853.—375, 376


The First Trial of the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung' (present edition, Vol. 8)


Hirsch's Confessions (present edition, Vol. 12)


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The Knight of the Noble Consciousness (present edition, Vol. 12)
— Der Ritter vom edelmüthigen Bewußtsein. [New-York, 1854.]—330, 399, 401-02, 403, 409, 411, 412, 442, 448, 587


Lord Palmerston (present edition, Vol. 12). In: The People's Paper, Nos. 77-81, 84, 85, 86; October 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, December 10, 17, 24, 1853.—394, 395, 399, 404, 412, 414, 586
— Palmerston. In: Die Reform, Nr. 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 2., 3., 4., 8., 9. November 1853.—378, 379, 390, 408
— Palmerston and Russia. 1 ed. London, 1853. 2 ed. London, 1854.—455
— Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi. London, 1854.—455

Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser' (present edition, Vol. 12). In: The Morning Advertiser, No. 19406, September 2, 1853.—360-61, 373

The 'Model Constitutional State' (present edition, Vol. 7)
— Der 'Konstitutionelle Musterstaat'. In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 123, 22, Oktober 1848.—451

The 'Model State' of Belgium (present edition, Vol. 7)
— Der 'Musterstaat' Belgien. In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 68, 7. August 1848.—451


The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies (present edition, Vol. 12). In: The People's Paper, No. 50, April 16, 1853.—334


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—Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon. Paris-Bruxelles, 1847.—261, 381, 392

The Prussian Counter-Revolution and the Prussian Judiciary (present edition, Vol. 8)
—Die preußische Counterrevolution und der preußische Richterstand. In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 177, 24. Dezember 1848.—23, 34


Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. 11)
—[Boston, 1853]—259, 260, 267, 273, 299, 317, 326, 328, 334, 339, 350, 354, 386, 558


Revolutionary Spain (present edition, Vol. 13). In: New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 4179, 4192, 4214, 4220, 4222, 4244, 4250 and 4251; September 9 and 25, October 20, 27 and 30, November 24, December 1 and 2, 1854.—480, 484, 485, 498


Soap for the People, a Sop for 'The Times'.—The Coalition Budget (present edition, Vol. 12). In: The People's Paper, No. 52, April 30, 1853.—517

Speech on the Question of Free Trade (present edition, Vol. 6)
—Discours sur la question du libre échange, prononcé à l'Association Démocratique de Bruxelles, dans la séance publique du 9 janvier 1848. [Bruxelles, 1848.]—513

To the Editor of 'The People's Paper' (present edition, Vol. 12). In: The People's Paper, No. 71, September 10, 1853.—362-64

The Trials at Cologne. To the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser' (present edition, Vol. 11). In: The Morning Advertiser, No. 19145, November 2, 1852.—235

The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (present edition, Vol. 8)


[The Western Powers and Turkey.—Imminent Economic Crisis.—Railway Construction in


Engels, Frederick

The Antwerp Death Sentences (present edition, Vol. 7)


The Armistice 'Negotiations' (present edition, Vol. 7)

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The Communists and Karl Heinzen (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Die Kommunisten und Karl Heinzen. In: Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, Nr. 79, 80, 3., 7. Oktober 1847.—65, 117

The Danish-Prussian Armistice (present edition, Vol. 7)

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*The Faedreland* on the Armistice with Denmark (present edition, Vol. 7)


*The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question* (present edition, Vol. 7)

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*Hungary* (present edition, Vol. 9)
— Ungarn. In: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nr. 301, 19. Mai 1849.—120, 128

*The Kölnische Zeitung* on the Magyar Struggle (present edition, Vol. 8)


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Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last, I-III (present edition, Vol. 11). In: Notes to the People, Nos. 43, 48 and 50, February 21, March 27 and April 10, 1852.—36, 38, 43, 75


Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany (present edition, Vol. 11). In: New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 3282, 3284, 3292, 3293, 3297, 3311, 3389, 3395, 3403, 3406, 3407, 3425, 3432, 3438, 3517, 3557, 3564, 3576, 3594; October 25 and 28, November 12 and 28, 1851; February 27, March 5, 15, 18 and 19, April 9, 17 and 24, July 27, August 19, September 18, October 2 and 23, 1852.—3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 20, 25, 32-44, 49, 56, 58, 72, 76-77, 80, 85, 90, 92, 99, 102, 120, 126, 127, 131, 133, 137, 148, 158, 161, 164, 181, 185, 189, 199, 361, 582

The Russian Army (present edition, Vol. 13).—434, 437


Two Years of a Revolution: 1848 and 1849 (present edition, Vol. 10). In: The Democratic Review, April-June, 1850.—61


The War Comedy (present edition, Vol. 7)

The War in Italy and Hungary (present edition, Vol. 9)
— Der Krieg in Italien und Ungarn. In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung Nr. 257, 28. März 1849.—120, 128


Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick

Address of the Central Authority to the League, March 1850 (present edition, Vol. 10)
— Die Zentralbehörde an den Bund, London, März 1850 (distributed in handwritten copies).—143

Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850 (present edition, Vol. 10)
— Die Zentralbehörde an den Bund, London, Juni 1850 (distributed in manuscript copies).—143


A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials (present edition, Vol. 11). In: The Morning Advertiser, No. 19168, November 29, 1852.—246-47, 260

From Parliament.—From the Theatre of War (present edition, Vol. 13)
— Aus dem Parlamente.—Vom Kriegsschauplatz. In: Neue Oder-Zeitung, Nr. 53, 1. Februar 1855.—515

The German Ideology. Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Prophets (present edition, Vol. 5)
— Die deutsche Ideologic. Kritik der neuesten deutschen Philosophie in ihren Repräsentanten Feuerbach, B. Bauer und Stirner, und des deutschen Sozialismus in seinen verschiedenen Propheten.—161

Gottfried Kinkel (present edition, Vol. 10). In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Nr. 4, 1850.—139, 149

The Great Men of the Exile (present edition, Vol. 11)


Manifesto of the Communist Party (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Manifest der Kommunistische Partei. London, 1848.—60, 163, 202, 308


[Statement on Resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society in London] (present edition, Vol. 10)

— Erklärung über den Austritt aus dem deutschen Bildungsverein für Arbeiter in London.—14

*To the Editor of 'The Times'* (present edition, Vol. 11). Manuscript.—20, 24, 25, 27-30, 39


WORKS BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS

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Aberdeen, G. [Speech in the House of Lords on 9 August 1853.] In: The Times, No. 21503, August 10, 1853.—518

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Arena, A. [Poems]—356

Arriano, P. *Dubbì amorosi. altri dubbii, e sonetti lascivissii.*—126

Ariosto, L. *L'Orlando furioso.*—39, 52, 390

Arnim, L. A. von und Brentano C. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn.*—440

Athenaeus. *Deipnosophistai*. Ex Recensione Guilielmo Dindorfii. Lipsiae, 1827.—70

Balzac, H. de. *Le cabinet des antiques.*—203

— *Le père Goriot.*—203

Barthold, F. W. *George von Frundsberg oder das deutsche Kriegshandwerk zur Zeit der Reformation.* Hamburg, 1833.—160

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Beaumarchais, P. A. C. *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro.*—38

— *Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile.*—297, 300


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*Bible*—7, 558

*The Old Testament*

Ecclesiastes—249, 492

Genesis—327

1 Kings—269

2 Samuel—442, 445

*The New Testament*

Luke—307

Matthew—7

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Boiardo, M. M. *Orlando immemorato.*—131


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Ça ira (French revolutionary song. End of the eighteenth century).—555

Calderón de la Barca, P. El Mágico prodigioso.—447


— The Harmony of Interests: manufacturing and commercial. Philadelphia, 1851.—93, 345

— The Past, the Present, and the Future. Philadelphia, 1848.—392

— The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: Why It Exists, and How It May Be Extinguished. Philadelphia, 1853.—345-46, 387

Carrion-Nisas. Essai sur l'histoire générale de l'art militaire, de son origine, de ses progrès et de ses révolutions. Tomes I-II. Paris, 1824.—159

Cervantes Saavedra, M. de. Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha.—170, 447, 480

Chambray, G. Ueber die Veränderungen in der Kriegskunst seit 1700 bis 1815. Berlin, 1839.—160

Chamisso, A. von. Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte.—457

Chateaubriand, [F. R.] de. Atala.—441


— René.—447


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Cicero, M. T. Oratio pro Sextio.—89


— Karl Heinzen und der Kommunismus, oder der fahrende Ritter auf der wilden, verweigenden Jagd nach dem Schatten seines lahmen Kellers. In: New-Yorker Demokrat, end of June or beginning of July 1852.—207
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Cobden, R. [Speech at the meeting in Manchester on 24 January 1854.] In: The Times, No. 21647, January 25, 1854.—411
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Coffinières, A.-S.-G. De la Bourse et des spéculations sur les effets publics. Paris, 1824.—556

Cooper, J. F. The Spy.—217, 301

Dahie, A. La Divina commedia.—329


Della Rocco. Mazzini's Proclamation. (To the Editor of The Daily News.) In: The Daily News, No. 2107, February 21, 1853.—280

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— Le Neveu de Rameau, dialogue.—134


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Dudon, R. Der Tag ist angebrochen! Zweite Aufl. Bremen, 1852.—71

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Die Edda.—328


Evans, G. de Lacy. [Evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the British Army in the Crimea.] In: The Times, Nos. 21994 and 21995, March 6 and 7, 1855.—527

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Gibbon, E. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. London, 1776-1788.—326
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Goethe, J. W. von. Faust.—262, 447
— Reineke Fuchs.—585

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— Kobes I. In: Vermischte Schriften, Bd. 1, Hamburg, 1854.—504, 509
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— Neuer Frühling. 6. Gedicht.—455
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— Zwei Ritter (Romanzero).—276, 401, 438, 568, 587

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Hodde, L. de la. La naissance de la république en février 1848. Paris, 1850.—52
Hoffstetter, G., von. Tagebuch aus Italien, 1849. Zürich-Stuttgart, 1851.—105
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). Satires.—281, 291
— Epodons.—465
Huzel, J. Über die Flüchtlinge in London. In: Anzeiger des Westens, September 1852.—375
Jones, E. An Appeal for the Judgment of the People. In: Notes to the People, No. 52. April 24, 1852.—93, 99
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Junius—see Francis, Sir Philip
Junius II—see Löwe
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Koran.—285, 328, 340, 434
Kühntzel, H. Die taktischen Elemente der neuen Fortificationen. Potsdam, 1851.—103


Machiavelli, N. *Mandragola* (Commedia).—125

Malmesbury, J. [Speech in the House of Lords on 31 March 1854.] In: *The Times*, No. 21704, April 1, 1854.—446

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Mirkhond, Mohammed. *Rauzât-ul-îsfâ*.—341

Moltke, H. K. B. von. *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. Berlin, 1845.—435

Mozart, W. A. *Don Giovanni*. Opera in two acts. Libretto by Lorenzo da Pomé.—556

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  1853.—276

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Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso). Tristia.—199

Palmerston, H. J. [Speeches in the House of Commons].
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  21., 31. August 1853.—13, 71
  and 33, December 4, 11 and 18, 1852.—512

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  1820.—305

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  366, 369

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  1852.—366

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Ruge, A. Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser'. In: The Morning Advertiser, No. 19404, August 31, 1853.—390, 373

Russell, J. [Speeches in the House of Commons]
— 31 May 1853. In: The Times, No. 21443, June 1, 1853.—516
— 13 February 1854. In: The Times, No. 21664, February 14, 1854.—519
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— 24 July 1854. In: The Times, No. 21802, July 25, 1854.—472

Sand, George. [Letter to the Editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.] In: Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 64, 3. August 1848.—360, 362

Say, J. B. Cours complet d'économie politique pratique. Paris, 1840.—162

Schiller, F. von. An die Freude.—187
— Die Bürgschaft. Ballade.—154, 359
— Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer.—452

25—2736
734 Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

— Das Lied von der Glocke.— 420
— Die Piccolomini.— 124


Ségur, J. A. de. Les Femmes, leur condition et leur influence dans l’ordre social chez différents peuples anciens et modernes. Tornes I-III. Paris-Hambourg, 1803.—208


Seymour G. H. to Lord J. Russell, St. Petersburg, 11 January 1853. In: The Times, No. 21693, March 20, 1854.—519

Shakespeare, W. Hamlet.— 21, 502
— King Lear.— 162
— Love’s Labour’s Lost.— 558
— A Midsummer Night’s Dream.— 391
— Twelfth Night; or, What You Will.— 440


Slick, J. B. To the Editor of ‘The Morning Herald’. In: The Morning Herald, No. 22361, January 5, 1854.—406


Solis, A. de. Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion y progressos de la America septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España. Madrid. 1732.—501, 503

Spinoza, B. Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata et in quinque partes distincta. Amsterdam, 1677.—144


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— Geschichte der Reaction. Berlin, 1852.—50, 55


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Tacitus (Publius Cornelius Tacitus). Annales.— 180

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Tellering—see Müller-Tellering, E.

Terence (Publius Terentius Afer). Heautontimorumenos.— 405

Thaly, S. The Fortress of Komdrom (Comorn). During the War of Independence in Hungary in 1848-1849. London, 1852.—159


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— What the Governments of England and Turkey Ought Severally to Do. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*. In: *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19566, March 8, 1854.—417

Virgil. *Aeneid*.—394, 523, 555

Voltaire, F. M. A. *Candide*.—449

Vulpius, Ch. A. *Rinaldo Rinaldini*.—296

Wermuth/Stieber, W. *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Theile I-II. Berlin, 1853-1854.—580


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Wolff, P. A. Preciosa.— 455

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Sammlung der für Ungarn erlassenen Allerhöchsten Manifeste und Proklamationen, dann der Kundmachungen der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee in Ungarn. Buda, 1849-1850.—310, 460


*Strafgesetzbuch für die Preußischen Staaten*. Vom 14. April 1851. In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, Jg. 1851, Nr. 10, Berlin, 1851.—134


*Traité d’Unkiar-Iskeléssi entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane*, signé à Constantinople le 8 juillet 1833.—432

Victoria, R. *A Proclamation*. March 29, 1854. In: *The Times*, No. 21702, March 30, 1854.—446
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

ANONYMOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS
PUBLISHED IN PERIODIC EDITIONS

Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 119, 28. April 1848 (Beilage): [Report from Paris of 22 April].—508
— Nr. 56, 25. Februar 1852 (Beilage): Buchmacherei.—50, 55
— Nr. 198, 13. Juli 1852: Der Kommunisten-Proceß.—132
— Nr. 9, 9. Januar 1855 (Beilage): Die Assisenverhandlung gegen Barthélemy.—510
— Nr. 9, 9. Januar 1855: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Engländer.—509
— Nr. 63, 4. März 1855: [Der Russe Herzen.]—527
— Nr. 130, 10. Mai 1855: Großbritannien. London, 6 Mai.—537

Baltimore Wecker, September 27, 1852: [A. Brüningk's Statement].—214, 574

— No. 1975, September 29, 1852: Progress of Cotton Manufactures.—189-90
— No. 2105, February 18, 1853: M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and 'The Times'.—283, 290
— No. 2115, March 2, 1853: A Letter from Mazzini.—290
— No. 2117, March 4, 1853: A Letter from Kossuth.—283, 286, 290

The Economist, No. 437, January 10, 1852: The Spirit of the Annual Trade Circulars. The Year That Is Past.—57
— No. 491, January 22, 1853: The Bank of England and the Rate of Discount.—275
— No. 498, March 12, 1853: Turkey and its Value.—294-95
— No. 528, October 8, 1853: Foreign Correspondence.—388
— No. 535, November 26, 1853: The Labour Parliament.—401


Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg, No. 336, 18 février (2 mars) 1854: [On the Eastern Question].—519
— 4ème Série, No. 351, 7 (19) mars 1854 (leader).—446

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires, 25 août 1854: Madrid, 20 août.—479


— Nr. 99, 24. April 1852: Amtliche Bekanntmachungen.—89
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature 739

Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverräterischen Complottes.—576-77
— Nr. 273, 29. Oktober 1852: Erklärung.—219
— 25. November 1854.—504
— 30. August 1855.—547

The Leader, Vol. IV, No. 152, February 19, 1853: Kossuth and the Milan Revolt.—280
— Vol. IV, No. 168, June 11, 1853: Arnold Ruge.—345
— Vol. IV, No. 168, June 11, 1853: A Russian Democratic Printing Office in London.—345
— Vol. V, No. 243, November 18, 1854: The British Democrats.—Louis Napoleon.—503

Le Moniteur universel, No. 151, 31 mai 1854: [Report from Belgrade of 29 May 1854].—458

The Morning Advertiser, No. 19122, October 6, 1852: The German 'Lone Star'.—207, 210
— No. 19142, October 29, 1852: Germany. From our own correspondent. Cologne, Oct. 27.—231
— No. 19603, April 20, 1854: Mr Urquhart and 'The Globe'. To the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser'.—140
— No. 19615, May 4, 1854: The Black Sea. The Bombardment of Odessa.—452
— No. 19749, October 7, 1854: The Incorporated Society of Licensed Victuallers.—486
— January 29, 1855.—515
— September 1, 1855 (leader).—546
— November 29, 1855: To the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser' [Letter signed 'One who had been deceived'.]—558
— December 6, 1855: Mr Herzens Case [Letter signed 'Deceived'].—558
— December 6, 1855: An Editors' Statement.—558

The Morning Chronicle, No. 26689, July 9, 1852 (leader).—129
— No. 26705, July 28, 1852: The French Empire.—Secret Treaty of the Three Northern Powers.—143
— No. 27321, July 21, 1854: Prussia. (From our own correspondent).—478
— No. 27365, September 7, 1854: The Battles of Bayazid and Kuruk-Dere.—482
— No. 27499, February 13, 1855: Express from Paris.—524

The Morning Post, No. 24681, January 28, 1853: London, Friday, Jan. 28. 1853.—276
— No. 24682, January 29, 1853: The Peace and Arbitration Conference.—276
— No. 24712, March 5, 1853: Manchester Manufactures.—A Grave Fact.—289


Neue Preußische Zeitung, Nr. 148, 20. Dezember 1848: Berliner Zuschauer.—226
— Nr. 233, 7. Oktober 1852: Assisen-Procédur in der Anklage über Hochverrath gegen Dr. Becker und Genossen.—210

— Nr. 177, 24. Dezember 1848: Dr. Stieber.—225

New-York Daily Tribune, No. 3446, May 4, 1852: Justice of Prussia.—107, 115
— No. 3761, May 6, 1853: The American Art-Union Investigation.—381-32
— No. 3771, May 18, 1853: Slavery and Emancipation; New Publications.—346

The Observer, September 10, 1854: The Battles of Bayazid and Kuruk Dere [reproduced from The Morning Chronicle].—482

La Patrie, No. 19, 19 janvier 1854: [Report from Constantinople of 2 January 1854].—411

The People's Paper, No. 14, August 7, 1852: Secret Circular by Kossuth. Consequent Sudden Departure of the Latter.—150
— No. 21, September 25, 1852: Defeat of Faction.—Triumph of Principle.—195
— No. 145, February 10, 1855: The Alliance of the Peoples. The International Committee.—523
— No. 148, March 3, 1855: Immense Demonstration in St. Martin's Hall.—525, 527

Die Reform, Nr. 87, 19. November 1853: Werbungen in New-York.—402
— Nr. 88, 21. November 1853: Das Wirken der 'Militär-Kommission'.—402
— Nr. 91, 24. November 1853: [Report from Newark].—404

Republik der Arbeiter, Nr. 52, 25. Dezember 1852: Schlussbemerkung zum Kölner Kommunistenprozeß.—275

The Times, No. 20955, November 10, 1851 (leader).—106
— No. 21003, January 5, 1852: State of Trade. Manchester, Jan. 3.—5
— No. 21052, March 2, 1852: London, Tuesday, March 2, 1852.—61
— No. 21094, April 20, 1852: Commercial Intelligence. New York, April 7.—82
— No. 21164, July 10, 1852 (leader).—129
— No. 21180, July 29, 1852: Secret Treaty of the Three Northern Powers.—143
— No. 21185, August 5, 1852: The Approaching Election in the United States.—146
— No. 21227, September 22, 1852: Cotton Manufactures.—189-90
— No. 21249, October 11, 1852: Prussia, From our own correspondent.—210, 224
— No. 21316, January 4, 1853 (leader).—516
— No. 21350, February 10, 1853: In the Name of the Hungarian Nation—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853).—279, 280, 283, 290
— No. 21349, February 11, 1853 (leader).—516
— No. 21356, February 12, 1853 (leader).—282
— No. 21365, March 2, 1853 (leader).—285
— No. 21369, March 7, 1853 (leader).—285
— No. 21412, April 26, 1853: [Report from a Berlin correspondent of 22 April].—319
— No. 21647, January 25, 1854: Krajova, Lesser Wallachia, Jan. 11.—410
— No. 21700, March 28, 1854: [Report on the cotton market in Manchester].—422
— No. 21702, March 30, 1854: France.—446
— No. 21719, April 19, 1854: The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea.— 433
— No. 21719, April 19, 1854: The Russian Passage of the Danube.— 433, 435
— No. 21731, May 3, 1854: Turkey and Russia.— 446
— No. 21734, May 6, 1854: Latest Intelligence.— 452
— No. 21756, June 1, 1854 (leader).— 458
— No. 21758, June 3, 1854: The Baltic Fleet.— 458
— No. 21801, July 24, 1854 (leader).— 472
— No. 21829, August 25, 1854: Foreign Intelligence.— 480
— No. 21925, December 15, 1854: The Inquest.— 505
— No. 21992, March 3, 1855 (leader).— 525
— No. 22148, September 1, 1855: [Paris, 30 August 1855.]— 547
— No. 22237, December 14, 1855 (leader).— 564
INDEX OF PERIODICALS

Abendzeitung—see New-Yorker Abendzeitung
Advertiser—see The Morning Advertiser

Allgemeine Zeitung—a conservative daily founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—17, 50, 55, 95, 132, 164, 194, 196, 199, 509, 510, 527, 537
Allg. Ztg; Augsburger; Augsburger Zeitung; A.Z.—see Allgemeine Zeitung

Baltimore Wecker—a German daily, an organ of the Socialist Gymnastic Association in the USA, published from 1851 to 1877; its founder and editor was Karl Heinrich Schnaufer.—157, 205, 214, 266, 558, 574


Bonner Zeitung—a petty-bourgeois democratic daily published from 7 May 1848 to April 1849 under the editorship of Gottfried Kinkel; from January 1849 it appeared as the Neue Bonner Zeitung.—157

Bremer Tages-Chronik—see Tages-Chronik

Breslauer Zeitung—a German daily founded in Breslau (Wroclaw) in 1820; in the 1850s it followed a conservative line.—23, 507, 554

Brüsseler-Zeitung—see Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung

Die Constitution. Tagblatt für constitutionelles Volksleben und Belehrung—a democratic newspaper published in Vienna from March to October 1848; its editor was Leopold Hafner.—178

Le Constitutionnel—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1870; from 1819 it appeared as Le Constitutionnel, journal du commerce, politique et littéraire; in the 1840s it spoke for the moderate Orleanists, during the 1848 revolution for the
monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party), and after the coup d'état of 1851 for the Bonapartists. —73, 555

Constitutionelle Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Berlin from February 1849 to July 1852.—209, 256, 258

Courier—see Manchester Courier

Criminal-Zeitung—see Belläviristisches Journal und New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung


The Daily Telegraph—an English liberal, and from the 1880s a conservative newspaper; published under this title in London from 1855 to 1937.—559

Daily Tribune—see New York Daily Tribune

Débats—see Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires

The Democratic Review of British and Foreign Politics, History and Literature—a Chartist monthly published by George Julian Harney in London from June 1849 to September 1850; in 1850 Engels was among its contributors.—60-61

Demokrat—see New Yorker Demokrat

Deutsche Brüsseler-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by the German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—117

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 Ludwig Bamberger and supported financially by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. Ferdinand Freiligrath was a member of the editorial board from 1847 to 1851. The newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—370

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.—116

Deutsche Volkshalle—a clerical daily in opposition to the Prussian Government, published in Cologne from 1849 to 1855.—282

Deutsche Wehr-Zeitung. Militärische Wochenschrift, herausgegeben von einer Gesellschaft deutscher Offiziere und Militär-Beamten—a conservative military newspaper published under this title twice weekly in Berlin from 1848 to 1850; it appeared as Preußische Wehr-Zeitung. Militärische Zeitschrift in Potsdam from 1851 to 1854.—164
Deutsche Zeitung—a daily, and later a weekly newspaper published in New Orleans from 1847 to 1907; a newspaper of petty-bourgeois democrats in the 1840s and 1850s.—52

Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger—a daily newspaper published in Dresden from 1848 to 1894; initially of a liberal trend; from October 1848 became an official organ.—238

The Economist—an economic and political weekly published in London from 1843, mouthpiece of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—275, 294-95, 388, 401

The Examiner—a liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—224, 243, 260, 404

Examiner and Times—a liberal newspaper founded in 1848 as a result of the merger of the Manchester Times and Manchester Examiner; in the 1840s and 1850s it supported the Free Traders; the newspaper appeared under different titles until 1894.—233, 561

Frankfurter Journal—a daily newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from the seventeenth century to 1903; in mid-nineteenth century it followed a liberal line.—243, 276

Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung—a newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1619 to 1866. During the 1848-49 revolution it was the organ of the Central Authority—the Imperial Regent and the Imperial Government; in the 1850s, organ of the Federal Diet.—225

The Friend of the People—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from 7 December 1850 to 26 July 1851 and from 7 February to 24 April 1852. 29, 43

Für die freien Gemeinden—a journal published by German petty-bourgeois democrats in New York in the 1850s.—459

La Gazette agricole—a newspaper published in Paris from 1842.—162

Die Gegenwart. Eine encyclopädische Darstellung der neuesten Zeitgeschichte für alle Stände—miscellanea on various problems of social history published by F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig from 1848 to 1876.—158, 165, 182

The Globe and Traveller—a daily published in London from 1803 to 1921; mouthpiece of the Whigs until 1866, and later of the Conservatives.—7, 440, 558

Gradaus. Sozial-demokratisches Wochenblatt—a German-language newspaper published in Philadelphia in the 1850s by a local Volksunion, its editor was Nikolaus Schmitt.—367, 391

Guardian—see The Manchester Guardian

Hamburger Correspondent—see Staats und Gelehrten Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheischen Correspondenten

Hamburger Nachrichten—a daily published from 1792; during the 1848-49 revolution was the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie demanding an Imperial
Constitution, and later supported the Prussian monarchy; official organ of Bismarck at the end of the century.—178

_Herald_—see _The Morning Herald_

_Herald des Westens_—a German-language weekly published in Louisville (USA) in 1853; its editor was Karl Heinzen.—396

_L'Homme: journal de la démocratie universelle_—a weekly published by French petty-bourgeois refugees on the Island of Jersey and in London from 1853 to 1856.—527

_Die Hornisse_—a German democratic satirical newspaper published by Heinrich Heise and Gottlieb Kellner in Cassel from 1848 to 1856.—86, 114, 585

_L'Indépendance belge_—a liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—236

_Janus_—a German-language newspaper of petty-bourgeois democratic refugees in the USA published by Karl Heinzen in New York in 1851 and 1852.—93, 141, 273, 349, 574

_Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg_—a daily newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, published in French from 1825 to 1914.—446

_Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires_—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; during the 1848 revolution it voiced monarchist views; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—68, 334, 368, 394, 479

_Karlsruher Zeitung_—a daily published from 1757.—194, 196

_Kölnische; Köln. Zeit.; K. Z._—see _Kölnische Zeitung_

_Kölnische Zeitung_—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; in the 1850s it voiced the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—7, 23, 34, 75, 89, 90, 95, 142, 206, 215, 238, 240, 243, 244, 297, 367, 504, 547, 575, 576, 578

_Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger_—a daily newspaper of the Prussian Government published under this title in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—563

_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 democrats contributed to it.—117

_The Leader_—a liberal weekly published in London from March 1850 to June 1860.—196, 224, 243, 280, 345, 502-03

_Lithographierte Correspondenz_—information bulletins published by J. Weydemeyer in the USA in 1852.—185, 210

_Lithographische Correspondenz_—an edition published by Gottfried Kinkel in London in the early 1850s.—23, 34, 370

_Manchester Courrier_—a conservative daily published from 1825 to 1916.—233
The Manchester Guardian—a daily founded in 1821; a newspaper of the Free Traders, and from the mid-nineteenth century of the Liberal Party.—233, 342, 343, 374, 561

Militärische Zeitschrift—see Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift

Militär-Wochenblatt—a weekly published in Berlin from 1816 to 1943.—164

Le Moniteur universel—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government newspaper; it appeared under this title from 1811.—17, 404, 438

The Morning Advertiser—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s it was a newspaper of the radical bourgeoisie.—73, 112-13, 207, 210, 224, 231, 235, 243, 260, 357, 359, 364, 373, 377, 417, 438, 440, 462, 473, 486, 499, 515, 523-24, 546, 548, 558

The Morning Chronicle—a daily published in London from 1770 to 1862; the newspaper of the Whigs, in the early 1850s of the Peelites, and then of the Conservatives.—129, 143, 164, 276, 470, 482, 524

Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer—a newspaper of the Whig Party, published in New York from 1829 to 1861 first twice weekly and from 1832 weekly; its publisher and owner was James Webb.—396

The Morning Herald—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—132, 276, 406, 438, 546, 563

The Morning Post—a conservative daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-nineteenth century it was the mouthpiece of the Right wing of the Whig Party grouped round Palmerston.—276, 289, 292, 295, 563

La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste—a newspaper of Belgian petty-bourgeois democrats published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—71, 73, 297

Le National—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; the newspaper of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—447

National-Zeitung—a daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it followed a liberal line in the 1850s.—23, 225, 243

National-Zeitung (Basel)—see Schweizerische National-Zeitung

The Naval and Military Gazette—a weekly dealing with military problems and colonial policy, published in London from 1833 to 1886.—422

Neue-England-Zeitung—a German-language daily published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in Boston (USA) from 1846 to 1855; one of its editors was Eduard Schlager, and among its contributors were Adolf Cluss and Joseph Weydemeyer.—298, 299, 302, 317, 325, 330, 349, 369, 377, 387

Neue Oder-Zeitung—a German democratic daily published under this title in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical paper in Germany; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—360, 502, 506, 567, 513, 534, 537, 553-54

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a daily newspaper of the Prussian junkers and Court circles, published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; also known as Kreuz-Zeitung because the heading contained a cross bearing the device 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland!.—61, 210, 216, 226, 502
Neue Pr. Z.—see Neue Preußische Zeitung

Neue Rheinische, N. Rh. Z.—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848.—34, 45, 76, 79, 99, 103, 120, 128, 138, 187, 215, 222, 225, 231, 240, 273, 360, 362, 366, 421, 423, 451, 542, 553, 567, 568, 577

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published till November 1850.—3, 34, 52, 61

Neue Zeit—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees in New York from 1855 in 1858.—547

New Rheinisch Gazette—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie


New York Enquirer—see Morning Courier and New York Enquirer

The New York Herald—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924.—162, 429

The New-York Times—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party founded in 1851.—357, 546, 548


New Yorker Abendzeitung—a petty-bourgeois democratic newspaper published by German refugees in the USA in the 1850s.—260

New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung—see Belletristisches Journal und New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung

New Yorker Demokrat—a German-language newspaper published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA from 1848.—52, 299, 302

New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung, herausgegeben von Freunden des Fortschritts—a daily published in 1851 by Karl Heinzen, organ of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in the USA.—206

New Yorker Staatszeitung—a German-language democratic daily founded in 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—44, 195

The Northern Star—a weekly, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, and from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor. George Julian Harney being one of its editors.
Engels contributed to it from 1843 to 1850. From 20 March to 24 April 1852 it appeared as The Star and then up to November 1852 as The Star of Freedom.—15, 89, 107, 162, 164, 206

Notes to the People—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernest Jones and published in London in 1851 and 1852; Marx and Engels supported the journal, took part in editing and publishing it, and printed a number of articles in it between June 1851 and April 1852.—9, 15, 98, 42, 65, 72, 75

The Observer—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—482

Oesterreichische Militärische Zeitschrift—a military journal published in Vienna once or twice monthly from 1808 to 1870 (with intervals).—164

La Patrice. 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; in 1850 spoke for the Party of Order (the monarchist bourgeoisie) and later took a Bonapartist stand.—17, 73, 76

The People's Paper—a Chartist weekly, founded in London in May 1852 by Ernest Jones and published until 1858; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—72, 89, 99, 107, 139, 140, 149, 150, 162, 175, 195, 207, 222, 224, 243, 266, 276, 317, 325, 364, 399, 482, 483, 502, 522, 525, 527, 536, 575

Philadelphier Demokrat—a German-language democratic newspaper published under different titles from 1839 to 1918. First it appeared as Der Demokrat; under the above title it was published by I. A. Wollenweber and J. L. Hoffmann from 1847 to December 1853.—241

Der Pionier—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees published in New York (1854-58) and Boston (1859-79); its editor-in-chief was Karl Heinzen.—433, 462, 542

Pospelov zvezda (Polar Star)—a literary and socio-political yearly voicing revolutionary-democratic views; it was published in London by A. I. Herzen from 1855 to 1862 and in 1869; eight books in all came out.—537

The Portfolio—a collection of diplomatic papers and documents published by David Urquhart in London. The series The Portfolio; or a Collection of State Papers was published in 1835-37; and another, The Portfolio. Diplomatic Review, in 1843-45.—583

The Press—a Tory weekly published in London from 1853 to 1866.—25

La Presse—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1866; mouthpiece of the opposition to the July monarchy in the 1840s; newspaper of the moderate republicans in 1848 and 1849, and later of the Bonapartists; from 1836 to 1857 it was edited by Emile de Girardin.—447, 526

The Red Republican—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850; it carried the first English translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels.—60

Die Reform—a German-language newspaper of the American Workers' Association, which consisted mostly of the German emigrant workers; it was published in New York from 5 March 1853 to 26 April 1854 first once a week, then twice a week, and from 15 October 1853 daily. Joseph Weydemeyer was its co-editor and Adolf Cluss a permanent contributor; it frequently printed articles by Marx and Engels from the New-York Daily Tribune.—312, 318, 326, 366, 370, 372, 391, 396, 397, 402, 403, 421, 439, 441, 443, 446, 450, 453, 462, 583, 587

La Réforme—a daily newspaper of democratic republicans and petty-bourgeois socialists published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.—31

Republik der Arbeiter—a workers’ weekly published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it voiced the views of egalitarian communists.—72, 275, 449

Revista militar—a military journal published in Lisbon from 1849 to 1916.—540

Die Revolution—a communist journal published by Joseph Weydemeyer in New York in 1852; two weekly issues appeared—on 6 and 13 January; two ‘non-periodic’ issues appeared in May and June.—3, 8, 11, 19, 25, 27, 29, 41, 43, 52, 58, 60, 65, 71, 72, 77, 95, 96, 102, 118, 126, 157, 160, 391, 570, 572

Reynolds’ Newspaper—a radical weekly published in London from 1850; supported Chartists in the early 1850s.—502

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a daily founded on 1 January 1842 as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition; it was published in Cologne till 31 March 1843 and was edited by Marx from 15 October 1842 to 17 March 1843; it assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—507

Schnellpost—see Deutsche Schnellpost für Europäische Zustände, öffentliches und soziales Leben Deutschlands

Schweizerische National-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Basle from 1842 to 1858.—166

Conejman mesa (Northern Bee)—a semi-official government and literary newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—433

The Spectator—a weekly published in London from 1828; first liberal and later conservative.—30, 224, 243, 260

The Spirit of Freedom—an English newspaper close to the Chartists; it was published by Gerald Massey in 1849.—30

Staats-Anzeiger—see Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger

Staats- und gelehrten-Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheischen Correspondenten—a monarchist daily published in Hamburg from 1814 to 1868.—425

Staatszeitung—see New-Yorker Staatszeitung

The Star; The Star of Freedom—see The Northern Star
The Sun—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—7, 25

The Sunday Times—a weekly published in London from 1822; a mouthpiece of the Whigs in the 1850s.—536

Tages-Chronik—a democratic newspaper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. It was edited by Rudolph Dulon; from January 1851 it appeared under the title Bremer Tages-Chronik, Organ der Demokratie.—173

Telegraph—see The Daily Telegraph


Tribune—see New-York Daily Tribune

Die Turn-Zeitung, Organ des socialistischen Turnerbundes—a newspaper of German democratic emigrants in the USA; it was published from 1851 to 1861 monthly and later fortnightly, first in New York and from 1 November 1853 in Philadelphia; Cluss and Weydemeyer were among its contributors.—94, 96, 100, 102, 107, 119, 578

Union—see The Washington Union

Das Volk—a German-language newspaper published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Heinzen in the USA in the 1850s.—319

Volkshalle—see Deutsche Volkshalle

Der Wanderer—a constitutional monarchist daily published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—410

The Washington Union—a newspaper of the Democratic Party in the USA published from 1846 to 1858; Wilhelm Pieper contributed to it in 1853 and 1854.—394, 397, 421, 482, 490

Wecker—see Baltimore Wecker

The Weekly Press—see The Press

Wahr-Zeitung—see Deutsche Wahr-Zeitung

Westdeutsche Zeitung—a democratic newspaper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from 25 May 1849 to 21 July 1850.—34, 570

The Westminster Review—a quarterly published in London from 1824 to 1914.—404

De Zuid-Afrikaan or The Zuid Afrikaan—a newspaper published in English and Dutch in Cape Town from 1830 to 1930; Karl Marx contributed to it in 1854.—405, 414
SUBJECT INDEX

A

Abyssinians (Ethiopians)—340

Adventurism (political)
— voluntarist attitude towards revolution, 'play at revolution'—73, 85, 101, 105, 106, 125, 127-29, 140-42, 154-56, 158, 161, 168-70, 172, 187, 197, 224, 225, 279, 280-81, 577

See also Communist League—struggle against sectarian tactics of the Willich-Schapper group, split in the League

Afghanistan, Afghans—327, 404

See also Anglo-Afghan war, 1838-42

Agitation club (Union) (1850s)—14, 42, 44, 97, 151, 173

Agriculture
— and industry—345
— and price formation—164-65, 253, 512-13
— and application of chemistry—382, 392
— and natural conditions—339

See also Agronomy

Agronomy—382, 513

Abuse—548, 476

Anglo-Afghan war, 1838-42—432

Anglo-Sikh wars, 19th cent.—82, 84, 96

Anti-communism (critique and exposure by Marx and Engels)
— persecution and slander of communists—22, 226, 575-76

See also Cologne Communist Trial
— of petty-bourgeois ideologists—34, 308, 579

Anti-Corn Law League—53, 56

Arabs—326-27, 332, 339-41

Aristocracy—see Nobility

Army
— Austrian—279, 460, 541, 546
— British—12, 21, 53
— Danish—451-52
— French—48, 263, 388, 452, 490, 495, 496, 524
— Indian—332-33
— Neapolitan (of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies)—540
— Russian—427, 470-71, 495
— Schleswig-Holstein—451-52
— Turkish—374, 394, 422, 444, 479

See also Artillery

Artillery—422, 424, 539-40

Asia, Asiatic mode of production—333, 339, 346-48

Assyria—327

Australia
— immigration—165, 513
— foreign trade—165, 374, 514
— discovery of gold in—83, 84, 96, 130, 165, 231

Austria—5, 105, 195, 495
— trade—286, 294-95
— and the Italian states, their oppression—314-17, 345, 493, 545
— and France—5, 11-12, 44, 195, 277, 308, 494
— and Prussia—5, 56, 143, 195, 286, 307
— and Russia—5, 143, 463, 546

See also Army—Austrian; Austro-Italian war, 1848-49; Crimean war, 1853-56—and Austria
Austro-Italian war, 1848-49—509-10

Babylon—327
Bank(s)—111, 257, 388
— of England—150, 161, 162, 164, 199, 274, 275, 368
Beduins—327, 340
Belgium—12, 45
Bible—249, 326, 327, 492, 558
Bonapartism
— and bourgeoisie—47, 48, 68
— and working class—47, 197, 320
— Bonapartist (imperial) 'socialism'—17, 68, 123
See also France—Second Empire (1852-70)
Bourgeoisie—62, 65, 68, 191, 473-74
— American—346
— English—21, 53, 55, 59, 61, 68, 119, 149, 474
— French—17, 45, 48, 51, 59, 68, 251, 387, 474
— Italian—171, 279
— Prussian—267, 349
Bourgeois political economy—61-62, 163, 345-46, 382, 383
— Carey's economic views, Marx's criticism of—62, 93, 345-46, 378, 381, 384
See also Ricardo, Ricardian school
Bulgaria—444, 460
Byzantium—447

C

California—57, 83, 84, 96, 165, 253, 556
Caliphate of Baghdad—327
Campaign of 1812 in Russia—305
Capital
— and wage-labour—378, 381, 383
— and division of labour—381
Capitalist mode of production
— its historical necessity—65
— antagonistic contradictions—62
— as the basis of bourgeois society—191, 345
— bourgeois conceptions of—61-62, 65, 945-46
Catholicism—381
Central Committee of European Democracy—73, 171, 493
Chaldeans, the—327
Chartism, Chartists
— as first independent political party of working class—3
— and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois radicals—107, 196, 536
— in the 1850s—13, 51, 59, 68, 196, 324-25, 350, 355, 483, 502, 521, 525, 526
— Chartist press, the—15, 42, 60-61, 72, 89, 99, 107, 162, 176, 196, 265-66, 276, 325, 502
— Marx's and Engels' participation in Chartist movement—11, 68, 75, 96-97, 175, 196, 414, 502, 521
See also Labour Parliament
China—5, 165, 346
Christianity—341, 447
See also Bible; Catholicism; Protestantism
Civilisation—289, 392
Civil war—62, 305-06
See also Lockouts; Preston strike, 1853-54
Cologne Communist Trial
— and the Willich-Schapper group—74, 112-13, 170, 177, 222-24, 236, 244, 260, 264, 318, 326, 330-31, 335-36, 376
— class character of the trial—134, 136-37, 143, 206, 212
— conduct of the accused at the trial—134, 137, 195, 197, 212, 242-43, 262-63, 308, 559, 575-76
— and the bourgeois press—23, 30, 34, 142, 210
— relief organised by Marx and Engels for the accused and their families—247, 259-60, 282, 297
— historic significance and consequences for the international working-class movement—247, 308, 309
Commune (medieval)—474-76
Communism, scientific; communist movement—308, 476
See also Communist League; Marxism (general characteristics)
Communism, utopian; non-scientific conceptions of communism—67, 345-46
See also Owenism; Saint-Simonism; Weitling
Communist League, the
— foundation—143
— in the 1848-49 revolution—308, 553
— after defeat of 1848-49 revolution—8, 14, 59, 66, 71, 73, 75, 76, 79, 151, 160, 176-77, 207, 244-46, 247
— Rules of 1850—66
— elaboration of tactical principles—308-09
— and petty-bourgeois democracy—14, 262-63, 308, 575-76
— dissolution of Communist League, causes of—247
See also Cologne Communist Trial; German Workers' Educational Society in London (1840-1919); League of the Just
Community, the
— old Slav—67
— oriental—339, 347-48
Consciousness
— as understood by Hegel—556
Corn Laws—61, 69, 143, 512-15
See also Anti-Corn Law League
Crafts, craftsmen—82, 84
Credit
— state—257, 263, 388
— in Proudhon's theory—261, 263
Crimean war, 1853-56
— causes and character—288, 487
— preparations for the war, plans and forces of belligerents—406, 425, 427, 435, 470-71, 487
— and diplomacy of European states—408-10, 461-62, 518, 519
— and prospects for revolution—422, 487
— battle of Sinope, 30 November 1853—408, 428, 518
— military operations in Danubian theatre of war, 1853-54—368, 395, 411, 422, 426, 427, 446, 460, 469-71
— battle of Oleniua, 4 November 1853—404, 408
— battle of Chetatea, 6 January 1854—408, 410
— siege of Silistria, 1854—411, 458, 460, 461, 463, 472
— military operations in the Crimea, 1854-55—444, 446, 451-53, 472, 484, 485, 499, 507, 509, 538, 541, 550
— naval operations—409, 410, 460, 466, 485
— and England, foreign policy and diplomacy—408-09, 446, 452, 472-73, 485, 487, 500, 518
— and France, foreign policy and diplomacy—409, 487
— and Turkey—408, 410, 422, 444, 518
— and Russia, foreign policy and diplomacy—409, 419, 446, 461
— and Austria—419, 431, 461, 464, 185
Customs Union (Germany, 1834-71)—186, 195, 307

D

Danish-Prussian war, 1848-52—404, 451-52
Danubian Principalities—461, 518
See also Moldavia; Wallachia
Democracy, petty-bourgeois (political trend)—65, 73-74
— relations between Marx and Engels and petty-bourgeois democrats—14, 255, 286, 290-91, 439-40
See also Communist League—and petty-bourgeois democracy; Emigration, emigrants—bourgeois-democratic, petty-bourgeois
Denmark—366, 376, 456
See also Army—Danish; Danish-Prussian war, 1848-52; Schleswig-Holstein question, the
Dictatorship of the proletariat
— as a result of developing class struggle—62, 65
— as the State in the period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism)—62, 65
Diplomacy—395, 432
Division of labour—381, 384
Doctrinairism, doctrinaires—388

E

Eastern Question, the—278, 516
— nature of—288
— as a source of international discord—487
— aggravation in early 1850s—288, 388
See also Crimean war, 1853-56; Egyptian crisis, 1839-41; Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29
East India Company—517
East, the (specific features of economic and social development)—327, 332-33, 339-41
See also Asia, Asiatic mode of production; Community (oriental); State, the (oriental)
Economic crises
— and condition of working people—374, 376, 388, 512-13
— and prospects of socialist development and revolution—163, 165, 197, 388
— forecasting of, by Marx and Engels—52, 54, 83, 96, 162-63, 164-
— chronic character—165, 197
— and trade—45, 46, 49, 53, 54, 57, 69, 165, 221, 366
— and market situation—82, 83, 84, 165, 263
— and bourgeois state—263
Economics and politics—62, 239-40
Egypt—295, 340
See also Egypt, ancient; Egyptian crisis
Egypt, ancient—327
Egyptian crisis, 1839-41—456
— London conventions of 1840 and 1841—402, 432, 447, 457
Emigration club (1850s)—14, 42, 44, 97
Emigration, emigrants
— as a consequence of capitalist development—163, 320, 512, 542
— aristocratic—45
— bourgeois-democratic, petty-bourgeois—73-74, 141, 281, 521, 523
— revolutionary—42, 487
— English—165, 512
— German emigrants in Switzerland—44
— German emigrants in the USA—6, 41, 52, 86, 92, 129, 139, 148-49, 158, 161, 282, 290, 297, 351, 367, 542; see also German-American revolutionary loan
— Italian—521; see also Mazzini
— Polish—30, 172, 345, 401, 479, 521
— Russian—306, 345, 359-63, 365,
Engels, Frederick
— on himself—424
— friendship with Marx and family—69, 81, 333, 533
— Marx on Engels—370, 391, 407, 428-29, 529, 530, 533
— before 1850—293, 424
— between 1850 and 1855 (general)—11, 16, 67, 75, 427-28, 435
— language studies—67, 80, 180, 305, 341, 428
See also Chartism, Chartists—Marx's and Engels' participation in Chartist movement; Democracy, petty-bourgeois—relations between Marx and Engels and petty-bourgeois democrats; Marx, Karl: Military science—Marx's and Engels' study of military history and problems of military theory

England (Great Britain)—21, 54, 334-35, 345
— industry—5, 57, 82-84, 96, 147, 188-90, 203, 276, 285-86, 289, 293, 306, 320, 345, 374
— agriculture—253, 275, 306, 312-13
— trade—5, 54, 57, 82-84, 96, 105, 294-95, 374, 384, 411-13, 514; see also Corn Laws; East India Company
— finances, budget, taxation—162, 63, 233, 274-76, 384, 306, 333, 355, 515, 517-18, 519; see also Bank(s)—of England
— social and political system, class relations—see Bourgeoisie—English: National Reform League (England, from 1849); Nobility; aristocracy—English: Parliament, British: Working class—in England: Working-class movement in England
— oligarchic character of government—21, 276, 289
— political parties of ruling classes, crisis of (1850s)—129, 135-36, 197, 306; see also Free traders (England); Peelites (England); Tories (England); Whigs (England)
— electoral system, electoral reforms—54, 56, 136, 284, 516, 518-20
— coalition 'Cabinet of all the Talents', 1852-55—284, 518
— foreign policy, diplomacy—54, 288, 376, 431-32, 446, 456-57, 487-90, 516; see also Crimean war, 1853-56—and England, foreign policy and diplomacy
— and Greece—284, 404, 455-56
— and Italy—53
— and Prussia—437
— and Russia—53, 285, 288, 432-33, 446, 456-57, 487, 489
— and Spain—53, 456, 495
— and Turkey—285, 288, 432
See also Anglo-Afghan war, 1838-42; Anglo-Sikh wars, 19 cent; Army—British; Emigration—English; India—colonisation by Britain and its consequences; Ireland; Literature—English; Navy—British: Scotland

Feudalism—191, 339, 381, 392, 474, 490
See also Society—feudal
Feuerbach, his philosophy—45
Fortification—411

France
— French, the; national character—51, 171
— in the Middle Ages—475-76
— during the Consulate and First Empire (1799-1814)—388, 490; see also Napoleonic wars
— during the July monarchy (1830-48)—17, 200, 307, 388, 447, 492-97
— Second Empire (1852-70)—96, 221, 334, 387-88; see also Bonapartism; Crimean war—and
France, foreign policy and diplomacy
— coup d'état of 2 December 1851— 7, 42, 46-48, 91, 320, 456
— industry—306, 320
— agriculture—162, 165, 388
— trade—47, 82, 88, 320
— finances, financial policy—68, 122, 257, 263, 372, 388, 545
— internal situation, home policy— 7, 12, 17, 27, 45, 47-49, 68-69, 122, 126, 263, 306-07, 320, 388, 545
— corruption of ruling circles—48-49, 257, 388
— monarchist groups—126, 129, 130, 172, 200, 263, 307, 308
— growth of oppositional sentiments in French society—44, 47-49, 126, 128, 200, 263, 307, 387-88, 555
— Bonapartist regime and wars—7, 10, 11-12, 257, 276, 307
— and Austria—5, 12, 45, 194, 277, 307, 494
— and Belgium—12, 45
— and England—10, 12, 54, 276, 482, 447, 456-57, 487-89, 496, 555
— and Germany—56, 44, 276
— and Hungary—45
— and Piedmont—12
— and Poland—45
— and Prussia—5, 12, 307, 494, 524
— and Russia—5, 11-12, 45, 277, 416, 456-57, 487, 492, 494, 495, 496
— and Spain—490, 492-97
— and Switzerland—12
— and Turkey—277, 289, 456-57
See also Army—French; Bourgeoisie—French; Emigration, emigrants—French; French revolution (18 century); Literature—French; Peasantry—French; Revolution of 1848 in France; Second Republic (1848-52); Working class—in France
Free trade
— and bourgeois political economy—273, 346; see also Free traders (England)
— and working class—513
Free traders (England)—56, 59, 84, 111, 147, 253
See also Anti-Corn Law League; Manchester School
French Revolution (18th century)—51, 474

G
Galicia—546
Geographical environment
— influence on development of society—339, 392
German philosophy—345, 412
See also Feuerbach; Hegel; Young Hegelianism
German Workers' Educational Society in London (1840-1919)—14, 113, 195, 217, 226, 336, 521
Germany—309, 459
— history—43, 305, 474-76
— economy—162-63, 164-65, 195, 286, 346, 563
— bourgeois liberalism—502
— democratic movement—65, 73-74, 251, 308-09
See also Austria; Customs Union (Germany, 1834-71); Emigration—German emigrants in England—German emigrants in Switzerland—German emigrants in the USA; German philosophy; Literature—German; Peasantry—German; Poetry—German; Prussia; Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; United Diet (Germany); Working-class movement in Germany
Gold
— as money—162, 253
— social and economic consequences of its discovery in Australia and America (California)—57, 83, 84, 96, 165, 253, 275
— as viewed by mercantilists—275-76
Greece—447
— insurrection in Greek provinces of Turkey, 1854—414, 444
— and England—284, 404, 456
— and Russia—285, 447, 456

H

See also Consciousness—as understood by Hegel

Hinduism—348

Historical approach—62, 65, 103, 473-74

Historiography
— in the Middle Ages—341, 476
— reactionary romantic—492
— bourgeois, in 19th cent.—62, 65, 305, 473-76, 500, 503, 506
— French, of the Restoration period—62, 65, 305, 473-76

Holy Alliance—12, 53, 280, 432
— congresses—492-97

Hungary—31, 53, 105, 492
See also Emigration, emigrants—Hungarian; Revolution of 1848-49 and national liberation war in Hungary

India
— natural conditions—339
— before British conquest—327, 332-33
— crafts, home industry—82, 84, 347
— agriculture—339, 346-47
— village communities, their stagnation—347-48
— colonisation by Britain and its consequences—5, 82, 84, 96, 165, 253, 339, 346, 347, 374, 514, 517
See also Anglo-Sikh wars, 19 cent.; Army—Indian; East India Company; Hinduism

Internationalism, proletarian—259-60

Ireland—512, 517, 518
See also Parliament, British—Irish MPs ('Irish Brigade')

Islam—284, 327, 332, 340, 548, 432
See also Koran

Italy
— history—305, 432, 476
— economy—307
— Austrian domination—278-81, 307, 493, 545
— national liberation movement—73, 101, 142, 281-82, 283-84, 307, 458-59
See also Austro-Italian war, 1848-49; Bourgeoisie—Italian; Emigration—Italian; Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Literature—Italian; Mazzini; Nobility, aristocracy—Italian; Peasantry—Italian; Piedmont; Revolution of 1848-49 in Italian states

J

Jamaica—346
Java—348
Jews—326, 327, 332
Judaism—326, 327, 341

K

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples)—541
See also Army—Neapolitan

Koran—285, 328, 340

L

Labour Parliament (England)—417, 419

League of the Just, the—143

Literature
— style—492
— American—217, 301
— ancient Scandinavian—328
— Arabian—328
— English—440
— French—74, 203, 209, 249, 297, 332-33, 341, 447, 492-97
— German—296, 307, 328, 353, 390, 440, 447, 457, 563, 568
— Hebrew—327
— Hungarian—543
— Italian—125-27, 181, 390
— Persian—341
Subject Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slav</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>447, 489, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Poetry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockouts</td>
<td>374, 561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>388, 476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester School, Manchester men</td>
<td>44, 69, 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Anti-Corn Law League (England); Free traders (England)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market price</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marx, Karl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— on himself</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— friendship with Engels</td>
<td>493-04, 530, 533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— work on treatise on political economy</td>
<td>12, 18-19, 52, 53, 80-81, 103-04, 128, 133, 138, 158, 159-60, 164, 305, 309-11, 393-94, 405, 419-20, 424-26, 431-32, 451-52, 460, 500-01, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— language studies</td>
<td>275, 331, 447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— police persecution</td>
<td>216, 235, 576-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— his family</td>
<td>181, 182, 186, 199, 216, 385, 406, 421, 453, 454, 464-65, 515, 525, 528, 529-33, 541, 578, 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Chartism, Chartists — Marx's and Engels' participation in Chartism movement; Democracy, petty bourgeois — relations between Marx and Engels and petty-bourgeois democrats; Engels, Frederick; Military science — Marx's and Engels' study of military history and problems of military theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marxism (general characteristics)</td>
<td>62, 65, 66, 308-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marxism, Mazzinists</td>
<td>31, 42, 46, 56, 59, 71, 74, 76-77, 101, 107, 141-42, 170-72, 278-82, 283-84, 290, 458-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Young Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercantilism</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexicans</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military science</td>
<td>103-04, 133, 425, 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Fortification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode of production</td>
<td>191, 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Asia, Asiatic mode of production; Capitalist mode of production; Feudalism, Slavery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammedanism — see Islam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavia</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetary system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and mercantilism</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongols, the</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monotheism</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napoleonic wars</td>
<td>305, 406, 409, 411, 490, 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Campaign of 1812 in Russia; Spain — first Spanish revolution (1808-14) and struggle against Napoleonic rule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— national consciousness, national feeling</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Reform League (England, from 1849)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— British</td>
<td>12, 18, 21, 408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
— Russian—422, 427, 487
— Turkish—394

Negroes—346

Nobility, aristocracy—191, 473
— English—20, 61, 276
— Italian—279
— Russian—53, 203, 365
— Spanish—490

O

Opera—199, 455, 556

Owenism—192

P

Palestine—295, 327

Pan-Slavism—67, 373, 534, 536

Parliament, British—61, 94, 135
— House of Commons—56
— Irish MPs ('Irish Brigade')—516, 518

Parties, proletarian
— Marx's party, 'our party'—90, 96, 108, 275, 290, 293, 509, 512, 569, 570
— after defeat of 1848-49 revolution—43-44, 259-60
— and petty-bourgeois democracy—308-09, 349
— significance of party press and publications—41, 295, 309

See also Communist League; Internationalism, proletarian

Peasantry
— its role in a bourgeois revolution—474
— under capitalism—191
— French—122, 307, 388, 474
— German—276
— Italian—279
— Russian—53, 67, 305-06

Piedmont (England)—54, 129, 455

Period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism)—65

Persia—333, 339-41, 487

Piedmont—12

Poetry
— revolutionary—8
— German—4, 8, 10, 22, 107, 118
— Italian—490, 500

See also

— Agriculture and price formation; Market price
— Mode of production

Profit
— and wages—381, 384, 513
— as interpreted by bourgeois economists—62, 378, 381

See also Rent of land—relation between wages, profit (interest) and rent

Protectionism
— and trade agreements—285-86
— critique of bourgeois economists' views—345, 346

See also United States of America—protectionism

Protestantism—381

Proudhon, Proudhonism—147, 257, 260-61, 381

See also Credit—in Proudhon's theory

Prussia
— economy—307
— home policy development—5, 56
— and Austria—5, 56, 149, 195, 286, 307
— and England—440
— and France—5, 12, 307, 494, 524
— and Russia—5, 143

See also Bourgeoisie—Prussian; Danish-Prussian war, 1848-52; Schleswig-Holstein question, the
R

Railways—388
 Reform, bourgeois—44, 68
 Religion—327, 332, 340, 381
 See also Christianity; Islam; Judaism; Monotheism
 Rent of land
 — as a product of capitalist mode of production—381, 382, 392
 — conditions giving rise to—382-84
 — and difference in location and fertility of land—348, 381-83, 392
 — relation between wages, profit (interest) and rent—378, 383-84
 — in Ricardo’s theory—378, 381-83, 392
 — in Carey’s theory—62, 378, 384
 Republic, bourgeois
 — and working-class movement—308
 Revolution—164, 334, 388
 See also Adventurism (political)—voluntarist attitude towards revolution, ‘play at revolution’; French Revolution (18 century): Revolution, bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic; Revolution of 1848-49 in Europe; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Spain—bourgeois revolutions in Spain, 19th cent.
 Revolutionary League in America (1850s)—141, 150, 153-57, 161-62, 166, 167, 173
 Revolution, bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic—388, 474
 Revolution, proletarian, socialist
 — prerequisites for—308
 See also Period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism)
 Revolution of 1848-49 and national liberation war in Hungary—77, 101, 104, 105, 128, 158, 159, 249, 308, 309, 412, 424, 460, 586
 Revolution of 1848-49 in Europe—306, 308
 Revolution of 1848 in France, Second Republic (1848-52)—51, 157, 200, 308, 509
 Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany—37, 56, 90, 307, 308, 424, 449, 458
 Revolution of 1848-49 in Italian states—307-08, 458
 See also Rent of land—in Ricardo’s theory
 Rome, ancient—527
 Russia (Russian Empire)
 — population—53, 306
 — agriculture—164
 — trade—53, 295, 514
 — revolutionary movement—305
 — relations between Marx and Engels and Russian revolutionaries in the 1840s-50s—306, 359-69
 — and revolutionary movement in Europe—305-06, 308, 334, 361, 495
 — annexation of the Caucasus—395, 438
 — tsarist policy in Poland—489
 — and Austria—5, 143, 461, 546
 — and France—5, 11-12, 25, 277, 414, 456, 487, 492, 495, 496
 — and Germany—361, 365, 392-93
 — and Greece—285, 447, 456
 — and Prussia—5, 143
 — and Turkey—285, 288-89, 487
 See also Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29; Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 1833
 See also Army—Russian; Campaign of 1812 in Russia; Crimean war, 1853-56; Emigration, emigrants—Russian; Navy—Russian; Nobility, aristocracy—Russian; Peasantry—Russian
 Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29—394

S

Saint-Simonism, Saint-Simonists—195
 Schleswig-Holstein question, the
 — London protocol of 1852—456
 Science
 — and politics—425
 — and philosophy—104, 260
 See also Military science
 Scotland—512, 519
 Serbia—404, 419, 431
 Seven Years’ War (1756-63)—487-88
 Shares, joint-stock companies—111, 165, 258
Slavery, slave trade—527
— in the USA—346
Slavs—67, 447
See also Community—old Slav; Literature—Slav; Pan-Slavism
Social Democratic Refugee Committee (late 1840s-early 1850s)—345
Social estates—479
Social relations—62
Social system—500
Society—192
— and mode of production—191
— and classes—62, 65
— bourgeois—62, 65, 191, 192, 381, 382, 392
— feudal—191, 192
See also Social relations; Social system
Spain
— Spanish nation, national character—500, 504
— social system—500
— bourgeois revolutions in Spain, 19th cent.—480, 484, 500
— first Spanish revolution (1808-14) and struggle against Napoleonic rule—53, 500
— second Spanish revolution (1820-23) and French intervention—492-97
— first Carlist war (1833-40)—450, 490
— fourth Spanish revolution (1854-56)—469, 479, 485
— and England—53, 496
— and France—490, 492-97
See also Nobility, aristocracy—Spanish Speculation (in money, in stock)
— speculation fever—165, 197, 263, 306
— in raw materials—111, 165
— Stock Exchange as the centre of speculation and corruption—162, 257, 388
— and economic crises—197
Speculation—144
State, the (oriental)—333, 339-40, 346, 48
— Asiatic despotism—347
Statistics—189, 90, 511-12
Stock Exchange—162, 257, 286, 388, 318
Switzerland—12, 346
— Swiss mercenaries—541
Syria—295
Tartars, the—327
Taxes, taxation system—122, 388
Theory and practice—263, 308
Tories (England)
— general characteristics, class character of the party—49, 53-54, 56, 69, 105, 135, 143, 145, 197, 306, 518
— and free trade—53-54, 84, 143, 253
— and foreign policy of England—54
Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 1833—412, 432, 456, 457
Turkey
— Turks, national character—285
— specific features of historical development—333
— decline of the Ottoman Empire—288, 444
— trade—289-95
— and European civilisation—285, 289
— Christian population, oppression of—278, 444, 447; see also Greece—insurrection in Greek provinces of Turkey
— and England—285, 288, 432
— and France—277, 288, 456-57
— and Russia—285, 288, 487; see also Russo-Turkish war, 1828-29; Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 1833
See also Army—Turkish; Crimean war, 1853-56; Eastern Question, the; Islam; Navy—Turkish
Ukraine, Ukrainians—396
United Diet (Germany)—475
United States of America
— development of capitalism—62, 111, 162-63, 306, 346
— industry—37, 58, 320
— agriculture—320
— trade—54, 57, 82-83, 111, 320, 374, 514
— social system—62, 191
— classes and class struggle—62
— home policy—514
— protectionism—146, 147, 346
— political parties—145-47, 184-55, 262
See also California; Slavery, slave trade—in the USA; US-Mexican war, 1846-48

Urquhartism, Urquhartists—284-85, 373, 395, 412-13, 422, 430, 439-40, 448, 455
US-Mexican war, 1846-48—498, 500-01, 503-04

W

Wages—62, 378, 384, 388, 513, 561
Wallachia—295, 419, 426, 431, 464
Wars—410-11, 425-26
— influence on economic and social development—340
— threat of European war in the 1850s—7, 9-10, 11-12, 53, 409, 411
See also Army; Military science; Navy
Weitling, Weitlingians—122, 275, 296, 449


Working class
— position in bourgeois society—191, 384
— world historic role—65
— concentration of workers in industrial centres—388
— in England—42, 44, 67-68, 72, 513, 561; see also Working-class movement in England
— in France—47, 59, 197, 261, 300, 307, 320, 388

Working-class movement in England—57, 512-13, 539, 541, 561
See also Chartist; Labour Parliament (England); Preston strike, 1853-54

Working-class movement in Germany—308-09, 365, 367

World market
— expansion of—57, 82-83, 84, 105, 253

Y

Yemen—340

Young Hegelianism, Young Hegelians—87, 449, 534-35, 562-63
Young Italy—458
GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left Column</th>
<th>Right Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrianople</td>
<td>Edirne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkerman</td>
<td>Belgorod</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argish</td>
<td>Arges</td>
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<td>Wroclaw</td>
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<td>Hermannstadt</td>
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<td>Isecea</td>
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<td>Câlărasi</td>
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<td>Kimpulung</td>
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<td>Komárom (Comorn).</td>
<td>Komárom and Kamarno (two towns)</td>
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<td>Königsberg</td>
<td>Könningrad</td>
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<td>Vâncuți</td>
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<td>Venetikale Str.</td>
<td>Straits of Kersh</td>
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The glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' letters in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original, the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.