As to the Tribune, I saw in the Manchester Examiner and Times' LITERARY Gossip an item to the effect that Dana is resigning from the Tribune 'ON ACCOUNT OF DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITH Mr. HOBAGE GREELEY'. So, that old jackass with the face angelic seems to have been behind it all. But I wouldn't let the fellows off just like that without at least writing to Dana, asking for further elucidation as to what it all means and who is now MANAGING the Tribune in his place, so that you know whom you are to have recourse to. If the chaps want to sever the connection, at least get them to say so; I wouldn't just tamely put up with indirect hints. If you were subsequently to go to another New York journal, they could always say that you were being disloyal to them. Besides, they must surely give a reason.

Borkheim writes to say that he has paid the balance of the money, so I hope you will be saved from arrest. Ad vocem Ariadne, there's no doubt I'm right. All the old constellations still exist on the modern charts. What Diodorus maintains is not authoritative. The fellow wasn't an astronomer. Moreover, it was a question of the wording. I betted on constellation. But subsequently it struck me, too, that she figures among the recently discovered asteroids; that, however, has absolutely nothing to do with the case, of course.

What I want besides the War Department Estimates (for 1862) is a paper laid before Parliament which sets out the new organisation of the Indian native army (as it has existed since 1861) (i.e., the number of regiments with their old and new names and in what way these have been retained or renumbered).

Can you send me The Free Press for April? I shall try and get hold of the May issue up here.

As regards America:

1. Battle of Corinth. May be classed with all well fought major modern battles, in which the antagonists have been of approximately equal strength. Eylau, Wagram, Lützen, Bautzen (admittedly the French were much stronger here, but, being without cavalry, they were incapable of pursuit), Borodino, Magenta, Solferino. The battle, to use Clausewitz's words, smouldered away like damp powder, exhausting both sides, and, when it was over, the positive advantages gained by the victorious side were of a moral rather than a material nature. At all events, the

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momentary advantage gained by Beauregard on Sunday was more intensive and much greater than that gained by Grant and Buell on Monday. The bulk of the trophies went to the Confederates, even though they were ultimately beaten, i.e., compelled to forego their attack and withdraw. That is the tactical aspect. But the strategic one is this:

Beauregard had concentrated all the troops he could get hold of so as to pounce on the approaching Federal divisions, one by one when possible. This miscarried; the troops under Grant, Buell and Wallace were sufficient to repulse him. Had they lost this battle, the Federals would have lost Tennessee; now they have kept it. It was thanks only to the redoubts at Corinth that Beauregard was not at once compelled to move further south. Whether these earthworks are capable of protecting him from an attack by Halleck (who has now assumed command), there is no way of telling. No more can we credit the rumour that he has received massive reinforcements from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. If this is to some extent the case, they can certainly be nothing but raw recruits, who will be more of a hindrance to him than a help. On the other hand, the forces at Pittsburg Landing were so close to being evenly matched that, without reinforcements, Halleck, too, will find it difficult to carry out an assault on a fortified camp or undertake some other major offensive operation. We don’t know what troops the Federals still have in Tennessee or Kentucky, other than those engaged at Pittsburg Landing, so it’s hard to say what the odds are. In the meantime, the Unionists have cut the railway from Memphis to Chattanooga (i.e., to Richmond, Charleston, Savannah), both to the west as well as to the east of Corinth. Consequently, Beauregard is restricted to one railway (to Mobile and New Orleans), and the question arises whether his troops will be able to subsist in Corinth for any appreciable time.

2. Virginia. Hail McClellan is in a dead fix. I think this will mark the passing of his spurious glory. He has had another division transferred to him from McDowell, but that won’t help him much. All that can save him are the ironclads, yet another of which (the Galena) has sailed for Monroe. Concerning this topic, see today’s Morning Star, American news; of great interest to Austria. You will also learn from it why, not long ago, the Monitor lay quietly at anchor when the Merrimac, the Yorktown, etc., seized the 3 transports. If they cleared the rivers to right and left and engaged

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\( a \) 6 April
the flanks and rear with their guns, these ships could once again save this jackass or traitor; in the same way as the gunboats at Pittsburg Landing saved Sherman (who had nothing but young troops, who had never been under fire before).

3. **Mountain Department.** Frémont is still at Wheeling, the result being that the mountainous portion of south Virginia as well as east Tennessee is still in enemy hands. I.e., *the very best Union regions!* Impossible to explain why. At all events, the Confederate regiment that was raised in Knoxville, Tennessee, as recently as the beginning of April, will undoubtedly go over at the first shot.

Bonaparte is up to his tricks again in America. He'll take good care not to stir up that hornet’s nest. Before the year was out (*vide* "Morning Star"), his ironclads and likewise all French merchantmen would be gone from the ocean, and then farewell to pleasure!

Apropos. You will have seen in today's *Standard* (or *Morning Herald*) that General Hecker has become chief *nigger catcher* (Manhattan*ab*). Be sure to keep the paper.

What do you make of the Prussian elections? So colossal is the government’s defeat that it’s tantamount to a decisive victory for the same.*ab* For it can only drive handsome William to extremes. Now they are sending him nothing but democrats! The *Hamburger Correspondent* is also already saying that, under the present electoral law, there is nothing to be done and that it is impossible to govern. The worthy Twesten has already completely relapsed into parliamentary cretinism and wants to move a vote of no confidence in the ministers. At any rate, troubles are mounting, and the tide is rising.

How is little Jenny placed for wine? Tell me which kinds Allen usually recommends. I can now send you some port as well, old, light, no spirits, which I *highly* recommend; but only after it has been *well filtered*, for the crust has loosened.

Warm regards.

Your

F. E.

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* McClellan  *b* Joseph Alfred Scoville  *c* Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpatriischen Correspondenten
Dear Frederick,

As soon as you have shown it to Lupus, send back the enclosed, exceedingly odd letter, which was published, although mutilated, in the Siècle, the Temps and the Progrès de Lyon, by the jeunesse hongroise à Paris, and sent to me by Schily. This same ‘jeunesse’ now proposes to let loose a pamphlet containing remarkable revelations about the Kossuth-Klapka-Türr triumvirate in Paris.

Apropos. You might communicate the facts contained in the letter to Eichhoff, 57 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool. He can get the thing into the Zeitung für Norddeutschland (Hanover).

A little while ago, so Schily writes, the Bern Bund (mightn’t you be able to look this up at the Club?) carried a statement by a Hungarian refugee in which Vogt is called ‘the Palais Royal’s fattened sow’, while Fazy, Kossuth, Klapka, and Türr figure as ‘scoundrels and gamblers’.

I have got back 330 copies of Vogt from that blackguard Koller. If only I knew of an opening! Might this not be the moment to dispose of them at a 100 p.c. loss? I. e., in Geneva and Bern. How opportune that would be just now!

I shall send you the April and May numbers of the Press. In future you shall have them regularly. I shall procure the other stuff for you, i.e. the estimates.

As to wine, what the children most prefer, of course, is a motley collection. I believe that, according to Allen, claret and port are best.

I shall write to Dana again. I sorely miss their sending me the Tribune. This is a rotten trick of Greeley’s and McElrath’s. I discovered two things in the final March numbers of the Tribune. Firstly, that McClellan had been fully informed a week beforehand about the withdrawal of the Confederates. Secondly, that during

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* young Hungarians in Paris  
** Der Bund. Eidgenössisches Centralblatt. Organ der freimütig-demokratischen schweizerischen und bernischen Politik  
* K. Marx, Herr Vogt (see this volume, pp. 327, 327-38, 340).  
* The Free Press  
* Marx probably has in mind the article ‘President Lincoln’s Strategy’ in the New-York Daily Tribune, No. 6542, 24 March 1862.
the Trent affair, Russell of The Times was taking advantage of what he had ferreted out in Washington in order to gamble on the New York Stock Exchange.¹

In Prussia, things will get to the point of a coup d'état, not however to a coup d'éclat.²

The explanation for Bonaparte's present manoeuvres in Mexico (the affair was originally of Pam's contriving) is that Juárez will acknowledge only the official debt of £46,000 to France. But Miramón and his gang had issued, through the Swiss bankers Jecker et Co., government bonds to the tune of 52,000,000 dollars (on which about 4 mill. dollars had been paid). These government bonds—Jecker et Co. merely hommes de paille—fell into the hands of Morny et Co. for next to nothing. They are demanding that Juárez acknowledge the same. Hinc illae lacrimate.³

Schurz is—a Brigadier-General with Frémont!!!

Your
K. M.

Borkheim paid me the balance last Friday.⁴

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 May 1862

Dear Moor,

Herewith in all haste £10 (O/A 40602, Manchester, 24 Jan. 1862), with which to set the butcher's mind at rest. Since I arrive in London at 5 o'clock tomorrow morning and have to leave again at 7 in the morning, I shall not, alas, be able to meet you.


What makes me lose confidence in any success where the Yankees are concerned isn't so much the military situation as such, which is what it is only as a result of the indolence and indifference apparent throughout the North. Where, amongst the people, is there any sign of revolutionary vigour? They allow themselves to be thrashed and are downright proud of the lambasting they get. Where, throughout the North, is there the slightest indication that people are in real earnest about anything? I've never encountered the like of it before, not even in Germany at the worst of times. On the contrary, what the Yankees would already seem to relish above all else is the prospect of doing down their government creditors.

Au revoir.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 18 May 1862]

Dear Moor,

You must excuse my not writing. Never have I been so overrun as I have this week. Austrians, backwoodsmen, Frenchmen and, then, today, Borkheim is saddling me with his *assäe* — a nice prospect! I no longer know whether I'm coming or going. And, on top of it all, one's expected to go drinking with the whole crew and make oneself agreeable. May the devil take the exhibition.

In the greatest haste,

Your
F. E.


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* partner
Dear Engels,

A week ago last Thursday, you wrote saying you intended to send some wine for little Jenny and Co.\textsuperscript{413} I showed the children your letter. The wine failed to arrive so they were disappointed. I attach importance to it just now because it’s a distraction for them, and the house is otherwise very forlorn.

Nothing could be worse than the kind of oppressiveness which now broods over the whole place.

Luckily, I have neither heard nor seen anything of the exhibition\textsuperscript{344} or its visitors, and hope that this ‘immunity’ will continue, since I am now in no position to entertain people.

As soon as you have a moment to spare, let me know briefly what you think of the military operations in the United States, particularly McClellan’s deeds of derring-do.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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Dear Moor,

The wine was delayed for the same reason as the letter. In such matters I have to attend to everything myself and, before getting to the stage of buying the hamper, etc., I’m frequently distracted.

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I have had to dispense with port on this occasion too, since it is at my lodgings and I wasn’t able to get it sent over to the warehouse. The hamper is leaving today. The red wine and 1846 Hochheimer are specially for little Jenny. The 3 bottles with the red seal and no label are 1857 Rüdesheimer (the same as we drank up here); too stimulating for invalids, though excellent for those in good health.

Strohn was here (as you can see, cela ne finit pas with these visits*). He was in Berlin shortly before the dissolution** and indulged in much carousing with the Rhenish deputies. The fellows took the whole situation tremendously seriously, trusted in their omnipotence, and have relapsed into parliamentary cretinism almost as felicitously as at any time in 1848. Red Becker, whose hair has become much paler in the meantime, trotted round all day in evening dress, black from top to toe, and a dress-coat. His paunch is fatter than ever. Mr Rudolf Schramm, late of Striegau, was also gadding about there and complaining to all who would listen to him that nowhere did the public wish to elect him, which was beyond his comprehension. One evening Schramm was talking some colossal rubbish about England, whereupon Strohn said to him: ‘Now listen, Mr Schramm, if I’d been in England as long as you, I’d be ashamed to talk such nonsense; you must have been asleep the whole time you were there.’ Whereat Schramm, usually so insolent, replied: ‘In England, you know, I was compelled, on account of my wife, to mix with company where I was not in my element and, for that very reason, couldn’t see the people I should like to have seen!!!’

McClellan is carrying on in his familiar manner. The Confederates always give him the slip because he never makes straight for them, his excuse being that they are a good deal stronger than he is. That is why they keep on running away. Never before has a war been waged like this, in return for which he will get his vote of thanks. In the meantime, these wretched little rearguard actions and the constant desertions are certainly enough to demoralise the Confederates severely, and, if it comes to a decisive battle, they’ll find this out.

The capture of New Orleans was a daring feat on the part of the navy. Quite outstanding—the passage of the forts, especially. Afterwards everything was simple. The moral effect on the Confederates was obviously enormous, and the material effect will

* no end to these visits (see this volume, p. 364).
** Hermann Heinrich Becker
already have made itself felt. Beauregard in Corinth now has nothing left to defend; the position had served a purpose only so long as it protected Mississippi and Louisiana, particularly New Orleans. Strategically, Beauregard has been put in a position where one lost battle will leave him no alternative but to disband his army and employ them as guerrillas, for without a large city in the rear of his army as a focal point of railways and resources, he cannot marshal massed bodies of men.

If the Confederate army is beaten in Virginia, it must, after the demoralising incidents of the past, quickly disband of its own accord and operate as guerrillas. Admittedly, its prospects are better, because the numerous rivers run from the mountains to the sea athwart its line of withdrawal, and also because it is facing that jackass McClellan; however, it is in the nature of things that it will be forced either to accept a decisive battle or to split up into bands without a battle. Just as the Russians were compelled to fight at Smolensk and Borodino against the will of the generals who had judged the situation correctly.

If Beauregard, or the army of Virginia, wins a battle, however big, it can be of little help. The Confederates are not in a position to derive the slightest benefit from it. They can't advance 20 English miles without getting stuck and hence must await a fresh attack. They lack everything. Incidentally, I regard such an eventuality as quite impossible without outright treachery.

So, the fate of the Confederate armies now hangs on one single battle. We have still to examine the prospects for guerrilla warfare. Now, it is exceedingly surprising that in this of all wars the part played by the population should have been not so much small as non-existent. In 1813, French communications were repeatedly disrupted and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and a score of other leaders of irregulars and Cossacks; in 1812, in Russia, the population vanished completely from the French line of march; in 1814 the French peasants took up arms and killed allied patrols and stragglers, but here nothing whatever is happening. They abide by the outcome of the big battles and console themselves with victrix causa diis, etc. All that boasting about a war to the knife has turned out to be just rubbish. And how can guerrillas be expected to fare on such a terrain? I certainly anticipate that the white trash of the South will try something of the sort after the final disbandment of the armies, but I'm too

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a Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni—the conquering cause was pleasing to the Gods, but the conquered one to Cato (Lucan, Pharsalia, I, 128).
convinced of the bourgeois nature of the planters to doubt for one instant that this would at once turn them into rabid pro-Unionists. Just let those others make an attempt at brigandage and the planters everywhere will receive the Yankees with open arms. The bonfires along the Mississippi may be attributed solely to the chaps from Kentucky who are said to have arrived in Louisville—certainly not by the Mississippi. The fire in New Orleans was easily organised and will be repeated in other cities; elsewhere, too, a great deal will undoubtedly be burnt down, but the affair must inevitably bring to a head the split between the planters and the merchants on the one hand, and the white trash on the other, and then it will be all up with secession.

The fanatical support for the Confederation among the New Orleans merchants is accounted for simply by the fact that the fellows had to accept a mass of Confederation scrips in exchange for cash. I know of several examples here. This should not be forgotten. A good, big forced loan is a splendid means of shackling the bourgeois to the revolution and diverting them from their class interests by way of their personal interests.

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

Yours,

F. E.

Lupus was again suffering badly from gout. He is going to Germany in 5 weeks' time.

You must surely have read that thing about Bernard saying that they have put him into a lunatic asylum? Is the affair above-board or is there some suggestion of foul play?

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* See this volume, p. 369.
Dear Frederick,

The children and the whole family send you their best thanks for the spirituous hamper.

In Eichhoff's letter enclosed herewith, you will find, recaptured to the life, the kind of polemics beloved of Parson Kinkel. Where would Gottfried be without his piss-a-bed! 9

I may not have written to tell you yet that Dr Klein in Cologne has won 35,000 talers in the Prussian lottery; he will now probably marry Mrs Daniels, provided he hasn't changed his mind.

It's quite true that Bernard, always very eccentric and having in any case overworked during the past few weeks, has become subject to 'hallucinations'. The only unfair thing about it is that this was instantly seized upon as an opportunity to put him away, which was quite unnecessary since the family in Dorking to whom he was tutor was prepared to look after and assume responsibility for him. Ditto Allsop. But the presence of the latter, who had provided the money for Orsini's assassination attempt, 419 and his renewed intercourse with Bernard, had long been worrying Bonaparte's police, at whose request the English police had long been keeping an eye on Bernard.

Last Saturday 9 I received from my Gas Company a summary demand that I pay them £1 10/- before next Saturday, failing which (it's a final notice) I shall be 'cut off'. Since I am now sans sou, 4 I am forced in this mess to turn to you.

The blowing up of the Merrimac seems to me a clear indication of cowardice on the part of the Confederate swine. 426 The curs might still have hazarded another throw. It's truly marvellous how The Times (which backed all the anti-Irish Coercion Bills 421) with such intense enthusiasm is now lamenting that 'liberty' will be lost should the North tyrannise over the South. 4 The Economist is no less pleasing. In the last issue, it declares that it finds the financial good fortune of the Yankees—the non-depreciation of their paper

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9 Heinrich Beta, whose real surname was Bettziech, rendered here by Marx as 'Bettseicher'.
9 24 May
9 without a sou
money—*incomprehensible* (although the thing is as plain as a pike-staff).³ Up till then it had, for week after week, consoled its readers with talk of such depreciation. Although it now admits to not understanding what it should know about *ex officio* and hence to having misled its readers on the subject, it presently consoles them with gloomy reflections on the ‘military operations’, of which it officially understands nothing.

What made paper operations exceptionally easy for the *Yankees*⁴²² (given the main factor—confidence in their cause and hence in their government) was undoubtedly the circumstance that, as a result of secession, the West was virtually stripped of paper money, i.e. of a *circulating medium* generally. All the banks whose principal *securities* consisted in *bonds* issued by the *slave states*, went bankrupt. In addition, there was a drain of *currency* amounting to millions which had circulated in the West in the form of actual bank notes issued by the *southern banks*. Then, partly as a result of the *Morrill Tariff*⁴²³ and partly as a result of the war itself, which had largely put a stop to the import of luxury goods, throughout the whole period the *Yankees* had a favourable balance of trade, and hence rate of exchange, *vis-à-vis* Europe. An unfavourable rate of exchange might have gravely affected the philistines’ patriotic confidence in paper.

How absurd, by the by, is John Bull’s concern over the interest *Uncle Sam* will have to pay on the national debt! As though it weren’t a bagatelle by comparison with Bull’s national debt, besides which the *United States* is now undoubtedly richer than were the *Bulls* in 1815, with their debt of a milliard.

Hasn’t Pam got Bonaparte into a fine old mess in Mexico?⁴²⁴ I have now—if only out of *desperation*—really put my nose to the grindstone and am writing away for dear life—at the political economy I mean.³¹⁹

I article a week is coming out in the *Presse*. That, in fact, is all I send them, in accordance with Mr Friedländer’s letter.⁶

*Salut.*

Yours,

K. M.

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My regards to Mrs Bortman and sister.⁴²⁵

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³ See this volume, p. 353.  
² First published in *The Economist, No. 978, 24 May 1862.*
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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 May 1862

Dear Moor,

Herewith the Post Office Order for £2, payable Kentish Town, which, if I'm not mistaken, is the office closest to you.

Siebel has been blessed with a baby daughter.

Anneke is with Buell's Army and, as from today, will be writing for the Augsburg paper.\(^a\) I feel somewhat anxious about Halleck's troops; the thing's been dragging on so long and he would not seem to be getting any reinforcements after all,\(^{a26}\) although Spence's lies in *The Times* certainly do not mean anything.\(^b\) Willich is colonel (THE ETERNAL COLONEL!) commanding the 32nd Indiana Regiment.

As for the business of Klein,\(^c\) I am heartily glad for his sake, poor devil. I'll return Eichhoff's letter to you as soon as I've read it to Lupus, but I can't go and see him at the moment, as I have a swollen tonsil, which has kept me at home these past few evenings.

It now seems as though some kind of guerrilla warfare has started up after all, but certainly nothing of any significance and, should there be just one victory, reinforcements will move up together with some cavalry and soon put paid to the thing. A defeat might well prove disastrous.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) *Allgemeine Zeitung* - \(^b\) J. Spence's letter to the *Times* editor of 26 May 1862, *The Times*, No. 24258, 29 May 1862. - \(^c\) See this volume, p. 369.
Dear Moor,

I hope you got the Post Office Order for £2 I sent off last Friday on Kentish Town Post Office.\(^a\)

So, at last we learn from Anneke’s letter that on 26 April Halleck had rather more than 100,000 men and 300 cannon incl. Pope and Mitchel, and that he was awaiting the arrival of Curtis and Sigel with further reinforcements. Up till 29 April the state of the army appears to have been passable on the whole, nor does Anneke say anything about sickness. Hence, I consider the talk of sickness to be pure invention. Still, one is bound to admit that Stanton and Halleck have a way of making both press and public mistrustful; it should actually be easy enough to have one correspondent with each army who would write what the general tells him so that the public at any rate can get some sort of news.

The big battle, then, will doubtless be fought as soon as Sigel and Curtis arrive. Spence’s estimate that 120,000 men are needed to keep the Border States in order is ludicrous; \(^b\) in Kentucky hardly a man would appear to be under arms (apart, perhaps, from the recruits at the training camp at Louisville, from whom Sigel’s corps will doubtless be formed) and in Nashville, according to Anneke, there are nothing but convalescents, etc.; otherwise, apart from Halleck’s and McClellan’s armies, the only ones still remaining in the Border States are Frémont (who apparently has no army at all yet), Banks (who must be very short of men) and McDowell, though they all count as part of the regular army. However, Spence errs in the other direction, 1. at this moment the armies of the Federals certainly do not amount to a total of 500,000 men, 2. they have undoubtedly allocated more than 90,000 to the coast. My rough estimate is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{On the coast} & 100,000 \text{ men} \\
\text{Banks & Frémont} & 30,000 \" \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 371. \(^b\) J. Spence’s letter to the Times editor of 2 June 1862, The Times, No. 24263, 4 June 1862.
Sigel & Curtis  30,000 men
McClellan  80,000 ”
At Washington  30,000 ”
McDowell  30,000 ”
Halleck  100,000 ”

Hence a total of 400,000 men in the field, to which should be added approx. 60,000 recruits, convalescents and small detachments who are probably dispersed about Missouri, along each bank of the lower Ohio and Tennessee, and partly among the cities of the North-East; *summa summarum* 460,000 men. I am confirmed in this by the new draft of 50,000 men which will be followed very shortly by another of equal size; evidently, the intention is to maintain the army at its normal strength of 500,000 men.

It was a colossal blunder on Stanton's part, and sheer boastfulness, to put a stop to recruiting. Materially, it has done a great deal of harm and was the cause of all that waste of time at Corinth and Richmond; and morally the present revocation will do even more harm—aside from the fact that it will now be much more difficult to get recruits. It's not as though there weren't plenty of men available; as a result of immigration, the Northern States must have, in terms of total population, at least 3-4% more men aged between 20 and 35 than any other country.

In other respects in his letters Monsieur Anneke appears to be the same grumpy old *FAULTFINDER* and knowall he always was, who judges the army, not in accordance with circumstances or even the enemy, but rather with the old, trained European armies and not even these as they are, but as they *ought* to be. The blockhead would do well to reflect on the confusion he himself must have experienced often enough during manoeuvres in Prussia.

The comedy in Berlin is getting very funny indeed. The ministry assures the Chamber of its liberalism and the Chamber assures the King of its royalism. *Embrassez-vous et que cela finisse!* 427 In other respects, it is undoubtedly a sign of progress that people are getting so nicely and so rapidly embroiled in parliamentary intrigue; however, there'll be a conflict all right. Very fine, too, that nothing came of the whole Hesse-Cassel affair until the Elector" had personally insulted handsome William," whereupon it really did come to nothing. 428

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" Ludwig III - b William I
How is little Jenny getting on?
Warm regards to your wife and the children. Eichhoff’s thing\(^a\) returned herewith.

Yours

F. E.

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ENGLS TO CARL SIEBEL
IN BARMEN

Manchester, 4 June 1862

Dear Siebel,

You’re a fine one, you are, notifying me of your daughter’s birth after the same fashion as I [use] to acknowledge your various letters and packages. My heartiest congratulations. I hope you’ll have a lot of fun with her. Is your wife all right?

Here things trundle along as always. All the same, I’m gradually beginning to notice how demoralising this quiet routine is; one is drained of all one’s energy and becomes thoroughly indolent. I even read another novel recently.

The so-called—\textit{sava venia}\(^b\)—Schiller Institute\(^{429}\) (also known as the Jerusalem Club) has become a purely Jewish institution and, between 1:30 and 3, the din there is enough to drive one out of one’s mind. In fact, I very seldom visit the noble institution now. What’s happening is typically Jewish. To start off with they thank God for having a Schiller Institute, and barely are they installed than, apparently, it’s not good enough for them, and they want to put up a large building, a veritable temple of Moses, and to move the thing there. That, of course, is the shortest road to bankruptcy. And it’s for that you had to write a prologue and act as producer! And that’s what they call a German national...

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 369. - \(^b\) if one may refer to it thus
institution! Mark my words, in a couple of years you’ll be sent a circular: ‘Re the bankruptcy of the late Schiller Institute’, etc.

‘Re’ your letters, let me reply very briefly as follows. So far as the affair with Marx is concerned, he would certainly not have turned to you if my resources hadn’t already been exhausted, as was indeed the case, which meant that I could do nothing just then. As for red Becker (whose pamphlet was of great interest to me, partly because it contains a recantation of his former ‘wild’ opinions, and also because the Prussian government has forcibly turned the chap into a local bigwig again, and hence into a Deputy), the fellow is no immediate concern of ours. He has never belonged to our party as such, has always been a mere democrat, and he only became involved in the business of the Communist trial in Cologne because he regarded the affair as an opportunity for agitation. In fact, during the trial he disassociated himself completely from the rest of the accused and enjoyed a special position. Since then he has avowedly become a royal Prussian democrat, has come out in favour of the monarchy, etc. So, politically we have no connections whatever with the man, which would not, of course, preclude my being on a personally friendly footing with him until such time as we came into direct political conflict with his people. He will do well enough for the present Prussian Chamber.

I believe that, when I was in Barmen, I mentioned to you a little Danish folk-song I had discovered in the Kjämpeviser and had translated into German verse specially for your benefit. I enclose it. Unfortunately, I wasn’t able to do anything like justice to the lively, defiantly cheerful tone of the original—it’s the liveliest I know. However, you’ll have to content yourself with the translation (almost literal, by the way). I don’t think the thing has been translated into German before.

Please convey my compliments and good wishes to your wife.

Your

F. F.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 6 June 1862]

Dear Engels,

You will forgive me for not acknowledging the £2 before now. During the past week, I have been so bothered that I couldn't find time. The landlord and half a dozen other monsters kept me running.

Herewith 2 copies of the Lassalle \( ^{a} \) (1 for you, 1 for Lupus). Write and tell me what you think of it.

Have had a letter from Steffen, will send it to you within the next few days, as soon as I've answered it. He is in Boston. Seems very much depressed. Weydemeyer is a lieutenant colonel.

Salut.

Your

K. M.


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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE \(^{67}\)

IN BERLIN

[London,] 16 June 1862

Dear Lassalle,

Bucher has indeed sent me 3 Julian Schmidt's, \(^{a}\) but none of the other works you mention. \(^{b}\) Mr Schmidt, Mr Schmidt (of which I have sent Engels and Wolff \(^{c}\) the copies intended for them) was all

\(^{a}\) F. Lassalle, Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker, Berlin, 1862.

\(^{b}\) F. Lassalle, Die Philosophie Fichte's und die Bedeutung des Deutschen Volksgeistes, Berlin, 1862; Uber Verfassungswesen, Berlin, 1862 (Lassalle mentioned these works in his letter to Marx on 9 June 1862).

\(^{c}\) Wilhelm Wolff
the more welcome to me for arriving at a time when I was feeling far from cheerful. Moreover, although I had only read, or rather leafed through, very little of Schmidt's stuff, I have at heart always detested the chap as the quintessence of MIDDLE-CLASS SNOBISHM, no less revolting in literature than elsewhere. As you rightly intimate, your attack is aimed indirectly at the MIDDLE-CLASS cultural vulgarians. Here it's a case of aiming at the donkey blows intended for the driver. Since we can't for the present actually CROP the driver's ears for him, it increasingly behoves us to slice the heads off the noisiest and most pretentious of his cultural donkeys—with our pens, notwithstanding poor Meyen who, in the Freischütz, found 'this literary playing at guillotines' as puerile as it was barbaric. What especially tickled me was the Schwabenspiegel and the 'seven wise men'—I almost said 'seven Swabians'—of Greece. Incidentally—since in the case of Julian Schmidt, Julian the Grabovite (which is unjust, because it looks like a blow aimed at the Apostate; or, at any rate, casts SOME RIDICULE on the other Julian), one may permit oneself to digress—I was at one time greatly interested in the σοφὸς as the mask peculiar to Greek philosophy (using mask here in the best sense). First, we have the seven Swabians or wise men as FORERUNNERS, mythological heroes, next, in the middle, Socrates, and finally, the έορδάς as the ideal of the Epicureans, Stoics, and sceptics. I derived further amusement from drawing a comparison between this σοφὸς and what is (IN SOME RESPECTS) his caricature, the French 'sage' of the 18th century. And then the σοφοτής as a necessary variant of the σοφὸς. It is typical of the moderns that the Greek combination of character and knowledge implicit in the σοφὸς has survived in popular consciousness solely in the form of sophists.

Julian—not Julian the Grabovite, but Julian the Apostate—was the cause of a recent brush I had with Engels who, as I was already aware when the dispute began, was essentially in the right. But so specific is my aversion to Christianity that I have a predilection for the Apostate and do not like to see him identified either with Frederick William IV or with any other romantic reactionary, not even mutatis mutandis! Don't you feel the same?

Your admonition as to Rodberrus and Roscher reminded me that I still had notes to make from and about both. As regards

\[a\] Marx plays here on the German proverb 'to hit the bag instead of the donkey'.

\[b\] Marx presumably refers to Meyen's first article from the series 'Berliner Briefe' published in Der Freischütz, No. 49, 23 April 1861.

\[c\] Julian the Apostate

\[d\] wise man

\[e\] Sophist

\[f\] altered as necessary
the Rodbertus. I failed to do it justice in my first letter to you. There's really much in it that is good. Except that his attempt to produce a new theory of rent is almost puerile, comical. For he would have us believe that, in agriculture, raw materials are not taken into account because—the German farmer, or so Rodbertus maintains, does not himself regard seed, fodder, etc., as expenditure, does not take these production costs into account, i.e., he reckons wrong. In England, where the farmer has been reckoning correctly for over 150 years now, rent ought not, therefore, to exist. Hence the conclusion would not be that drawn by Rodbertus, namely that the tenant pays rent because his rate of profit is higher than in industry, but rather because, in consequence of his wrong reckoning, he contented himself with a lower rate of profit. This one example, by the by, suffices to show me how the partial under-development of German economic conditions necessarily tends to confuse people. Ricardo's theory of rent as it now stands is undoubtedly false, but every objection that has been raised against it is either due to a misunderstanding of it or at best demonstrates that certain phenomena do not, prima facie, tally with Ricardo's theory. Now, this latter fact in no way discounts a theory. On the other hand, the positive theories that set out to refute Ricardo are vastly more false. Puerile though Mr Rodbertus's positive solution may be, it does, nevertheless, tend in the right direction, but to go into that here would take too long.

As regards the Roscher, it will be some weeks before I can sit down with the book beside me and write any comments on it. I shall reserve this fellow for a note. Such professorial schoolboys have no place in the text. Roscher undoubtedly has a considerable—and often quite useless—knowledge of literature, although even here I seem to discern the Göttingen alumnus rummaging uneasily through literary treasures and familiar only with what might be called official, respectable literature. But that's not all. For what avails me a fellow who, even though he knows the whole of mathematical literature, yet understands nothing of mathematics? And so complacent, self-important, tolerably well-versed, eclectic a dog, too! If only such a professorial schoolboy, by nature totally incapable of ever doing more than learn his lesson and teach it, of

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9 See this volume, p. 285. 
10 On the face of it. 
12 pupil
ever reaching the stage of teaching himself, if only such a Wagner were, at least, honest and conscientious, he could be of some use to his pupils. If only he didn’t indulge in spurious evasions and said frankly: ‘Here we have a contradiction. Some say this, others that. The nature of the thing precludes my having an opinion. Now see if you can work it out for yourselves!’ In this way his pupils would, on the one hand, be given something to go on and, on the other, be induced to work on their own account. But, admittedly, the challenge I have thrown out here is incompatible with the nature of the professorial schoolboy. An inability to understand the questions themselves is essentiellement part and parcel of him, which is why his eclecticism merely goes snuffling round amidst the wealth of set answers; but, here again, not honestly, but always with an eye to the prejudices and the interests of his paymasters! A stonebreaker is respectable by comparison with such canaille.

Ad vocem ‘Toby. If you believe you can use Toby Meyen, then use him. Only don’t forget that the company of a dunderhead can be very compromising unless great precautions be taken.

We are, indeed, but few in number—and therein lies our strength.

We shall all be very glad to see you over here. It will greatly please my family, not to mention myself, as they hardly ever see a ‘human being’ now that my English, German and French acquaintances all live outside London. I haven’t seen Mario. No doubt friend ‘Blind’ warned him against visiting ‘such a dreadful person’.

Salut.

Your

K. M.


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* character in Goethe’s Faust - † essentially - ‡ As regards
Dear Engels,

The idea of pouring out my misère to you again sickens me, but *que faire*? Every day my wife says she wishes she and the children were safely in their graves, and I really cannot blame her, for the humiliations, torments and alarms that one has to go through in such a situation are indeed indescribable. As you know, the £50 went on debts, more than half of which remain to be paid. The £2 on gas. The wretched money from Vienna won't arrive till the end of July, and then there'll be damned little of it, since the swine aren't even printing 1 article a week now. To that must be added the fresh expenditure since the beginning of May. I won't say anything about what, in London, is the truly parlous situation of being without a centime for 7 weeks—since for us it is a chronically recurring state of affairs. But from your own experience, you will at any rate know that, all the time, there are current expenses that have to be paid in cash. This has been done by putting back in pawn the stuff that had been redeemed at the end of April. But that source was exhausted weeks ago, so much so that, a week ago, my wife attempted to sell some books of mine 'in vain'. I feel all the more sorry for the unfortunate children in that all this is happening during the Exhibition season, when their friends are having fun, whereas they themselves live in dread lest someone should come and see them and realise what a mess they are in.

For the rest, I myself, by the 'by, am working away hard and, strange to say, my grey matter is functioning better in the midst of the surrounding misère than it has done for years. I am expanding this volume, since those German scoundrels estimate the value of a book in terms of its cubic capacity. Incidentally, another thing I have at last been able to sort out is the shitty rent business (which, however, I shall *not* so much as allude to in this part). I had long harboured misgivings as to the absolute correctness of Ricardo's theory, and have at length got to the bottom of the...
swindle. Again, since we last saw each other, I've hit on one or two pleasing and surprising novelties in connection with what's already going into this volume.

I'm amused that Darwin, at whom I've been taking another look, should say that he also applies the 'Malthusian' theory to plants and animals, as though in Mr Malthus's case the whole thing didn't lie in its not being applied to plants and animals, but only—with its geometric progression—to humans as against plants and animals. It is remarkable how Darwin rediscovers, among the beasts and plants, the society of England with its division of labour, competition, opening up of new markets, 'inventions' and Malthusian 'struggle for existence'. It is Hobbes' _bellum omnium contra omnes_ and is reminiscent of Hegel's _Phenomenology_, in which civil society figures as an 'intellectual animal kingdom', whereas, in Darwin, the animal kingdom figures as civil society.

Buckle has played a trick on Ruge by dying. In his imagination, Ruge had envisaged another library to be written by Buckle and 'transposed' into German by Ruge. Poor Ruge! And poor Buckle who, this very day, is traduced by a 'friend' in a _testimonium pietatis_ in _The Times_.

Have you and Lupus received the 2 Julian Schmidts I sent off? Apropos. If it could be done very briefly, without making undue demands on you, I should like to have a sample of Italian book-keeping (with explanations). It would help to throw light on Dr Quesnay's _Tableau Économique_.

No one comes to see me, and I'm glad of it, for I don't give a ....... for the sort we have here. A fine crew!

_Your_

K. M.
I've heard from Lassalle. He may come over here in July. In the late autumn he will make a start on the initial draft of his 'Political Economy', which, however, is going to take him a 'long time'. He's in for a surprise.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 3 July 1862]

Dear Moor,

Since the new financial year has begun and I shall not have to pay back the £50 to Borkheim for a fortnight or so, we can repeat our recent coup de main. You will find herewith I/Q 86445. Ten pounds, Manchester, 31 Jan. 1861. Bank of England note. The second half tomorrow.

The speculation on the cotton market and the consequent daily rise in prices has kept me so busy that I don't know whether I'm coming or going. I shall write as soon as I have time.

How is little Jenny?

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the £10 of which pars 1° arrived today.
I hear that Mr Gumpert was down here; didn't come to see me. Well I shall try to do without him.

a part I (see previous letter)
Herewith 1 Press and two very clever ‘talks’ by Lassalle. The enclosed letter from Lassalle was brought me by the Austrian ‘Captain (retd.)’ Schweigert, a worthy, stupid fellow. The joke is that Rüstow—with the added support of 2 Rüstow brothers—has proposed or is proposing so to use the National Association, the Gymnastic Association, etc., as to have, at the crucial moment—in the smaller German states, at least—a ready-made militia commanded by Mr Rüstow to pit against the army. It’s a damn silly plan. And, on top of that, the money for it is to come from London! I don’t believe Lassalle shares these delusions. All he wants is to make himself seem important in the eyes of Schweigert, etc.

I hope that you, at any rate, will come to London in the course of the season. Little Jenny is no longer unwell, but has grown more delicate than her constitution warrants. Whatever happens, by the by, we must manage to arrange sea-bathing for her.

Is Lupus in Germany by now? 497 What is the position with regard to the ‘Associates’ of the British Association? Are the old cards still valid? Lupus has got mine.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Lassalle has been here for the past 2 days and proposes to stay for several weeks. Now, you really ought to come down for a few days, seeing that he is in any case much ‘offended’ by the failure on

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\(^a\) The Free Press. See this volume, p. 362. \(^b\) Ueber Verfassungswesen and Die Philosophie Fichte’s und die Bedeutung des Deutschen Volksgeistes, Berlin, 1862.
your and Wolff's part ever to acknowledge receipt of his writings. Anyway, you had intended to spend a few days visiting the exhibition. \footnote{25 July}

If this letter is somewhat scanty, it's because I'm working like a Trojan on the book. \footnote{See this volume, pp. 386-87.}

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

Have been to see Freiligrath, was ALL RIGHT. \footnote{businessman}

Izzy—whose vanity would tickle you immensely—is leaving next week. Come on Friday\footnote{See this volume, pp. 386-87.} if you can. Reinhardt, who has become a commerçant, also came to see us yesterday.

Salut.

What do you think of McClellan?\footnote{See this volume, pp. 386-87.}

Your

K. M.
Dear Lassalle,

I should have written to you long since and thanked you for the many packages you have been kind enough to send me. I resolved to do so often enough over the past 18 months, but have been so taken up with *doux commerce* that my private correspondence with all and sundry is badly in arrears. Now I hear you are in London and I would have liked to have come down last Saturday, but simply could not get away. I presently cherish a similar plan in respect of Friday evening, but cannot yet say for certain whether I shall be able to carry it out. If at all possible, it shall be done, in which case I shall telegraph Marx at midday on Friday. But if it proves impossible, why shouldn’t you come up here on Friday evening or Saturday morning and spend a few days taking a look at the home of cotton? Then we could also slip over to Liverpool which is well worth the trouble, especially since you are concerning yourself with political economy. There’s a room in my lodgings at your disposal. It only takes you 5½ hours to get here.

So, think the matter over and, if I should be unable to take Saturday off, you can decide on the spur of the moment, leave London at 9 o’clock on Saturday morning, and be here by 2.45. We shall then be able to discuss everything else by word of mouth—either here or there.

In the meantime, cordial regards from

Yours,

F. Engels


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*a* gentle commerce - *b* 25 July
Manchester, 30 July 1862

Dear Moor,

I was very sorry not to have been able to come on Friday. Apart from anything else, I had more or less fallen out with Ermen, and hence could neither ask a favour of him, nor stay away without saying a word. Otherwise, nothing would have prevented me from coming, not even the risk of missing something important on the Saturday.

Things are going awry in America and, in fact, Mr Stanton is chiefly to blame in that, after the conquest of Tennessee, sheer boastfulness led him to stop recruiting, so that the army was doomed to grow constantly weaker at the very time when it particularly needed reinforcing with a view to a rapid and decisive offensive. With a steady influx of recruits the war had hitherto not, perhaps, been decided, but there could be no doubt about its successful outcome. Moreover, the run of victories had ensured a brisk supply of recruits.

This measure was all the more inane in that, at that very time, the South was calling up all men aged between 18 and 35, i.e. staking everything on one throw. It is these men, who have meanwhile become seasoned troops, that have since enabled the Confederates to gain the upper hand everywhere, and assured them the initiative. They pinned down Halleck, drove Curtis out of Arkansas, beat McClellan and, in the Shenandoah Valley, under Jackson, gave the signal for guerrilla bands, which are now already penetrating as far as the Ohio. Stanton could not have acted more stupidly had he tried.

Again, when Stanton saw that he would be unable to oust McClellan from the command of the Potomac Army, he perpetuated the stupidity of reducing McClellan’s strength by detaching special commands to Frémont, Banks and McDowell, and dispersing the forces with a view to displacing McClellan. Not only was McClellan defeated as a result, but public opinion is

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a See this volume, pp. 384 and 385.
laying the blame for that defeat, not on McClellan, but on Stanton. Serves Mr Stanton right.

None of this would have signified, and it might even have been all to the good in as much as the war might at last have been conducted along revolutionary lines. But there's the rub. Defeats don't spur these Yankees on, they just make them flabby. If things have come to such a pass that, to get recruits at all, they say they are prepared to take them on for only 9 months, then this is tantamount to admitting: 'We're in the shit and all we want is a make-believe army to do some sabre-rattling during the peace negotiations.' Those 300,000 volunteers, that was the criterion, and in refusing to muster them, the North is declaring that it doesn't, *au fond,* give a damn about the whole thing. And then, what cowardice on the part of the government and Congress! They shrink from conscription, from resolute fiscal measures, from attacking slavery, from everything that is urgently necessary; everything's left to amble along at will, and, if some facetious measure finally gets through Congress, the honourable Lincoln hedges it about with so many clauses that it's reduced to nothing at all. It is this flabbiness, this wilting like a pricked balloon under the pressure of defeats, which have destroyed an army, the strongest and the best, and left Washington virtually undefended, it is this complete absence of any resilience among the people at large which proves to me THAT IT IS ALL UP. The occasional MASS MEETING, etc., means nothing at all, and doesn't even rival the excitement of a presidential election.

Add to that a complete want of talent. One general more stupid than the other. Not one who would be capable of the slightest initiative or of an independent decision. For 3 months the initiative has again rested wholly with the enemy. Then, the fiscal measures, each one crazier than the last. Fecklessness and cowardice everywhere except among the common soldiers. The same applies to the politicians—just as absurd, just as much at a loss. And the *populus* is more feckless than if it had idled away 3,000 years under the Austrian sceptre.

For the South, on the other hand—IT'S NO USE SHUTTING ONE'S EYES TO THE FACT—the affair is a matter of life and death. Our not getting any cotton is one proof of this. The guerrillas in the Border States are another. But, in my view, what clinches the matter is the ability of an agrarian population, after such complete isolation from the rest of the world, to endure such a war and, having suffered

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3 at bottom
severe defeats and the loss of resources, men and territory, nevertheless to emerge victorious and threaten to carry their offensive into the North. On top of that, they are really fighting quite splendidly, and what remained of Union feeling, save in the mountain districts, will now, with the re-occupation of Kentucky and Tennessee, undoubtedly evaporate.

If they get Missouri, they will also get the territories, and then the North might as well pack up and go home.

As I have already said, unless the North instantly adopts a revolutionary stance, it will get the terrible thrashing it deserves—and that's what seems to be happening.

How is little Jenny getting on?

Cordial regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 July [1862]

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed scrawls you will partly see how bothered I am. So far, the landlord has allowed himself to be placated; he has yet to receive £25. The piano chap, who is being paid in instalments for the piano, should already have had £6 at the end of June, and is a most ill-mannered brute. I have rate demands in the house amounting to £6. The wretched school fees—some £10—I have fortunately been able to pay, for I do my utmost to spare the children direct humiliation. I have paid the butcher $6 on account (the sum total of my quarterly takings from the Presse!), but I'm again being dunned by that fellow, not to mention the baker, the teagrocer, the greengrocer, and such other sons of Belial as there may be.
The Jewish nigger Lassalle who, I'm glad to say, is leaving at the end of this week, has happily lost another 5,000 talers in an ill-judged speculation. The chap would sooner throw money down the drain than lend it to a 'friend', even though his interest and capital were guaranteed. In this he bases himself on the view that he ought to live the life of a Jewish baron, or Jew created a baron (no doubt by the countess*). Just imagine! This fellow, knowing about the American affair,** etc., and hence about the state of crisis I'm in, had the insolence to ask me whether I would be willing to hand over one of my daughters to la Hatzfeldt as a 'companion', and whether he himself should secure Gerstenberg's (!) patronage for me! The fellow has wasted my time and, what is more, the dolt opined that, since I was not engaged upon any 'business' just now, but merely upon a 'theoretical work', I might just as well kill time with him! In order to keep up certain déhors vis-à-vis the fellow, my wife had to put in pawn everything that wasn't actually nailed or bolted down!

Had I not been in this appalling position and vexed by the way this parvenu flaunted his money bags, he'd have amused me tremendously. Since I last saw him a year ago, he's gone quite mad. His head has been completely turned by his stay in Zurich (with Rüstow, Herwegh, etc.) and the subsequent trip to Italy and, after that, by his Herr Julian Schmidt,† etc. He is now indisputably, not only the greatest scholar, the profoundest thinker, the most brilliant man of science, and so forth, but also and in addition, Don Juan cum revolutionary Cardinal Richelieu. Add to this, the incessant chatter in a high, falsetto voice, the unaesthetic, histrionic gestures, the dogmatic tone!

As a profound secret, he told me and my wife that he had advised Garibaldi not to make Rome the target of his attack but instead proceed to Naples, there set himself up as dictator (without affronting Victor Emmanuel), and call out the people's army for a campaign against Austria. Lassalle had him conjure 300,000 men out of thin air— with whom, of course, the Piedmontese army joined forces. And then, in accordance with a plan approved, so he says, by Mr Rüstow, a detached corps was to make, or rather set sail, for the Adriatic coast (Dalmatia) and incite Hungary to revolt, while, heedless of the Quadrilateral,** the main body of the army under Garibaldi marched from Padua to Vienna, where the population instantly rebelled. All over in 6

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*a Sophie von Hatzfeldt - b appearances - c F. Lassalle, Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker.
weeks. The fulcrum of the action—Lassalle’s political influence, or his pen, in Berlin. And Rüstow at the head of a corps of German volunteers attached to Garibaldi. Bonaparte, on the other hand, was paralysed by this Lassallean coup d’État.

He has just been to see Mazzini, and ‘the latter, too,’ approved and ‘admired’ his plan.

He introduced himself to these people as the ‘representative of the German revolutionary working class’ and assumed they knew (to use his own words) that his (Izzy’s) ‘pamphlet on the Italian war’ had prevented Prussia’s intervention and, in fact, that he had controlled ‘the history of the past three years’. Lassalle was absolutely furious with me and my wife for poking fun at his plans, quizzing him as ‘an enlightened Bonapartist’, etc. He shouted, blustered, flung himself about and finally got it fixed in his mind that I was too ‘abstract’ to understand politics.

As to America, it’s of no interest whatever, he says. The Yankees have no ‘ideas’. ‘The freedom of the individual’ is merely a ‘negative idea’, etc., and other antiquated, mouldering, speculative rubbish of the same ilk.

As I have said, if circumstances had been different (and he hadn’t disrupted my work), the chap would have amused me tremendously.

And on top of it all, the sheer gluttony and wanton lechery of this ‘idealist’!

It is now quite plain to me—as the shape of his head and the way his hair grows also testify—that he is descended from the negroes who accompanied Moses’ flight from Egypt (unless his mother or paternal grandmother interbred with a nigger). Now, this blend of Jewishness and Germanness, on the one hand, and basic negroid stock, on the other, must inevitably give rise to a peculiar product. The fellow’s importunity is also niggerlike.

If, by the by, Mr Rüstow was responsible for thinking up the march from Padua to Vienna, I should say that he also has a screw loose.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

One of our nigger’s great discoveries—which, however, he only confides to his ‘closest friends’—is that the Pelasgians were of

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Semitic descent. The main evidence: in the Book of Maccabbees, the Jews send emissaries to solicit the help of Greece on grounds of kinship. Furthermore, an Etruscan inscription has been found in Perugia, and this was simultaneously deciphered by Hofrat Stücker in Berlin and an Italian, and both independently converted the Etruscan into the Hebrew alphabet.

So that we can no longer discomfit him with 'BLUE BOOKS', he has bought 20 pounds' worth of BLUE BOOKS (under Bucher's guidance).

He has converted Bucher to socialism, or so he maintains. Now Bucher's quite a fine little man, if a cranky one, and, in any case, I can't believe that he has accepted Lassalle's 'foreign policy'. Bucher is the 'compositress' in Julian Schmidt.

If you'd been here just for a day or two, you'd have been able to lay in enough material to keep you laughing for a whole year. That's why I was so anxious to have you here. One doesn't get an opportunity like that every day.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 July 1862]

Dear Moor,

No doubt you will understand that, after the heavy outgoings last month, it will be impossible for me to get hold of £25 for you just now. I have postponed till August all heavy outgoings on my own account (LANDLADY and quarterly account), moreover, because of the bill, I have had to give Borkheim an order, which will similarly have to be met in August. I shall see what can be done before tomorrow. I still owe Lupus £10, and he will ask for it immediately on his return, which might be any day now. If you

* The Bible (The Old Testament)
add this to last month's outgoings, you will see that it takes a tidy slice out of the new financial year. However, I shall see this evening how much will have to be paid out, and hence how much I shall be able to send you.

If only I knew what the balance looked like and how I stand! But the day after tomorrow Charles* leaves for Warsaw, where we have incurred a bad debt, and then the whole caboodle will come to a dead stop again.

Your
F. E.

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**ENGELS TO MARX**

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 August 1862

Dear Moor,

The enclosed £10 is all I am able to send you today. This is how things stand: Last month's outgoings: a quarter's stabling for my horse £15, landlady £25 (old Hill agreed to debit this to July because I paid it yesterday), to Borkheim £50, to you £10, total £100. Still outstanding this month: to Lupus £10, Borkheim—for the order—£15, bookseller about £10 (carried over from 1861), in addition, petty expenses: tailor, shoemaker, shirts, and such like, cigars some £25 and the above-mentioned £10, in all £70, or £170 in two months, excluding current expenses. So, you can see how I stand. On top of that, I am pretty well positive that I exceeded my income in the last financial year and that my income for this one will be very poor. I dare say you might succeed in staving the people off a bit longer, something that can't be done in the case of my creditors since the people here have a habit of descending on one at the office and demanding settlement so that, after the 2nd or 3rd calling, one is morally obliged to pay them.

* Roesgen
Should Lupus not require the £10 I still owe him until the end of September, or be satisfied with payment by instalments, I shall, of course, let you have it.

The stories about Lassalle are exceedingly funny. His strategical plan\textsuperscript{a} is the finest I have ever come across. That Rüstow should have approved it is quite possible. The chap's as vain as Izzy and well on the way to being just as crazy. Cf. his maunderings about the campaign of 1860 in Vol. II of the *Demokratische Studien*\textsuperscript{b}.

The author\textsuperscript{c} of the *Europäische Pentarchie* has unloosed a new opus, *Europa’s Cabinet und Allianzen*. And a superb jackass the Russians have bought themselves, too. Never before have I come across anything so stupid and muddle-headed. When he theorises about international law, the fellow’s really choice for he puts forward 3 or 4 different theories that are mutually exclusive. Added to which, Christianity à outrance,\textsuperscript{d} and flattery of all things Russian laid on so crassly that one can’t help laughing out loud at the thought of the money the Russians have chucked away on him. It redounds to Germany’s credit that they shouldn’t have been able to buy a single fellow worth his salt to write in favour of Russia\textsuperscript{e} and, when they chance to nab one, such as B. Bauer, that he should instantly turn into a dolt.\textsuperscript{f} His master-plan envisages a Russo-French alliance, Prussia at the head of Little Germany,\textsuperscript{g} Austria, her capital removed to Budapest, to get the Danubian principalities and all the territory north of the Balkans—this spread out like an old cowpat over 300 pages of the most dreary twaddle. If you’d like to have the thing, I’ll send it you.

Your

F. E.

O/D 13134 Manchester 27, Jan. 1862—£5
O/D 24296 Manchester 27, Jan. 1862—£5

£10

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\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 389-90. \textsuperscript{b} F. W. Rüstow, ‘Die Brigade Milano’, *Demokratische Studien*, Hamburg, 1861. \textsuperscript{c} Goldmann. \textsuperscript{d} in excess. \textsuperscript{e} Germany in the original
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1862

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £10.

I very much dislike your being in financial difficulties on my account, but que faire? a Who is capable of withstanding such a crisis as the American one? b Not to mention my peculiar bad luck in having a rotten rag like the Vienna Presse to deal with. Otherwise, the fellows might, at least, have been able to make up for the loss of the Tribune to some extent. Do you suppose, perhaps, that the time has now come for me to approach, say, the Evening Post (the abolitionist paper in New York) about my contributing to it?

All things considered, it’s a real miracle that I have been able to get on with my theoretical writing to such an extent. I now propose after all to include in this volume an extra chapter on the theory of rent, i.e., by way of ‘illustration’ to an earlier thesis of mine. 1 Let me say a word or two about what will, in the text, be a lengthy and complex affair, so that you may let me have your opinion on it.

As you know, I distinguish 2 parts in capital: constant capital (raw material, matières instrumentales, b machinery, etc.), whose value only reappears in the value of the product, and secondly variable capital, i.e., the capital laid out in wages, which contains less materialised labour than is given by the worker in return for it. E.g. if the daily wage=10 hours and the worker works 12, he replaces the variable capital + ⅓ of the same (2 hours). This latter surplus I call surplus-value.

Let us assume that the rate of surplus value (that is the length of the working day and the surplus labour in excess of the necessary labour performed by the worker to reproduce his pay) is given, e.g., 50 p.c. In this case, in a 12 hour working day the worker would work e.g., 8 hours for himself, and 4 hours (⅔) for the employer. And indeed, let us assume this to apply to all trades so that any variations there may be in the average working time simply allow for the greater or lesser difficulty of the work, etc.

a what is one to do? b auxiliary materials
In these circumstances, given equal exploitation of the worker in different trades, different capitals in different spheres of production will, given equal size, yield very different amounts of surplus value and hence very different rates of profit, since profit is nothing but the proportion of the surplus value to the total capital advanced. This will depend on the organic composition of the capital, i.e., on its division into constant and variable capital.

Let us assume, as above, that the surplus labour = 50 p.c. If, therefore, e.g. £1 = 1 working day (no matter whether you think in terms of a day or a week, etc.), the working day = 12 hours, and the necessary labour (i.e. reproductive of the pay) = 8 hours, then the wage of 30 workers (or working days) = £20 and the value of their labour = £30, the variable capital per worker (daily or weekly) = £2/3 and the value he creates = £1. The amount of surplus value produced by a capital of £100 in different trades will vary greatly according to the proportion in which the capital of £100 is divided into constant and variable capital. Let us call constant capital C, and variable capital V. If, e.g. in the cotton industry, the composition was C 80, V 20, the value of the product would = 110 (given 50 p.c. surplus value or surplus labour). The amount of the surplus value = 10 and the profit rate = 10 p.c., since the profit = the proportion of 10 (the surplus value) : 100 (the total value of the capital expended). Let us suppose that, in a large tailoring shop, the composition is C 50, V 50, so that the product = 125, the surplus value (at a rate of 50 p.c. as above) = 25 and the profit rate = 25 p.c. Let us take another industry where the proportion is C 70, V 30, hence the product = 115, the profit rate = 15 p.c. Finally, an industry where the composition = C 90, V 10, hence the product = 105 and the profit rate = 5 p.c.

Here, given equal exploitation of labour, we have in different trades very different amounts of surplus value and hence very different rates of profit for capitals of equal size.

If, however, the above 4 capitals are taken together, we get:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>400</th>
<th>Profit</th>
<th>55</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of the product</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. C 80 V 20</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>profit rate = 10 p.c.</td>
<td>Rate of surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. C 50 V 50</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>profit rate = 25 p.c.</td>
<td>value in all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. C 70 V 30</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>profit rate = 15 p.c.</td>
<td>cases = 50 p.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. C 90 V 10</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>profit rate = 5 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16—558
On 100, this makes a profit rate of 13\(^{\frac{3}{4}}\) p.c.

If the total capital (400) of the class is considered, the profit rate would=13\(^{\frac{3}{4}}\) p.c. And capitalists are brothers. As a result of competition (transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital from one trade to the other), capitals of equal size in different trades, despite their different organic compositions, yield the same average rate of profit. In other words, the average profit, which e.g. a capital of £100 yields in a certain trade, it yields, not as a capital specifically applied to the same nor, therefore, in the proportion in which it of itself produces surplus value, but as an aliquot part of the total capital of the capitalist class. It is a share the dividend on which will be paid in proportion to its size out of the total amount of the surplus value (or unpaid labour) produced by the total variable (laid out in wages) capital of the class.

If then 1, 2, 3, 4 in the above illustration are to make the same average profit, each category must sell its goods at £113\(^{\frac{1}{3}}\). 1 and 4 will sell them at more than their value, 2 and 3 at less.

The price so regulated=the expenses of capital+the average profit (e.g. 10 p.c.), is what Smith called the natural price, cost price, etc. It is the average price to which competition between different trades (by transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital) reduces the prices in different trades. Hence, competition reduces commodities not to their value, but to the cost price, which, depending on the organic composition of the respective capitals, is either above, below or = to their values.

Ricardo confuses value and cost price. He therefore believes that, if there were such a thing as absolute rent (i.e., rent independent of variations in the fertility of the soil), agricultural produce, etc., would be constantly sold for more than its value, because at more than cost price (the advanced capital+the average profit). That would demolish the fundamental law. Hence he denies absolute rent and assumes only differential rent.

But his identification of values of commodities and cost prices of commodities is totally wrong and has traditionally been taken over from A. Smith.

The facts are as follows:

If we assume that the average composition of all not agricultural capital is C 80, V 20, then the product (assuming that the rate of surplus value is 50 p.c.)=110 and the profit rate=10 p.c.

If we further assume that the average composition of agricultural capital is C 60, V 40 (in England, this figure is statistically fairly correct; rent for pasture, etc., has no bearing on this question, being determined not by itself, but by the corn rent), then the
product, given equal exploitation of labour as above = 120 and profit rate = 20 p.c. Hence, if the farmer sells his agricultural produce for what it is *worth*, he is selling it at 120 and not at 110, its *cost price*. But *landed property* prevents the farmer, like his *brother capitalists*, from equalising the *value* of the product to the *cost price*. Competition between capitals cannot enforce this. The landowner intervenes and pockets the *difference between value and cost price*. A low proportion of constant to variable capital is in general an expression of the poor (or relatively poor) development of the productive power of labour in a particular sphere of production. Hence, if the *average composition of agricultural capital* is e.g. C 60, V 40, while that of *not agricultural capital* is C 80, V 20, this proves that agriculture has not yet reached the same stage of development as industry. (Which is easily explicable since, apart from anything else, a prerequisite for industry is the older science of mechanics, while the prerequisites for agriculture are the completely new sciences of chemistry, geology and physiology.) If the proportion in agriculture becomes C 80, V 20 (in the above premise), then *absolute rent* disappears. All that remains is *differential rent*, which I shall also expound in such a way as to make Ricardo's assumption of the *constant deterioration of agriculture* appear most ridiculous and arbitrary.

Having regard to the foregoing definition of *cost price* as distinct from *value*, it should further be noted that, besides the distinction between constant capital and variable capital, which arises out of the immediate production process of capital, there is the further distinction between *fixed and circulating capital*, which arises out of the circulation process of capital. However, the formula would become too involved if I were to seek to incorporate this in the above as well.

There you have—roughly, for the thing's fairly complicated—the critique of Ricardo's theory. This much you will admit—that by taking into account the *organic composition of capital*, one disposes of a mass of what have so far seemed to be contradictions and problems.

Apropos. There are certain reasons, of which I shall inform you in my next letter, why I should be very glad if you would write me a detailed military critique (I shall deal with the political aspect) of Lassalle-Rüstep's liberation nonsense.\(^a\)

*Your*

K. M.

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 389–90, 393.
Regards to the ladies.

Imandt has announced himself. Izzy leaves on Monday.

It will be evident to you that, given my view of ‘absolute rent’, landed property (under certain historical circumstances) does indeed put up the prices of raw materials. Very important, communistically speaking.

Assuming the correctness of the above view, it is by no means essential for absolute rent to be paid under all circumstances or in respect of every type of soil (even if the composition of agricultural capital is as assumed above). It is not paid when landed property does not exist, either factually or legally. In such a case, agriculture offers no peculiar resistance to the application of capital, which then moves as easily in this element as in the other. The agricultural produce is then sold, as masses of industrial products always are, at cost price for less than its value. In practice, landed property may disappear, even when capitalist and landowner are one and the same person, etc.

But it would be otiose to go into these details here.

Differential rent as such—which does not arise from the circumstance that capital is employed on land instead of any other field of employment—presents no difficulty in theory. It is nothing other than surplus profit which also exists in every sphere of industrial production wherever capital operates under better than average conditions. It is firmly ensconced in agriculture only because founded on a basis as solid and (relatively) stable as the different degrees of natural fertility of various types of soil.

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London, 7 August [1862]

Dear Engels,

The landlord came to see me on Monday and told me that, after having foreborne so long, he would hand things over to his land agent, unless I paid him within the shortest possible time. And that means putting the broker in. I likewise—oddly enough on the same day—got a final demand for the rates, as well as letters from the épiciers, most of them acquainted with the landlord, threatening to prosecute me and withhold provisions.

Lassalle left on Monday evening. I saw him once more after all these events had taken place. From my dejected air, he saw that the crisis, which he had long known about, had led to a catastrophe of some kind. Questioned me. Having heard my tale, he said he could let me have £15 by 1 January 1863; also that bills could be drawn on him for any desired amount, provided payment over and above the £15 were promised by you or someone else. More he could [not] do, he said, in view of his straitened circumstances. (That I can well believe, for, while here, he spent £1 2/- daily on cabs and cigars alone.)

Might you perhaps be able to do something in this way, using Borkheim as escompteur, so as to stave off the crisis? Of the £10, I paid 6 to the piano man, a nasty brute who wouldn't have hesitated to bring me before the county court. With 2 of the pounds I redeemed things that were in pawn and put what was left at my wife's disposal.

I assure you that if it wasn't for family difficulties, I would far rather move into a model lodging-house than be constantly squeezing your purse.

There is, in addition, another circumstance, namely Dr Allen's telling me that it's absolutely essential for little Jenny to spend at least a fortnight at the seaside, ditto for our youngest who had jaundice of some kind last year and isn't all right once again.

Izzy also told me that he would perhaps found a paper when he returned in September. I told him that, if he paid well, I would be its English correspondent, without assuming any other kind of

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a 4 August  b grocers  c discounter  d Eleanor
Responsibility or political partnership, since all we had in common politically were a few remote objectives.

I don't quite share your views on the American Civil War, but I do not believe that all is up. From the outset, the Northerners have been dominated by the representatives of the Border Slave States, who were also responsible for pushing McClellan, that old partisan of Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the other hand, acted as a single whole right from the very start. The North itself turned slavery into a pro-instead of an anti-Southern military force. The South leaves productive labour to the slaves and could thus take the field undisturbed with its fighting force intact. It had a unified military leadership; the North did not. That there was no strategical plan is evident if only from the manoeuvrings of the Kentucky Army after the capture of Tennessee. In my view, all this is going to take another turn. The North will, at last, wage the war in earnest, have recourse to revolutionary methods and overthrow the supremacy of the Border Slave Statesmen. One single Nigger regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of raising 300,000 men is, I should say, purely political. The North-West and New England wish to and will compel the government to abandon the diplomatic warfare they have waged hitherto, and are now making terms on which the 300,000 men shall come forth. If Lincoln doesn't give way (which he will, however), there'll be a revolution.

As regards the lack of military talent, the choice of generals, hitherto dependent purely on diplomatic and party chicanery, has hardly been calculated to bring it to the fore. However, I should say that General Pope was a man of energy.

As for financial measures, they are clumsy as, indeed, they are bound to be in a country where in fact taxation has hitherto been non-existent (so far as the country as a whole is concerned), but not nearly as silly as the measures taken by Pitt et al. I should say that the present depreciation of money is attributable not to economic, but to purely political grounds, namely distrust. It will therefore change, when policy changes.

The long and the short of it is, I think, that wars of this kind ought to be conducted along revolutionary lines, and the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it along constitutional ones.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

* See this volume, pp. 386-88.  
  b Ibid., p. 277.
Imandt is here. Another very tiresome interruption at the moment. I believe my work will run to 30 sheets.\cite{f1}

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**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 8 August 1862

Dear Moor,

In giving you an account of my expenditure, I never remotely intended to deter you from further 'squeezing', as you call it. On the contrary, we shall, I think, go on giving each other as much mutual aid as we can, it being quite immaterial so far as the cause is concerned which of us happens to be the 'squeezer' at the moment and which the 'squeezed', roles that are, after all, interchangeable. My only object in drawing up this statement was to demonstrate the impossibility of laying my hands on more than £10 just at the moment.

I assume that you promptly requisitioned the £15 in cash from Lassalle, or what exactly does 'by January'\footnote{See this volume, p. 399.} mean? That he doesn't want to fork out till then? Now as regards bills, I for my part can perfectly well draw from £40 à £45 or some 260 to 300 talers on Lassalle, at 3, preferably 4 months' date, provided Borkheim will cash them. I shall also be able to send you another £10 in cash if I keep Borkheim waiting till September for the money I owe him for wine. That would make 10 from me, 45 for the bill, 15 Lassalle, total £70. But it would mean that I was completely cleared out for some little while, not that that would really matter, provided it got you out of the mire and enabled little Jenny to go to the seaside. Since Borkheim is constantly having to disburse money on the Continent—and he knows that, come what may, I have got to honour the bill if I don't want my position here to be ruined, there's absolutely no reason why you shouldn't go and ask him whether he's willing to negotiate the thing for us. You can tell
him that just now, when times are bad for cotton, I am honour-bound to draw as little money as possible from the firm and hence would sooner adopt this method. You have far less cause to feel ill at ease with him about the affair than I have, so go and see him at once and arrange matters so that I can draw on Monsieur le Baron\(^a\) forthwith.

Lupus arrived on Monday, in the grip of influenza and rheumatism, which confined him to bed for a day, the only one he spent in London. As soon as he felt a little better, he came straight up here. That was why he didn't come and see you. He is now better, but, being in monetibus\(^b\) likewise on his beam ends, came straight to me about the £10.

You've absolutely got to pull off another financial coup, otherwise I cannot see how on earth we're going to make up for the loss of the Tribune. Nor are the other New York papers in any kind of a position to take the place of the Tribune so far as you are concerned\(^c\); but, should a suitable occasion arise, it would do no harm to try, as something might come of it. With 30 sheets, the book\(^d\) will raise at most some £70, but how do things stand with Brockhaus? Did you discuss the matter at all with Lassalle? And how much longer will it take?

I have again made contact with the Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung and shall see how it goes, though 1 article every 6 weeks is the maximum here. Mightn't you be able, through your mussurus\(^d\) or otherwise, to arrange for me to contribute military articles to an English paper in London? But all this is marginal stuff and, unless we can discover the art of shitting gold, there would hardly seem to be any alternative to your extracting something from your relations by one means or another. Réflechis-tä-dessus.\(^e\)

Shall write to you shortly about Lassalle's war plans and your theory of rent,\(^f\) though I must say I'm by no means clear about the existence of 'absolute' rent—for, after all, you have to prove it first. I've got frightful piles and can't go on sitting down any longer.

Regards to the family.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) Ferdinand Lassalle

\(^b\) as regards money

\(^c\) See this volume, p. 394

\(^d\) myrmidon (from the Yiddish m'schores)

\(^e\) Think about it

\(^f\) See this volume, pp. 389-90, 393, 394-98
Dear Engels,

Izzy doesn't want to pay the £15 before 1 January.¹

So, I've been to see Borkheim. You are to draw 400 talers on Lassalle (I didn't, of course, in speaking of Lassalle to Borkheim, say anything as to the £15 to be paid by Lassalle). At 3 months. Then, however, the thing will have to be renewed, as I told Borkheim that it wasn't payable until 1 January. (This being the date stipulated by Lassalle.)

So, the main thing is that you should send Borkheim the bill.

As regards the theory of rent, I shall, of course, have to wait until I get your letter.² But what follows will simplify the 'debate', as Heinrich Bürgers would say:

I. All I have to prove theoretically is the possibility of absolute rent, without infringing the law of value. This is the point round which the theoretical controversy has revolved from the time of the physiocrats until the present day. Ricardo denies that possibility; I maintain it. I likewise maintain that his denial rests on a theoretically false dogma deriving from A. Smith—the supposed identity of Cost prices and values of commodities. Further, where Ricardo illustrates the thing with examples, he invariably presupposes conditions in which there is either no capitalist production or (factually or legally) no landed property. But the whole point is to examine the law precisely when such things do exist.

II. As regards the existence of absolute rent, this would be a question that would require statistical solution in any country. But the importance of a purely theoretical solution may be gauged from the fact that for 35 years statisticians and practical men generally have been maintaining the existence of absolute rent, while the (Ricardian) theoreticians have been seeking to explain it away by dim of very forced and theoretically feeble abstractions. Hitherto, I have invariably found that, in all such quarrels, the theoreticians have always been in the wrong.

¹ See this volume, p. 401. ² ibid., pp. 394-98; 402. ³ ibid., pp. 396-97.
III. I demonstrate that, even presupposing the existence of absolute rent, it by no means follows that the worst cultivated land or the worst mine pays rent under all circumstances; rather, these will, in all likelihood, have to sell their products at market value, but at less than their individual value. In order to prove the opposite, Ricardo invariably supposes—which is theoretically false—that, under all conditions of the market, it is the commodity produced in the most unfavourable circumstances which determines the market value. You yourself had already put forward the correct argument against this in the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.\(^a\)

That is all I have to add as to rent.

As regards Brockhaus, Lassalle has promised to do his utmost\(^b\) and I believe he will, having solemnly declared that he can neither publish his magnum opus on political economy, nor set to work on it—which in his case amounts to the same thing—until my book\(^c\) has come out.

Salut.

K. M.

Borkheim further adds:

You are to draw the 400 talers on Lassalle at 3 months and renew it a fortnight before due date, till 1 January 1863. If you can't manage to pay in instalments, Borkheim will see to it that Lassalle gets the money on the first due date.

As for the Evening Post, I should be glad if you could draft a letter for me, since I'm very bad at writing colloquial English.

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*b* See this volume, p. 402.  
*c* ibid., p. 394.  
*d* Ferdinand Lassalle
due date and that there will be an extension till 1 Jan., when I shall remit him the difference of £15.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 13 August 1862]

Dear Moor,

I am unable to answer the preceding letter, since I don’t know exactly what you told Borkheim and am therefore afraid of introducing inconsistencies into the affair. I could, of course, only assume Lassalle was back in Berlin. You should now go straight to Borkheim and see that the bill is returned and then sent by you to Lassalle for acceptance. Otherwise, of course, nothing at all can be done. How this misunderstanding could have arisen I fail to comprehend.

Your haemorrhoidarius,
F. E.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 13 August [1862]

Dear Lassalle,

In order to postpone the crisis, at least for a few weeks, Engels has drawn a bill on you through Borkheim for 400 talers at

\[ \text{Here follows a note in Marx’s handwriting: ‘signed 12 August 1862 (3 months after date). 12 August 1862.’} \]
3 months from 12 August. He will remit you the covering amount before due date. Then the bill will be renewed until 1st January, when Engels will send you 300 talers and you, in accordance with your promise, will yourself pay 100.

All you have to do for the time being is to accept the bill drawn by Engels. Altogether, this amounts to £60 and hence doesn't help me. But, at any rate, the present crisis will be averted and some way out may be found in the mean time.

I am literally on tenterhooks and my work has been very much troubled and disrupted.

There is some prospect of my getting another Yankee paper. Where are you? What are you up to? What's your old man up to? Salut from myself and family.

Your

K. M.


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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN WILDBAD

London, 14 August 1862

Dear Lassalle,

Yesterday, I sent off a couple of lines to you in Berlin. Today I hear that you are at Wildbad. Hence I shall, in a few words, repeat the brief purport of the brief lines which may, perhaps, not reach you.

In order to stave off the catastrophe threatening my affairs, Engels drew a bill on you for £60 (400 talers) through Borkheim on 12 Aug. Due at 3 months date from 12 Aug. Borkheim is to discount this bill for me here. Engels will remit you the covering amount before due date. Then the bill will be renewed until 1st January, when Engels will send you 300 talers and you, in accordance with your promise, will yourself pay 100.

All you have to do for the time being is to accept the bill drawn by Engels. Altogether, this amounts to £60 and hence doesn't help me. But, at any rate, the present crisis will be averted and some way out may be found in the mean time.

I am literally on tenterhooks and my work has been very much troubled and disrupted.

There is some prospect of my getting another Yankee paper. Where are you? What are you up to? What's your old man up to? Salut from myself and family.

Your

K. M.
amount before due date. (Then he will renew the same bill up to 1 January 1863, when he will send you a further remittance of £45 and you will pay £15, as you offered to do.) The only essential thing now is to have your acceptance. Borkheim sent the bill straight off to Berlin, whence it will return probably before the end of this week or early in the next. Then it will at once be sent to you for acceptance. I should be very glad if you could telegraph S. L. Borkheim, 27 Crutched Friars, London, saying: 'I SHALL ACCEPT Mr F. ENGELS BILL OF £60.' Namely, so that Borkheim should not raise any further difficulties about the discount. In my case, there is greater periculum in mora than I can say.

Salut.

Your
K. M.


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Published in English for the first time

240.

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1862

Dear Frederick,

Just a few lines as I have a mass of business errands to run today.

The misunderstanding consists solely in there 'not having been one'.

Before writing to you, I had told Borkheim that I did not know whether Lassalle was in Berlin, and hence that there was no certainty of an immediate acceptance. Borkheim had, nevertheless, promised to discount the moment he had your signature. He subsequently thought better of it.

He decided, not to discount in person, as he had originally intended, but to have the bill discounted by one of his friends connected with Berlin.

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*danger in delay
To that end, he naturally required Lassalle’s acceptance. The latter, or so I learned from Bucher yesterday, is at present at Wildbad, where Lassalle Senior is more or less on the point of kicking the bucket. I immediately wrote to Baron Izzy.

_Salut._

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO WILHELM SCHWARZ

IN LONDON

London, 19 August 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Sir,

Might I, as _London correspondent_ of the Vienna _Presse_, request that I be sent a _press ticket_ for the Exhibition? Though I was asked months ago by the Editor of the _Presse_ to write a number of _general_ reports on the Exhibition, other work has precluded my acceding to that request until now.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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_a_ Heimann Lassal, Ferdinand Lassalle’s father • _b_ See this volume, pp. 406-07. _c_ ibid., p. 353.
MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN ZURICH

London, 20 August [1862]

Dear Lassalle,

I imagine that, excursions into the High Alps and Italy notwithstanding, you will be spending a few days in Zurich, or at least receiving poste restante letters there. To make doubly sure, I have also informed Mr Rüstow that I have written to you ‘poste restante Zurich’.

Despite the ‘position’ I am in, I would rescind the whole transaction if the bill on you were not already in the hands of ‘Meyer Brothers’, Berlin. Actually, this was not altogether in accordance with the agreement, since Borkheim had originally promised me he wouldn’t let the bill out of his hands until you returned to Berlin. However, I couldn’t see that any harm had been done since, in the case of this first bill, I had thought the use of your name was a mere formality and had no idea it had any connection with your ‘public existence’ or might serve to spark off some civil drama or other. For I believed that Engels’ security for ‘an amount’ of 400 talers would meet the case, even if the ‘worst came to the worst’ and, as regards ‘the due date’, I knew Engels to be a model of ‘punctuality and promptitude’ in money matters, particularly where bills are concerned. Otherwise, I wouldn’t have involved you in this business.

It being no longer possible to rescind the thing without making myself and Engels look foolish in Borkheim’s eyes, I shall send you Engels’ bond the day after tomorrow.” For it takes 3 days to get a reply from Manchester. As soon as you have the same, it would be good if you wrote to ‘Meyer Brothers’ (this being the name of the firm in Berlin which has Engels’ draft), telling them you will accept on your return.

Let me say once again how much I regret having involved you in the matter—a rash act for which the overlooking of certain premises on your part and mine is to blame. Meanwhile, I remain,

Your

K. M.


* See this volume, p. 413.
Dear Engels,

I've had a whole series of mishaps over the bill.

First Borkheim, who means very well but also enjoys bragging and chooses just the wrong moment to prevaricate *post festum,* promised to discount the bill (out of his own pocket). He did so, knowing that Lassalle's acceptance wasn't to be had for some little while. Then, without a word to me, he sent it through Bruckner (Brothers) to Berlin so as to get it discounted by the said Bruckners. Perhaps—he pretends to have forgotten how it all began—he took fright in the meantime.

Secondly: Baron Artful, with whom I discussed the transaction on the eve of his departure when he declared himself 'prepared to do anything,' writes today from Wildbad 4 when he had sent him an advice 1:

"If I am to accept, I shall have to have a bond from Engels himself in which he undertakes to put me in possession of the covering amount a week before due date. Not, of course, (!) that I doubt you wrote at his behest, but simply because, if I have to accept a bill which I cannot meet myself I must, if unforeseen circumstances are to be precluded and the worst comes to the worst, at least possess a personal written undertaking from the man who can and is to send me this remittance."

I thereupon wrote the baron, who is now in Zurich (has left Wildbad) and 'may' be going on to Italy in a few days' time, a very ironical letter, 5 telling him that I would forthwith request you to send the bond to me. This I now do.

Yesterday Borkheim read me his letter to you. 555 I'd be very glad if you would write to him privately saying he should do everything possible to obtain the money for me, since I am (and this is true) in dire need, while Lassalle's return will be delayed by his adventures abroad.

(By the by, I wrote and told Izzy 7 that, on receipt of your bond, he should write to 'Meyer' Brothers in Berlin, who have the bill,
saying he will accept it on his return—if, that is, he's not going to be long enough in any one place for the bill to be sent on for his acceptance.)

Say what you will, DEAR BOY, it really is embarrassing to have to bother you as I do with my misères! If only I knew how to start some sort of business! All theory, dear friend, is grey, and only business green. Unfortunately, I have come to realise this too late.

With the £20 advanced by Borkheim, I first of all paid the rates, then the shoemaker who was proposing to sue me, etc. I used £5 to send my family to Ramsgate yesterday, since little Jenny could not remain here any longer. I cannot thank you enough for having made this possible. She's the most perfect and gifted child in the world. But here she had to suffer twice over. Firstly from physical causes. And then she was afflicted by our pecuniary trouble. How glad I was today that my wife and children were away and were thus spared the sight of Izzy's letter!

Can't you come down for a few days? In my critique I have demolished so much of the old stuff that there are a number of points I should like to consult you about before I proceed. Discussing these matters in writing is tedious both for you and for me.

One point about which you, as a practical man, must have the answer, is this. Let us assume that a firm's machinery at the outset = £12,000. It wears out on an average in 12 years. If then £1,000 is added to the value of the goods every year, the cost of the machinery will have been paid off in 12 years. Thus far, A. Smith and all his successors. But, in fact, this is only an average calculation. Much the same applies to machinery having a life of 12 years as, say, to a horse with a life—or useful life—of 10 years. Although it would have to be replaced with a new horse after 10 years, it would in practice be wrong to say that 1/12 of it died every year. Rather, in a letter to factory inspectors, Mr Nasmyth observes that machinery (at least some types of machinery) runs better in the second year than in the first. At all events, in the course of those 12 years does not 1/12 of the machinery have to be replaced in natura each year? Now, what becomes of this fund, which yearly replaces 1/12 of the machinery? Is it not, in fact, an accumulation fund to extend reproduction aside from any

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* A paraphrase of Mephistopheles' words (Goethe, Faust, Part 1, Scene 4).

* J. Nasmyth's letter to the factory inspector Horner of 6 November 1852, Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year ending 31st October 1856, London, 1857. - in kind
CONVERSION OF REVENUE INTO CAPITAL? 4ab Does not the existence of this fund partly account for the very different rate at which capital accumulates in nations with advanced capitalist production and hence a great deal of capital fixe, and those where this is not the case?

Piles or no piles, you might at least let me have a brief answer to this.

As for the Rüstow-Lassalle plan a your comments would be of value to me because of Bucher. b

Salut.

Your

K. M.

[Manchester, 21 August 1862]

Dear Moor,

The enclosed note for Lassalle. c Don't get so worked up about these asinities. Just see that the bill comes back, and send it to Lassalle for acceptance; or have this done direct from Berlin. You must realise that I can no more prevail on Borkheim than you can—probably less. I know he likes to show off.

In great haste.

Your

F. E.

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a See this volume, pp. 389-90, 393, 398- b ibid., p. 391- c ibid., p. 413.
ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 21 August 1862

Dear Lassalle,

As requested by you, I hereby confirm (indeed this goes without saying) that, 8 days before due date, I shall send you in Berlin the covering amount in respect of the bill I drew on you for 400 talers maturing 13 November 1862, and, if you will let me know at which banker’s this sum is to be paid in, I shall see that it is paid in there by 5 November.

With most cordial regards,

Your

F. Engels


Published in English in full for the first time

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, beginning of September 1862]

Dear Moor,

I am up to my eyes in the cotton racket, which has assumed colossal proportions—those with courage are making a lot of money; but Ermen & Engels, alas, have no courage—it is putting me to a hell of a lot of work. I shall write to you as soon as I possibly can.

Your

F. E.

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Manchester, 9 September 1862

Dear Moor,

You have no idea how I’ve had to buckle to during the past few days. Cotton, blast it, has risen fivefold on average, and you really wouldn’t believe how much work is involved in keeping all the customers informed of these successive increases.

I trust the Lassalliad over that wretched bill has been cleared up and that you’re in possession of the money. I’ve at last reached a point at which I can go to Germany for a fortnight, leaving on Friday; unfortunately, I won’t be able to stop in London as the time at my disposal is very short and everything I’ve heard about that idiotic exhibition has made me hate it so much that I’m downright glad I shan’t be seeing it. But drop me another line to say how things went with the bill and how little Jenny is getting on—before I leave.

What with the cotton pother, the theory of rent has really proved too abstract for me. I shall have to consider the thing when I eventually get a little more peace and quiet. Likewise the question of wear and tear where, however, I rather suspect you have gone off the rails. Depreciation time is not, of course, the same for all machines. But more about this when I get back.

Individual chaps up here have made a hell of a lot of money during this rise. None of it will stick to ourselves, partly because the good Gottfried is indeed a breech-wetter and partly because spinners in general haven’t made a sou during this period. It’s all gone into the pockets of the commission houses.

The Bull Run affair No. II was a splendid little show by Stonewall Jackson who is by far the best chap America has. Had he been supported on his front by an attack on the part of the main Confederate army, and had everything gone right (or only partially so), then Monsieur Pope would doubtless have been done for. But as it was, the affair came to nothing, save that the Confederates gained an important moral advantage—respect for their spirit of enterpise and for Jackson—and a few square miles

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1 See this volume, pp. 394-98, 403-04. 2 ibid., pp. 411-12. 3 Gottfried Ermen
of ground; on the other hand, however, they have speeded up the unification and concentration of the entire Federal army before Washington. The next steamer will most probably bring us news of fresh engagements, in which the Federals might well be victorious if their generals weren't so bloody stupid. But what can you expect of such rapscallions! Pope is the lousiest of the lot; all he can do is brag, countermand, lie, and keep quiet about his reverses. Indeed, that know-all of the General Staff, McClellan, now strikes one yet again as being positively intelligent. What is more, the order that all future major-generals are to sit the exam for the Prussian ensign's sword-knot. It's too pitiful and, in contrast to the spineless goings-on in the North, the chaps in the South, who, at least, know what they want, seem to me like heroes. Or do you still believe that the gentlemen of the North will suppress the 'rebellion'?

Adieu!

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 September [1862]

Dear Engels,

My family has got back from Ramsgate; little Jenny is very much better.

Lassalle's letter, containing a letter for Meyer Brothers with whom the bill is lodged in Berlin, and also his acceptance, didn't arrive till yesterday. In the meantime, Borkheim had already gone away on holiday. Up till now he has paid £40 in dribbles, the last 15 of the 40 thirteen days ago, when I was leaving. For I wanted to pester my uncle. But he, too, was travelling on the Continent.

* Lion Philips
From there (passant par Cologne, etc.) I went to Trier to see my mater—fruitlessly, however, as I at once suspected when Monsieur l'oncle was not to be got hold of. On the 17th of this month, I have to pay a bill [of exchange] for £6 (six pounds) to my butcher, and Borkheim won't have got back by then, his intention being to spend about 4 weeks bustling round Switzerland, etc.

As to the Yankees, I am firmly of the opinion, now as before, that the North will win in the end, true, the Civil War may pass through all kinds of episodes, perhaps even ceasefires, and be long-drawn-out. The South would or could conclude peace only on condition that it gained possession of the border slave states. In that case, California would also fall to it, the North-West would follow suit and the entire Federation, with the exception, perhaps, of the New England states, would again form one country, this time under the acknowledged supremacy of the slaveholders. It would be the reconstruction of the United States on the basis demanded by the South. But that is impossible and won't happen.

The North, for its part, can conclude peace only if the Confederacy is restricted to the old slave states, and then only to those bounded by the Mississippi River and the Atlantic. In which case the Confederacy would soon come to a happy end. In the intervening period, ceasefires, etc., on the basis of a status quo could at most occasion pauses in the course of the war.

The way in which the North is waging the war is none other than might be expected of a bourgeois republic, where humbledore has reigned supreme for so long. The South, an oligarchy, is better suited to the purpose, especially an oligarchy where all productive labour devolves on the niggers and where the 4 million 'white trash' are 'filibusters' by calling. For all that, I'm prepared to bet my life on it that these fellows will come off worst, 'Stonewall Jackson' notwithstanding. It is, of course, possible that some sort of revolution will occur beforehand in the North itself.

Willich is a brigadier-general and Stephens, or so Kapp told me in Cologne, is also said to be on his way to the wars now.

It strikes me that you allow yourself to be influenced by the military aspect of things a little too much.

As to the economic stuff, I don't propose to burden you with it on your journey.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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a See this volume, pp. 400, 415. b ibid., p. 277. c filibusters. d Wilhelm Steffen. e See this volume, p. 414.
You might perhaps write and tell me where and when you will be passing through London on your journey. If at all feasible, I shall come and meet you.

It is possible (even though all manner of things still stand in the way) that I shall enter an English railway office at the beginning of next year.\(^a\)

What about Garibaldi?\(^b\)

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MARX TO WILHELM WOLFF

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 4 October 1862

Dear Lupus,

You will have received the Barmer Zeitung, misprints and all.\(^c\)

The enclosed cutting from the Elberfelder Zeitung was sent me by Siebel, with a note to the effect that the article from the Barmer was in fact reprinted by the Niederrheinische,\(^b\) ditto by the Märkische Volks-Zeitung (the latter is published in Hagen).

Is Engels back?\(^d\)

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 436.  
\(^b\) Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung
Manchester, 16 October 1862

Dear Moor,

Every single day throughout the whole of last week and this, I was all-set to write to you, but was prevented from doing so by the confounded cotton business. Ces messieurs had, of course, done as little work as possible while I was away, so that my hands have been completely full.

Lupus asked me to tell you that he got the things all right. The case is a most amusing one. Those poor, mendacious Prussians! They invariably make fools of themselves the moment they commit something to paper!

I presume you got the £10 note I sent you on the day of my departure? Again I got stuck in Barmen and Engelskirchen for too long, having spent a whole fortnight sauntering along the Moselle, the Rhine, and in Thuringia. I went straight to Trier via Brussels and Luxemburg, and then on foot to Kochern, etc., giving Cologne a complete miss.

Bismarck’s appointment was hailed by the bourgeois with peals of laughter. The chaps were altogether amazingly confident and in a somewhat daredevil mood. They have at last looked the worthy William with a financial question and know he’s bound to give way to them in the long run; but they take a remarkably idyllic view of the course of events and imagine that, provided they just keep the fellow dangling for a while, he’ll come to them of his own accord. They’re in for a surprise. At all events, things are bound to come to a head some time in the spring. It’s killing, by the by, to see what an inspiring effect a financial question of this kind has on the philistines. Schulze-Delitzsch and co. become positively witty, the only man to remain ‘sherioush’ being Virchow; but nay, he is not alone—Heinrich Bürgers, too, conducts himself with fitting dignity in Weimar, where he sounds the trumpet on behalf of the Imperial Constitution of the year dot.

I must say that Schulze-Delitzsch, the little provident society

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a These gentlemen
b A reference to Marx’s article 'A Note on the Amnesty', see this volume, p. 417.

*In the original “ernscht” ischt der Mann’ (instead of ‘ernst ist, etc.’).
man who has never been, nor asked to be, more than a wretched philistine, seems to me positively respectable by comparison with scoundrels such as Bürgers and the great Miquel, who are saving the fatherland in Weimar through Prussian supremacy.\[1\]

I now understand about Kinkel, too. He’s a complete caricature of a certain upholsterer in Coblenz who is, in his own way, a unique example of a Rhinelander, with all the prejudices and narrow-mindedness of a race that curses the Prussians, loathes the French, sympathises with Austria, is Catholic and democratic in one and the same breath, but excels at putting its best foot forward. I know because we marched over the Kochener Berg together. If Kinkel were to see this lad, whom his physical appearance apes in every particular, the shock would knock him over backwards.

What do you make of America? The financial crash, inevitable in view of these stupid paper money measures, would seem to be imminent.\[2\] Militarily speaking, the North may now perhaps begin to recover a bit.

What is little Jenny doing?

Many regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS\[3\]

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 29 October 1862

Dear Engels,

It isn’t right that, during your holidays, you should never have time to spend so much as one day in London.

Since going to the seaside, little Jenny has been much better, but she’s still not her proper self. For a year she’s been losing weight instead of putting it on.

Lassalle, who is exceedingly incensed with me, tells me that, since he has not got a banker, the remittance should be sent to
him personally at his Berlin address, 13 Bellevuestrasse. This month, he is being taken to court on account of one of his famous speeches.  

Schily was here for a week, looking very wretched and ill, whereas his friend Imandt, who was also here before I left for Holland and Tric, has grown frightfully obese. It's almost as though a second back had formed on top of his old one.

As regards America, I believe the Maryland campaign to be decisive in as much as it has shown that even in this most Southern-minded part of the Border States there is little support for the Confederates. But the whole struggle revolves round the Border States. Whoever has those, will dominate the Union. The fact that Lincoln promulgated the prospective emancipation decree at a time when the Confederates were advancing into Kentucky also shows that no further consideration is now being shown the loyal slave holders in the Border States. The southward migration of slave holders with their black chattel from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee has already assumed vast proportions and if, as is certain, the struggle goes on a bit longer, the South will have lost all support there. It was the South that began the struggle for the territories. The war itself has been instrumental in destroying its power in the Border States, which, in the absence of any market for the breeding of slaves or the internal slave trade, have been daily loosening their ties with the South anyhow. In my opinion, therefore, the sole concern of the South will now be defence. But its only chance of success lay in an offensive. If there is confirmation of the news that Hooker is to be given active command of the Potomac Army, McClellan to be 'withdrawn' to the 'theoretical' post of Commander in Chief and Halleck to assume supreme command in the West, the conduct of the war in Virginia might take on a more energetic character. Moreover, the most favourable time of year for the Confederates is now gone.

From the point of view of morale, the failure of the Maryland campaign was of really tremendous importance.

As regards finance, the United States know from the time of the War of Independence, as we know from our observation of Austria, how far one may go with depreciated paper money. The fact remains that the Yankees have never exported so much grain to England as this year, that the present harvest is again far above average and that the balance of trade has never been so favourable for them as during the past 2 years. As soon as the new

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2 See this volume, p. 277.
system of taxation (vapid though it is, and truly Pitt-like) is introduced, there will, at last, be a reflux of paper money, of which there has hitherto only been a steady issue. This will render unnecessary any increase in the issue of paper on the present scale, and further depreciation will thus be checked. What has made even the depreciation prevailing up till now less dangerous than it would have been in similar circumstances in France, or even England, is the fact that the Yankees have never prohibited the existence of two prices, a gold price and a paper price. The inherent disadvantage of the thing takes the form of a national debt, for which there has never been the appropriate funding, and a premium for jobbing and speculation.

When the English boast that their depreciation never exceeded 11 1/2 p.c. (according to others it amounted to more than twice that figure during some time), they choose to forget that they not only continued to pay the old taxes, but every year they paid new ones in addition to the old, so that the reflux of bank notes was assured in advance, whereas the Yankees have in effect conducted the war for 1 1/2 years without taxation (except for the greatly reduced import duties) simply by means of repeated issues of paper. Such procedure, which has now reached a turning-point, means that the depreciation is, in fact, still relatively modest.

The fury with which the Southerners are greeting Lincoln’s acts is proof of the importance of these measures. Lincoln’s acts all have the appearance of inflexible, clause-ridden conditions communicated by a lawyer to his opposite number. This does not, however, impair their historical import and does, in actual fact, amuse me when, on the other hand, I consider the drapery in which your Frenchman enwraps the merest trifle.

Like others, I am of course aware of the distasteful form assumed by the movement chez the Yankees; but, having regard to the nature of a ‘bourgeois’ democracy, I find this explicable. Nevertheless, events over there are such as to transform the world, and nothing in the whole of history is more nauseous than the attitude adopted towards them by the English.

Regards to Lupus. Salut.

Your

K. M.

£10 safely received.
Dear Engels,

I have just been to see Freiligrath. He will send the 400 talers to Lassalle. You are to send him £60, and he will then advise you of the rate of exchange, etc.

As to the renewal, there is no difficulty. You can draw for £45 or any sum less than £60 and send me the bill so that Lassalle can endorse it. Once that is done, it is discountable over here. You can made it payable at 3 months. For the renewal, however, Lassalle's endorsement will be needed and hence cannot be obtained in respect of the present payment. Lassalle himself is awaiting this renewal, having had my letter. Write and let me know at once what is to be done.

Your
K. M.

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Dear Moor,

The £60 will go off to Freiligrath tomorrow. I can’t say what is to be done about renewing the bill until I know whether the bill will be discountable for certain as soon as Lassalle accepts it, and who will attend to the discounting. On the one hand, it would serve no purpose to worry Lassalle unduly with bills that would
not bring you in money immediately, and, on the other, it could hardly be much use to me if Borkheim (to whom the same considerations apply) sent me the money merely in small dribbles. Then there are the expenses.

*Quant à l'Amérique*, 1, too, of course, believe that the Confederates in Maryland have suffered an unexpected and very significant blow to their morale. I am also convinced that the definitive possession of the *border states* will decide the outcome of the war. However, I am by no means certain that the affair will develop in as classical a form as you seem to imagine. In spite of all the hullabaloo raised by the Yankees, there is still no sign whatsoever that the people regard the business as being truly a question of their national existence. On the contrary, the successes of the Democrats at the polls prove that the party that is weary of war is growing. If only there were some evidence, some indication, that the masses in the North were beginning to act as in France in 1792 and 1793, everything would be splendid. But the only revolution to be anticipated seems more likely to be a democratic counter-revolution and a hollow peace, which will also divide up the *border states*. That this would not settle the affair by a long chalk—granted. But it might do so temporarily. I must confess I feel no enthusiasm for a people who, faced with an issue as colossal as this, allow themselves to be beaten again and again by a force numbering \( \frac{1}{4} \) of their own population and who, after 18 months of war, have gained nothing save the discovery that all their generals are jackasses and their functionaries, crooks and traitors. Things must assuredly take a different course, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to be landed completely in the soup. What you say about the iniquitous way the English view the affair corresponds entirely to my own opinion.

The distress up here is gradually becoming acute. Gumpert tells me that the more serious cases of illness in his hospital are all characteristic of typhoid and that cases of tuberculosis, whose origin can be traced back to the last 8 or 9 months, are rapidly increasing. I imagine that by next month the working people themselves will have had enough of sitting about with a look of passive misery on their faces.

Kind regards.

Your

F. E.

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\( ^a \) As for America. \( ^b \) See this volume, p. 420. \( ^c \) ibid., p. 277.
A German businessman from Copenhagen, an ex-democrat of 48, called on Freiligrath and, in consequence of a discussion about Schleswig-Holstein, was referred by the latter to Blind.¹ I told the man that Blind was an old chatterbox.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE ²³⁹

IN BERLIN

London, 7 November 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Freiligrath is sending you £60 today, this being the covering amount for the bill. The renewal of the same, about which I advised you when the operation began, will be effected only in so far as Borkheim is in receipt of a bill on you from me at 2 months after date (dated 6th November, hence payable about 9 January 1863) for the sum of 100 talers, or £15.

From the few lines you wrote me from time to time, I can see that your rancour persists, as, no doubt, the form of the letters was intended to indicate.

The long and the short of it is that you are both in the right and in the wrong. You ask me to send you a copy of the letter you wrote from Baden.ᵇ For what purpose? So that you could ascertain whether your letter mightn't actually have provided a pretext for the one I wrote to Zurich?ᶜ Granting you all your power of analysis, can you, with your eyes, detect what was read by my eyes and, more particularly, can you deduce therefrom the conditions under which my eyes were reading? In order to prove to me that I had misread your words, you would have to equate first the readers and then the circumstances of the readers, an equation you would

¹ See this volume, p. 264. ᵇ Wildbad. See this volume, p. 410. ᶜ ibid., p. 409.
again tackle as Lassalle under Lassallean conditions and not as Marx under Marxian conditions. Hence nothing could come of it but fuel for fresh controversy. How little the power of analysis helps in such transactions is evident to me from your letter. For you ascribe to me something I didn’t mean. Whatever the circumstances, I myself must be the best judge of the latter. The wording of the letter may support your view, but, as to the meaning that lay behind the words, I myself am, de prime abord, better informed than you. You hadn’t so much as an inkling of what had got my back up, namely the impression gained from reading your letter (wrongly, as I now discover on re-reading it in a more serene frame of mind) that you doubted whether I was acting with Engels’ consent. I concede that I made no mention of this in my letter and that, leaving the personal relationship aside and simply having regard to our business relationship, it was an absurd supposition. Still, it appeared so to me at the moment I wrote to you. I further concede that this, my real grievance, was not expressed, perhaps not even hinted at, in my letter; rather, the issue has been on a false point. Such is the sophistry of all passion.

So, anyhow, you are in the wrong because of the way you interpreted my letter; I am in the wrong because I wrote it and supplied the materia peccans. Is there to be an outright split between us because of this? I believe that the substance of our friendship is strong enough to withstand the shock. I confess to you, sans phrase, that I, as a man on a powder barrel, permitted myself to be swayed by circumstances in a manner unbecoming to an animal rationale. But, at all events, it would be ungenerous of you, as a jurist and prosecutor, to hold against me a status animi in which I would have liked nothing better than to blow my brains out.

So, I trust that, ‘despite everything’, our old relationship will continue untroubled.

Since that time I have been on the Continent, in Holland, Trier, etc., in order to arrange my affairs. J’ai abouti à rien.

I had intended to send you the Roscher, but discovered that the cost of sending it would be 10/-, the price, if not the actual value, of the Roscher. However, I hope to find an opportunity soon.

---

a first and foremost  b the inflammatory material  c without beating about the bush  d state of mind  e An allusion to F. Freiligrath’s poem ‘Trotz allerdem!’  f I have achieved nothing  g W. Roscher, System der Volkswirthschaft.
My cousin in Amsterdam\(^a\) writes to say that, at his suggestion, your book\(^b\) will be discussed at length in the Amsterdam legal journal by their most learned jurist.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I have been prevented from doing any work at all on my book\(^{316}\) for some 6 weeks and am now going ahead, but only with interruptions. However, it will assuredly be brought to a conclusion by and by.


MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

*In haste*

London, 9 November [1862]

Dear Engels,

Three of Eccarius' children have died in rapid succession from scarlatina. In addition, his utter poverty. Raise a small sum among your acquaintances and send it to him at 22 Denmark Street, opposite St. Giles Church.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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\(\text{a August Philips - } ^{b} \text{ F. Lassalle, Das System der erworbenen Rechte.}\)
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 14 November 1862]

Dear Engels,

Since you have just sent money to Eccarius and, on top of that, paid out the large sum for Lassalle's bill, you will, of course, be very 'blanc'. Nevertheless, I must ask you to send me a small sum by Monday, for I have to buy coal and 'victuals', which, since the épicer\textsuperscript{d} has been refusing me credit for the past 3 weeks, I must, nevertheless, buy \textit{from him} cash down until the swine has been paid off, otherwise I shall be prosecuted.

\textit{Salut.}

Your
K. M.

First published in \textit{Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913}

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 November 1862

Dear Moor,

You're right, I am very broke and, like the Prussian government, intensely preoccupied with 'saving'. In the hope that, by leading a domesticated life in Hyde Road,\textsuperscript{d} I shall be able to make good the deficiency, I enclose herewith a five-pound note, O/L 28076, Manchester, 28 Jan. '62. At the same time, I am sending you a hamper of wine \textit{per} Chaplin and Horne, containing

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 422. \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{b} broke \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{c} 17 November \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{d} grocer

17—558
about one dozen claret and 2 bottles of old 1846 hock for little Jenny, the rest being made up of 1857 hock. 24 bottles in all.

I am impatiently awaiting the steamer that will bring us news of the New York elections. If the Democrats win in New York State, I shan't know what to make of the Yankees any more. That a people placed in a great historical dilemma, and one, in which its very existence is at stake to boot, should turn reactionary en masse and vote for abject surrender after 18 months' fighting, is really beyond my comprehension. Desirable though it may be, on the one hand, that the bourgeois republic should be utterly discredited in America too, so that in future it may never again be preached on its own merits, but only as a means towards, and a form of transition to, social revolution, it is, nevertheless, annoying that a rotten oligarchy, with a population only half as large, should evince such strength as the great fat, helpless democracy. Should the Democrats win, by the way, it will give the worthy McClellan and the Westpointers a fine advantage and the show will soon be over. The fellows are capable of concluding peace, should the South agree to rejoin the Union on condition that the President shall always be a Southerner and Congress always consist of an equal number of Southerners and Northerners. They are even capable of immediately proclaiming Jefferson Davis President of the United States and actually surrendering all the Border States, if peace is not to be had otherwise. Then it's goodbye to America.

Besides, the only apparent effect of Lincoln's emancipation so far is that the North-West has voted Democrat for fear of being overrun by Negroes.

To descend from the sublime to the ridiculous, what do you think of worthy William? At last the fellow is himself again; he has expiated his liberal sins and said 'mater peccavi' to the crippled Elizabeth. In return for this, the Lord has endowed him with strength wherewith to smite the scrofulous mob of liberals and for that, says William, 'for that I need the military'. So rabid is the fellow that even Bismarck is no longer reactionary enough for him. That you're a fool, Schapper, we know and you yourself know, but that you are such a fool, etc., etc. Things are going swimmingly, and what could be better than that, 14 years after 1848, the liberal bourgeoisie should have been landed in the most extreme revolutionary dilemma, and all because of a miserable 6 million talers, or about £850,000 sterling? If only the old jackass

---

a William I  
Mother, I have sinned (paraphrase of pater peccavi, Luke 15:21). 

b The Queen dowager, wife of the late Frederick William IV.
doesn’t let up again. True, he’s fairly going it now, but these Prussians can’t be relied on, not even for their stupidity. If things go on as they are, a set-to is absolutely inevitable and, when it really comes to the point, William will be amazed to see just how the ‘military’ join in,—the common soldiers, that is, who won’t thank him for having to fight for a 3 rather than a 2 year spell of service.

My warm regards to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

Apropos. Will you send me the 4 last Free Presses? I can never get them here unless I fetch them on the proper day which I invariably forget to do.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 17 November [1862]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the £5.

It seems to me that you take too one-sided a view of the American fracas. At the American coffeehouse I have looked through a lot of Southern papers and from them it is plain that the Confederacy is in a very tight corner. The English papers suppressed information on the battle of ‘Corinth’. The Southern papers depict it as the most exceptional stroke of ill-luck to have befallen them since the call to arms. The State of Georgia has declared the Confederate conscription bill to be null and void. Virginia, in the person of Floyd the thief, has contested the right of ‘Jefferson Davis’s creatures’ (sic) to continue raising men in that State. Oldham, who represents Texas in the Richmond Congress,

a See this volume, p. 428.

17*
has formally protested against the transport to the East, i.e., Virginia, of the South-West’s ‘crack troops’. From all these disputes two things undeniably emerge:

That the Confederate government has overreached itself in its frantic efforts to fill the ranks of the army;

that the states are asserting state rights vis-à-vis the Confederacy just as the latter made a pretext of them vis-à-vis the Union.

I consider the victories scored by the Democrats in the North to be a reaction and one which was made all the easier for that conservative and blackleg element by the poor manner in which the Federal Government waged the war and by its financial blunders. For that matter, it’s the sort of reaction that occurs in every revolutionary movement and that was so strong at the time of the National Convention, for instance, that the proposal to submit the King’s death to suffrage universel was considered counter-revolutionary, and so strong under the Directory that Mr Bonaparte I had to bombard Paris.

On the other hand, elections prior to 4 Dec. 1864 will not affect the composition of Congress; hence, they will merely act as a spur to the Republican government, over whose head a sword is hanging. And, in any case, the Republican House of Representatives will make better use of its term of office, if only out of hatred for the opposing party.

As to McClellan, in his own army he’s got Hooker and other Republicans, who would arrest him any day if ordered to do so by the government.

Add to that the French attempt at intervention which will evoke a reaction against the reaction.

So things are not, I think, too bad. Rather, what might possibly do damage to my views is the sheeplike attitude of the working men in Lancashire. Such a thing has never been heard of in the world. The more so since those scoundrels of manufacturers themselves don’t even pretend to be ‘making sacrifices’, but are content to leave to the rest of England the honour of keeping their army on its feet—i.e., let the rest of England bear the cost of maintaining their variable capital.

Of late, England has made more of an ass of itself than any other country, the working men by their servile Christian nature, the bourgeois and aristocrats by the enthusiasm they have shown for slavery in its most direct form. But the two manifestations are complementary.

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4 Louis XVI
As to our ‘handsome William’, a the chap is in fact delectable. Bismarck’s government, by the by, is nothing more nor less than the Little German progressists’ pious wish come true. They used to rave about the ‘man of progress’, Louis Bonaparte. Now they see what having a ‘Bonapartist’ government in Prussia means. After all, Bismarck was in a sense appointed by Bonaparte (and Russia).

I shall look out the Presses for you.

Salut (also to the ladies).

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November 1862

Dear Engels,

I acknowledge, with many thanks and in great haste, receipt of the first half of the ten-pound note.

If only the Mexicans (les derniers des hommes!) were once more to beat the crapauds, but even in Paris these particular swine—the allegedly radical bourgeois—are now talking of l’honneur du drapeau.

Unless Spence prevails over the Northerners, nothing will do any good, not even McClellan’s bad generalship.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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a William 1 - b the dregs of humanity! - c the honour of the flag
MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 December 1862

Dear Freiligrath,

The £5 returned herewith ‘by hand’ with my best thanks. You will excuse its arriving 5 days late. The family in Trier was so taken aback by the sudden and unexpected death of my brother-in-law, R. Schmalhausen, that there was some delay over sending me the money.

I have been spending a few days in Liverpool and Manchester, those CENTRES OF COTTONOCRACY AND PRO-SLAVERY ENTHUSIASM. AMONG THE GREAT BULK OF THE MIDDLE-CLASSES AND THE ARISTOCRACY OF THOSE TOWNS YOU MAY OBSERVE THE GREATEST ECLIPSUS OF THE HUMAN MIND EVER CHRONICLED IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES.

I shall drop in at your OFFICE for a couple of minutes one of these days, since I also have some LITERARY BUSINESS to talk over with you.

One of these days, I shall reply to ‘les paroles d’un croyant’.

Kindest regards from my family to yours.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 December 1862

Dear Engels,

Since leaving you, I have had a MOST EVENTFUL TIME OF IT.

On Monday, there were the Manichaeans who, however, did not all come by appointment. I shared out £15 among them.

a words of a believer - b 22 December
gave the worst one a bill for £12 at 6 weeks' sight (actually 7, since I dated it from the end of this year), trusting to a chapter of accidents.

On Wednesday my wife left for Paris. She returned last night. Everything would have been all right if, just before she got there, Abarbanel had not been paralysed by a stroke, which left him helpless and confined to bed, although mentally unaffected. All in all, the series of mishaps that befell her was tragi-comical. First, a great storm at sea: her boat got through, another in her immediate vicinity (she travelled via Boulogne) went down. Abarbanel lives outside Paris. My wife went to see him by rail. Something happened to the engine which meant 2 hours delay in the journey. Later, an omnibus in which she was travelling overturned. And yesterday the wheels of the cab she had taken in London became entangled with those of another. She got out and arrived here *per pedes* accompanied by 2 boys carrying her luggage. One thing, by the by, was achieved in Paris, where she sowed Massol, etc. As soon as my work comes out, it will be published in French.

But now for the worst piece of ill-luck. Marianne (Lenchen's sister), whom Allen treated for a heart complaint a year ago, began to feel unwell on the day my wife left. By Tuesday evening, 2 hours before my wife's return, she was dead. During those seven days I, together with Lenchen, was responsible for the nursing. Allen had misgivings from the first day. The funeral is at 2 o'clock on Saturday, when I shall have to pay the undertaker £7 10/- in cash. So, this must be got hold of. A fine Christmas show for the poor children.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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a 17 December  
b on foot  
c See this volume, p. 439  
d Helene Demuth's step-sister Anna Maria Greuz  
e 27 December
Dear Moor,

Lupus gave me your letter\textsuperscript{a} yesterday and I send herewith O/I 85335, Manchester, 28 Jan. 1862 £5, Bank of England, M. 97. £5 note of the Boston\textsuperscript{b} Bank, payable at Masterman's in London. Unfortunately, old Hill hasn’t got £10 in Bank of England notes, but the other one is also cash.

The events that took place at your house and during your wife’s trip are surprising indeed and, what is more significant, quite exceptionally unlucky. But, in any case, it’s excellent news that you should have some prospect of publication in France. How is this to be managed? And have you heard from Brockhaus?\textsuperscript{a}

I fear the good Burnside will get a drubbing on the Rappahannock.\textsuperscript{b} He must have a particular proclivity for it, since he seems incapable of deciding to risk more than 40,000 men at one go. I’m surprised, by the way, that the Confederates should fight there, instead of falling back slowly on Richmond and fighting there; this may yet happen.

Many regards,

Your

F. E.
London, 28 December 1862
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

A while ago, Freiligrath showed me a letter he had received from you. I would have written sooner had not a series of accidents that befell my family rendered me incapable of writing for some time.

I was delighted to see from your letter how warm an interest is taken by you and your friends in my critique of political economy. The second part has now at last been finished, i.e. save for the fair copy and the final polishing before it goes to press. There will be about 30 sheets of print. It is a sequel to Part I, but will appear on its own under the title Capital, with A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy as merely the subtitle. In fact, all it comprises is what was to make the third chapter of the first part, namely ‘Capital in General’. Hence it includes neither the competition between capitals nor the credit system. What Englishmen call ‘the Principles of Political Economy’ is contained in this volume. It is the quintessence (together with the first part), and the development of the sequel (with the exception, perhaps, of the relationship between the various forms of state and the various economic structures of society) could easily be pursued by others on the basis thus provided.

The reasons for the long delay are as follows. In the first place, a great deal of my time in 1860 was taken up with the Vogt rumpus, since I had a lot of research to do on material which was in itself of little interest, besides engaging in lawsuits, etc. In 1861, I lost my chief source of income, the New-York Tribune, as a result of the American Civil War. My contributions to that paper have remained in abeyance up till the present. Thus, I have been, and still am, forced to undertake a large amount of hackwork to prevent myself and my family from actually being relegated to the

* K. Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.
streets. I had even decided to become a ‘practical man’ and had intended to enter a railway office at the beginning of next year. Luckily—or perhaps I should say unluckily?—I did not get the post because of my bad handwriting. So, you will see that I had little time left and few quiet moments for theoretical work. It seems probable that the same circumstances will delay my finishing the book for the printers for longer than I should have wished.

As regards publishers, on no account shall I give the second volume to Mr Duncker. He was sent the manuscript for Part I in December 1858, and it came out in July or August 1859. There is some, but not a very promising, prospect of Brockhaus publishing the thing. The *consipiration de silence* with which I am honoured by the German literary rabble as soon as the latter finds out that the thing can’t be dismissed with insults is, quite apart from the tendency of my works, unfavorable from the point of view of sales. As soon as I have a fair copy of the manuscript (upon which I shall make a start in January 1863), I shall bring it to Germany myself, it being easier to deal with publishers on a personal basis.

There is every prospect that, as soon as the German edition appears, arrangements will be made in Paris for a French version. I have absolutely no time to put it into French myself, particularly since I am going either to write the sequel in German, i.e. to conclude the presentation of capital, competition and credit, or condense the first two books for English consumption into one work. I do not think we can count on its having any effect in Germany until it has been given the seal of approval abroad. In the first part, the method of presentation was certainly far from popular. This was due partly to the abstract nature of the subject, the limited space at my disposal, and the aim of the work. The present part is easier to understand because it deals with more concrete conditions. Scientific attempts to revolutionise a science can never be really popular. But, once the scientific foundations are laid, popularisation is easy. Again, should times become more turbulent, one might be able to select the colours and nuances demanded by a popular presentation of these particular subjects. On the other hand, I had certainly expected that, if only for the sake of appearances, German specialists would not have ignored my work so completely. Besides, I had the far from gratifying experience of seeing party friends in Germany, who had long interested themselves in this branch of knowledge and sent me gushing encomia on Part I in private, not lift a finger towards getting a critique or even a list of the contents into such journals.
as were accessible to them. If these be party tactics, then I must confess that they are an impenetrable mystery to me.

I should be most grateful if you could write to me occasionally about the situation at home. We are obviously heading for revolution—something I have never once doubted since 1850. The first act will include a by no means gratifying rehash of the stupidities of '48-'49. However, that's how world history runs its course, and one has to take it as one finds it.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Your

K. Marx

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Dear Moor,


Burnside's defeat is being abominably exaggerated. Clearly it must affect the army's morale, but by no means so badly as if they had been beaten in the open field. The tactical arrangements appear to have been very poor. The flank attack by the left wing would obviously have had to be developed first before the frontal attack went in under Sumner. But this was completely mismanaged. Sumner was evidently in dire trouble before Franklin even had so much as a chance of becoming properly engaged. Again, Burnside seems to have been incapable of making up his mind about his reserves. The successes on the left wing should have

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* See this volume, p. 434.
persuaded him to send at least part of them there, since, after all, that was evidently where the affair would have to be decided; instead he employed them on his front, and too late even there, namely, 1. as *reliefs* rather than reinforcements for Sumner's beaten troops, and 2. so close to nightfall that it was dark before half of them were actually engaged. This is, of course, what I have gleaned from the indifferent material in the American papers and without any knowledge of the terrain. However, it seems to me that Burnside would probably have been able to dislodge the rabble merely by means of an outflanking movement, especially since he appears to have had 150,000 men against 100,000. But he was obviously inhibited by the belief that Washington could be protected only so long as the army lay squarely between it and the enemy. However, the stupidity of allowing the Confederates a month in which to consolidate their position and then engaging them in a frontal attack admits of no criticism other than a kick in the arse.

Mary and Lizzy* send their regards.

Your

F. E.

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*Mary and Lizzy Burns*
Dear Frederick,

Happy New Year!

I've had so much running about to do this week, not to mention sickness, that I never got round to acknowledging receipt of your letter containing the money.¹

No reply from Brockhaus so far.² I've heard, by the by, that the 'head of the house', as Bangya used to say, is absent from Leipzig.

Through Abarbanel, my wife made the acquaintance in Paris of a certain Reclus, who has some sort of a position in economic literature, and also knows German. The said R., together with Massol (an agent in commerce) who doesn't know German, and a number of others, is willing to apply himself to my work.³ They have a Brussels publisher at their disposal. In Paris, party spirit and solidarity still prevail within the parti socialiste. Even chaps like Carnot and Goudchaux are saying that, come the next upheaval, Blanqui ought to be made leader.

Burnside would seem to have perpetrated grave tactical blunders at the battle of Fredericksburg.⁴ He was clearly shy about employing so large a force. But as regards the basic folly, 1. his having waited 26 days, a contributing factor was undoubtedly outright betrayal by the military authorities in Washington. Even the New York correspondent of The Times admitted that it was weeks before Burnside received equipment that had been promised at an earlier date⁵: 2. the fact that he did, nevertheless,

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proceed to make this attack is symptomatic of the man's moral weakness. The worthy Tribune was beginning to question his ability and to threaten him with dismissal. Out of enthusiasm and ignorance, that paper is doing a great deal of harm.

The Democrats and McClellanists naturally howled in unison in order to make the setback seem worse than it was. The 'rumour' that McClellan, 'the Monk' of The Times, has been called to Washington, must be laid at Mr Reuter's door.

'Politically', the defeat was a good thing. It wouldn't have done for the chaps to have had a stroke of luck before 1 January 1863. Anything in that line might have led to a cancellation of the 'Proclamation'.

The Times and co. are hellish annoyed by the workers' meetings in Manchester, Sheffield, and London. It's excellent that the scales should thus be removed from the Yankees' eyes. Not that Opdyke (Mayor of New York and Political Economist) hadn't already declared at a meeting in New York:

*We know that the English working classes are with us, and that the governing classes of England are against us.*

I greatly regret that Germany should not be staging similar demonstrations. They cost nothing and are very remunerative 'internationally'. Germany would be all the more justified in doing so in that she is helping the Yankees more in this war than France did in the eighteenth century. It's the same old stupid German failure to emphasise or to vindicate in the eyes of the world what the country really accomplishes.

Have had a letter from Izzy, together with a pamphlet. Contents of letter: I am to send back the Roscher. Contents of pamphlet: Continuation of the lecture on the Prussian Constitution. Substance: Lassalle is the greatest politician of all time, and of his own in particular. It is Lassalle, and no mistake, who has discovered—and this on the basis of a theory untainted by any premises and pure without any qualifications—that the true constitution of a country is not the written one, but consists in the real 'relations of power', etc. Even the Neue Preussische Zeitung and Bismarck and Roon subscribe to 'his' theory, as he proves by means of quotations. Hence his public may rest assured that, just as he has discovered the correct theory, so he is in possession of the correct solution for the 'present time'. And that solution is:

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'Since the government continues its military expenditure, etc., despite the resolutions of the Chamber, etc., thus 
_belying_ the existence of a constitutional government, etc., the Chamber will prorogue until such time as the government 
declares that it will desist from that expenditure'.

Such is the power of 'stating the facts'. To save them work, he 
has provided the wording of the decree to be promulgated by the 
Chamber. 

Old Heiman\(^b\) has safely removed to Abraham's bosom. 

Regards and \textit{compliments of the season to the ladies}.\(^e\)

Your 

K. M.

I see that there's been a fall in cotton prices. In my opinion, 
however, this is only temporary.

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Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in \textit{MEGA}, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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\end{flushright}

\textbf{ENGELS TO MARX \(^{432}\)}

\textit{IN LONDON}

Manchester, 7 January 1863\(^d\)

Dear Moor,

Mary\(^c\) is dead. Last night she went to bed early and, when 
Lizzy\(^t\) wanted to go to bed shortly before midnight, she found she 
had already died. Quite suddenly: Heart failure or an apoplectic 
stroke. I wasn't told till this morning; on Monday evening\(^k\) she 
was still quite well. I simply can't convey what I feel. The poor girl 
loved me with all her heart.

Your 

F. F.

1913

\begin{flushright}
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\end{flushright}

\(^a\) F. Lassalle. \textit{Was nu?}, pp. 30-31. - \(^b\) Heimann Lassal. Ferdinand Lassalle's 
father. - \(^c\) Mary and Lizzy Burns. - \(^d\) Wrong date in the original: '1862'. - \(^e\) Mary 
Burns. - \(^f\) Lizzy Burns. - \(^g\) 5 January
Dear Engels,

The news of Mary'sa death surprised no less than it dismayed me. She was so good-natured, witty and closely attached to you. The devil alone knows why nothing but ill-luck should dog everyone in our circle just now. I no longer know which way to turn either. My attempts to raise money in France and Germany have come to nought, and it might, of course, have been foreseen that £15 couldn't help me to stem the avalanche for more than a couple of weeks. Aside from the fact that no one will let us have anything on credit—save for the butcher and baker, which will also cease at the end of this week—I am being dunned for the school fees, the rent, and by the whole gang of them. Those who got a few pounds on account cunningly pocketed them, only to fall upon me with redoubled vigour. On top of that, the children have no clothes or shoes in which to go out. In short, all hell is let loose, as I clearly foresaw when I came up to Manchester483 and despatched my wife to Paris5 as a last coup de désespoir.6 If I don't succeed in raising a largish sum through a loan society or life assurance (and of that I can see no prospect; in the case of the former society I tried everything I could think of, but in vain. They demand guarantors, and want me to produce receipts for rent and rates, which I can't do), then the household here has barely another two weeks to go.

It is dreadfully selfish of me to tell you about these horreurs at this time. But it's a homeopathic remedy. One calamity is a distraction from the other. And, au bout du compte,7 what else can I do? In the whole of London there's not a single person to whom I can so much as speak my mind, and in my own home I play the silent stoic to counterbalance the outbursts from the other side. It's becoming virtually impossible to work under such circumstances. Instead of Mary, ought it not to have been my mother, who is in any case a prey to physical ailments and has had her fair share of

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a Mary Burns. b See this volume, p. 433. c despairing throw. d in the final count.
Engels to Marx. 13 January 1863

Dear Marx,

You will find it quite in order that, this time, my own misfortune and the frosty view you took of it should have made it positively impossible for me to reply to you any sooner.

All my friends, including philistine acquaintances, have on this occasion, which in all conscience must needs afflict me deeply, given me proof of greater sympathy and friendship than I could have looked for. You thought it a fit moment to assert the superiority of your 'dispassionate turn of mind'. Soit!*

You know the state of my finances. You also know that I do all I can to drag you out of the mire. But I cannot raise the largish sum of which you speak, as you must also know. Three things can be done:

1. Loan Society. To what extent my guarantee would serve here remains to be seen—scarcely at all, no doubt, since I am not a householder.

* So be it then!
2. Life assurance. John Watts is manager of the European Life & Guarantee Society, of which the London office is certainly in the directory. I don't see what there is to prevent you insuring your life for £400, and he will certainly make you a loan of £200 on the policy, since that is his business. If not completely ruinous, this is definitely the best way. So, you had best go straight to him, inquire about the terms and then inform me of them straight away.

3. If the worst comes to the worst, I might be able to raise about £25 in February—certainly not before—and am also prepared to sign a bill for £60, though I have got to have every assurance that it won't have to be paid till after 30 June 1863, i.e. be assured of an extension until then. I must be given the necessary guarantees to that effect. In which case you would have to extract what was lacking from your uncle in Holland without fail.

I can see no other possibility.

So, let me know what steps you take and I will see to my side of it.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January 1863

Dear Frederick,

I thought it advisable to allow some time to elapse before replying. Your position, on the one hand, and mine, on the other, made it difficult to view the situation 'dispassionately'.

It was very wrong of me to write you that letter, and I regretted it as soon as it had gone off. However, what happened was in no sense due to heartlessness. As my wife and children will testify, I was as shattered when your letter arrived (first thing in

a Lion Philips - b See this volume, pp. 442-43. - c ibid., p. 441.)
the morning) as if my nearest and dearest had died. But, when I wrote to you in the evening, I did so under the pressure of circumstances that were desperate in the extreme. The landlord had put a broker in my house, the butcher had protested a bill, coal and provisions were in short supply, and little Jenny was confined to bed. Generally, under such circumstances, my only recourse is cynicism. What particularly enraged me was the fact that my wife believed I had failed to give you an adequate account of the real state of affairs.

Indeed, your letter was welcome to me in as much as it opened her eyes to the 'non possumus,' for she knows full well that I didn't wait for your advice before writing to my uncle; that I couldn't, in London, have recourse to Watts whose person and office are both in Manchester; that since Lassalle's latest dunning notice I have been unable to draw a bill in London and, lastly, that £25 in February would not enable us to live in January, still less avert the impending crisis. As it was impossible for you to help us, despite my having told you we were in the same plight as the Manchester workers, she could not but recognise the non possumus, and this is what I wanted, since an end has got to be put to the present state of affairs—the long ordeal by fire, ravaging heart and head alike, and, on top of that, the waste of precious time and the keeping up of false appearances, this last being as harmful to myself as it is to the children. Since then we have been through three weeks such as have at last induced my wife to fall in with a suggestion I had made long ago and which, for all the unpleasantness it involves, not only represents the only way out, but is also preferable to the life we have led for the past three years, the last one in particular, and which will, besides, restore our self-esteem.

I shall write and tell all our creditors (with the exception of the landlord) that, unless they leave me alone, I shall declare myself insolvent by the failing of a bill in the court of bankruptcy. This does not, of course, apply to the landlord, who has a right to the furniture, which he may keep. My two elder children will obtain employment as governesses through the Cunningham family. Lenchen is to enter service elsewhere, and I, along with my wife and little Tussy, shall go and live in the same City Model Lodging House in which Red Wolff once resided with his family.

Before coming to this decision, I naturally first wrote to sundry acquaintances in Germany, naturally without result. At all events,
this will be better than going on as we are, which is impracticable, in any case. It was as much as I could do, and involved all manner of humiliations, to obtain by dint of false promises the peaceable withdrawal of the landlord and butcher, together with the broker and a bill of exchange. I haven't been able to send the children to school for the new term, since the old bill hasn't been paid; nor, for that matter, were they in a presentable state.

But by adopting the above plan I shall, I think, at least attain tranquillity without intervention of any kind by third parties.

Finally, a matter unconnected with the above. I'm in considerable doubt about the section in my book that deals with machinery. I have never quite been able to see in what way self-actors changed spinning, or rather, since steam power was already in use before then, how it was that the spinner, despite steam power, had to intervene with his motive power.

I'd be grateful if you could explain this.

Apropos. Unbeknown to me, my wife wrote and asked Lupus for £1 for immediate necessities. He sent her two. It's distasteful to me, but factum est factum."

Your
K. M.

Abarbanel is dead. Sasonow, too, has died in Geneva.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1863

Dear Moor,

Thank you for being so candid. You yourself have now realised what sort of impression your last letter but one had made on me. One can't live with a woman for years on end without being fearfully affected by her death. I felt as though with her I was

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a fact is a fact - b See this volume, pp. 442-43 - c Mary Burns
burying the last vestige of my youth. When your letter arrived she had not yet been buried. That letter, I tell you, obsessed me for a whole week; I couldn’t get it out of my head. NEVERMIND. Your last letter made up for it and I’m glad that, in losing Mary, I didn’t also lose my oldest and best friend.

To turn to your affairs. Today I went straight to Watts, whom I had believed to be still in London; he does have an office in London, by the way, at No. 2 Pall Mall. It's no go with him. His company has stopped making loans. He gave me another address. The man is willing but, depending on the circumstances, requires two or even more sureties for the interest, premium and repayment. Unfortunately, we can't comply with that. Whom could we find? Gumpert, at most, but it's doubtful whether he would be acceptable. In addition, a third person would in any case be required, since neither of us has citizen status and, finally, the expenses are deductible from the loan in advance, so that little would be left.

It then occurred to me to sell part of the yarn bought on spec and, instead of repaying the amount to Ermen (to whom the money belongs), send it to you. This might possibly have worked, since the matter wouldn't have come up for discussion until July and much can change in the meantime. BUT NO CHANCE. Today the market is so flat that I would have had to sell at a loss rather than a profit and might not even have managed to make a sale at all this week.

I can't borrow any money. E. might, and probably would, refuse me, and I can't lay myself open to that. To borrow from a third party up here, a usurer, would mean giving E. the best of reasons for releasing himself from his contract with me. And yet, I can't stand by and see you carrying out the plan you told me about in your letter. I therefore had a go at old Hill's bills, helped myself to the enclosed for £100 on John Rapp & Co., due 28 February, and endorsed it in your favour. I don't imagine it will come to light before July, and then we'll have a further reprieve. It is an exceedingly daring move on my part, for I'm now certain to incur a deficit, but the risk must be taken. I assure you I should never have dared do it had not Charles, who had drawn up a sort of balance sheet covering all items over the last six months, told me this afternoon that in my case the thing works out at approx. £30 to £50 more than I might have expected. I have made about £330 to £350 during the six months.

See this volume, p. 445. b Roesgen
But equally you yourself must now realize that, as a result of the unusual exertions I have had to make since 30 June 1862, I have really been drained dry and you shouldn't therefore count on any remittances at all from me until 30 June, save perhaps for trifling amounts. What the prospects will be after 30 June God only knows, for we're earning nothing at the moment, since the market is no longer rising.

The bill itself is as good as cash. Freiligrath will be delighted to discount it for you; there's very little paper better than that in circulation. But be so kind as to acknowledge receipt; a great deal of mail is being stolen just now and, since you're not in commerce, anyone can pass himself off as Dr K. M.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January 1863

Dear Frederick,

A strange concatenation of events made it quite impossible for me to write to you yesterday to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing the bill.

I am well aware what a risk you were running in thus affording us such great and unexpected help. I can't tell you how grateful I am, although *I myself*, in my inner forum, did not require any fresh proof of your friendship to convince me of its self-sacrificing nature. If, by the by, you could have seen my children's joy, it would have been a fine reward for you.

I can tell you now, too, without beating about the bush that, despite the straits I've been in during the past few weeks, nothing oppressed me so much as the fear that our friendship might be severed. Over and over again, I told my wife that the mess we were in was as nothing to me compared with the fact that these
bourgeois pinpricks and her peculiar exasperation had, at such a moment, rendered me capable of assailing you with my private needs instead of trying to comfort you. Domestic peace was consequently much disrupted, and the poor woman had to suffer for something of which she was in fact innocent, for women are wont to ask for the impossible. She did not, of course, have any inkling of what I had written, but a little reflection should have told her that something of the kind must be the result. Women are funny creatures, even those endowed with much intelligence. In the morning my wife wept over Marie and your loss, thus becoming quite oblivious to her own misfortunes, which culminated that very day, and in the evening she felt that, except for us, no one in the world was capable of suffering unless they had children and the broker in the house.

In my last letter I asked you about the self-actor. The question, you see, is as follows: In what way, before its invention, did the so-called spinner intervene? I can explain the self-actor, but not the state of affairs that preceded it.

I am inserting certain things into the section on machinery. There are some curious questions which I originally failed to deal with. To elucidate these, I have re-read all my notebooks (excerpts) on technology and am also attending a practical (purely experimental) course for working men given by Prof. Willis (in Jermyn Street, the Institute of Geology, where Huxley also lectured). For me, mechanics presents much the same problem as languages. I understand the mathematical laws, but the simplest technical reality that calls for ocular knowledge is more difficult for me than the most complicated combinations.

You may or may not know, for of itself the thing's quite immaterial, that there is considerable controversy as to what distinguishes a machine from a tool. After its own crude fashion, English (mathematical) mechanics calls a tool a simple machine and a machine a complicated tool. English technologists, however, who take rather more account of economics, distinguish the two (and so, accordingly, do many, if not most, English economists) in as much as in one case the motive power emanates from man, in the other from a natural force. From this, the German jackasses, who are great on little matters like this, have concluded that a plough, for instance, is a machine, and the most complicated Jenny, etc., in so far as it is moved by hand, is not. However, if we take a look at the machine in its elementary form, there can be no doubt that the

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* Mary Burns - See this volume, p. 446.
industrial revolution originates, not from motive power, but from that part of machinery called the working machine by the English, i.e. not from, say, the use of water or steam in place of the foot to move the spinning wheel, but from the transformation of the actual spinning process itself, and the elimination of that part of human labour that was not mere exertion of power (as in treading a wheel), but was concerned with processing, working directly on the material to be processed. Nor, on the other hand, can there be any doubt that, once we turn our attention from the historical development of machinery to machinery on the basis of the present mode of production, the only decisive factor is the working machine (e.g. in the case of the sewing-machine). For, as everyone knows today, once this process is mechanised, the thing may be moved, according to size, either by hand, water or a steam-engine.

To those who are merely mathematicians, these questions are of no moment, but they assume great importance when it comes to establishing a connection between human social relations and the development of these material modes of production.

Re-reading my technological and historical excerpts has led me to the conclusion that, aside from the invention of gunpowder, the compass and printing—those necessary prerequisites of bourgeois progress—the two material bases upon which the preparatory work for mechanised industry in the sphere of manufacturing was done between the sixteenth and the mid-eighteenth century, i.e. the period during which manufacturing evolved from a handicraft to big industry proper, were the clock and the mill (initially the flour mill and, more specifically, the water mill), both inherited from Antiquity. (The water mill was brought to Rome from Asia Minor in Julius Caesar's time.) The clock was the first automatic device to be used for practical purposes, and from it the whole theory of the production of regular motion evolved. By its very nature, it is based on a combination of the artist-craftsman's work and direct theory. Cardan, for instance, wrote about clock-making (and provided practical instructions). German sixteenth-century writers describe clock-making as a 'scientific (non-guild) handicraft', and, from the development of the clock, it could be shown how very different is the handicraft-based relation between book-learning and practice from that, e.g., in big industry. Nor can there be any doubt that it was the clock which, in the eighteenth century, first suggested the application of automatic devices (in fact, actuated by springs) in production. It is historically demonstrable that Vaucanson's experiments in this field stimulated the imagination of English inventors to a remarkable extent.
In the case of the mill, on the other hand, the essential distinctions in the organism of a machine were present from the outset, i.e. as soon as the water mill made its appearance. Mechanical motive power. Primo, the motor for which it had been waiting. The transmission mechanism. Lastly, the working machine, which handles the material, each existing independently of the others. It was upon the mill that the theory of friction was based, and hence the study of the mathematical forms of gear-wheels, cogs, etc.; likewise, the first theory of measurement of the degree of motive power, the best way of applying it, etc. Since the middle of the seventeenth century almost all great mathematicians, in so far as they have concerned themselves with the theory and practice of mechanics, have taken the simple, water-driven flour mill as their point of departure. Indeed, this was why the words Mühle and mill, which came to be used during the manufacturing period, were applied to all driving mechanisms adapted for practical purposes.

But in the case of the mill, as in that of the press, the forge, the plough, etc., the actual work of hammering, crushing, milling, tilling, etc., is done from the outset without human labour, even though the moving force be human or animal. Hence this type of machinery is very old, at least in its origins, and, in its case, mechanical propulsion proper was applied at an earlier date. Hence it is virtually the only kind of machinery that occurs during the manufacturing period as well. The industrial revolution began as soon as mechanical means were employed in fields where, from time immemorial, the final result had called for human labour and not therefore—as in the case of the above-mentioned tools—where the actual material to be processed had never, within living memory, been directly connected with the human hand; where, by the nature of things and from the outset, man has not functioned purely as power. If, like the German jackasses, one insists that the application of animal powers (which is just as much voluntary motion as the application of human powers) constitutes machinery, then the application of this form of locomotor is far older than the simplest of manual tools in any case.

Izzy, as was inevitable, has sent me the speech he made in his defence (has been sentenced to four months) before the court.\textsuperscript{397} Made puer virtute.\textsuperscript{b} To begin with, that braggart has had the pamphlet you've got, the speech on 'the workers' estate', reprinted in Switzerland with the pompous title Workers' Programme.\textsuperscript{398}

\textsuperscript{a} First - \textsuperscript{b} 'God speed to thy valour, O youth!', Virgil, \textit{Aeneid}, IX, 641.
As you know, the thing's no more nor less than a badly done vulgarisation of the *Manifesto* and of other things we have advocated so often that they have already become commonplace to a certain extent. (For instance, the fellow calls the working class an 'estate'.)

Well. In his speech before the Berlin court, he had the effrontery to say:

'I further maintain that this pamphlet is not just a scientific work like so many others, a mere compendium of ready-made answers, but that it is, in very many respects, a scientific *achievement*, an *exposé* of new scientific ideas.... I have ushered into the world comprehensive works in varied and difficult fields of scholarship, sparing myself neither pains nor nocturnal vigils in my endeavour to enlarge the frontiers of scholarship as such, and I may, perhaps, say with Horace: *militavi non sine gloria*! But this *I* myself tell you: Never, not even in my most comprehensive works, have I penned a single line that was reasoned with more rigorous scholarship than was this production from its first page to its last.... Cast an eye, therefore, on the contents of this pamphlet. The contents are nothing less than a philosophy of history, compressed into 44 pages.... It is an *exposé* of the objective, reasoning thought process, which has underlain European history for more than a millennium now, a discovery of the innermost soul, etc."

Is not this the most egregious effrontery? The fellow evidently thinks himself destined to take over our stock-in-trade. And withal, how absurdly grotesque!

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Get Lupus to give you today's *Star*, and take a look at the letters it has reprinted from *The Morning Herald* on the subject of *The Times* and Delane.


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Dear Frederick,

I enclose divers Urquhartiana. Of late, the fellows have really distinguished themselves by their stupidity. Take, for example, their 'philosophy' with regard to the movement in the United States.\(^a\)

I'd have written before now, but for some twelve days I've been strictly forbidden all reading, writing, or smoking. I had some kind of inflammation of the eye, combined with a most obnoxious affection of the nerves of the head. Things have improved to such an extent that I am venturing to write again for the first time at this moment. In between whiles I indulged in all manner of psychological fantasies about what it would feel like to be blind or insane.

What do you think of the Polish business?\(^499\) This much is certain, the Era of Revolution has now fairly opened in Europe once more. And the general state of affairs is good. But the comfortable delusions and almost childish enthusiasm with which we welcomed the revolutionary era before February 1848, have gone by the board. Old comrades such as Weerth, etc., are no more, others have fallen by the wayside or gone to the bad and, if there is new stock, it is, at least, not yet in evidence. Moreover, we now know what role stupidity plays in revolutions, and how they are exploited by blackguards. Incidentally, the 'Prussian' enthusiasts for the 'Italian' and 'Hungarian' nationalities\(^500\) are already finding themselves in a fix. The 'Prussians' are not going to deny their Russian sympathies. This time, let us hope, the lava will flow from East to West and not in the opposite direction, so that we shall be spared the 'honour' of the French initiative. Apart from that, the adventure in Mexico is providing a truly classical epilogue to the farce of the Lower Empire.\(^501\)

The 'Herzenian' soldiers\(^502\) appear to be setting about things in the traditional manner. However, there's little to be deduced

\(^a\) This presumably refers to the first instalment of the anonymous article 'Origin and Objects of the Treason in the United States', *The Free Press*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 4 February 1863.
therefrom, either in respect of the masses in Russia, or even the bulk of the Russian Army. We know what was done by the ‘intelligent bayonets’ of the French, not to mention our own Rhineland ruffians in Berlin in 1848. But at present you should watch The Bell, for Herzen et cie. now have the chance to demonstrate their revolutionary integrity—in so far as it is compatible with Slav predirections.

The Urquhartites will probably say that the Polish insurrection was stirred up by the St. Petersburg cabinet as a diversion from Urquhart’s intended invasion of the Caucasus. In the United States things are going damned slowly. I hope that J. Hooker will extricate himself. Well, make sure you first let me know what you’re doing with yourself in Manchester now. It must be a damned lonely place for you. I know from my own experience how the region round Soho Square still sends a shiver down my spine if I happen to be anywhere near there.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 February [1863]

Dear Frederick,

I am really worried by your silence. I hope you aren’t ill. Conversely, I hope I haven’t again given offence malgré moi. If, in my letter, acknowledging the £100, I discussed machinery, etc., this was really done to divert you, and distract you from your misery.

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* despite myself - * See this volume, pp. 448-52.
The Polish business and Prussia's intervention do indeed represent a combination that impels us to speak. Not in person, partly so as to avoid any appearance of competing with the student Blind,* partly so as not to deny ourselves entry to Germany. But the Workers' Society here would serve well for the purpose. A manifesto should be issued in its name, and issued immediately. You must write the military bit—i.e. on Germany's military and political interest in the restoration of Poland. I shall write the diplomatic bit.

Well, old boy, let me have an answer and, if you've got anything on your mind, speak out like a man in the assurance that no one takes a warmer interest in your weal and woe than does

Your

Moor

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* An allusion to K. Blind's article 'Deutschland und Polen'.

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Manchester, 17 February 1863

Dear Moor,

You must excuse my long silence. I was in a very forlorn state, and it was high time I extricated myself from it. I tried Slavonic languages but the loneliness was unbearable. I had to force myself to seek distraction. That helped, and I am now my old self again.

The Poles are really splendid fellows. If they manage to hold out until 15 March, there'll be a general conflagration in Russia. At first, I was devilish afraid the business might go wrong. But now there would seem to be almost more chance of victory than of defeat. Nor should it be forgotten that the younger members of the Polish emigration have a military literature of their own in which all matters are discussed with special reference to Polish condi-
tions, or that, in that literature, the idea of guerrilla warfare in Poland plays a leading role and is discussed in great detail.\textsuperscript{509}

Oddly enough, the only two leaders to have been named so far are Frankowski, a Warsaw Jew, and Langiewicz, a Prussian lieutenant. The Russian messieurs, in view of their ineptitude, are bound to suffer appallingly as a result of guerrilla warfare.

Have you seen that Bakunin and Mierslawski are dubbing one another liars, and are at loggerheads over the Russo-Polish frontiers? I have ordered\textsuperscript{3} the Kolokol, from which I shall presumably find out more about it.\textsuperscript{510} Incidentally, I shall have to do some hard swotting before I can work my way through it again.

The Prussians are behaving infamously as always.\textsuperscript{507} Monsieur Bismarck knows that it will be a matter of life and death for him if there's revolution in Poland and Russia. Not that there's any hurry over Prussian intervention. So long as it's not necessary, the Russians won't permit it, and when it does become necessary, the Prussians will take care not to go.

If things go wrong in Poland, then we shall probably face a year or two of acute reaction, for in that case the Православный Царь\textsuperscript{b} would again become head of a Holy Alliance,\textsuperscript{511} which last would again cause Monsieur Bonaparte to be looked on as a great liberal and champion of nations by the stupid crapauds\textsuperscript{c}. Apropos, how funny it is to see the entire English bourgeoisie pitching into Boustrapa,\textsuperscript{167} now that Kinglake has made public a small, improperly digested and improperly heard fragment of the same tittle-tattle about him and his war, as we've been telling them for ten years without their believing us. Revelations about the court in Paris are again becoming quite the rage and, in the Guardian, Mr Tom Taylor\textsuperscript{e} is portentously dishing up all that stuff re la Solms, Bonaparte, Wyse, the Jecker affair, etc., that we've long known far more about. There's only one thing of interest, namely that Jecker had already supplied money for the Strasbourg or the Boulogne conspiracy—which, Taylor doesn't know. This, then, accounts for the connection.

Things don't look too good in YANKEELAND. Indeed, by a stroke of irony not uncommon in world history, the Democrats have, in the eyes of the philistines, now become the war-party while the
bankrupt poetaster Ch. Mackay is once more thoroughly discredited. I also hear from private sources in New York that the North is continuing to arm at a quite unprecedented rate. But, on the other hand, signs of moral prostration are daily more in evidence and the inability to win grows daily greater. Where is the party whose victory and avènement\(^b\) would be synonymous with prosecuting the war à outrance\(^b\) and with every available means? The people have been cheated, more's the pity, and it's lucky that peace is a physical impossibility or they'd have concluded it long since, if only so that they could again devote themselves to the ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

A Confederate major who took part in the fighting at Richmond\(^8\) as a member of Lee's staff, recently told me that, according to documents which Lee himself showed him, the REBELS had no fewer than 40,000 STRAGGLERS at the end of this battle! In particular, he spoke with great respect of the FEDERALS' western regiments, but is in other ways a jackass.\(^5\)

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 February 1863

Dear Moor,

As regards Poland I am entirely of your opinion.\(^d\) I've been toying with the idea of a pamphlet for the past fortnight. However, your suggestion is better, as it means that the diplomatic stuff goes in at the same time and it's an advantage to do the thing together.

How many sheets is the whole to amount to and how many of those do you think ought to be devoted to my bit? The form it

\(^a\) advent to power - \(^b\) to the utmost - \(^c\) end of letter missing - \(^d\) See this volume, p. 455.
takes will more or less depend on this. Who will print it? And when will your bit be ready for printing?

About machinery\(^a\) anon.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 February 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

I think our best course re the Polish business would be as follows:

The proclamation for the workingmen, i.e. in the name of the Society,\(^508\) should amount to one sheet of print at most, military and political TOGETHER. So, write that first. I shall then fit mine in. The Society will print this.

However, it would also be a good idea for us to deal with the subject in greater detail in a pamphlet,\(^512\) and there you must determine the number of sheets entirely in accordance with the material. The diplomatic bit, which I am READY to do at any time, would in fact only be an appendix. As to a publisher, I intend to write to Hanover IMMEDIATELY you advise me of the number of sheets.

Apropos, send me a power of attorney for Bucher re Duncker, apropos *Po and Rhine*.\(^b\)

Your
K. M.

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 449-51. \(^b\) F. Engels, *Po and Rhine.*
Dear Moor,

I shall send you the stuff for the manifesto—quite brief,—but it is pretty sure to contain a good deal that partly encroaches on your province—you will have to deal with this.

_Ad vocem_ pamphlet: I thought of dividing the thing up as follows: 1. Russia's military position _vis-à-vis_ the West and South before. 2. ditto after, the 3 partitions of Poland, 3. ditto after 1814, 4. the attitude of Russia and Germany after the restoration of Poland. (Something will have to be said here about Prussian Poland, linguistic boundaries, and the statistical proportions of the mixed population.) All in all, at most 3-4 sheets; title: _Germany and Poland. Political-Military Considerations on the Occasion of the Polish Uprising of 1863_.

It would then be up to you to go over your notes in the meantime and prepare them to the extent of being able, immediately on receipt of the ms., either to fit them in at the appropriate places or include them as an appendix and refer to them as necessary. If you have any further observations to make about this, write and tell me as soon as possible so that I can bear them in mind.

Your

F. E.
Dear Engels,

At the height of my own crisis I wrote to Dronke. About a month after that, I had a letter from him to say that he had been away. Yesterday, he turned up here unexpectedly and left today after a further meeting.

He told me (the initiative was his) that he wanted to help raise a substantial sum so that I could work in peace for a year. He then mentioned you. I told him (I didn't think it necessary to go into detail on this occasion) that you had done a great deal and would not have a penny to spare for many months to come." His rejoinder: 'It's not a question of months but of one to two years.' He is to discuss the matter with you personally.

To what extent all this should be taken seriously or is simply bragging, you will best be able to judge for yourself.

Apropos. My 'liver' is very swollen, add to which I have twinges of pain when I cough and feel some discomfort when pressure is applied. Will you inquire from Gumpert about a household remedy. If I go to Allen, the upshot will be a complete course of treatment and for that, quite apart from numerous other considerations, I have no time just now.

My chief anxiety about the Polish affair is that beastly Bonaparte will find a pretext for moving up to the Rhine and extricate himself from a nasty situation again.

Send me (since you have more material to hand on the subject) a few notes (detailed) on the conduct of Frederick William the Just in the year 1813 after Napoleon's failure in Russia. This time we must go for the dismal House of Hohenzollern.

I left Dronke in doubt as to whether the second volume was already being printed or not."

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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See this volume, pp. 447-48. Frederick William III
I have just noticed in the 2ND EDITION of The Times that the Prussian Second Chamber has finally done something worthwhile. We shall soon have revolution.


**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] 24 March 1863

Dear Frederick,

You must know that for the past few weeks eye trouble has almost entirely prevented me from reading or writing. Hence the need to make up for lost time by some hard slogging. Hence my silence.

Dronke has sent me £50.

The enclosed letter from Dr Kugelmann, which kindly return, will show you what muddle-headed fellows these German ‘party members’ are. My work on economics isn’t opportune and yet I am expected, for the sake of the cause, to carry on with the whole business after this volume has appeared, merely for the theoretical satisfaction of a few high-minded souls. What I am expected to live on while engaged in my ‘inopportune works’ is not, of course, a question these gentry worry their heads about for one moment.

The Langiewicz affair is disgusting. But I am hoping that it won’t put paid to the business yet, even temporarily. Meanwhile, I am deferring the work on Poland so as to be able to see events when they have reached a rather more advanced stage.

Politically, the view I have reached is this: that Vincke and Bismarck do, in fact, accurately represent the principle of the Prussian State; that the ‘State’ of Prussia (a very different creature from Germany) cannot exist either without Russia as she is, or with

---

* Hence
an independent Poland. The whole history of Prussia leads one to this conclusion which was drawn long since by Messrs Hohenzollern (Frederick II included). This princely consciousness is infinitely superior to the limited mentality of the subject that marks your Prussian liberal. Since, therefore, the existence of Poland is necessary to Germany and completely incompatible with the State of Prussia, the State of Prussia must be erased from the map. Or the Polish question simply provides further occasion for proving that it is impossible to prosecute German interests so long as the Hohenzollerns' own state continues to exist. Down with Russian hegemony over Germany means just the same as away with mischief, with the old sodomite's brood."

What strikes me as very significant about the latest turn of events in America is the fact that they are again proposing to hand out *letters of marque*. Quoad England, this will put an entirely different complexion on the matter and may, under favourable circumstances, lead to war with England, so that self-satisfied John Bull will find not only his *cotton* but also his *corn* withdrawn from under his nose. At the beginning of the Civil War Seward had, off his own bat, had the presumption to accept the resolutions of the 1856 Congress of Paris as provisionally valid for America, too. (This came to light with the publication of the despatches concerning the *Trent* affair.) In Washington, Congress and Lincoln, enraged at the outfitting of Southern pirates in Liverpool, etc., have now put an end to the lark. This has greatly alarmed the Stock Exchange here, though the faithful hounds of the press are obeying orders, of course, and not mentioning the affair in the papers.

You will doubtless have noted with satisfaction how Pam, the old scoundrel, is playing precisely the same game as in 1830/31 (I have compared his speeches) and likewise getting *The Times* to play it. This time the progress of the affair is so far good. Louis Bonaparte is about to find himself in the soup (when this happened to the luckless Louis Philippe in 1831 the whole of Europe suffered) and in a very ugly dilemma with his own army. Mexico and those genuflections before the Tsar in the *Moniteur* (into which Boustrapa was pushed by Pam) might well cost him his neck. So great was his alarm that he ordered the publication of the despatches demonstrating that his good will had been thwarted.

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* An allusion to the Prussian Hohenzollerns. See also Heinrich Heine's *Schloßlegende*. - b Concerning. - c This refers to a leading article in *The Times*, No. 24514, 24 March 1863.
by Pam alone. (Although his case was identical, the luckless Louis Philippe went so far as to allow the impudent Pam to claim in Parliament that "if it were not for the perfidy of the French and the intervention of Prussia, Poland would still exist"). He believes that he will thereby influence public opinion in England, as though the latter were not satisfied with Pam's sop to the effect that Bonaparte wanted to reach the Rhine! And as though Pam did not manufacture three-quarters of this public opinion himself! The wretched Plon-Plon hadn't the courage to say that Pam was working for Russia; rather, he maintains that wicked Russia is seeking to foment discord between France and England!

Here once again I recognize the very image of my homme du Bas Empire, the wretched fellow who never dares stage his coups d'état au delà des frontières without the permission of Europe's Supreme Authority. Had the wretched fellow the courage to tell the unvarnished truth about Pam (or simply threaten to do so), he could saunter up to the Rhine undisturbed. But now he has bound himself hand and foot, thus delivering himself completely into Pam's power, as did Louis Philippe before him. Much good may it do him.

The goings-on in Staleybridge and Ashton are very cheering. So the double chins and pot-bellies have at last ceased to 'respect' the prolétaires. Edmund Potter makes a great fool of himself today in The Times which, faced with the unpopularity it now enjoys in such large measure, pounces upon that ass in order to catch a ha'pennyworth of popularity."

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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*a man of the Lower Empire - b beyond the frontiers - c In the original: John Potter - d This refers to Edmund Potter's letter 'To the Editor of the Times', The Times, No. 24514, 24 March 1863. - e The Times, No. 24514, 24 March 1863, leader.*
Manchester, 8 April 1863

Dear Moor,

I have been meaning to write to you for the past six days and have been continually prevented from doing so. Especially by the worthy Eichhoff. The poor devil allowed himself to be so thoroughly cheated in Liverpool by Prussian lieutenants on the run and commercial swindlers that he has become responsible for about £100’s worth of debts OVER AND ABOVE the capital that was thrown down the drain, not by him, but by his partner. He’d come here, he said, to stay for some time and would accept any post that was offered him; he was making a great mystery of what he was doing here, etc. However, it soon became apparent that, instead of looking round for posts, he was engaging in all kinds of mysterious agency transactions and it’s now plain to me that he is conducting a BLOCKADE-RUNNING BUSINESS TO THE CONFEDERATE STATES on behalf of little Dronke, who is very deeply involved in this line. Hence all the secrecy, though the GREENNESS of our friend is such (it is really beyond all bounds) that the secret keeps leaking out all the time. Enfin, the chap has little to do just now, and I’m often saddled with him in the afternoons. Since he refuses to be straightforward with me, I can’t, of course, do anything much to help him, save in cases where he actually asks my advice.

I fear the Polish business is going wrong. Langiewicz’s defeat would already seem to have made its mark in the Kingdom. The Lithuanian movement is by far the most important because 1. it extends beyond the borders of Congress Poland and 2. because the peasants here play a greater part and the thing, if one looks towards Kurland, becomes unmistakably agrarian but unless this movement makes good progress and revives that in the Kingdom, I don’t imagine the prospects are very considerable. Langiewicz’s conduct seems to me as very dubious. Which party first broke the contract of alliance—which was absolutely essential to the success of the uprising—it will be difficult to establish. But it would be interesting to know how

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a Finally b the Kingdom of Poland
much truth there is in the rumours that link Mierosławski, on the one hand, and Kościelski, on the other, with Plon-Plon.\footnote{See this volume, p. 466.} If I'm not mistaken, Branicki has long since been a Plonplonist.

The worthy Kugelmann certainly seems to have the most wonderfully magnanimous plans for you. That men of genius must also eat, drink and be housed and even pay for these things, is much too prosaic a notion for these honest Germans, and to suspect them of so much as harbouring it would be virtually tantamount to an insult. I should like to find out who the know-all was who confided to him that I have disowned my book.\footnote{Ch. Lyell, The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation, 2nd ed., London, 1863. Th. H. Huxley, Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature, London-Edinburgh, 1863. J. B. Sumner, A Treatise on the Records of the Creation... Quoted on pp. 496-97 of Lyell's book.} You will doubtless enlighten the good man on this score. As to the new edition (which, according to the same premises, would certainly be anything but opportune), this is not a suitable moment in any case, now that the English proletariat's revolutionary energy has all but completely evaporated and the English proletarian has declared himself in full agreement with the dominancy of the bourgeoisie.

I have read the new things by Lyell and Huxley,\footnote{Th. H. Huxley, Evidence as to Man’s Place in Nature, London-Edinburgh, 1863.} both very interesting and pretty good. Lyell has some rhetoric but also some fine witty remarks, e.g. where, having vainly quoted all the naturalists in an attempt to establish the qualitative difference between men and apes, he finally quotes the Archbishop of Canterbury\footnote{J. B. Sumner, A Treatise on the Records of the Creation... Quoted on pp. 496-97 of Lyell’s book.} as asserting that man differs from beasts by virtue of religion. Apropos, just now the old faith here is being well and truly sniped at, and from all sides. It will soon be found necessary to concoct a platitudinous system of rationalism for the protection of religion. Owen got someone to reply to Huxley in \textit{The Edinburgh Review}: the answer conceded all the essential facts of the case and took issue only with the phraseology.\footnote{‘Professor Huxley on Man's Place in Nature', \textit{The Edinburgh Review}, No. 240, April 1863, pp. 544-69.}

Little Dronke evidently thought there was something tremendously heroic in his intention to raise £250 with his banker on my acceptance and actually pay the expenses and interest, amounting to less than £15, himself. My refusal, when confronted with such heroism, to undertake to provide the £250 within a year—you’re the best judge of why I couldn’t do so—struck him as \textit{mesquin}\footnote{See this volume, pp. 447-48.} in the extreme. I assure you that, but for you, I would have kicked
the little blackguard in the arse. I was so annoyed that I got tight and while still in a state of tightness wrote you a furious letter\textsuperscript{282} on the subject, which doubtless contained some pretty splendid stuff, for I have absolutely no recollection of what I wrote. I merely mention the matter now, so that you can view it in its proper context.

\textit{Vale.}

Your

F. E.

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Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS\textsuperscript{281}

IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 April 1863

Dear Frederick,

Little Tussy was delighted with the letter and its contents and cannot be dissuaded from replying in ‘person’.

I have known all about Mierosławski’s Plonplonism\textsuperscript{524} for years now through J. Ph. Becker and Schily. Anyway, I had deduced it even earlier from a book he published during the last Russo-Turkish war.\textsuperscript{3} One of the things the magnanimous fellow proposed therein was the partition of Germany into 2 countries. But I’ve never heard anything of the kind in connection with Kościelski. As for M.’s ludicrous vanity and boundless credulity the minute his vanity is tickled, Becker sent me a highly comical account of it from Italy in 1860.

\textit{Izzy} has already brought out 2 more pamphlets about his trial\textsuperscript{b};

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\textsuperscript{a} L. Mierosławski, \textit{De la nationalité polonaise dans l’équilibre européen}, Paris, 1856. \textsuperscript{b} F. Lassalle, \textit{Der Lassallesche Criminalprozess}, Zurich, 1863; \textit{Das Criminal-Urtheil wider mich mit kritischen Randnoten zum Zweck der Appellationsrechtfertigung} [Leipzig, 1863].
luckily he has not sent them to me. On the other hand, the day before yesterday I received his open reply to the central working men’s committee for the Leipzig working men’s (read louts’) congress. He gives himself all the airs of a future working men’s dictator—self-importantly dispensing the phrases he has borrowed from us. He solves the wages v. capital problem ‘with delightful ease’ (verbotenus a). The workers, that is, are to agitate for general suffrage, after which they are to send people like himself into the Chamber of Deputies, armed ‘with the naked sword of science’. Next they organise workers’ factories, for which the state advances the capital and, by and by, these institutions spread throughout the country. This, at any rate, is surprisingly new! Let me quote a sentence for you:

‘If, today, a German labour movement is already discussing the question as to whether the association should be conceived in the light of his’ (Schulze-Delitzsch’s) ‘ideas or of mine, the merit is largely his; and that is where his true merit lies—a merit which cannot be esteemed too highly.... The cordiality with which I acknowledge that merit should not prevent us, etc.’

Ça ira b!

At the very time when Palmerston was in Glasgow, another great man announced his coming, the student Karl Blind. Prior to his arrival, he sent an item to the Glasgow North British Mail under the heading ‘M. Karl Blind’, beneath which the paper had inserted the ominous word ‘COMMUNICATED’.

This remarkable communiqué—written by himself, like all the items about him circulating in the press, and inserted in the paper by that jackass McAdam—opens with the following unique introduction:

∗*At the present moment when a patriot exile is about to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of bringing under public notice the merits of the Polish question, it is fitting that a few remarks should be made upon his political career, and more especially so from the unfortunate fact that he is comparatively unknown in Scotland. German by birth and German by exile, Mr Karl Blind’s efforts have not come so prominently and so persistently before Europe as to have gained for him universal admiration from the liberating party, or universal execration from the oppressing party. He has hitherto stood in that middle way, where he has the honour of being both beloved and hated; but in these two contending ranks which have rendered to him their tribute after its kind the whole of Europe is not ranged. Mr Karl Blind having the satisfaction of knowing there is a third section of his friends who are simply indifferent. He therefore comes before the

a literally — b Here: It will go. Ça ira—is the refrain of a popular song of the French Revolution.
Scottish public with perhaps less prejudice against him than has been the case with most of the distinguished exiles who preceded him.**

There follows a short biographical note on the great unknown in which Scotland and 'the third section' of mankind are informed that the said 'Mr Karl Blind' is a native of Baden, and was originally, like Kossuth and Mazzini, trained to the law. That the 'Badish revolution' was the result of his propagandism, that the 'Governments of Baden and the Palatinate' had sent him to Paris in June 'in the capacity of diplomatic envoy', etc., and that he acts 'in that spirit of cooperation which so distinguishes the more celebrated exiles'.

Isn't that 'naice'?

My wife has now been confined to bed for a fortnight and has gone almost completely deaf, heaven knows why. Little Jenny has had another attack of diphtheria of some sort. If you could send me some wine for both of them (Allen wants little Jenny to have port), I'd be most grateful.

Here in London a parson (as distinct from the atheists who preach in John Street) has been giving deistic sermons for the public, in which he makes Voltairian fun of the Bible. (My wife and children went to hear him twice and thought highly of him as a humorist).

I attended a Trade Unions meeting chaired by Bright. He had very much the air of an Independent and, whenever he said 'in the United States no kings, no bishops', there was a bust of applause. The working men themselves spoke very well indeed, without a trace of bourgeois rhetoric or the faintest attempt to conceal their opposition to the capitalists (who, by the by, were also attacked by papa Bright).

How soon the English workers will throw off what seems to be a bourgeois contagion remains to be seen. So far as the main theses in your book are concerned, by the by, they have been corroborated down to the very last detail by developments subsequent to 1844. For I have again been comparing the book with the notes I made on the ensuing period. Only your small-minded German philistine who measures world history by the ell and by what he happens to think are 'interesting news items', could regard 20 years as more than a day where major developments of this kind are concerned, though these may be again succeeded by days into which 20 years are compressed.

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* 'M. Karl Blind', North British Daily Mail, 30 March 1863. - b In the original: 'scheen' (instead of 'schön'). - c See this volume, p. 465.
Re-reading your work has made me unhappily aware of the changes wrought by age. With what zest and passion, what boldness of vision and absence of all learned or scientific reservations, the subject is still attacked in these pages! And then, the very illusion that, tomorrow or the day after, the result will actually spring to life as history lends the whole thing a warmth, vitality, and humour with which the later 'grey on grey' contrasts damned unfavourably.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 April 1863

Dear Engels,

Lassalle sent me the enclosed piece of nonsense marked in red (the newspaper is that of E. Meyen) a week ago today; so, it arrived just one day after I had written you the letter in which I gave you a short excerpt from Izzy's latest pamphlet. He now clearly expects me to enter the lists on his behalf. Que faire?

Your
K. M.

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See this volume, p. 467. - What should I do?
Manchester, 21 April 1863

Dear Moor,

It is hard to say what is to be done about Lassalle; après tout, I’d have assumed it to be beneath the great Izzy’s dignity to reply to such petty Meyenian tittle-tattle with the heavy artillery of a formal démenti. Let the chap clear up his own messes; if he’s any good, he needs no testimonials from you, and why should you compromise yourself, now that you’ve told him that he can’t go hand in hand with us, or we hand in hand with him? Anyhow, what arrant stupidity to involve himself in the affairs of the Schulze-Delitzsch louts and try to form a party for himself out of that, of all things, on the basis of our earlier works. The very endeavour of S.-D. and other such rabble in these bourgeois times to raise the outlook of the louts to the bourgeois level must needs be welcome to us, for otherwise we’d have to deal with this business during the revolution, and in Germany, where the small state system so greatly complicates matters, we might be confronted with this piddling stuff as something new and practical. That is now disposed of and we now have our opponents where we want them; the lout has achieved self-consciousness and thus finds himself in the ranks of the petty-bourgeois democrats. But to regard these fellows as representatives of the proletariat—it took Izzy to do that.

Lupus and I were greatly amused by the funny tale about student Blind. Lupus has had another severe attack of gout, aggravated by the obstinate way he insists on going out and giving lessons when not yet fully recovered, and only sending for the doctor when it’s far too late and he’s used up all his medicine. But it’s no use remonstrating; ‘I’m going!’

Latterly I’ve been reading Russian history in reverse, i.e., first Catherine and the partition of Poland, then Peter I. I must say that one would have to be an oaf to work up any enthusiasm for the Poles of 1772. After all, in most parts of Europe at that time the aristocracy was caving in with decency if not esprit, even

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a after all  b See this volume, p. 469.  c ibid., p. 291.  d ibid., p. 467.  e wit
though its general maxim may have been that materialism consists in what one eats, drinks, fucks, wins at gaming or is paid in return for one's knavery; but no aristocracy save the Polish adopted so stupid a method as selling itself to the Russians. In other respects, the general venality of the gentils-hommes all over Europe presents a very jolly spectacle. Another thing that greatly interested me was the matter of Monsieur Patkul. This fellow was in fact the founding father of Russian diplomacy generally, and already possessed all its wiles in nuce. If you haven't been able to procure his reports to the Russian government, published in Berlin in 1795, we'll try and get ourselves a copy by advertising in the Buchhändlerbörsenblatt. How small, by the way, were the contributions made by his successors! Always the same turns of speech, always the same approach, whatever the country. A necessary ingredient, come to that, is the objectivity of your Livonians, whose interests, far from being national, are at most local and private. A Russian would never be capable of such things.

Another very pretty affair is the coup d'état Catherine II brought off against Peter III. It was here Boustrapa learnt his most important lessons; the Russian commonness served him as a model down to the very last detail. It's ridiculous the way all such dirty dealings are invariably repeated in every particular.

I have no port at present nor is anything good in that line to be had on the spur of the moment. However, I'll look out for some, and meanwhile go down into the cellar to fetch up some hock and some claret (the former for the healthy, the latter for the invalids). For which reason I shall now close this letter, enclosing a few stamps for little Tussy.

Your
F. E.

There are duplicates of some of the stamps. Over here these may be used for swaps. I can supply large quantities of Italian, Swiss, Norwegian and certain German ones.

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[^a]: gentlemen · ^b]: in embryo · ^c]: J. R. von Patkul, Berichte an das Zsaarische Cabinet in Moscou, von seinem Gesandtschafts-Posten bey August II. Könige von Polen. Theile I-II. Berlin 1792-1797.
MARX TO JOSEF VALENTIN WEBER
IN LONDON

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Dear Weber,

Will you stand surety for me with a Loan Society (for £15 to £30)?

I would not have troubled you with this request if

1. the matter were not an entirely formal one, entailing no risk to yourself, for I shall be getting £200 from home at the beginning of July;

2. Pfänder, who would otherwise have been my second surety, had not unexpectedly had to go to Manchester for several weeks.

In addition to other cases of illness in my family, I myself have been suffering from my periodic liver complaint for many weeks now and have thus been literally incapable of writing a single line. Hence the delay over the work for the Society\(^a\) which was more disagreeable for me, of course, than for the Society itself.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 May 1863

*Moro viejo, Mero viejo,*
*El de la vellida barba.\(^b\)*

What's the matter with you, no longer sending word of your fortunes and *rebus gestis*? Are you ill or stuck fast in the depths of

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 455.\(^c\) \(^b\) Old Moor, Old Moor, / He of the hoary beard. \(^c\) activities
political economy? Or have you appointed little Tussy your correspondence secretary? Or how?

What do you think of the worthies in Berlin who have come to the conclusion that it is questionable whether their president is permitted to call a minister to order, should the minister say that, for all he cared, the whole Chamber could be triple damned, etc. Never has a parliament clung more patiently and more inopportune to the thesis that the bourgeois opposition, in its struggle with absolutism and the Junker camarilla, is under an obligation to let itself be kicked. It's our old friends of 1848 all over again. However, on this occasion times are somewhat different.

Lassalle's goings-on and the rumpus they have created in Germany are really becoming obnoxious. It's high time you finished your book; if only to provide us with propagandists of a different kind. In other respects, it's quite a good thing that an audience for anti-bourgeois stuff should be recaptured in this way, though it's disastrous that friend Izzy should thereby carve out a position for himself. However, that's something we have never been able to prevent, any more than the heroic swordsman's postures assumed in public by Karl Blind vis-à-vis the Grand Duke of Baden.

By the way, if you want to see how much time it takes before new scientific discoveries, even in wholly unpolitical fields, make any headway, you should read Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*. Schmerling in Liége had discovered the fossilised human skull from Engis and shown it to Lyell as far back as 1834, when he also brought out his thick book. Nevertheless, it was only quite recently that anyone thought the thing worthy of serious investigation. Similarly, Perthes in Abbeville had correctly identified the flint instruments in the Somme basin and their geological age as early as 1842, but it was not until the end of the fifties that the thing was noticed. Such are those scoundrels, the patriarchs of science.

Lupus has again suffered severe attacks of gout but is better now.

I am also working hard at Serbian and the ballads collected by Vuck Stef. Karadžić. It comes more easily to me than any other Slavonic language.

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* Frederick I - In the original: '1843'.
Enclosed a few more stamps. A great deal of thieving in this article is going on at the office just now.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] British Museum, 29 May 1863

DEAR FREDERICK,

My long silence will AT ONCE be explicable to you if you picture to yourself a badly swollen liver with all its 'appurtenances'. For about 12 weeks now I have been enduring more of this nonsense than ever before. Nor can you have any conception of how it affects a person's morale, namely the feeling of heaviness in the head and paralysis in the limbs. More specifically, one can't bring oneself to do anything, not even, inter alia, to write letters. For the past two weeks the thing has again been endurable. This business has made writing of any kind so impossible that, despite various repeated attempts, I have not managed the stuff on Poland,\(^{533}\) which I'm very glad of now, since it would have simply deprived me of the chance of going to Prussia without being of any immediate benefit.

Meanwhile I wasn't, of course, idle, though unable to work. What I did, on the one hand, was fill in the gaps in my knowledge (diplomatic, historical) of the Russian-Prussian-Polish affair\(^{534}\) and, on the other, read and make excerpts from all kinds of earlier literature relating to the part of the political economy I had elaborated.\(^{535}\) This at the British Museum. Now that I am more or less able to work again, I shall cast the weight off my shoulders and make a fair copy of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish). If it were possible for me to retreat into isolation at the moment, the thing would progress very quickly. AT ALL EVENTS, I shall take it to Germany in person.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) See this volume, pp. 435-36.
Little Jenny is not quite her proper self. She has had a nasty cough for the past fortnight.

As to Izzy, he had—or so I’ve been told in confidence by Freiligrath (he showed me Izzy’s letter)—asked F. to write a poem for him on the ‘new’ movement, i.e. sing Izzy’s praises. However, he was mistaken in F. In his letter he says inter alia: ‘Each day hundreds of newspapers carry my name to the furthest corners of Germany.’ ‘My proletarians! etc.’ Well, since F. won’t sing his praises, he has found another poet. Herewith a sample:

*Thou German proletariat, come heed
The clarion call, nor any longer stay!
Here stands a man prepared to pave the way
To thy prosperity. Be thine the deed!
He hath no truck with lofty parliaments,
Nor doth he flaunt his gift of eloquence,
Speaks for us all with homely wit and colour,
Man of the People, Ferdinand Lassalle!

*Tis not for others, not to fill their purse
That you shall sweat and toil your lives away,
While they wax sleek and richer every day
And you more ragged as your lot grows worse.
The fruits of labour shall be yours alone.
*Tis you shall reap the harvest you have sown.
So hearken all unto the man of valour,
To the virile voice of Ferdinand Lassalle."

*Morte puer!* If that isn’t sauce for the gander!

My warm regards to Lupus. Now don’t indulge in tit for tat but let me hear from you soon.

Salut.

Your

K. M.


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*a God speed, O youth! (Virgil, Aeneid, IX, 641) .

19—558
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 June 1863

Dear Engels,

A bill [of exchange] (the butcher’s) on myself for £6 falls due next Monday (15 June). If you can let me have the money by then, it could be returned to you later, as soon as the transaction with Dronke has been completed.²

Salut.

Your
K. M.

What do you make of La France, et? And Poland? And our ‘valiant compatriots’ in Berlin?

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 June 1863

Dear Moor,


"—" "5 ""—" ""—" S/R 92394, 14 Oct. 1862, London, with which the butcher will, I hope, be placated. Since I cannot post the letter myself, it would be best if you would acknowledge its receipt.

² See this volume, p. 465.
I was very worried by your long silence but have meanwhile heard that you were unwell and hope that that is now over. How is little Jenny's cough?

Latterly, things would not seem to have been going so well in Poland. The movement in Lithuania and Little Russia is evidently weak, nor do the insurgents in Poland seem to be making any headway. The leaders are all either killed in action or captured and shot, which would seem to show that they have to expose themselves a great deal in order to egg on their men. Qualitatively the insurgents are no longer what they were in March and April, the best chaps having been expended. However, these Poles are always unknown quantities, and affairs might take a turn for the better, although the odds against it are worsening. If they hold out, they might yet become part of a general European movement which would be the saving of them; on the other hand, should things go wrong, it will be all up with Poland for the next 10 years, for an insurrection like this exhausts a people's fighting potential for many years to come.

I should say that the chances of there being a European movement were good because the ordinary citizen has once more rid himself of all fear of the communists and might even, if need be, go into action with them. The French elections prove this no less plainly than do the goings-on in Prussia since the last elections. However, I scarcely think that a movement of this kind would originate in France. The election results in Paris were altogether too bourgeois; wherever the workers put up candidates of their own, they lost, nor for that matter did they have the power to force the bourgeoisie to put up radicals. Besides, Bonaparte knows how to keep large cities in check.

In Prussia they would still be chattering away if the good Bismarck hadn't put a stop to it. Whatever turn things may take there, peaceful constitutional progress is now at an end and your philistine must get ready for the fray. And that's enough to be going on with. Little though I esteem the valour of our old friends the democrats, it is, nevertheless, here more than anywhere else, I should say, that combustible material is accumulating and, since it is scarcely possible that the Hohenzollerns will fail to perpetrate the worst blunders in foreign policy, it might well happen that, with half the troops deployed at the Polish frontier and the other half on the Rhine, Berlin would be left free and a coup would result. It would be a poor enough outlook for Germany and Europe were Berlin to find itself in the van of the movement.

What surprises me most is that a peasants' movement should not
have arisen in Greater Russia. In this instance, the Polish uprising would seem to have had a positively unfavourable effect.

In America things are in a pretty pickle. Fighting Joe's rodomontade has made him look a frightful ass. Rosecrans slumbers and Grant alone is performing well. His move on Vicksburg from the south-west to the north-east, his isolation of the relief army, his repulse of the same, then the rapid advance on Vicksburg and even the energetic if fruitless assaults, are all first-class. I do not believe it will be possible to muster enough relief troops on time. On the other hand, we have so often seen American generals suddenly perform well for a couple of weeks and then revert to the most dreadful bungling, that it's quite impossible to tell what their future moves will be.

I was already familiar with Lassalle's poem (genitivus objectivus) from a pamphlet Siebel sent me and which you presumably have as well. Very jolly. The chap's now operating purely in the service of Bismarck and, one of these days, when Monsieur B. tires of him, he might well find himself under lock and key, making the acquaintance of Prussian common law, which he always seems to confuse with the Code. It's nice, by the way, that, after the stand he took in Vogtibus, he should now find himself under the aegis, not only of the Augsburger, but also of the Kreuz-Zeitung.

I am now reading Kinglake and am becoming more convinced than ever that somewhere in every Englishman's brain a board is nailed up beyond which nothing penetrates.

Your

F. E.

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\[a\] Nickname for General Hooker - \[b\] a genitive indicating an object, i.e., in this case, showing that the poem was about Lassalle (see this volume, p. 475) - \[c\] Allgemeine Zeitung - \[d\] Engels means the first two volumes of A. W. Kinglake's The Invasion of the Crimea; its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan.
Dear Engels,

I hereby acknowledge the £10 with many thanks. Being uncertain whether you would be able to send the money for Monday, and in view of the great fear of bills of exchange which obtains in this house, I had simultaneously written to Dronke.42

For the past four weeks little Jenny has again had a slight cough. Today I sent her to see Dr Allen.

I myself am not quite fit either, but am rid of my worst complaint.43 In the meantime, which would certainly delight Vogt, I have been wolfing sulphur!44

Izzy has sent me (and you, too, perhaps) the speech he made in court about indirect taxation.45 One or two individual bits are good, but for one thing it is, on the whole, written in an unbearably officious, chatty style, with absurd pretensions to scholarship and consequentialness. In addition, it is essentiellement the confection of a ‘pupil’ who cannot wait to make a name for himself as a ‘thoroughly learned’ man and original scholar. Hence the abundance of historical and theoretical blunders. One example may suffice (should you not have read the thing yourself). To impress the court and the public, he tries to give a kind of retrospective history of the argument against indirect taxation and therefore, going back at random beyond Boisguillebert and Vauban, cites Bodin,46 etc. And here he shows himself to be the schoolboy par excellence. He omits the physiocrats, clearly ignorant of the fact that everything A. Smith, etc., wrote on the subject was cribbed from them and that in general they were the protagonists where this ‘question’ was concerned. Likewise, ‘indirect taxation’ is, in true schoolboy fashion, seen as ‘bourgeois taxation’, and so indeed it was ‘in the Middle Ages’, but not today (not, at least, where the

bourgeoisie is developed), to discover which he need seek no further than Mr R. Gladstone et co. in Liverpool. The jackass doesn’t appear to know that the argument against ‘indirect’ taxation is one of the platforms of the English and American friends of ‘Schulze-Delitzsch’ et cie, and hence isn’t at any rate directed against them—the freetraders, I mean. Again, in true schoolboy fashion he applies a proposition of Ricardo’s to the Prussian real estate tax. (Quite wrong, this.) Quite touching, how he imparts to the court ‘his’ discoveries, the fruit of the most profound ‘learning and truth’ and of terrible ‘night vigils’, namely that,

in the Middle Ages ‘landed property’ prevailed,
in later times ‘capital’, and at present
the ‘principle of the workers’ estate’, ‘labour’, or the ‘moral principle of labour’; and, on the same day as he was imparting this discovery to the louts, Senior Councillor to the Government Engel (knowing nothing about him) was imparting it to a more distinguished audience at the Academy of Singing. He and Engel exchanged ‘epistolary’ congratulations upon their ‘simultaneous’ scientific findings.

The ‘workers’ estate’ and the ‘moral principle’ are indeed achievements on the part of Izzy and the Senior Councillor to the Government.

I have not been able to bring myself to write to the fellow since the beginning of this year.

If I commented on his stuff, I’d be wasting my time; besides, he appropriates every word as a ‘discovery’. To rub his nose in his plagiarism would be absurd since, in view of the state they are in after he has finished with them, I have no desire to relieve him of our ideas. Nor would it do to accord recognition to such rodomontade and indiscretions. The fellow would instantly exploit it.

So, there’s nothing to be done but wait until he ultimately boils over. Then I shall have a very nice excuse, namely that (like Senior Councillor to the Government Engel) he is for ever insisting it’s not ‘communism’. So, in my reply, I shall say that, had I wished to take any notice of him, these repeated asseverations of his would have compelled me

1. to show the public how and where he had cribbed from us;
2. how and wherein we differ from his stuff.

a E. Engel, Die Volkszählungen, ihre Stellung zur Wissenschaft und ihre Aufgabe in der Geschichte.
Hence, so as not to compromise ‘communism’ in any way or injure him, I had ignored him completely.

Come to that, the chap is making all this hullabaloo out of sheer vanity. Throughout 1859 he was heart and soul for the Prussian liberal bourgeois party. Now he may find it more convenient to attack the ‘bourgeois’ under the auspices of the government than to attack the ‘Russians’. To rail against the Austrians and adulate the Italians has always been as typical of your Berliner as to keep one’s trap shut about the Russians, which is what the valiant lad does.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 June 1863

Dear Engels,

The 'little man'\textsuperscript{a} writes to me today from Liverpool saying that the business of the money\textsuperscript{b} has got to be settled, i.e. decided, now, since he must attend to it \textit{in person} and may have to leave on business any day. Believe me, I find it highly disagreeable that you should assume any obligation whatever towards the little man on my behalf. \textit{Mais que faire?}\textsuperscript{c}

I have been going to the British Museum and shall continue to do so until the end of this month since, if only for the sake of my liver, I must do all I can to elude the nagging at home that is the inevitable consequence of pressure from without. As soon as peace is restored, I shall devote myself to the fair copy of the beastly book, which I intend to hawk round Germany myself.\textsuperscript{d} Once that is

\textsuperscript{a} Ernst Dronke - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 465-66, 476. - \textsuperscript{c} But what can one do? - \textsuperscript{d} See this volume, pp. 435-36, 474.
done, then will be the time to get a French translation under way in Paris and cast round in London with a view to an English rendering. For, on this occasion, if only because of Izzy, it's imperative that we don’t hide too much of our light under a bushel.

_Salut._

Your

K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1863

Dear Moor,

I have absolutely no idea what the little _BUSYBODY_ wants. Why doesn’t he write and tell me that he wants the matter settled _now_? He wrote and told _me_ that, if _I_ didn’t _reply_, he would draw on me as arranged. So far as I’m concerned, if a matter is settled, it’s settled and I therefore thought it totally unnecessary to send him another written assurance a fortnight before the date stating that I would do what I had already undertaken to do, both verbally and in writing. Basing myself on your letter, which casts quite a different light on his motives, I have now written to him as requested. My acceptance will be for £250. Make sure he sends you the _whole amount_, since he has undertaken to pay the expenses and interest himself.

Have finished Kinglake. Never before has there been anything as superficial (though some of the material is very good, if scrappy), stupid and ignorant as his _Battle of the Alma_. Only _la part des français_ is well and accurately depicted—in general, at least. Otherwise, much that is highly amusing to the military reader.

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_a_ Ernst Dronke - _b_ A. W. Kinglake, _The Invasion of the Crimea_. - _c_ the part played by the French - _d_ Engels discussed the book in _‘Kinglake on the Battle of the Alma’_ (see present edition, Vol. 19).
Things are going rottenly in Poland. The Polish government's grand effect, the mass uprising in June, has obviously come to grief owing to a shortage of weapons and, failing any external imbroglos, a gradual decline is now inevitable.

Your policy in regard to Izzy is quite right. Besides, what's the use of all this camaraderie towards a chap who either finds himself compelled by circumstances to go along with us at a crucial moment, or else openly becomes our enemy. To allow the fool to steal one's ideas for years on end and be rewarded for it by having to answer for all his stupidities—that's a bit too much.

Someone has sent for me.

F. E.


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Published in English for the first time

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**MARX TO ENGELS**

**IN MANCHESTER**

London, 6 July 1863

Dear Engels,

*D'abord,* my best thanks for the £250. About four months ago Drönke sent me £50, and today £200.

Unfortunately, little Jenny still isn't quite as she should be. The cough hasn't completely gone yet, and the child has grown too 'light'. I shall send her to a resort with the others as soon as the school term is over. Although I have great confidence in Allen, I should be glad if Gumpert, who I presume will be going on holiday on the Continent, would pay us a flying visit here, see for himself how things are, and let me have his opinion. To be frank, I am much alarmed about the child. To lose flesh at this age seems to me most dubious.

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See this volume, pp. 479-80. « First
Palmerston plays his old tricks in the Polish affair. The Notes presented to the Russians had originally been sent from St. Petersburg to London. Pam bought Hennessy from Urquhart by giving the said Irish blackguard a remunerative post (sinecure) with a Franco-English railway in France. Indeed, the venality of the politicians here eclipses anything that goes on in that line on the Continent. No one at home or in France can have any conception of this absolute shamelessness. As for 'Count Zamoyski', I had repeatedly told the Urquhartites that the fellow betrayed the Poles in 1830/31 by leading an intact corps across the Austrian border instead of against the Russians. In the end, this fellow has aroused their suspicions because of his perpetual personal underhand dealings with Pam.

The Southerners' expedition against the North was, in my opinion, forced on Lee by the clamour of the Richmond papers and their supporters. I regard it as a coup de désespoir. This war, by the by, is going to be a lengthy business, which is, so far as European interests are concerned, altogether desirable.

Izzy has sent me yet another pamphlet, his speech at Frankfurt am Main. Since I now spend 10 hours a day working ex officio at economics, I can hardly be expected to waste my leisure hours on reading these schoolboy essays. So, for the present the thing's been filed away. My spare time is now devoted to differential and integral calculus. Apropos, I have a superfluity of works on the subject and will send you one, should you wish to tackle it. I should consider it go be almost essential to your military studies. Moreover, it is a much easier branch of mathematics (so far as mere technicalities are concerned) than, say, the more advanced aspects of algebra. Save for a knowledge of the more ordinary kind of algebra and trigonometry, no preliminary study is required except a general familiarity with conic sections.

Will you write me a reasonably well-founded assessment of the enclosed pamphlet by the 'Duc du Roussillon'—you may still have some recollection of him under the name of 'Pi'—since he writes to me daily asking me for my 'opinion'?

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a See this volume, pp. 462-63. b This presumably refers to the Notes on the Polish question Britain, France and Austria sent to the Russian government on 17 and 18 June 1863. c 'The Intervention in Poland', The Free Press, V. XI. No. 7. 1 July 1863. d act of despair. e Arbeiterlesbuch. Rede Lassalle's zu Frankfurt am Main am 17. und 19. Mai 1863. f This seems to refer to the pamphlet [Pi de Cosprons,] Mémoire sur l'origine scythocimmérienne de la langue romane, par M. le duc du Roussillon.
If at all possible in this heat, will you take a reasonably close look at the enclosed 'Tableau Économique' which I am substituting for Quesnay's table and let me know your objections, if any. It embraces the whole process of reproduction.

As you know, A. Smith sees the 'natural' or 'necessary price' as being composed of wages, profit (interest) and rent—i.e. as wholly resolved into revenue. This nonsense has been taken over by Ricardo, although he excludes rent from the catalogue as being purely fortuitous. Nearly all economists have taken this over from Smith, and those who contest it succumb to some other folly.

Smith himself is conscious of the nonsensicality of subsuming the gross product of a society simply under revenue (which may be consumed annually), whereas in the case of each individual branch of production he resolves price into capital (raw materials, machinery, etc.) and revenue (wages, profit, rent). If this were so, a society would have to start each year de novo, without capital.

Now as regards my table, which figures in one of the last chapters of my work by way of recapitulation, the following is essential to a proper understanding of it:

1. The figures, which are arbitrary, represent millions.
2. Here means of subsistence are taken to mean everything that goes into the consumption fund each year (or might without accumulation, which is excluded from the table, go into the consumption fund).

In Class I (means of subsistence) the gross product (700) consists of means of subsistence which are, by their very nature, not therefore included in constant capital (raw materials and machinery, buildings, etc.). Similarly, in Class II, the entire product consists of commodities that constitute constant capital, i.e. re-enter the process of reproduction in the form of raw materials and machinery.

3. Ascending lines are dotted, descending ones continuous.
4. Constant capital is that part of capital that consists of raw materials and machinery. Variable capital that which is exchanged for labour.
5. For example, in agriculture, etc., one part of the same product (e.g. wheat) goes to form means of subsistence, whereas another part (wheat, for instance) re-enters reproduction in its natural form (e.g. as seed) as a raw material. But this does nothing to alter the case, since such branches of production figure under Class II or Class I according to which capacity is involved.

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a afresh
6. The hub of the matter, then, is as follows:

Category I. Means of subsistence. Working materials and machinery=e.g. £400 (i.e. that part of these that is included in the annual product as dechet²; that part of the machinery, etc., which is not used up does not figure at all in the table). The variable capital exchanged for labour=100, reproduces itself as 300, since 100 replaces wages in the shape of the product, and 200 represents surplus value (unpaid surplus labour). The product=700, of which 400 represents the value of the constant capital which, however, has passed entirely into the product and must hence be replaced.

In the case of this relationship between variable capital and surplus value it is assumed that the worker works 1/3 of the working day for himself and 2/3 for his natural superiors.

Hence 100 (variable capital), as is indicated by the dotted line, is paid out in money as wages; with this 100 (indicated by the descending line) the worker buys the product of this class, i.e. means of subsistence for 100. Thus, the money flows back to capitalist class I.

The surplus value of 200 in its general form=profit, which, however, is split up into industrial profit (commercial included), and further into interest, which the industrial capitalist pays in money, and rent, which he likewise pays in money. This money paid out for industrial profit, interest and rent, flows back (indicated by descending lines) since the product of class I is bought in return for it. Hence all the money laid out by the industrial capitalist within class I flows back to him, while 300 of the product, 700, is consumed by the workers, entrepreneurs, monied men and landlords. In class I this leaves a surplus of products (of means of subsistence) of 400, and a deficit of constant capital of 400.

Category II. Machinery and raw materials.

Since the gross product of this category, not only that part of the product which replaces constant capital, but also that which represents the equivalent of wages and surplus value, consists of raw materials and machinery, the revenue of this category cannot be realised in its own product but only in the product of category I. Disregarding accumulation, as is done here, category I can, however, buy only as much from category II as it needs for the replacement of its constant capital, while category II can lay out on the product of category I only that part of its product which represents wages and surplus value (revenue). Hence the workers

² depreciation
in category II lay out their money, $=133\frac{1}{3}$, on the product of category II. The same thing happens with the surplus value in category II, which, as sub I, is split up into industrial profit, interest, and rent. Hence 400 in money flows from category II to the industrial capitalists in category I, who, in return, transfer the remainder of their product, $=400$, to the former.

With this 400 in money, class I buys what is necessary to replace its constant capital, $=400$, from category II, to which the money paid out in wages and consumption (by the industrial capitalists themselves, the monied men and the landlords) thus flows back. Hence category II retains $533\frac{1}{3}$ of its gross product, and, with this, it replaces its own constant capital, which has been used up.

The movement, partly within category I, partly between categories I and II, also shows how money flows back to the respective industrial capitalists in both categories, money which will again go to pay wages, interest and rent.

Category III represents reproduction as a whole.

The gross product of category II is shown here as the constant capital of society as a whole, and the gross product of category I as that part of the product which replaces the variable capital (the wages fund) and the revenues of the classes which share the surplus value between them.

I have put Quesnay’s table underneath and will explain it in some words in my next letter.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Edgar Bauer has been given a post in—the Prussian Press Department.
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 August 1863

DEAR Frederick,

May the devil take me, as the red one* used to say, if I didn’t get up every morning this week with the firm intention of writing to you. But no sooner did I reach my study than I allayed my conscience by pleading that all I wanted was to add half a dozen lines to the manuscript at the point where I had broken off the day before. And once I had departed from the path of righteousness, I saw that the evil deed is accused in that it must constantly engender evil.Æ

My family left for Hastings last Friday. The departure took place so tardily because Lenchen had had to spend a fortnight in Germany in connection with family affairs.

The enclosed photographs (the children forced me to have mine taken) will soon be followed by those of Jenny and Laura.

In one respect, my work (preparing the manuscript for the press) is going well. In the final elaboration the stuff is, I think, assuming a tolerably popular form, aside from a few unavoidable M—C’s and C—M’s. On the other hand, despite the fact that I write all day long, it’s not getting on as fast as my own impatience, long subjected to a trial of patience, might demand. At all events, it will be 100 p. c. more comprehensible than No. 1. When, by the by, I consider my handiwork and realise how I’ve had to demolish everything and even build up the historical section out of what was in part quite unknown material, I can’t help finding Izzy a bit of a joke; for he has already got ‘his’ political economy in hand and yet everything he has peddled around hitherto has shown him to be a callow schoolboy who trumpets abroad as his very latest discovery, with the most repulsive and impertinent garrulity, theses that we were doling out 20 years ago as small change to our partisans, and ten times better at that. In other respects, too, this

same Izzy is storing up in his manure factory our party faeces excreted 20 years ago which he proposes to use as fertilizer for world history. Thus, for instance, he got the Nordstern to print a letter of support from 'Herwegh' (who has undoubtedly given proof of his *platonic* love of the 'principle of labour'). Because the same Nordstern is edited by that ne'er-do-we'el Bruhn, whom Lassalle bought from Blind. Thus, Izzy has nominated 'Moses Hess' his 'proconsul in the Rhine Province', etc. And he still seems unable to shake off the *idée fixe* that his praises should be sung by Freiligrath, who would never dream of doing so. For he has again got his Leipzig 'proconsul' to summon F. urgently, citing the good example of G. Herwegh. If only he knew how F. and I had laughed about this renewed onslaught!

'Oh Izzy, Oh Izzy, didst thou not see
That Herwegh and Moses thy gallows would be?'

The philistines down here are furious with *The Times* for having fobbed them off so nicely over the *Confederate Loan*. After all, those worthies might have known if only from Cobbett's disclosures, that *The Times* is nothing but a 'commercial concern', which doesn't give a damn how the *balance* turns out, providing it is a *balance in its own favour*. The *Times* chaps, such as J. Spence—'that man', according to the *Richmond Enquirer*, 'whom we have paid in solid gold'—obtained the loan scrips partly for nothing, partly at a 50 p. c. *discount* on the nominal rate. So, to cry them up till they reached 105 was a nice piece of business.

It is, I should say, of prime importance to the *United States* that they should seize the remaining ports, Charleston, Mobile, etc., because they may be involved in a clash with Boustrapa any day now. That same imperial Lazarillo de Tormes is presently caricaturing, not only his uncle, but even himself. For after all, the 'suffrage' in Mexico is a pretty caricature, not only of the *suffrage* whereby he turned himself into a Frenchman, but also of that whereby he made Nice and Savoy French.

I myself am in no doubt that Mexico will be the hurdle at which he'll break his neck, provided he hasn't been hanged first.

The Polish affair has gone completely off the rails because of this same Boustra, and the influence his intrigues have given the Czartoryski party. Colonel *Lapinski*, who returned a few days

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293. Marx to Engels. 15 August 1863

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*Georg Herwegh's message to Lassalle of 5 June 1863 announcing his accession to the General Association of German Workers, Nordstern, No. 221, 18 July 1863. - b Marx means O. Dammer. - c Napoleon I*
since from the ill-fated trip he undertook with Bakunin and to which Palmerston put so neat an end on the Swedish coast,\textsuperscript{553} complains bitterly about the committees in Warsaw, London and Paris being wholly under Bonap.-Czartor. influence.

Our fatherland would seem to be in a pitiful state. In the absence of a licking administered from without, there's no doing anything with these curs.

Apropos. Since you wrote your book about England,\textsuperscript{a} a second \textit{Children's Employment Commission Report}\textsuperscript{b} has at long last appeared. It shows that all those horrors that were banished from certain spheres of industry by the \textit{Factory Acts}, have proliferated with redoubled vigour wherever there is no control! It would make a splendid sequel to your book, once the complete reports have come out.

My congratulations to Gumpert. At any rate, he has seen to it that his marriage did not remain childless.

In Borchardt's case, the flesh would appear to be more urgent than befits his priestly office. And he'll make all the other Jewesses jealous.

Is Lupus back? If so, give him my kindest regards. There's nothing I should like better just now than to have you here for a couple of days so that I could chat and go drinking with you. It's such a long time since we were together.

\textit{Salut.}

Your

K. M.

'Pi' has been answered.'

Apropos. Among the curious information I have gleaned at the Museum, was the following:

'\textit{Verum inventum, hoc est, munera Germaniae, ab ipsa primitus reperta, non ex vino, ut calumniator (an Englishman, that is) [quidam] sceptice invehit, sed vi inamit corporis et reliquo orbi communicata, etc'}, auctore Michaelo Mayero, Francofurti, 1619.'\textsuperscript{d}

The \textit{munera} and discoveries \textit{Germaniae} are:

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{The Condition of the Working Class in England} \textsuperscript{b} \textit{Children's Employment Commission (1862). First Report of the Commissioners}, London, 1863. \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, p. 484. - \textsuperscript{d} [M. Mayer.] "The true discovery of the achievements of Germany, first discovered by herself, not in intoxication from wine, as a certain calumniator ... sceptically maintains, but by strength of body and mind and communicated to the rest of the world, etc.' author Michael Mayer, Frankfurt, 1619.
Dear Frederick,

My family has been back for about 10 days. Little Jenny is much better and has stopped coughing. She is now taking salt water baths at home, i.e. baths with sea salt. About 2 months ago I, too, started taking a bath at home every morning, sluicing myself with cold water from head to foot, since when I have been feeling much better.

The most interesting acquaintanceship I have struck up here is that of Colonel Łapinski. He is without doubt the cleverest Pole—besides being an *homme d'action*—I have ever met. His sympathies are all on the German side, though in manners and speech he is also a Frenchman. He cares nothing for the national struggle and only knows the racial struggle. He hates all Orientals, among whom he numbers Russians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, etc., with equal impartiality. He spent some time here in company with Urquhart, but, not content with describing him as a ‘humbug’, he actually doubts his probity, which is unjust.

The ‘Circassian’ princes exhibited in England by Urquhart and Łapinski, were two—menials. Łapinski maintains that Urquhart is being well and truly led by the nose by Zamoyski, who in turn is himself simply a tool of Palmerston’s and hence, by this circuitous route, of the Russian Embassy. Although of Catholic stock, he (Łap.) finds Urquhart’s relations with the Catholic bishops in

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* Discoveries in the field of politics, war, literature, theology, medicine, chemistry.
* See this volume, p. 498.
* *homme d'action*
* Hadji Hayden Hassan and Kustar Ogli Ismael
England highly suspect. As soon as ‘action’ was called for, he says,—e.g. the equipping of a Polish corps to invade Circassia, which L., too, regards as the best diversion—Urquhart allowed himself to be dissuaded by Zamoyski. By and large, Urquhart only wants to ‘talk’. He is a ‘big liar’ and he (Lap.) took it particularly amiss that he should have made him (L.) his co-liar without consulting him beforehand. Not a soul in Circassia knows Urquhart, who spent only 24 hours there and doesn’t speak the language. By way of illustrating U.’s imaginative powers, he mentioned the latter’s boast that he (Urq.) had killed Chartism in England!

There has been another purge of the National Government in Warsaw. This had been infiltrated by Czartoryski’s supporters as a result of the intrigues of Bonaparte and Palmerston. Three of these were stabbed and that, pro nunc, has intimidated the rest. (The said Czartoryski party was headed by Majewski.) The power of the National Government is evident from the fact that the Grand Duke Constantine accepted a passport from it for a journey abroad. According to L., Herzen and Bakunin are thoroughly chaffallen because your Russian, upon being scratched a little, has again revealed himself to be a Tartar.

Bakunin has become a monster, a huge mass of flesh and fat, and is barely capable of walking any more. To crown it all, he is sexually perverse and jealous of the seventeen year-old Polish girl who married him in Siberia because of his martyrdom. He is presently in Sweden, where he is hatching ‘revolution’ with the Finns.

In Poland, L. said, it had been necessary de prime abord to disregard the peasantry, that ‘ultra-reactionary rabble’. But they were now ripe for the fray and would rise at the government’s call for a levée en masse.

Without Austria, he went on, the movement would have come to grief long ago and, if Austria were to close her frontiers in earnest, the rebellion would be done for in 3 weeks. But Austria was cheating the Poles. Solely out of desperation, because Francis Joseph knew that he was threatened by a Russian-Serbian-Romanian-Italian-French-Hungarian-Prussian bomb did he go to Frankfurt, and it was for the same reason that the Pope had issued his latest edict in support of Poland.
Engels to Marx. 24 November 1863

L. told me there could be no doubt whatever that it was not just Bangya who had an understanding with Russia, but also Stein, Türr, Klapka, and Kossuth.

His aim now is to raise a German legion in London, even if only 200 strong, so that he can confront the Russians in Poland with the black, red and gold flag, partly to ‘exasperate’ the Parisians, partly to see whether there is any possibility whatsoever of bringing the Germans in Germany back to their senses.

What’s lacking is money. Efforts are being made down here to exploit all the German societies, etc., to this end. You must be the best judge of whether anything can be done in this line in Manchester. The cause as such would appear to be excellent.

Give my regards to Lupus and tell him that I’ve sent on his letter to Eccarius.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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Dear Moor,

As I have heard nothing more from your wife, I can only hope your health has improved in the meantime, and that you are rid of your boils. The main thing is to stick to wine-drinking and meat-eating. During the past few days my evenings at the office—the only time I can contemplate writing private letters—have been much interrupted, otherwise you’d have heard from me before.

Things are getting critical in Germany. In one way, the Danish business has come at the wrong time, while, in another, it can only precipitate the crisis. Funny, how the English press is
suddenly finding the Schleswig-Holstein question so absolutely crystal-clear, when for years it has claimed it was so complicated that, as Dundreary\(^a\) says, 'NO FELLOW CAN UNDERSTAND THAT'. For us, however, the admissions in the English press suffice. But what a masterly stroke the Protocol of 1852 was on the Russians' part! So long as my only source of information was the stupid Free Press, I couldn't make head or tail of it; really, the gift those jackasses have for confusing everything surpasses even Dundreary's. That Prussia and Austria should have signed the Protocol was an unspeakable infamy, and those concerned must pay for it with their blood.

Again, it's really rather funny that the whole question of the succession should now turn on whether the Augustenburg fellow, as the child of a morganatic marriage, is qualified to succeed.\(^b\)

In Prussia, Bismarck's insolence would seem to be waveriing a bit after all. The disavowal of the Landrat election intrigues, and the repeal of the Press Decree are significant omens.\(^c\) J'espère qu'ils ne reculent que pour mieux  sauter.\(^d\) Lassalle, too, is playing a part in the press controversy. Wagener was tactless enough (vis-à-vis his tacit ally, Lassalle) to cite his opinion of the liberal press\(^e\) in justification of the Press Decree.\(^d\) This evoked roars of laughter and bad jokes from Virchow and Gneist. Lassalle has made a thorough mess of his campaign, which won’t, of course, prevent him from beginning all over again. Yet the jackass could have found out perfectly well from the Manifesto\(^e\) what attitude one ought to adopt towards the bourgeoisie at times such as these.

Many regards to your wife and the girls.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) Presumably Palmerston. \(^b\) I hope they are only withdrawing, the better to advance. \(^c\) This refers to Lassalle's pamphlet, Die Feste, die Presse und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag. Drei Symptome des öffentlichen Geistes. Düsseldorf, 1863. \(^d\) Wagener's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 20 November 1863, Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 926, 22 November 1863. \(^e\) K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1863

Dear Frederick,

Two hours ago a telegram arrived, saying my mother was dead. Fate laid claim to one of our family. I myself have already had one foot in the grave. Circumstances being what they were, I, presumably, was needed more than my mater.

I have got to go to Trier to settle the question of the legacy. Was in much doubt as to what Allen would say, as it is only 3 days since I first began taking a recuperative walk of half an hour a day.

However, Allen has given me 2 enormous bottles of medicine to take with me and actually thinks it advisable for me to go. The wound hasn't stopped discharging yet, but all along the route I should find good Samaritanesses to apply the plaster for me.

I must now ask you to send me enough money by return to enable me to leave for Trier forthwith.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 December 1863

Dear Moor,

Herewith U/O 16055 & 56, two fivers, in all £10, dated Manchester, 13 Jan. '63, for your trip to Trier. I trust our

Engels to Marx. 3 December 1863

compatriots' Schleswig-Holstein enthusiasm won't spoil your visit too much. I've swotted up the whole question and have come to the conclusion

1. that the Schl.-Holst. theory is a lot of rubbish;
2. that in Holstein the Augustenburg fellow would certainly seem to be in the right;
3. that in Schleswig it's difficult to say who is entitled to succeed—but the male line, if at all, only as Denmark's vassal;
4. that the London Protocol is certainly valid in Denmark, but is certainly not so in Schleswig and Holstein because the Estates were not consulted;
5. that the German right to Schleswig is confined to the south, which is German by nationality and free choice, so that Schleswig would have to be partitioned;
6. that at present Germany's only chance of liberating the Duchies lies in our starting a war against Russia for the benefit of Poland. Then Louis Napoleon would be our obedient servant, Sweden would instantly throw herself into our arms, and England, hoc est Pam, would be hamstrung; then we could take anything we liked from Denmark with impunity.

Them is my sentiments. I'd like to enlarge upon them in a pamphlet, if you could find a publisher for it in Germany. Needless to say, I'd put my name to it. Qu'en dis-tu?

Lupus is better, but still a bit unsteady on his pins.

Many regards to the family. I was damned glad to see your scratchy scrawl again.

Your
F. E.

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a in other words. b What do you say to that?
Dear Frederick,

Very many thanks for the £10. Ditto, retrospectively, for the port. It has done me a power of good. Besides the wine, I have (up till now) been having to swill 1½ quarts of the strongest London stout every day. It struck me as a good theme for a short story. From the front, the man who regales his inner man with port, claret, stout and a truly massive mass of meat. From the front, the guzzler. But behind, on his back, the outer man, a damned carbuncle. If the devil makes a pact with one to sustain one with consistently good fare in circumstances like these, may the devil take the devil, I say. Incidentally, I still feel light-headed and my knees are those of a broken-down hack, but I imagine the journey will put a stop to all this. Little Tussy told me apropos the outer man: 'But it is your own flesh!' By the by, I can't speak too highly of Dr Allen's behaviour towards me. He remarked, by the by, apropos the operation, that German philosophers were always self-consistent.

As regards the 'sea-girt,' by and large, I agree with you. Obviously, the whole succession business is merely of diplomatic significance. As to Denmark, she is not, I think, bound by the Treaty of London in as much as the Danish Parliament was intimidated by Russian warships when the vote was taken. I enclose herewith Urquhart's nonsense, R. Schramm's nonsense, lastly a Danish pamphlet, which is of interest on at least two counts, 1. with regard to the fellows from whom the Schleswig-Holstein movement originally stemmed; 2. with regard to the stand taken by the peasants in Holstein.

In today's Times you will find under the heading 'Schleswig-

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a Schleswig-Holstein is meant. 'Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlingen' are the opening words of a patriotic song popular at the time of the Duchies' struggle against Danish rule in 1848-49. See this volume, p. 496. c Presumably the material on the Schleswig-Holstein question published in The Free Press, Vol. XV, No. 12, 2 December 1863. d R. Schramm, Die rothe Fahne von 1848 und Die schwarze weisse Fahne von 1863, Berlin, 1863.
Holstein' an item by Dr Thudichum that is typical of German historiography.\(^a\)

I shall certainly get hold of a publisher for you in Germany. So, buckle to straight away.

I shall drop you a couple of lines as soon as I am in Trier. I also have to go to Holland, for my uncle\(^b\) is my MONSTER creditor.\(^d\)

Salut.

Your

K. M.

But one mustn’t irritate the Danes. They’ve got to understand that Scandinavians and Germans have a common interest in opposing Russia and that nothing could be more advantageous to themselves than the separation of the German element.

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MARX TO JENNY MARX\(^299\)

IN LONDON

Trier, 15 December 1863,

Wednesday

Gasthof von Venedig

Dear sweet darling Jenny,

I arrived here exactly a week ago today. Tomorrow I am going to Frankfurt to see Aunt Esther’ (NB: the lady, who was in Trier, was formerly in Algiers, and lives with my aunt, is also my father’s sister, also an aunt, is called Babette,\(^d\) familiarly ‘Bäbchen’, is rich). From Frankfurt I shall go to Bommel,\(^e\) as I wrote my uncle\(^b\) yesterday, probably to his dismay.

\(^a\) Letter to the editor of *The Times* signed ‘A German who is fond of facts’, *The Times*, No. 24733, 4 December 1863. \(^b\) Lion Philips \(^c\) Esther Rosel \(^d\) Babette Blum \(^e\) Zalt-Bommel
If I have been so long in writing to you, this was certainly not out of forgetfulness. Quite the reverse. I have made a daily pilgrimage to the old Westphalen home (in the Neustrasse), which interested me more than any Roman antiquities because it reminded me of the happiest days of my youth and had harboured my greatest treasure. Moreover, every day and on every side I am asked about the *quondam* 'most beautiful girl in Trier' and the 'queen of the ball'. It's damned pleasant for a man, when his wife lives on like this as an 'enchanted princess' in the imagination of a whole town.

The reason I didn't write was that every day I hoped to have something definite to say, but up to this moment don't yet know of anything definite. For this is how matters stand. On my arrival I naturally found everything under seal save for such furniture as was in daily use. My mother, with her usual mania for assuming 'supreme command', had told Conradi not to bother about anything; she had so arranged matters that Uncle would see to everything'. What she gave Conradi was a notarial copy of a sort of will, which contained nothing but the following terms: 1. She left all the furniture and linen to Emilie with the exception of the gold- and silverware; 2. To her son Carl she leaves the 1,100 talers, etc.; 3. To Sophie, father's portrait. That's all there is to the will.

(NB: Sophie has 1,000 talers a year, for the most part given her by the Philipses. So, after all, you see, my relations are decent 'folk'.)

Apart from this scrap of paper, my mother had lodged another (now invalid) legally attested will. This was of an earlier date and was nullified by the more recent will. It had been drawn up before Emilie's marriage. In it she had made Emilie the beneficiary of everything of which she was entitled to dispose. In addition, she had appointed Uncle Martin and Uncle Philips her executors. She—or rather her bibulous notary Zell (deceased)—forgot to repeat this clause relating to executors in the scrap of paper which now alone is valid and which I have described above, so that if Uncle is the executor, it is only thanks to our *bonne grace*? (For which I, of course, have my own 'reasons'.) As yet, I know nothing about the actual value of the estate, because all the papers are in the sealed cupboard. The seals have not yet been removed because of the time-consuming formalities that have to be gone through before the Dutch powers of attorney (for Juta and Sophie) can arrive here. So far as I am concerned this will take too long. I am

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* sometimes * Emilie Conradi * Sophie Schmalhausen * Martin Presburg * good graces * Louise Juta
therefore giving Conradi power of attorney. Besides, there's nothing left here in Trier (Grünberg was sold long ago) except 5 casks of 1858 wine, which my mother refused to sell at the right moment, and some gold- and silverware. This will be shared out equally among the heirs. The real assets, however, are all in Uncle's hands.

My mother died at 4 in the afternoon of 30 November, on the very day and at the very hour of her marriage. She had predicted that she would die at that time.

Today I am attending to the things for Mr Demuth and Lieschen. I shall write to you at greater length from Frankfurt or Bommel. Greetings and much love to everyone. Above all and in particular, please give the CHINESE SUCCESSORa a thousand kisses on my behalf.

Your
Karl

(I hope to be able to send you some money in my next letter.)


MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Zalt-Bommel, 22 December 1863

Dear Engels,

You will see from the address that I am back in Holland, where I arrived safely yesterday. In Trier, where the papers and effects left by my mother had been placed under seal, the unsealing could not take place because the Dutch powers of attorney, which must pass through the hands of an endless succession of authorities,
had not yet arrived. I left a power of attorney for my brother-in-law Conradi for submission to the Department of Trier and proceeded to headquarters here, firstly because my uncle holds by far the largest part of the assets, secondly because he is the executor of the will. However, in any case it will be another 5-6 weeks before I receive payment of the money. Since my wife has to pay a butcher’s bill for £10 on 10 January 1864 (i.e. a bill of exchange), I should be very glad if you could attend to it.

The carbuncle has gone the way of all flesh, but now for good measure my back is wickedly plagued with furuncles and last night, for example, thanks to these pestilential objects, I couldn’t get a wink of sleep which would, after all, only have been fair after travelling here from Frankfurt a.M. The husband of a cousin of mine is the town’s only doctor and medical officer of health, so I am not in want of Aesculapian assistance.

Throughout the Rhine Province, from Trier to Frankfurt a.M. and thence via Giessen and Cologne right up to the Dutch frontier, I heard nothing but abuse of Prussia. Little, very little, Schleswig-Holsteinianism. For the most part, it was regarded as ‘Prussian artfulness’.

I spent only one day in Frankfurt (where I had to visit two old aunts) and hence wasn’t able to see any publishers. However, I spoke to an acquaintance who will write to me here (after he has consulted with a publisher on my behalf).

When writing your pamphlet, it might be better if you were now to include some actual events as well, not forgetting the systematic blunders perpetrated by the Prussian government, the men of Progress and the regular—since 1815 inveterate—Schleswig-Holstein humbuggers.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

You might drop me a line or two. Address Charles Marx, care of Mr Lion Philips, Zalt-Bommel, Holland.

Tu n’es pas un Yankee, s’écria le fanatique... Depuis que tu es ici, je t’observe. Dans la figure du Saxon il y a du taureau et du loup; dans la tienne il y a du singe et du chien. Tu

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a Lion Philips - b Dr. A. van Anrooij - c Henriette van Anrooij, née Philips - d Esther Kosel and Babette Blum - e See this volume, p. 498. - f Ibid., p. 496.
Dear Freiligrath,

Your letter arrived today, having been sent on to Trier by my wife and from Trier to this address by my sister.6 I left London two days after you called (on Monday5). Otherwise, I should have had to keep traipsing into the City to see to the issue of powers of attorney for the executors of the will, which, in view of my physical condition at the time, would have been more irksome than a sea-crossing.

'Dr Liebknecht' has been living in Berlin for about a year now. His address is: 13 Neuenburger Strasse. I know nothing about the affair.564 But one thing surprises me about the bookseller. He continued to pay Wilhelm Liebknecht the fees on behalf of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung throughout the time L. was its correspondent. Hence it was in his power to deduct L.'s debt.

It was inexcusable of L., no matter what the circumstances, to make improper use of your name. But you have no responsibility whatever towards the bookseller, since Williams could have recovered the money himself.

Warmest regards.

Your

K. M.

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5 You're not a Yankee, the fanatic exclaimed... I've been watching you ever since you've been here. A Saxon's face has something of a bull and a wolf; yours has something of a monkey and a dog. You're afraid of liberty, you speak of things you know nothing about and you use an affected language. You're a Frenchman! -

6 Emilie Conradi - 7 December
Dear Frederick,

I wrote and told you last Wednesday about the recurrence of my furunculosis and the 'bitter' night I passed. The next day Dr van Anrooij discovered that a damned carbuncle had reappeared beside the furuncles, almost exactly beneath the site of the old one. Ever since then—leaving aside the ill-effects of such a discovery on one's morale—I have been in loathsome pain for much of the time, particularly at night. My uncle, a splendid old boy, applies my poultices and cataplasms with his own hands, while my charming and witty cousin with the dangerously dark eyes nurses and cossets me in exemplary fashion. Nevertheless, in view of these circumstances, I would gladly set out for home, but that is temporarily out of the question on physical grounds. The Dr has opened up the agreeable prospect of my being troubled by this loathsome complaint until well into January. He will tell me when my condition permits a removal to London. However, this second Frankenstein on my back is less ferocious by far than was the first one in London, as you will already have gathered from the fact of my being able to write.

I gave up smoking completely 2 1/2 months ago and it's unlikely that I'll start again very soon.

Anyone wishing to spew up politics in disgust should take it daily in the form of the telegraphic pills dispensed by the small Dutch newspapers.

However, we are in for a spectacle, and the comical thing so far as Germany is concerned is that it will start with a movement in favour of the 'legitimate' duke, accompanied by clamorous requests for a 36th potentate.

Those scoundrelly parliamentary cretins, who had assembled in Frankfurt a.M., set aside without debate a resolution moved by a German from Posen in which the true question between Germany and Russia was presented in highly comprehensive and rational form.

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a See this volume, p. 501.

b Lion Philips

c Antoinette Philips

d Friedrich of Augustenburg
My best wishes for the New Year. Will you also convey them to Lupus?

Your

K. M.

P.S. Apropos. Like all 'dametjes', my cousin keeps an album, and I've promised to help her collect photographs for it, *inter alia* yours. If you have a spare photograph perhaps you would be so good as to enclose it in the letter I trust you will at long last be writing me here.

P.S. I was about to place this letter in its envelope when the Dr walked in and, without more ado, operated on me again. The business was over IN NO TIME AND NOW THINGS WILL GO ON SWIMMINGLY.

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*a young ladies*
Manchester, 3 January 1864

Dear Moor,

The many Christmas drinking-sprees and consequent general unfitness for business have rendered me utterly incapable of replying any sooner. However, the affair is now happily over.

I am sending your wife the amount in question. For the rest, I'm delighted to hear that your second carbuncle has been operated on, and that you are thus over this latter crisis. You'll have got damned thin as a result of this tedious business.

The Schleswig-Holstein affair has come off the rails again good and proper. If, as I believe, there's war in the spring, we shall have Denmark, Sweden, France and Italy against us and, possibly, England. In Hungary and Poland Plonplonism, to which Kossuth had already pointed the way, is in full swing. I see only two ways out here: 1. either revolution in Berlin as soon as the troops have left and, in Vienna, a corresponding movement with concessions of an adequate kind to Hungary and, perhaps, also to Poland. That's what would be most favourable, and there would be nothing to fear in such a case. But it is also what is most improbable, in view of the confusion that prevails. Or, alternatively, 2. a restoration of the Holy Alliance for which, as always, the partition of Poland would provide the cement (Russia has a greater interest in Poland than in Denmark and also the prospect, come the armistice, of having Austria and Prussia under her thumb, i.e. being able to impose her own conditions).

See this volume, pp. 500-01.
Then the Russians would take over from the Prussians in Berlin and play the policeman, whereat we would be done for, and Bonaparte cock of the walk. The mock war in Schleswig under Wrangel can't last very long. In the first place, the Danish fortifications will make even the initial encounters too bloody and, in the second, Boustrapa is too much in need of a popular war not to seize this opportunity. What more could he ask than the restoration of the Holy Alliance and a war for both Poland and the Rhine with, for good measure, England and Italy and all the small states of Europe on his side?

Apropos. Our worthy Faucher, who shows himself a rabid Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg man in the Chamber, is, at the same time, sending The Manchester Guardian anti-German articles in which he arse-licks to the English bastards of The Times. Shouldn't one do something to unmask this louse?

If the curs in the Prussian Chamber were now to take their courage in both hands, they could straighten things out to their own satisfaction within the space of 6 weeks. Handsome William's reply shows what a fix the government is in. No one will fork out, not even the worthy von der Heydt, and they know they won't get any money par force.

Lupus has just come to pick me up and sends you his kindest regards.

Here's to a good recovery and a Happy New Year.

Your

F. E.

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* J. Faucher's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 1 December 1863, reported in the Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 338, 4 December 1863.  
  b by force
Dear Frederick,

As you see, I am still here and 'let me tell you something else, Sir', I am in fact once more unable to move about. This is a disease of truly Christian perfidiousness. When I got your letter, I was congratulating myself on the way the old wounds had healed, but that self-same evening a large furuncle erupted just below my neck on the left-hand side of my chest and, antipodally to it, one on my back. Although irksome, it did not, at least, prevent me from walking and, in fact, I accompanied my uncle and cousin on a stroll across the Rhine (Waal). But a few days later, yet another carbuncle appeared on my right leg, close beneath the spot of which Goethe says: 'And if the noble fellow has no bum, on what does he propose to sit?' Now this is the most painful and embarrassing boil I have had so far, and I trust will be the last of a long series. In the meantime, I can neither walk, stand, nor sit, and find even lying down damned difficult. So you see, mon cher, how nature in her wisdom is persecuting me. Would she not be better advised to inflict these trials of patience upon a good Christian—someone of the same stamp as Silvio Pellico? Besides the carbuncle beneath my buttock, I should inform you that another furuncle has erupted on my back, while the one on my chest has only just begun to heal so that, like a veritable Lazarus (alias Lassalle), I am assailed on all sides at once.

Apropos Lazarus, I am reminded of Renan’s Life of Jesus which is, in many respects, simply a novel full of pantheistic-mystical extravaganzas. However, the book also has some advantages over its German predecessors and, since it isn’t long, you ought to read it. It is, of course, a derivative of the German stuff. Most remarkable. Here in Holland the German critico-theological tendency is so much à l’ordre du jour that the clergy openly profess it from the pulpit.

As regards the Schleswig-Holstein affair, I hope that it will lead to clashes in Germany itself. How well Russia knows her

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* Lion and Antoinette Philips - b From Goethe’s epigram Totalität. - c the order of the day
Pappenheimers,\(^a\) both Austrian and Prussian, is evident from the
COOL IMPUDENCE with which she is, at this juncture, allowing the
Petersburg Journal to print the Warsaw Protocol.\(^b\)

The German petty princes are taking the fiction of the
Schleswig-Holstein movement very seriously. They genuinely
believe that Germania cannot have enough of them and is
therefore intent on enthroning a 35th.\(^c\)

I am writing you no more than a short letter, and that only with
great effort, since it’s agony for me to sit. But I shall expect an
early reply from you; it CHEERS ME UP to see your handwriting.

Don’t forget to enclose your photograph. I have promised my
cousin as much, and how is she to believe in our Orestes-Pylades
relationship, if I can’t even commovere\(^d\) you to send a photograph?
Address as before CARE OF Mr. L. Philips.

Salut to yourself and Lupus.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO LION PHILIPS\(^239\)

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 20 February [1864]\(^e\)

Dear Uncle,

I shall begin at the end. I arrived here yesterday ABOUT NOON in a
frozen condition, FOR IT WAS DEVILISH COLD. My reception was all the
warmer, and thus I enjoyed the delights inseparable from a complete
contrast. En passant,\(^f\) yesterday and today were the coldest days
there have been in London. So it seems I am fated to bring winter

\(^a\) The German phrase ‘seine Pappenheimer kennen’ (to know who one is dealing
with) derives from Schiller’s Wallenstein’s Tod. III, 15. - \(^b\) Journal de Saint
Pétersbourg, No. 293; 26, 27 and 28 December 1863 (7, 8 and 9 January
1864). - \(^c\) See this volume, p. 503. - \(^d\) induce - \(^e\) Manuscript damaged. - \(^f\) By the
way
not only to Bommel but also to London. *I wish the Prussians in Schleswig-Holstein the full enjoyment of this 'seasonable weather'. If their patriotism or rather* their 'loyal and royal enthusiasm' *is not cooled down by that, then, Sir, we must give it up!* 

Our little child* was quite enchanted by the really beautiful Dolly, Madame August* had chosen for her. I enclose some lines on the part of the child. She did not leave off bothering myself till I had promised her to enclose also for you a letter which she pretends to be written in Chinese characters and which an English friend has sent her.*

In Amsterdam* I found the whole family well and cheerful. [August*] was very busy and so I said [nothing] at all to him about financial matters. At the insurance office I was given thousand guilder notes, most of which I changed in Rotterdam, with Jacques' help, into bills and about a quarter into banknotes.

Nor, during the two days I was in Rotterdam, did Jacques have overmuch spare time. One day, he was pleading in a small town nearby and, the other, he had to attend a court of appraisal. On the whole, I should say that, since becoming engaged, he has had much more of 'an eye to business' than previously. I don't doubt that in a few years' time he will have a sound practice, the more so since he likes legal work. He himself told me that he wins nearly all his doubtful cases, and, if he goes to the trouble of telling one something like that, he can be taken at his word. He and I laughed a great deal about a man whom he describes as 'the client' par excellence. This man, he told me, was still young and, over the next 30 years or more, might litigate away a lot more of his assets!

Incidentally, August also has a quite peculiar faith in the infallibility of the courts. He opines, for example, that the English lose nothing by the high cost of their legal procedure. People who didn't engage in litigation had just as much chance of obtaining justice as those who did. *In point of fact, it seemed his opinion that dear law is as good as cheap law, and perhaps better; and he is a fellow who knows something about such things.*

August gave me the 3 parts of the Aardrijkskunde,* and, on top of that, Jacques provided me with a work on political economy (Dutch) by Vissering,** a professor at Leyden, and a copy of

* Marx uses the Berlin dialectal form Untertanenbejeisterung instead of Untertanenbegeuterung.  
* Eleanor Marx  
* August Philips' wife  
* Manuscript damaged.  
* August Philips  
* Jacques Philips  
* Geography  
* S. Vissering, Handboek van praktische staathuishoudkunde.
Camera obscura.\textsuperscript{a} So I'm well stocked up with Dutch literature. Nothing in Frisian was to be had in Amsterdam, although in one bookshop alone there were works in 88 modern languages. The Negro languages seemed to have greater appeal to the Amsterdamers than Frisian, *but man always contrives to neglect the things that are nearest to him*\textsuperscript{a}.

*Sorje Oppenheim,\textsuperscript{b} which was already creating a great sensation in Amsterdam, has been performed here by my daughters to piano accompaniment *and they hope to perform it one day before their uncle*.

A great bundle of newspapers, etc., from various latitudes has accumulated for me here, *but I am firmly resolved to know nothing of politics until Monday next.*

Now, my dear uncle, I bid you farewell. Despite carbuncles and furuncles, I consider the two months I have lived in your house, as one of the happiest episodes of my life, and I shall always feel thankful for the kindness you have shown me.

You will, of course, tell Rothh\c{a}nschen\textsuperscript{c} that I send him my compliments and that I regret having been forced giving battle to him.

My best compliments to the whole family, especially Jettchen,\textsuperscript{d} Dr Anrooij, and Fritz.\textsuperscript{e} Mrs Marx and the girls also send their compliments. Please to give the enclosed lines to Netchen.\textsuperscript{f}

Yours truly,
Charles M.*

\textsuperscript{a} Hildebrand, *Camera obscura.* - \textsuperscript{b} A popular song - \textsuperscript{c} Marx puns on the name of A. Roadhuijen. 'Rothh\c{a}nschen' means 'little red house'. - \textsuperscript{d} Henriette Sophie van Anrooij. - \textsuperscript{e} Friedrich Philips. - \textsuperscript{f} Antoinette Philips
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 February 1864

Dear Frederick,

Just a few lines for the present to let you know of my return. As soon as the weather permits, I shall come up to Manchester for 2 days so as to see you in person again and, at the same time, give you an account of my affairs.

I have completely recovered and only one or two spots (specially on the upper part of my leg), which are in the final stages of healing up, continue to trouble me a little. I haven’t grown thin, but stout, despite my illness. True, I have given up smoking completely.

Pieper’s sudden appearance on our doorstep was a real surprise. He’s here to settle in his sister as a governess. He spent 4 yrs as a schoolmaster in Bremen. Last year he ate the bread of the National Association, and even went to Italy at Augustenburg’s expense. He’s the same bore and lout as he always was.

With kind regards to you and Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER


Dear Frederick,

Tomorrow I shall leave from Euston Station at 10 and arrive at Manchester about 5 p.m.

a Friedrich of Augustenburg
It would be foolish to go on waiting for good weather.

What has also prevented me from coming during the two last weeks—some new and unexpected furuncles breaking through different parts of the body.

Yours
Moor

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MARX TO LION PHILIPS

IN AACHEN

London, [29 March 1864]
1 Modena Villas, Mainland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Uncle,

I presume all of you are already or still in Aachen, and am therefore sending this letter there. Had you decided to wait for the fine weather, you'd have had to stay at Bommel until now. Here, at any rate, March has been quite abominable, apart from one or two fine days—cold, wet, and changing from one moment to the next. This may be one reason why I haven't so far rid myself of those confounded brutes, my furuncles. I curse them, but under my breath.

Little Eleanor has had a rather bad cough for the past two days which is what is preventing her from writing to you. However, she asks me to send you many salutations and, *in regard to the Danish Question, begs me to tell you, that 'she don't care for such stuff', and that 'she considers one of the parties to the quarrel as bad as the other, and perhaps worse'*. The difficulty about understanding Prussia's policy is due solely to people's delusion in crediting it with serious and far-sighted aims and projects. The Mormon Bible, for instance, is similarly most difficult to understand, precisely because there isn't an iota of sense in it. What Prussia was primarily aiming at was to make the army popular, an aim which the Schleswig-Holstein campaigns
were already having to subserve in 1848. Secondly, she was intent on closing the territory against German volunteer forces, democrats and the small states. Finally, Prussia and Austria, by exerting pressure from without, were to enable the Danish king, who is hand in glove with them, to compel the Danes to make certain concessions at home and abroad. Austria could not, of course, leave Prussia to play this role on her own, and, at the same time, seized on the opportunity to effect a closer alliance with her against other peripheries.

The conference meets in London on 12th April. The very most it will do is resolve that Schleswig and Holstein be bound to Denmark in a personal union—maybe less, certainly not more. How little in earnest the whole affair is, despite powder, shot and blood-letting, will be apparent to you if only from the fact that, up till this moment, neither Prussia nor Austria has declared war on Denmark, nor Denmark on Prussia and Austria. There is no better way of throwing dust in people’s eyes than to set armies marching, horses stamping, and cannon thundering.

Despite all that, serious conflicts may be imminent. Once again, Bonaparte finds himself virtually compelled to set his troupiers up in business as ‘freedom’ exporters because of the great disaffection which is not only prevalent in Paris, but provokingly rearing its head in the elections. And this time, the way has been paved for him by those dogs of Prussians.

Garibaldi’s trip to England and the great ovations he will receive from all sides here are, or at least are meant to be, merely the prelude to a new rising against Austria. As an ally of the Prussians in Holstein and Schleswig and an ally of the Russians by virtue of the state of siege in Galicia, Austria has made things very easy for her enemies. What with the present conditions in Poland, Hungary, and Italy, the popular sentiment in Germany, and the total change in England’s position, a new Holy Alliance would enable even Napoleon le Petit to play the great one. At this moment, the best thing would be for peace to continue, for any kind of war would delay the outbreak of revolution in France.

May God damn me if there be anything more stupid than this political chessboard!

There were two other things I had actually meant to write to you about—Roman division and darkness in outer space. But as the light is failing, my paper is running out and it’s almost time

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a Christian IX • b the Little, i.e. Louis Bonaparte. The nickname derives from Victor Hugo’s pamphlet Napoléon le Petit.
Dear Uncle,

I hope that the cough has gone the way of all flesh. As for myself, there hasn't been a sign of a furuncle for a few days, and my doctor thinks that I am now rid of the things for good. And high time, too. The sun seems to be breaking through at last. But there's still a nasty wind blowing from the East. Eleanor's cough has gone. However, her sister Jenny has a very persistent cough, which will disappear with a change of wind.

Conradi had already written to me before I got your letter, and I had replied, saying he could send the money here direct.

At the Museum I have been taking a look at Boethius's *De arithmetica* (he wrote at the time of the *Völkerwanderung*) on Roman division (he didn't, of course, know any other sort). From this and a number of other works with which I have compared it, I see that moderately simple calculations, such as household and commercial accounts, were never done with figures but with pebbles and similar tokens on an abacus. On this abacus several...
Parallel lines were drawn and whatever was used, whether pebbles or other visual signs, denoted units on the first line, tens on the second, hundreds on the third, thousands on the fourth, etc. Such abacuses were in use throughout almost the whole of the Middle Ages and are still employed by the Chinese today. As for more complex mathematical calculations, at the time when these are found among the Romans, the latter already had the multiplication table—Pythagoras's—which, however, was still very awkward and cumbersome, for that table consisted partly of its own characters, partly of letters of the [Greek] later Roman alphabet. But division merely boils down to the analysis of the dividend into factors and the tables in question were taken to fairly high figures, this must have sufficed for the reduction of expressions such as MDXL, etc. Every number, e.g. M, was separately reduced to the factors which it formed with the divisor, after which the quotients were added together. Thus, for example, M divided by two = D (500), D divided by 2 = 250 etc. That the ancient method placed insuperable difficulties in the way of very complex calculations is evident from the artifices to which that outstanding mathematician Archimedes had recourse.

As regards the 'darkness of outer space', this necessarily follows from the theory of light. Since colours only appear when light-waves are reflected by solids and since, in the intervals between the heavenly bodies, there is neither atmosphere nor any other kind of solid, these intervals must be pitch black. They allow the whole light-ray to pass through, which is simply another way of saying that they are dark. Moreover, space outside the atmosphere of the planets, etc., is fated to be dammably "houd en kil" since the rays generate warmth only when they strike a solid, which is also why, summer or winter, it is icy cold in the higher air strata of our atmosphere—that is, owing to the thinness, hence the relative insubstantiality, of these layers. But

Ought this affliction to afflict us
Since it but adds to our delight? b

And what good are light and warmth where there is no eye to see the one, and no organic matter to feel the other? Long ago the worthy Epicurus had the sensible idea of banishing the gods to the intermundia (i.e. the empty spaces of the universe) and, indeed, R.'s 'perfect curs' are fit denizens for those cold, cool, pitch dark, 'stoßloze werelddruimte'.

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a icy cold b From Goethe's Westöstlicher Diwan ('An Suleika'). c Probably Roodhuijzen's. d spaces devoid of matter
You can see what a good Dutchman I’ve become from the fact that little Jenny has already read half the Camera obscura, and Laura, me docente, a large part of the first volume of the Aardrijkskunde, while even Eleanor knows ‘Dans Nonneken dans’ and ‘Kloempertjen en zijn wijfjen’ by heart.

Best compliments from the whole family to you, and Karl, not forgetting madame la générale. With the weather being so fine, you surely won’t have overlong to wait for your own beau jour.

Your affectionate nephew,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 April 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Frederick,

The furunculosis persisted until about a week ago, which made me very ‘peevish’ and it was not until a day or two since that I was able to start work again.

This month, April the first’s privilege of being all Fool’s Day, has been extended, at least in London, to the whole of April. Garibaldi and Palmerston for ever on the walls of London! Garibaldi with Pam and Clanricarde, and extolled by the English policemen, at the Crystal Palace! In England there aren’t any mouchoirs! The Bandiera brothers would have something to say about that. Garibaldi and ‘Karl Blind’! What a talent for puffing himself up the last-named hydrocephalous crab-louse displays! ‘Mr Karl

a by Hildebrand; b with me as tutor; c Geography; d ‘Dance, little nun, dance’ and ‘The shoe and his wife’ (Dutch nursery rhymes); e Probably the wife of Karl Philips’ father-in-law, a general; f fine day; g police spies
Blind', the *Athenaeum* announces, 'has joined the Shakespeare Committee!' The fellow doesn't understand one line of S. I had to put up considerable resistance and have doubtless completely forfeited Weber's esteem. For the Workers' Society (incited by W.) wanted me to compose an address to Gar., and then call on him with a deputation. I refused flatly.

When are you going to come here? The family is expecting you.

Tomorrow sees the start of the conference that will cause the scales to fall from the Teutons' eyes. Collet has announced himself for Thursday and, at the same time, sent me a whole lot of German literature on the Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg mess. Tomorrow I shall have to get down to a serious study of this disagreeable affair so as to be ready with my answers for the fellow, who has the entire genealogy at his fingertips. You may have noticed that the wretched Disraeli has spared Pam the trouble of answering Osborne's and Kinglake's motions on Schleswig-Holstein at the impending conference. Yesterday, Disraeli gave notice that he would put the previous question. In all the serious affairs of the past 2 or 3 years (e.g. the Afghanistan business) he has extricated old Pam from the muddle.

You will see how pitiful (I mean what a donkey) Garibaldi is—he has been half killed, incidentally, by John Bull's embrace—from the following, which is not, of course, common knowledge.

At the secret revolutionaries' congress in Brussels (September 1863)—which had Garibaldi as its nominal chief—it was decided that G. should go to London, but do so incognito and thus catch the metropolis unawares. He was then to come out for Poland in the strongest possible way. Instead of that, the fellow goes and fraternises with Pam! I'd rather be a louse in sheep's clothing than a man of such brave stupidity, as Shakespeare says in *Troilus and Cressida*.

Kindest regards to Lupus and Lizzy.

Your

K. M.

Little Jenny still has a cough but strikes me as being much better. The new house has, in fact, cheered her up a great deal.

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*Josef Valentin Weber*  ·  *21 April 1864*  ·  *Act III. Scene 3*  ·  *Lizzy Burns*
Dear Moor,

You will, presumably, at long last have rid yourself of the furunculosis. Meanwhile, Lupus has been suffering most vilely from the rheumatic headaches he was already having when you were here, and from which he has since had no respite—on the contrary, they have got worse and worse so that he's had no proper sleep for weeks. He's already been confined to bed again on several occasions, and that sod Borchardt does nothing at all about it; he treats the touch of gout Lupus has got in his toe (but which doesn't bother him at all now, whereas the headaches and insomnia are really sapping his strength) with colchicum and doesn't even give him an occasional dose of opium. Once or twice I have spoken to Lupus pretty seriously about the matter, but you know how much good that does. He believes himself to be under an obligation to B., and that's that. All the quack has done is to cup him of ten ounces of blood! That was the day before yesterday. This evening I shall visit Lupus again and see how things are going. Three weeks ago I too had a violent and most painful attack of rheumatism of the respiratory muscles, but Gumpert cured me of it within 24 hours.

The Garibaldi tomfoolery came to a fitting end. The way the chap was shown the door after a week of being gaped at by the swells is really too splendid and could happen nowhere but in England. It would be the ruin of anyone except Garibaldi, and even for him it's tremendously mortifying to have served the English aristocracy as a nine days' wonder and then to have been thrown out into the street. They treated him as an out-and-out romantic. How could the fellow submit to it and how he could be so stupid as to take these Dundrearys for the English people? However, anyone who is not now convinced of the wholly bourgeois nature of this gentleman will never be convinced. For to respect the English press is almost worse than respecting the Peelers. And as for his exit! Well, that beats everything.

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3 See this volume, p. 516.
But our friend Bismarck is also a lumen. Of him it might even be said: n’est pas Soulouque qui veut. First he mimics Bonaparte’s Press Laws, and now he’s sending worthy Corporal William to Schleswig to induce the people to vote for annexation by Prussia! This jackass seems to imagine that the highways and byways are strewn with Savoys and Nices and that these are to be had for the taking. As the Dagbladet quite rightly points out, by the way, the Prussian reactionary press has been in such a state of exaltation since the capture of Düppel and the chaps are so above themselves that one can count with certainty on the gang’s coming a really bad cropper within a very short space of time.

I was a bit surprised by the way the Prussian army carried out the assault. The attack took place with 4 brigades (24 battalions) against 4 Danish brigades (16 battalions), i.e. by no means disproportionate superiority for an assault of this kind. Admittedly, the Danes had been greatly worn down by artillery fire but so, for that matter, had the Russians at Sevastopol, and to an even greater extent. However, the fact that in 20 minutes the Prussians took the first 6 field-works and then, in 2 hours—N.B. without orders, for the worthy prince wanted to call it a day—the whole peninsula, including the bridgehead, and inflicted losses of 5,000 on approximately 13,000 Danes, is more than one might have credited the fellows with. You will, by the way, remember that I have always said Prussian fire-arms—rifles as well as guns—were the best in the world, and that has been borne out here. On the other hand, the conference will soon reveal what marionettes their diplomats are. What with Russia, Boustrapa, and Palmerston, aided and abetted by the ‘grand’ policy of Bismarck, the ‘fall’ that follows after pride can hardly be long in coming. But how about money? After all, the 22 millions from the public treasury and the railway loan of 6 millions must have been squandered by now, and what then?

I shall descend on you one of these Friday evenings but not, of course, without writing to you first.

Write soon, and give my regards to the family.

Your

F. E.

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a shining light - b Not everyone who wants can be a Soulouque (Victor Hugo, Napoleon le Petit, paraphrased). - c Friedrich Karl of Prussia - d Sundewitt
Engels to Marx. 1 May 1864

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ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 1 May '64
6.50 p.m.

Dear Moor,

I have just been to see Lupus, who also had Gumpert and Borchardt with him. They don't agree over the diagnosis, which doesn't matter a rap for the time being, since it's a question of restoring his strength first, and here G. at once intervened more energetically. Yesterday I asked B. about port but he thought that, as L. wasn't quite lucid, he would be better without it and, only this morning, suggested—Spanish fly! Today Lupus is to get a beer-glassful of champagne every 2 hours and this evening will, in addition, be given brandy in the Beef Tea he takes in between times. That scoundrel Borchardt who only last Wednesday let ten ounces of his blood!! For the rest, the situation is very bad, because whichever diagnosis may be right, one is as bad as the other. B.'s diagnosis is meningitis, inflammation of the inner scalp with a tendency to suppurate. G. hadn't yet been able to make one this morning, but thought that, in addition to the above, there might be uraemia (passage of urine into the blood as a result of degeneration of the kidneys) or anaemia with a localised affection of the nervous system. He had another call to make after the consultation, and so I was unable to talk to him at any length; as soon as I have heard his opinion I shall write to you.

I should like you to come up tomorrow for a few days. I foresee that I shall be very busy this week, and it's always a good thing, of course, if one of us sees the doctors a couple of times a day and promptly obtains whatever has to be obtained. Besides, it would be very nice for me anyway. If you are coming, send me a telegram from your station of departure to 7 Southgate, St. Mary's; it only costs a shilling.

In order to force his hand over the consultation, I was compelled to tell B. yesterday that you had just as much confidence in G. as I had and that, if Lupus were to die, you would never forgive me had I failed to call G. in for a

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See this volume, p. 518.
consultation. He took it very badly, but we are certainly not going to allow Lupus to be murdered for the sake of this bastard's vanity.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 May 1864

Dear Moor,

The outlook for Lupus grows daily worse. His state of delirium is getting more and more chronic. He still recognises the people who come to see him quite well, but in between times he talks in a completely rambling fashion and it is only after taking a strong dose of stimulants that he has his more lucid moments. However, these moments are becoming dimmer and briefer all the time. Gumpert has very little hope now; his diagnosis is softening of the brain as a result of the prolonged headaches brought on by cerebral hyperaemia and of the insomnia thus induced. There's no longer any question of Borchardt's meningitis; he has accepted G.'s diagnosis and generally does everything G. suggests, though he seems to have very hazy ideas about the origin of the headaches.

Each day Lupus spends in this stupor, from which stimulants are incapable of rousing him, naturally makes matters worse and, if the next 3-4 days bring no improvement, the poor devil will go under either from debility or apoplexy or, if he pulls through, he'll be an idiot. This alternative—death or imbecility—is really too frightful. Gumpert, of course, is extremely guarded when talking about his colleague but I'm sure of the fact that L. could have been saved if the headache had been properly treated and if, in particular, something had been done to enable L. to sleep. But it was not until last Thursday, after five weeks of insomnia, that B.
gave him some opium. On top of that the blood-letting on Wednesday. He has persisted in treating him for gout, prescribing nothing but colchicum and the like. It was only the onset of delirium that evidently caused him to have second thoughts.

There is another consultation at 9 tomorrow morning which I shall also attend to see what he does. B. intends to get a male nurse for him today. If only the poor fellow pulls through!

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 2 May 1864]
Monday evening 8.30

Dear Marx,

Lupus is going rapidly downhill. He’s having hallucinations, keeps jumping out of bed, etc. What we’re short of now is a man to sit up with him and stop him injuring himself. There is only one professional male nurse up here, and he is engaged. Admittedly, Borchardt could get hold of one from a nearby lunatic asylum, but so long as there is the slightest chance of recovery he doesn’t, of course, want that kind of person, being anxious to avoid subsequent gossip and the harm it would do L. He now wonders whether you might perhaps have a reliable man, who doesn’t need to be a nurse by profession, far better not, but is simply reliable in that he will do what he is told and not fall asleep—maybe you have such a man and can send him up here first thing tomorrow, for we are provided for only up till tomorrow and *periculum in mora*. S’il s’en trouve, send him at once to Borchardt, Rusholme Road, Manchester.

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* there is danger in delay  " If one is to be had
Dear Jenny,

Poor Lupus died today, at 10 minutes past 5 in the afternoon. I have just left his death-bed.

I went to see him on the evening of the day I arrived from London," but he was unconscious. The next morning he recognised me. I saw him in company with Engels and the two doctors and, when we were leaving, he called after us (in a weak voice): 'You will come back, won't you?' It was a moment of lucidity. Soon afterwards he relapsed into a state of apathy. Up till Thursday—or really Friday— evening, things hung in the balance so that there was some doubt about the outcome. But he was unconscious from Friday evening until the moment of his passing away. So long did it take for him to die, though he was not in pain. He was unquestionably the victim of that bombastic bungler. If I shall write at greater length tomorrow.

In him we have lost one of our few friends and fellow fighters. He was a man in the best sense of the word. His funeral will be on Friday."

Your
Karl

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3 May
315. Marx to Jenny Marx. 9 May 1864
Dear Jenny,

Poor Lupus, as it now transpires—and as Borchardt already knew—had accumulated a nest-egg by dint of hard and unremitting work.

In his will (of December 1863) he appointed Engels, Borchardt and myself his executors, and the notary has just read us his will. In it he leaves:

1. £100 to the Manchester Schiller Institute
2. £100 to Engels
3. £100 to Borchardt and
4. The entire residue, amounting to six or seven hundred pounds, to me (to you and the children should I predecease him; he took care of all eventualities), likewise his books and all other effects.

I must now go to his lodgings and sort out his papers. Luckily he was living—during the final 6 or 7 weeks, at any rate—with exceptionally good and worthy people and enjoyed the best possible nursing. The inane telegrams about nursing attendants—a—of which Gumpert knew nothing—were sheer ostentation and consequentiality on the part of Bombastus B.

A thousand kisses to you and the children.

Your
Karl

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a See this volume, p. 523.
Dear Heart,

Today was the day of our good comrade's funeral. We purposely didn't send out any invitations, otherwise half the town would have been there. So, it was attended by Borchardt, Gumpert, Engels, Dronke, Steinthal, Marozti (the Friends of Light Protestant pastor at whose house Lupus used to teach and who came as a personal friend), Beneke (one of the leading business men here), Schwabe (ditto), 3 other business men, a few boys and some 15-20 members of the 'LOWER CLASSES' amongst whom Lupus was very popular. I naturally made a short funeral oration. It was an office by which I was much affected so that once or twice my voice failed me. Freiligrath wrote, begging to be excused, because of the presence in London of his principal, Fazy. Engels, and more especially Dronke, refused to countenance this excuse, and tomorrow D. will be taking him to task in London.

I shall have to stay here for at least another 3 or 4 days in order to get through with the whole business, pay the estate duty, swear oaths, etc. Naturally I shall not leave Manchester until everything is settled.

At first, it was thought that poor Lupus was suffering from incipient softening of the brain. This was wrong, however. Gumpert had previously said that he was suffering from cerebral hyperaemia (excessive accumulation of blood in the brain). This was confirmed at the post mortem, which also proved that he would still be alive today had he received correct treatment of the most common or garden kind. Borch. had completely and utterly neglected the thing in the most unscrupulous way. And yet one can't raise a shindy about it, if only because of B.'s family, who were deeply attached to Lupus (especially B.'s eldest daughter) and did a great deal for him, and whom he for his part thought highly of. All the same I refused B.'s invitation to dinner today (at which Engels, etc., were to be present) on the grounds that I could not accept hospitality on the day of Wolff's funeral.

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* Wilhelm Wolff's
Dronke asks you to excuse him for not having replied to your letter. The poor little man was too much distressed by the death of his children to be able to write.

Lupus had carefully kept all our children's letters, and it was only a few weeks ago that he again told Mrs Borchardt how much he enjoyed getting little Tussy's notes.

The day before yesterday Marotzki (while confirming the children, amongst them one of the younger Borchardts) pronounced a public eulogy on Lupus in his church. I don't believe anyone in Manchester can have been so universally beloved as our poor little friend (who as a child broke both legs and was in pain for years until they had healed again). Amongst the letters he left, I found evidence of the warmest sympathy on the part of all kinds of people—pupils, both girls and boys, and, in particular, their mothers.

My warmest greetings to all.

Your
Karl

Send 3 photographs of dear Eleanor immédiatement.

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MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER, JENNY
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday, 17 May 1864

Sweet child, Badman,

Probably I shall leave Manchester on Thursday (May 19) this week, and probably Engels will come with me.\(^{595}\) If arrangements be changed, I'll advertise you timely.

I visited Ernest Jones yesterday and renewed my old friendship with him. He received me very cordially. Eichhoff, who is here at this moment, and sends to all of you his compliments, wrote me this morning that the son-in-law of Dr. Rohde—Marriett—has suddenly died; the daughter\(^{9}\) being thus thrown back upon

\(^{9}\) Thekla Marriet
Liverpool and the parents. Eichhoff has at last settled down as a commercial employé.

Little Dronke, who to-day arrived from London, told funny stories as to the meeting he had a few days since with Freiligrath. Fazy, Freiligrath's master, was present at the rendezvous at 2 Royal Exchange Buildings.

Strohn, an old friend of mine—who, unhappily, finds himself in a very bad state of health, and whom I was hardly able to recognise—came down from Bradford to see me; Eichhoff having told him of my sojourn at Manchester.

Gumpert has been blessed with a son.

I address these lines to you, because you will probably have to make room for Engels, your room being, I believe, the only disposable one. You don't want to care about wine which we bring with us, but a dozen bottles of Pale Ale for our Manchester man will be welcome. I cannot finish my business here, because this week is a holiday for lawyers here. So things will not be settled before next week, and in my absence.

I have seen, from Möhmchen's letter, with great concern, that Marie Lormier is not going on in the right direction. These doctors are a lot of quacks.

Any letter you'll address me, will still find me at Manchester, if you post it tomorrow before 5 o'clock p.m.

I hope, my dear child, to find you in full bloom. My humble compliments to your successor, and my knowing wink to mine secretary.

Your truly
Old one

I should very much like to buy here Manchester silk for the whole family, but the delay that, consequent upon the holiday, has taken place in the settlement of affairs, prevents me from indulging my fancy.

G. J. Harney, as you may tell Möhmchen, has again married, and, moreover, left Europe for Australia.  

First published, in Russian, in the magazine Voinstvuyushchii materialist, No. 4, 1925

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* Jenny, Marx's wife
Dear Hermann,

You must excuse my keeping you waiting some little while for a reply to your letter of the 7th and that of the 18th.

As regards the £1,000, I shan't be able to remit this to you before 1 July, or perhaps a little later. That is to say I must await the statement of accounts on 30 June of this year, since G. Ermen will release himself from the contract if so much as a penny is missing from the £10,000 I have to put up. Until then, therefore, I must tread carefully. I also mentioned this to Mother in my letter of 7 April, and hence the best thing would be for you to pay Wiebelhaus & Busch from over there. In any case, for a sum of the order of £1,000, I wouldn't be able to lay my hands on bills as short as a week after date. More about this matter, then, in July or August; I am in no hurry whatever.

It had struck me, by the way, that this £1,000 could be partially reimbursed by my prevailing on G. E. to send off to you in advance the interest amounting to £375 due on 30 June; but, since our bankers are now paying us 6% interest, he'll take good care not to give you the money at 5%.

As regards my balance with you over there, this should be dealt with as follows:

On 30 June, the £10,000 which, under the terms of the contract, must remain here, will be debited to me over there. Deduct from that the portion of my balance there on which the interest accrues to me; as to the remainder I must refund you the interest at 5%. The portion of my balance of which Mother has the usufruct would best continue to be credited to me separately, since it doesn't figure in my favour when interest is calculated and would therefore only muddle up the calculation.

The one question that may have to be considered in this connection is the exchange rate at which £s are to be converted into talers. In my view, the simplest thing in all present and future cases relating to my account would be to take the average rate of 6 talers 20 silver groschen, as Father also used to do in his books, so that the £10,000 will be debited to me as 66,666.20 talers, while all
reimbursements made by me in £s will be credited at the same rate. Think it over and let me know what you think about it.

As regards the transfer of the £10,000 to my account, you have no need to advise G. E. further; the contract, to which you are all subject, is sufficient.

Very many thanks for the pictures. They’ve touched up your face a bit more than is necessary; apart from that, they’re very good. But you must now see to it that the other ones for my album follow on soon, and also remind the good Boellings about it, for so far I have none of them at all. In the case of the Blanks, I don’t have one of Maria Senior, Emil Junior, Rudolf, and the younger ones.

Apropos. Should Ermen & Engels over there be asked to pay the costs of an insertion, to which I was a co-signatory, in the deaths’ column of the Köln, a Breslauer b and Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, I would ask you to attend to it and debit me accordingly.600

Give my love to Mother, if she is still in Barmen, and tell her that I’ve been keeping very well. Much love to Emma c (she’s still not as plump as she used to be, but I trust that will resolve itself) and the little ones as well as to Rudolf d and family, the Blanks, and the Boellings.

Your
Friedrich


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MARX TO ENGELS249

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Thursday, 26 May 1864

Dear Frederick,

It came as a very ‘pleasant’ surprise this morning (I had not been able to sleep the preceding night) to find my chest again adorned with two ‘charming’ furuncles. Will you consult Gumpert

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a Kölnische Zeitung - b Breslauer Zeitung - c Emma Engels - d Rudolf Engels
as to what I should do? I don’t want to take iron since I already have a tendency to cerebral congestion. Nor do I wish to go to Allen, there being nothing I dread so much as having to recommence a regular course of treatment, thus disrupting my present work, and I simply must get the thing done at long last.\(^\text{47}\)

Despite all that people said about how well I looked, I have all the while felt there was something wrong and the tremendous resolution I have to summon up before I can tackle more difficult subjects also contributes to this sense of inadequacy. You excuse this spinozistic term. Have our poor Lupus’s books been sent off to London?\(^\text{49}\) I am worried about their non-arrival because—or so I understood—your warehousemen were supposed to have sent them off on Thursday (last).

What do you say of Grant’s operations?\(^\text{50}\) All that The Times chooses to admire, of course, is Lee’s strategy disguised as retreats.\(^\text{51}\) Says Tussy this morning, ‘It considers this very canny, I dare say.’ There’s nothing I would be happier to see than success for Butler. It would be of inestimable value, were he to enter Richmond first. It would be bad if Grant had to retreat, but I think that fellow knows what he is about. It is to him, at any rate, that credit is due for the first Kentucky campaign, Vicksburg and the drubbing Bragg received in Tennessee.

Enclosed a note from Jones, in view of which you will, no doubt, be able to invite him for another day.\(^\text{63}\)

The whole family send you their regards.

Your

K. M.

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\(^5\) The Times, 25 and 26 May 1864, leading articles.
Dear Moor,

The books haven't gone off yet, nor has the wine. They will go off together. Have heard nothing from either Borchardt or the lawyer; shall call on the latter the day after tomorrow and give him the power of attorney. Gumpert says that, if the furuncles are merely stragglers, you should do nothing further about them. I discussed little Jenny with him; he says it would seem to be a chlorotic condition and that sudden attacks of asthma are common in such cases, and are due to circulatory disorders; nothing could be done save treat the condition as a whole, nor could he think of anything beyond what Allen is already doing. Anyhow, he didn't seem to take too serious a view of the thing.

The Virginian campaign is once again characterised by inconclusiveness, or more precisely, by the difficulty of taking it to any sort of decision on terrain like this. I set no store by the news received per Scotia; all it means is that a week's rain has saved Lee from the necessity of fighting battle after battle à la Solferino. And for him, that means a great deal. Another 2 such battles and his army, which had to withdraw to a new position every night and was in any case in a very sorry state, would hardly have been capable of making a stand anywhere before Richmond. Certainly Grant also benefited from the standstill, but not to the same extent. The reinforcements he is now obtaining won't be worth very much. But I shouldn't be surprised if Lee were soon to withdraw to Richmond. Then the decisive battle will take place there.

Bismarck seems to have colossal good luck; it really looks as though there's going to be an Augustenbourguian peace. As yet I can make neither head nor tail of it, but my view would seem to be confirmed by the very hectoring article in today's Morning Post. (It says, *inter alia*, that Schleswig should be partitioned and—the *Eider* form the new frontier between Danish and German...)

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*The Morning Post, No. 28222, 30 May 1864, leading article.*
Nevertheless, plausible though it all seems, I can hardly see the Russians giving up, without more ado, all the spoils of 1851/52, the less so since they would not, so far as one can see, get anything in return.

I have been engrossed in the arithmetic in your Francoeur, a section you would seem pretty well to have ignored, if the failure to correct the scandalous printing errors in the figures is anything to go by. Though individual bits are quite elegant, the practical aspect of arithmetic is handled in a shockingly inept and superficial manner, being better taught at any German school. I also doubt whether it is practical to discuss things such as roots, powers, series, logarithms, etc., even at elementary level, merely in terms of numerals (without any recourse to algebra and, in fact, without presupposing an elementary knowledge of the same). Although the use of numerical examples by way of illustration may be a good idea, I should say that to limit oneself to numerals is, in this case, less conducive to clarity than simple algebraic treatment with a+b, precisely because the general expression is simpler and clearer in algebraic form and is something which cannot be dispensed with here. Admittedly, this particular section is really beneath the dignity of the mathematician par excellence.

I shall send you Danske papers tomorrow. In several Jutland towns Prussian officers are said to have objected very strongly before carrying out the confiscation in accordance with orders. Generally speaking, there have been no complaints anywhere about the troops, only about the generals and their orders. In the Dagbladet England is, if anything, more roundly abused than in Germany.

No other news, save that it's bitterly cold. Warm regards to your wife and the girls. I hope Tussie is content with the cotton.

Your

F. E.

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* Presumably L. B. Francoeur’s Cours complet de mathématiques pures.  
  b Danish
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 3 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Herewith

1. A scrap of paper sent me today in a wrapper from Brussels by jackass Kertbeny;

2. Cutting from the Rheinische Zeitung containing an obituary of Lupus—written by Elsner, now one of the editors of the Breslauer Zeitung, from which the Rheinische has reprinted it;

3. Another cutting from the Rhein. Zeit., in which I would draw your attention to the article 'Der feudale Sozialismus';

4. Letter from one Klings of Solingen to one Moll over here. To enable you to understand this letter, I should explain that Moll (and also a companion of his) is a working man from Solingen, who (along with the aforesaid companion) has evaded a 4 months' prison sentence (the result of Lassalle's performances last year). Klings, ditto a working man, is Baron Izzy's authorised representative in Solingen.

The two Solingen refugees came to see me here; they informed me of their enthusiasm for Izzy and how the workers had harnessed themselves to his carriage when he was last in Solingen. They assumed as a matter of course that we two were hand-in-glove with Izzy (who, when last in Elberfeld, made a speech about Lupus). Klings, they said, was a former member of the League, as were all the working men who were leaders of Izzy's movement in the Rhine Province, and that, now as ever, all were our resolute supporters. He also showed me Klings' letter, and I asked whether I might have it to send to you. To this he assented. So, don't return it. I did not, of course, enlighten the chaps as to our relations, or rather non-relations, with Izzy, but got others to drop some pretty vague hints.

Now the men are hanging about here, unemployed. 50 talers are to be sent them from Solingen, the local Workers' Society is

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giving them £2; we shall be collecting a bit more here, and it would be a good thing if Manchester could contribute a pound or two. The fellows must be conveyed to America, since they are factory hands (Solingen cutlers, etc.) and are quite unsuitable for London handicrafts.

‘What’s come over me?’ I asked myself more than once while reading Izzy’s Lohnarbeit und Kapital. For in its essentials it seemed to me familiar, literally so (if embellished in the Izzian manner), yet not cribbed direct from the Manifesto, etc. Then, a couple of days ago, I happened to look out my series of articles on ‘Wage-labour and Capital’ in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1849) which were in fact merely a printed version of lectures I had delivered in 1847 at the Brussels Workers’ Society. There I found my Izzy’s immediate source and, as a special act of friendship, I shall reproduce the whole caboodle from the N. Rh. Z. as a note or appendix to my book—on false pretences, of course, and without any mention of Izzy. He won’t enjoy it in the least.

The books have arrived, ditto the wine, for which many thanks. Tussy asks me ‘to give you her love and to tell you that your cotton has somewhat improved’. Borkheim has made about £2,000—under the patronage of Oppenheim, the ‘Jew Süss’ of Egypt. Oppenheim, to whom, according to the account B. himself gave me, he played more or less the part of jester in the land of the pyramids, wanted to keep him there on the spot. But Europeans die there like flies, so B. arranged instead to be entrusted from time to time with a little bit of business by Abul Haim, as Oppenheim is called by the Arabs. This summer he will again visit Constantinople to that end.

The girls and madame send you their kindest regards.

My compliments to Lizzy.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos.

Wherever honours are being handed out, there friend Freiligrath is sure to be. Cf. Elsner’s obituary. Remember Harney’s funeral oration for Schramm. And now New York has seen the

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publication by a local society of a very sumptuous Record of the Revolution* in which all the events, documents, etc., of the present Civil War are registered from the time it first started. Well, this record has been sent gratis to some 20 or 30 people (including various European libraries), among them the Queen of England, J. Stuart Mill, Cobden, Bright, and—Freiligrath. He informed me of this, with the phrase that the Yankees had 'afforded him great pleasure and done him a great honour', and gave me the accompanying letter to read along with the printed list of the fortunate few. I should dearly like to know what the good fellow has done, might do, or intends to do for the Yankees. But loi générale': Freiligrath is to receive the honneurs on behalf of the German nation because the worthy citizen adopts so worthy and neutral an attitude, 'and, come to that, hasn't really learnt anything'.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 June 1864

Dear Moor,

I beg to confirm my last and today would humbly inform you that Lupus’s will passed through the court of probate the day before yesterday and that I have taken possession of the document in question. I have also shown it to the bank and had it registered there, and on Monday or Tuesday shall draw the money from the bank (I can do this on my own without Borchardt) and remit it to you. There is about £230. I shall try and see B. tomorrow or on Monday and shall then do all I can to get the matter speedily wound up. The approximate amount of estate duty—£121—will

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* The Rebellion Record: a Diary of American Events... b Victoria c general law
d See this volume, p. 531. e 6 or 7 June. f In the original: £120, apparently a slip of the pen
be retained by me up here plus a bit extra for the lawyer's bill, etc. The latter tells me that to safeguard oneself against any possibility of future claims one should, about 1 month after probate (i.e., as from 1 July), insert 3 successive notices in the Gazette, Times and local papers, addressed to undeclared creditors and limiting the period of liability. This means the final settlement will be somewhat further delayed. The demand for payment of duty will be made in September or thereabouts (so until then interest on the amount in question will be recoverable), after which we shall have to deal with Wood's account and pay over the money; it will then be possible to dispose of the matter finally.

I have discovered the chap to whom Lupus went to be photographed and who has the original negative. I have had 24 prints done, 4 of which I enclose; you might give one each to Pfänder and Eccarius, and if you want any more they are yours for the asking. I took this opportunity of having another one taken of myself, the result of which you will find enclosed; people here say it is very good.

*Free Press* received with thanks. What will poor Collet set his hand to, now that Othello's occupation is gone? And that poor, clever boy who is party to all the secrets of highest diplomacy?

Many regards. How goes it with the furuncles?

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Have received your photogram, also those of Lupus. I need at least 4 more copies of the latter. Your photogram is excellent. The

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* The London Gazette - b See this photograph between p. 538 and p. 539. - c Probably Urquhart.
children say that it makes you look a ‘pleasant subject’. As the new photograms we intended to have taken have not yet materialised, little Jenny yesterday sent you the glass thing. The Dagbladet received with thanks.

The enclosed letter from Liebknecht which I got yesterday will interest you in several respects. You should place it in the archives, like the other letters of this kind I send you. I immediately replied to L., generally commending him for his attitude and only reprimanding him for the silly stipulation—our collaboration—he made in regard to the proposed publication of Lassalle’s paper—now happily abandoned. I explained that, while we consider it politic to give Lassalle a completely free rein for the time being, we cannot identify ourselves with him in any way. In the course of this week I shall send him (Liebknecht) some money. The poor devil seems to be doing damned badly. He has given a very good account of himself and his continued sojourn in Berlin is most important to us.

Borkheim showed me a letter from the great Orges, presently in Vienna. O. intimates that ‘softening of the brain’ has ‘got the better’ of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, that ‘particularism’ rather than ‘Teutonism’ holds sway over the paper, that one of the four proprietors of the Augsburg A. Z. had ‘insulted’ him (the ‘great Orges’) ‘almost personally’, that his hands had long been tied and he had finally resigned, etc. Serves O. right. The fellow treated us vilely over the Vogt affair.

Borkheim has given me very exact particulars in writing, authenticated on the spot, concerning progress on the Suez Canal. I shall see that Daud Pasha is advised of the same.

As for the Danish affair, the Russians are in a very difficult position. They drove Prussia into the war by promising her the earth and, as a quid pro quo for Prussia’s help, past and present, over the Polish business, held out great prospects in regard to Schleswig-Holstein. Needless to say, handsome William, now that he looks upon himself as William the Conqueror, cannot be fobbed off in the same way as his brilliant predecessor. As for Palmerston, his hands are tied by the Queen. Bonaparte, whom the Russians and their Pam wanted to use as a scapegoat to propitiate the Germans, has reasons of his own for playing the deaf-mute. Come to that, aside from a possible secret treaty with Prussia, the Russians are now chiefly concerned with ‘German

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a In the original ‘angenehmer Gegenstand’ instead of ‘angenehmer Jejenstand’.
b See this volume, pp. 10, 13-14. - c Urquhart - d William I - e Victoria
sympathies'. It is therefore possible that, under such circumstances, they will 'sacrifice' Schleswig-Holstein, just as, in the 3rd partition of Poland, Catherine II declared the cession of the present kingdom of Poland to the Prussians to be a great sacrifice on her part—with the mental reservation, of course, that, when the time came, the sacrifice would be retrieved. The outrageous step the Russians have now taken in the Caucasus, watched by the rest of Europe with idiotic indifference, virtually compels them—and indeed makes it easier for them—to turn a blind eye to what is happening elsewhere. These 2 affairs, the suppression of the Polish insurrection and the annexation of the Caucasus, I regard as the two most important events to have taken place in Europe since 1815. Pam and Bonaparte can now say that they have not ruled in vain, and, if the Schleswig-Holstein war has served no other purpose than to hoodwink Germany and France about those two great events, it will have done its job for the Russians, whatever the outcome of the London Conference. You will see from Liebknecht's letter that the Prussian liberal press is too cowardly even so much as to remark on the continued surrender of Polish refugees by the Prussians. Bismarck has killed it stone dead with the Schleswig-Holstein business.

The American news looks very good to me; I was particularly delighted by today's leader in The Times, in which it is proved that Grant has been continually beaten and may perhaps be punished for his defeats—with the capture of Richmond!

Salut.

Your

Moor

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Manchester, 9 June 1864

Dear Moor,

Your telegram received; the other halves of the five banknotes follow herewith. I have cleaned up the glass photogram a bit and now find that it's very good. I shall show it to Gumpert and his wife this evening.

Clearly it's of the utmost importance to us that Liebknecht should be in Berlin—to spring surprises on Izzy and also, at an appropriate moment, quietly to enlighten the workers at large about our attitude towards him. At all events, we must keep him there and support him to some extent. If you send him some money now, it will encourage him a great deal and, if you think any more is needed, let me know and I'll send you a five pound note for him.

Apropos obituary for Lupus. We must do a kind of biography; I think we ought to have it printed in Germany as a pamphlet, with the whole of the parliamentary debate as an appendix. Let's not allow the thing to slide.

What do Borkheim's reports say about progress on the Suez Canal? Have matters actually got to a stage that points to its early completion?

I'm very anxious to see how things go in Virginia. The sides still seem to be almost evenly matched and mere chance, the opportunity of scoring an isolated victory over just one of Grant's corps, might restore Lee's superiority. The battle before Richmond may be fought under quite different circumstances, for Butler is certainly weaker than Beauregard, otherwise he wouldn't have let himself be forced on to the defensive and, even if one were as strong as the other, Lee, if he linked up with Beauregard at Richmond, would certainly be stronger than Grant and Butler combined. For Lee can debouch with his entire force from his fortified camp on each side of the James River, whereas Grant must detach part of

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325. Engels to Marx. 9 June 1864

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

9 June 1864

325. Engels to Marx. 9 June 1864

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his troops (to the south side of the river). But I am hoping that
Grant will, nevertheless, go through with the affair; at all events,
there can be no doubt that, after the first battle in the Wilderness,
Lee has shown little further inclination to engage in decisive
encounters in the open field,\(^6\) on the contrary, he has always
kept his main force in fortified positions and only committed
himself to brief attacks. I also like the methodical pace of Grant's
operations. On such terrain and with such an opponent it's the
only correct method.

A collection for the Solingen chaps\(^6\) won't produce anything up
here; however, it goes without saying that I shall send you
something for them. Let me know, when you've reached that
stage, how much they have got for the journey and how much it
will cost.

Three days ago our old Hill finally handed in his cash box, but
is, understandably enough, still quite incapable of tearing himself
away from the office. He still haunts it every day, just as he has
always done. It was not until today that he stayed away, at least for
the morning, but after his dinner couldn’t stand it any longer.

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS\(^6\)

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1864

Dear Frederick,

Thanks for Dagbladet.

Before I start on this letter—and so that I don’t forget—here's
a question for you: Are the following word groups I found in a
Belgian etymologist's work\(^6\) of any value?\(^2\)

\(^1\) Moll and Melchior (see this volume, pp. 533-34).
\(^2\) H. J. Chavée, Essai d'éymologie philosophique ou Recherches sur l'origine et les variations des mots qui expriment les actes intellectuels et moraux.
Sanskrit Wer (couvrir, protéger, respecter, honorer, aimer, chérir*), adjective Wertas (excellent, respectable), Gothic Wairths, Anglo-Saxon Wcorth, English worth, Lithuanian werthas, Alemannic Werth.

Sanskrit Werlis, Latin virbus, Gothic Wairthi, Teutonic Werth.

Sanskrit Wal (couvrir, fortifier*), valor, value. (?)

Strohn is here. Arrived yesterday. Leaves for Bradford again tomorrow. Seems to me very much better. Also more plucky now.

I and various other people here have collected so much for the two Solingen chaps* that only 2 more pounds are needed to enable them to leave for New York by sailing- vessel and not be completely broke on arrival there. I am also giving them a note for Dr Jacobi, by which means we shall discover what the modest little man is about.

Herewith a letter I have received from Liebknecht who also sent a piece from the Grenzboten about Lupus. Liebknecht will by now have got my second letter containing a 'real consideration' (as Mr Patkul calls it in his secret despatches*).

The Russians would seem to be claiming Schleswig-Holstein for themselves under the heading of Oldenburg, and to be 'compensating' Prussia for it. This transaction would be too clever.

A Dutch orientalist, Professor Dozy of Leyden, has brought out a book* to prove that 'Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are figments; that the Israelites were idolaters; that they carried round a "stone" in the "arke des Verbunds"; that the tribe of Simeon (driven out under Saul) went to Mecca where they built a heathen temple and worshipped stones; that, after the release from Babylon, Ezra invented the myth of the creation up to and including Joshua, and also wrote laws and dogmas, thus paving the way for reform, monotheism, etc.'

That's what they write and tell me from Holland; they also say that the book has created a great sensation among theologians there, particularly since Dozy is the most learned orientalist in Holland and, what's more—a professor at Leyden! Outside Germany at any rate (Renan, Colenso, Dozy, etc.) there is a remarkable anti-religious movement.

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The children send you their love, and my wife asks me to dun you for her chain.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

(You might let me have your ‘PRIVATE ADDRESS’ in case there should be ANYTHING else I want to communicate to you of a Saturday evening.)

Send me Ernest Jones’s ADDRESS.

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542327. Marx to Lion Philips. 25 June 1864

Dear Uncle,

Very many thanks for your detailed letter. I know how onerous writing is for you on account of your eyes and, indeed, the last thing I expect is that you should answer every one of my letters. I was glad to see from what you wrote that you are physically fit, and that your equanimity has not been shaken by the revelations of Prof. Dozy. However, since Darwin demonstrated that we are all descended from the apes, there is scarcely ANY SHOCK WHATSOEVER that could shake ‘our ancestral pride’. That the Pentateuch was concocted only after the return of the Jews from Babylonian captivity had already been pointed out by Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

In the enclosed note Eleanor herself thanks you for your photograph, which is as good as such shadow pictures can ever

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*See this volume, p. 541. b the first five books of the Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy)*
hope to be. The child had already placed 'her letter' on my desk some 3 or 4 days ago.

I have had a recurrence of furuncles and only got rid of them a fortnight ago. Since my work was greatly impeded by this tiresome complaint—and, in addition, the doctor's orders precluded strenuous or prolonged mental work—I have, which will surprise you not a little, been speculating—partly in American funds, but more especially in English stocks, which are springing up like mushrooms this year (in furtherance of every imaginable and unimaginable joint stock enterprise), are forced up to a quite unreasonable level and then, for the most part, collapse. In this way, I have made over £400 and, now that the complexity of the political situation affords greater scope, I shall begin all over again. It's a type of operation that makes small demands on one's time, and it's worth while running some risk in order to relieve the enemy of his money.

All is well, on the whole, with my family. The doctor wishes little Jenny to have a change of air and, unless you or fate have any objection, I and my 3 daughters will descend upon you towards the end of the summer.

By now the fruitless outcome of the conference will have been made known all over Europe by telegraph. The only people in this diplomatic tragi-comedy who are imperturbably pursuing their former aims and playing a masterly game are les russes. On the one hand, they are reviving the Holy Alliance, chivvying the German oxen into war, and thus diverting the eyes of Europe from their own colossal successes in Poland and Circassia; on the other, they are inciting Denmark to resist and will, thanks to Mr Palmerston, eventually succeed in getting England to declare war in support of the Protocol of 1852 which, as documentary evidence has now shown, was dictated by Russia! The English, who did not go to war for Poland although pledged to do so by the treaties of 1815 and who did not go to war for Circassia despite the fact that possession of the Caucasus assures Russian hegemony in Asia, are to go to war and—I think it probable—will go to war, for a treaty dictated by Russia, while that same Russia officially sides with the opponents of that very treaty! C'est incroyable! There's not a vestige of sympathy for Denmark amongst the English people (although, needless to say, antipathy and to spare for Prussia and Austria); it proved impossible to hold one single public meeting in support of the Danes; the fund started by

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a the Russians  b It is unbelievable!
a few aristocrats for the Danish wounded proved a complete failure; but the English people have no more say in their foreign policy than the man in the moon. The public opinion advanced in The Times, etc., is 'prescribed' by the wishes of old Pam himself.

Between 19 and 21 June Copenhagen was on the brink of revolution. The king had received a Russian despatch advising him to declare himself in favour of a personal union of the Duchies with the Danish Crown. The king, a creature of the Russians (who placed his son in Athens, his daughter in England, and himself on the Danish throne), came out in favour of the Russian proposal, which was opposed by his minister, Monrad. Only after a two-day debate, Monrad's resignation and demonstrations in the streets of Copenhagen, did the brand-new king draw in his horns, but in this way Russia has again shown the cloven foot. Quite apart, by the by, from its being in Russia's specific interest that the war should continue and spread, it is in her general interest that the peoples of Europe, of whom she is the common foe, should bloody each other's heads. The airs Prussia gives herself—handsome William as William the Conqueror—are comical. This pomp and circumstance will come to a sudden and sticky end.

To give you an idea of what the good Palmerston is like, I enclose with The Morning Post (Palmerston's private monitor) a cutting of a speech made by Ferrand during a parliamentary debate. It is concerned solely with the appointment of a charity inspector. From the passages I have marked, you will see the sort of things that are said to Pam's face in Parliament but without ever penetrating his hippopotamus's hide.

I deliberately avoided seeing Garibaldi during his stay at London. I wouldn't mind visiting him at Caprera, but here in London he served only as a peg for every self-important fool to hang his carte de visite upon.

Warmest regards to the whole family. My wife also sends her regards to you and family.

Yours truly,

Ch. Marx
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 July 1864

Dear Frederick,

Did you get the letter I sent you about 2 weeks ago, with the enclosure from Liebknecht, etc.? *a*

No answer yet from Elsner. *b*

I’ve been taking medicine again for about 10 days, and today have got a species of influenza as well. Hence not able today for better writing.

Thanks for Dagbladet.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 July 1864

Dear Frederick,

On 3 June you wrote and told me that you would be settling the business of the money with Borchardt the following day. *b* I have 3 reasons for wishing the thing to be settled:

1. Because of Borchardt;
2. I do not know by what rumour (perhaps deriving from Germany, Trier) I have come to be known as a ‘legatee’. It’s

*a* See this volume, pp. 540-42. *b* See this volume, p. 535.
fantastic what bills I've been sent, dating back to ancient times (Neue Rheinische Zeitung included).

3. Had I had the money during the past 10 days, I'd have made a great deal of money on the Stock Exchange here. The time has come again when, with wit and very little money, it's possible to make money in London.

For these reasons I'd like the business to be settled, after deduction, of course, from my share of the sums required for duties and other outgoings—to the lawyer, etc.

You will much oblige me by settling these things before July 15. You must excuse me for bothering you in view of your charge of business, but there are very serious interests at stake.

Many thanks for settling the Freiligrath affair. Is the portrait he sent you the sinister Faustian one little Jenny has got in her album?

My wife, who attended an auction to buy the things she still required, has purchased a sturdy carving knife and fork for you and will send them off today. I had told her there were none in your household.

Greetings from the Emperor of China, et cie.

Your
K. M.

My nose, mouth, etc., still bunged up with influenza so that I can neither smell nor taste.

During this time, being utterly incapable of work, have read Carpenter, Physiology, Lord, ditto, Kölliker, Gewebelehre, Spurzheim, The Anatomy of the Brain and the Nervous System, and Schwann and Schleiden, on the cells business. In Lord's Popular Physiology, there's a good critique of phrenology, although the chap's religious.

One passage recalls Hegel's Phenomenology, it reads:

"They attempt to break up the mind into a number of supposed original faculties, such as no metaphysician will, for a moment, admit; and the brain into an equal number of organs, which the anatomist in vain asks to be shown, and then proceed to attach one of the former unadmitted suppositions as a mode of action to one of the latter undemonstrated existences."

As you know, 1. I'm always late off the mark with everything, and 2. I invariably follow in your footsteps. So it's probable that I

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a See this volume, p. 548. b Marx's daughter Jenny. c Th. Schwann, Microscopical Researches into the Accordance in the Structure and Growth of Animals and Plants; M. J. Schleiden, Contribution to Phylogenesis.
shall now devote much of my spare time to anatomy and physiology and, in addition, attend lectures (where there will be practical demonstrations and dissection).

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 July 1864

Dear Moor,

When I wrote to you on 3 June, saying I would settle the business of the money on the 4th, this can only have related to the money in the bank, about which I did actually make arrangements straight away. It didn’t occur to me that you would want any more money for the present, and we had in fact agreed that you would write and say if you did wish to have any more; hence I simply left it on deposit with that philistine Steinthal, who does, after all, pay 5%.

But to settle the matter of the legacy from the 3rd to the 4th of June would have been promising more than I or anyone else could do. I believe I also wrote and told you that this might be a fairly lengthy business, depending as it did on all sorts of legal formalities (advertising a request to Lupus's undeclared creditors, payment of estate duty, etc.) which can’t be hurried along. However, I’ll leave no stone unturned to wind up the affair quickly.

But this is not, of course, to say you won’t get an approximate share of the bequest as soon as you want it. You’ll be getting a minimum of £600—I hope more—so we’ll be able to send you another £350 or so, and I shall see to it that you actually get it this week. I shall also badger Borchardt to send in his bill, for this is partly why much still remains to be settled.

If only you’d dropped me a couple of lines before now, I should have been able to procure the £350 for you at any time, i.e. within

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* See this volume, p. 535.
a day or two. Today I can’t do anything. I’ve been slaving away at the office all day, arguing with lawyers and G. Ermen (the deed of partnership isn’t ready yet, and until then G. E. refuses to recognise my right to act as a partner[270]), on top of which I’ve had Dronke here. Now it’s nearly 7 o’clock, and I’ve still had no dinner, nor have I yet finished work. So you see how things are.

Many regards.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1864

1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Freiligrath,

I got a letter today (just now) on which the address would appear to be written in your hand. If that is so, I should like to know how the letter reached you? It is from that blackguard Brass (in Berlin) who has the impudence to ask me to forward a scrawl to Biscamp. Having lost sight of that vagabond Biscamp years ago, I have, moreover, no idea how to rid myself of the scrawl, since the creature's whereabouts are not known to me.

I am writing from my bed, having had to take to it for several days because of what was a very dangerous carbuncle. This damned complaint keeps incessantly cropping up again.

On the 15th inst. I shall send Lenchen to you bearing £30, returned with many thanks—if, that is, I am not myself capable, though I think I shall be, of betaking myself between now and the 15th (inclusive) to the City, where I have other business to attend to.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in the notes in F. Mehring, The Freiligrath-Marx Correspondence, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian)

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Dear Frederick,

You will see from the address that I am spending a few days in Ramsgate.

It was a far from agreeable surprise to discover that my furuncle was in fact an extremely malignant carbuncle and, what is more, has had the impudence to erupt just above my penis. So, for about 10 days, I've been obliged to spend most of my time in bed—and in this heat, too! The thing is clearing up pretty quickly here; however, my confidence has completely evaporated now that the disease has unexpectedly cropped up again in such a malignant form.

Jenny and Tussy are here with me; Laura is coming the day after tomorrow and in about 8 or 10 days we shall go to Holland, during which time my wife will betake herself to the seaside.

Apropos. Don't forget to send the latter her chain, as she will need this for her watch when at the resort. She says all you have to do is put it in a little box and have it posted, so sending it off couldn't possibly put you to much trouble.

I hope you have now sorted things out with Ermen and are no longer being bothered by lawyers.³

As for the Schleswig-Holstein affair, I'm not yet wholly convinced that it won't end in a personal union between the Duchies and Denmark. The jealousy between Prussia and Austria and that felt by both towards the German Confederation, as well as the quarrel between Augustenburg⁵ and Russia's pretender, Oldenburg,⁶ etc., mean that such a solution is still at least a possibility, even at this late hour. Incidentally, as far back as 1851, Palmerston put forward the Duke of Oldenburg² en passant and as a pis aller³ as candidate for Schleswig-Holstein.

I shall write and tell Laura to send you The Free Press.

Your philistine on the spree lords it here as do, to an even
greater extent, his better half and his female offspring. It is almost sad to see venerable Oceanus, that age-old Titan, having to suffer these pigmies to disport themselves on his phiz, and serve them for entertainment.

Best compliments from Jenny and Tussy. Life at the seaside suits both of them admirably. Addio.

Moor

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MARX TO LION PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL.

London, 17 August 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

I found your letter waiting for me here when I came back from the British Museum yesterday evening. It was already too late for me to reply straight away. I need not tell you how alarmed I and all the family were by the contents of your letter. One thing we failed to understand. Why didn't you leave the house instantly with Nettchen? I would advise you to do so even now. When the same thing happened in my family, I immediately sent the children away; and the giantess can be nursed perfectly well without you. Why court danger unnecessarily? You will forgive me for interfering, but I feel too worried about you to mince matters. In fact, I am sorry that I am not with you in person, for this disease has no effect upon me, as I know from experience and, had you really insisted on not leaving the house (but why not?), I could have stood by you at this time of crisis, for in such crises two are better able than one, and three better able than two, to kill time and rough it.

I have written to Nettchen about our own recent doings, and she will pass on to you what little is worth mentioning. On the

\[^{a}\text{Antoinette Philips} \quad ^{b}\text{a servant in the Philips household}^{1}\]
whole, things are going quite well here and all members of the family are reasonably fit.

Just now there's a political and social lull here. Everyone who can, makes off, either abroad or to seaside resorts in this country. The monotony is broken only by daily reports of terrible railway accidents. Capital over here isn't as much subject to police supervision as on the Continent, and hence it's of no concern whatever to the railway directors how many people are killed during an excursion season, if only the balance looks to the comfortable side. All attempts to make these railway kings responsible for their homicidal neglect of all precautionary measures have hitherto come to grief as a result of the great influence exerted by the railway interest in the House of Commons.

Another source of distraction over here is the anxiety prevailing in mercantile circles because of the rise of the rate of discount! It is certain that, if the present rate of discount remains at its present high for a few more weeks, there will be a great crash among the myriads of swindling joint stock companies, which have been springing up like mushrooms this year. Already, here and there in the City a major bankruptcy heralds the approaching storm.

I recently had an opportunity of looking at a very important scientific work, Grove's *Correlation of Physical Forces*. He demonstrates that mechanical motive force, heat, light, electricity, magnetism and chemical affinity are all in effect simply modifications of the same force, and mutually generate, replace, merge into each other, etc. With great skill he dismisses such odious metaphysical-physical phantasms as 'latent heat' (as good as 'invisible light'), electric 'fluid' and similar verbal *pis aliter* which come in handy as understudies in place of ideas.

I hope to have good tidings of you soon. So much am I taken up with thoughts of you that I am unable to compose myself sufficiently to read the important American news today.

The whole family send their warmest regards. Kindly remember me to Jettchen, the doctor, Fritz and cie.

Your affectionate nephew

K. M.

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First published, in the language of the original (German), in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Assen, 1956

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* Last resort. ^b Henriette Sophia van Anrooij, Antonie Johannes Wouters van Anrooij, Friedrich Philips.
DEAR Frederick,

I returned from Ramsgate\(^a\) exactly three weeks ago today. The trip to Holland has fallen through, because a maid in my uncle's\(^b\) household suddenly contracted smallpox.

Last week my wife had a severe attack of cholera which did, for a spell, look like becoming dangerous. Yesterday she left for Brighton (solo).

I have sundry letters from Liebknecht here which, however, I shall not send as I don't know whether you are in Manchester. The enclosed scrawl by Collet\(^c\) will amuse you, and, should you not be there, it doesn't really matter. What naïveté on C.'s part! Since (to use an Austrian construction) I had done a long article on the Russian claims for him, which he didn't print, he expects me to take an interest in his ridiculous rubbish.

The enclosed letter from Eisner is in reply to my wife's asking him for biographical notes on Lupus.\(^d\)

I've been operative again for a couple of days. Before that I was still troubled with sickness and incapable. If you haven't left yet, let us know at once. We hope to see you on your way through at any rate. The children send you their love. Jenny can hardly wait to show you her greenhouse.

I haven't yet quite made up my mind about the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and more facts will be needed before a clear picture can be gained of it. You were right when you predicted the rebirth of the Holy Alliance.\(^e\) Bonaparte would seem to have a strong 'inclination at least' to make 'a fourth in the alliance'.\(^f\) Since the outbreak of the Polish revolution to date, the utter despicability of the fellow has manifested itself in the clearest and most genuine light.\(^g\)

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 549.  
\(^b\) Lion Philips  
\(^c\) Marx apparently means the item [C. D. Collet] 'Groundlessness of Any Claim of Russia to Holstein-Gottorp' in The Free Press, Vol. XII, No. 5, 4 May 1864.  
\(^d\) See this volume, pp. 588-89.  
\(^e\) See this volume, pp. 505-06.  
\(^f\) Paraphrase of a passage from Schiller's ballad Die Bürgschaft.
I've had an opportunity of looking at Grove's *Correlation of Physical Forces*. He is beyond doubt the most philosophical of the English (and indeed German!) natural scientists. Our friend Schleiden has an inborn proclivity for *fadaise*; although he, by mistake, discovered the cell.

Herewith Pieper's card. It accidentally fell into Liebknecht's hands and he has returned it to me.

*Salut.*

Your
K. M.

Be so good as to send me Ernest Jones's Manchester address.

DON'T FORGET!

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ENGLS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 September 1864

Dear Moor,

I had assumed from your last letter that you'd be in the depths of the Dutch fens, hence my pertinacious silence. I couldn't find your address in Holland. I sent your wife the watch and chain on 6 August, in a box, by registered mail, and trust it arrived safely.

I intend to travel from Hull to Hamburg next Thursday, the 8th, or Saturday, the 10th September, in order to take a look at our new property in Schleswig and Holstein and shall, provided there are no passport difficulties, also go from Lübeck to Copenhagen. I shall not be returning before the end of September and, if at all feasible, shall spend a day in London on the way back.

The partnership business has at last been settled, and the contracts signed, so I hope to have 5 years' peace from that direction.

We have left our house in Tennant Street and have been living for the past fortnight about 500 paces further along, in a

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* Gibb, p. 549.  
* ibid., p. 548.  
* ibid., p. 548.
somewhat larger house with 2 living-rooms downstairs; thus we have bettered ourselves after much the same fashion as you did by your last removal. The address is 86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road, Manchester. Letters to be addressed to me by name as before.

Jones’s address is 52 Cross Street, Manchester.

The Danes still believe, or rather fear, that a personal union will be established and, since editors Bille, of the Dagbladet, and Ploug, of the Fædrelandet, are both deputies and undoubtedly have good sources, and, since the present ministers are also good Russians, I feel convinced that powerful intrigues towards that end are being conducted by Russia. However, Monsieur Bismarck certainly has other things in view and, if he is to gain positive advantages, i.e. if he is to mediatise Schleswig-Holstein, 627 I think he will need the Augustenburg chap 6 pretty badly. This much is certain, never has Prussian dynastic policy involving the partition of Germany along the Main been so insolently advocated, and as for the rotten liberal gang, they seem to be taking quite kindly to it. Should this be the case—and I shall find out easily enough in Germany—the Prussian bourgeoisie will be giving us a tremendous lever for the next set-to. I am sure by the way that Elsner is right, at least about the old provinces 628 being intolerably flushed with victory. Indeed, I shall take care not to go there. It will be bad enough even on the Rhine.

To the worthy Gottfried’s intense alarm, I told him about Monsieur Bonaparte’s ardent desire to join the Holy Alliance 6 on the very day the matter became known. The fellow’s bound to come to a bad end. To ruminate perpetually about ‘business’ is very aging, as I can see from Gottfried, who has much the same attitude to trade as B. has to politics, and whose train of thought is also similar. As the years go by, one dreams of retirement and, if it’s not feasible, one’s health suffers. N’est pas Palmerston qui veut. 629 Ce cher Bonaparte is, I should say, very much on the decline. So much the better; once he starts to flag, he’ll soon be done for.

Best wishes to the girls. But why didn’t you drop me a couple of lines to say you were not going to Holland and that your wife was ill?

Your
F. E.

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a Friedrich of Augustenburg  b Gottfried Ermen  c See this volume, p. 552.

That dear
Dear Frederick,

Yesterday afternoon I received a letter from Freiligrath, of which copy below; from it you will see that Lassalle has been gravely wounded in a duel in Geneva. I went to see Freiligr. that same evening. However, he had not received any more telegrams. Incidentally, he told me—entre nous—that his bank was in a state of crisis, aggravated by the affair in Geneva and the role Fazy had played in the same.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Dear Marx,

I have just had a letter from Klapka in Geneva, containing the sad news that, on 30 August, Lassalle fought a duel in Geneva with a Wallachian pseudo-prince and was mortally wounded. Herewith the details from K.'s letter...

"Lassalle had been conducting a love-affair here, though with perfectly honourable intentions as he wished to marry the girl, d the daughter of the Bavarian envoy, von Dönniges. The father objected to the marriage, the girl deceived poor Lassalle: a man to whom she had been previously engaged, the above-mentioned pseudo-prince, arrived from Berlin; then came explanations, an unpleasant exchange of letters, and a challenge ensued. Lassalle's seconds were Colonel Rüstow and my fellow countryman, General Count Bethlen. Lassalle, as befitting a man of his reputation and political position, behaved with no less courage than dignity. He was shot in the stomach and is now laid up at the Hôtel Victoria with his life hanging in the balance. Unfortunately for him, the bullet is lodged deep in the body, so the wound might well become gangrenous. I went to see him at once upon my arrival and found him dictating his will, but otherwise calm and resigned to death. I am exceedingly sorry for him; often one does not get to know a person until his end is near at hand.

* between ourselves.  b There follows the text of Freiligrath's letter in Freiligrath's handwriting in the original (see also p. 557).  c J. von Rüstow.  d J. von Dönniges.
Dear Jenny,

Yesterday I got a letter from Freiligrath—copy below—from which you will see that Lassalle has been gravely wounded in a duel in Geneva. We were genuinely dismayed by the news since, whatever one may say, L. is too good to go under in this way. After receiving the letter, I went to see Freiligrath, i.e. at his private address, knowing that Ida was away. He seemed very ‘agreeably’ surprised by my visit. His daughter Louise was with him. The rest of the crew are coming back at the end of this week. Louise had been staying in Brighton for a fortnight with Franziska Rüge. Bearing in mind the Freilig.-Ruge, etc., connection, you should take care with your baroness’s cards. Ruge would be just the fellow to turn something like that to account.

Freiligrath was by no means as ‘moved’ as he made out in his letter, but cracked his little jokes as always, even on the subject of L. He told me that his bank was in a state of crisis and that the Geneva affair in particular and the role played therein by Fazy were doing it a great deal of harm. Finally, here is Tussy’s last. It being plain from F.’s letter that L. had fought a duel on account of a lady he wished to marry, Laura recalled how he told every woman he could ‘only love her for 6 weeks’. So, says Tussy, ‘he is warranted for 6 weeks’.

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*Ida Freiligrath*  
*Jenny Marx had visiting cards which read, 'Mme Jenny Marx, née Baronesse von Westphalen'.  
*Helene von Döniges*
Little Jenny is working like mad in her greenhouse. All are well and send their love.

THE OLD ONE

F.'s letter

'I have just had a letter from Klapka in Geneva. He writes:

"Lassalle had been conducting a love-affair here, though with perfectly honourable intentions as he wished to marry the girl, the daughter of the Bavarian envoy, Mr von Dönniges. The father objected to the marriage; the girl deceived poor Lassalle; a man to whom she had been previously engaged, the above-mentioned pseudo-prince, arrived from Berlin; then came explanations, an unpleasant exchange of letters, and a challenge ensued. Lassalle's seconds were Colonel Rüstow and my fellow countryman, General Count Bethlen. Lassalle, as befitted a man of his reputation and political position, behaved with no less courage than dignity. He was shot in the stomach and is now laid up at the Hotel Victoria with his life hanging in the balance. Unfortunately for him, the bullet is lodged deep in the body, so the wound might well become gangrenous. I went to see him at once upon my arrival and found him dictating his will, but otherwise calm and resigned to death. I am exceedingly sorry for him; often one does not get to know a person until his end is near at hand. Let us hope that, despite the doctors' unfavourable prognoses, he will come safely through the crisis."

'So much for Klapka. I cannot but confess (what an affected way of putting it—as though he was on the rack!) that I was deeply affected by the news and immediately telegraphed Klapka, asking him to convey my sympathy and grief to Lassalle, if he should still be alive. Klapka will reply by telegraph and I shall immediately pass on to you anything I learn."

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n The copy of the letter is in Marx's handwriting. - b J. von Racowija
Dear Moor,

Your telegram arrived yesterday even before I had opened your letter, my attention having first been claimed by all kinds of business. You can imagine how surprised I was by the news. Whatever Lassalle may have been in other respects as a person, writer, scholar—he was, as a politician, undoubtedly one of the most significant men in Germany. For us he was a very uncertain friend now and would, in future, most certainly have been our enemy; but nevertheless, it's very galling to see how Germany destroys all those in the extreme party who are in any way worth their salt. What jubilation there will be amongst the manufacturers and amongst the Progress swine, for L. was indeed the only man actually inside Germany of whom they were afraid.

But what an extraordinary way to lose one's life: To go and fall seriously in love with a Bavarian envoy's daughter—this would-be Don Juan—, ask for her hand, clash with an ex-rival, not to say Wallachian swindler, and get himself shot dead by the same. Such a thing could only happen to L., with his strange and altogether unique mixture of frivolity and sentimentality, Jewishness and chivalresquerie. How could a political man like him exchange shots with a Wallachian adventurer?

You can see with what speed the news travelled from the fact that his death had already been announced on Thursday evening in the Kölnische Zeitung, which arrived here at midday yesterday—2 hours after your telegram.

What do you think of things in America? Lee is making masterly use of his fortified camp at Richmond, and small wonder, this being already the third campaign to revolve around it. He is pinning down Grant's massive force with comparatively few men and is employing the better part of his own troops for offensive action in West Virginia and as a threat to Washington and
Pennsylvania. A first-class object-lesson for the Prussians, who could learn from it down to the last detail how to conduct a campaign centred upon the fortified camp of Coblenz, but who are, of course, far too arrogant to learn anything from these improvised generals. Grant—discharged from the army for drunkenness 6 years ago when a lieutenant, subsequently a bibulous engineer in St. Louis—has much unity of purpose and considerable contempt for the lives of his cannon-fodder; he would also seem to be very resourceful as a small-scale strategist (i.e. day-to-day operations), but I look in vain for any signs that he has enough breadth of vision to be able to survey the campaign as a whole. It seems to me that the campaign against Richmond is on the point of collapse; the impatience with which G. is attacking now in one place now in another, but nowhere proceeding methodically with saps and mines is a bad sign. Altogether, so far as the Yankees are concerned, the engineering branch would seem to be in a poor state; for this calls, not only for theoretical knowledge, but also for a tradition of practice which cannot be readily improvised.

Whether Sherman will cope with Atlanta seems doubtful, but his chances are, I think, rather better. Skirmishing by guerrillas and cavalry to his rear are unlikely to do him much harm. The fall of Atlanta would be a hard blow for the South, Rome would fall at the same time and that's where their gun foundries, etc., are; in addition, the railway connection between Atlanta and South Carolina would be lost.

Farragut is the same as always. The fellow knows what he's about. But whether Mobile itself will fall is very doubtful. The town is very strongly fortified and can, so far as I know, only be taken from the landward side, since vessels of deep draught can't approach near enough. But how stupid to split up the attacking forces on the coast, where Charleston and Mobile are being attacked simultaneously instead of one after the other, but each time with all available forces.

I don't set much store by the peace-talk that is now so prevalent. Not even by the negotiations allegedly conducted direct by Lincoln. All this I regard as an electioneering ploy. As things now stand, I should say that Lincoln's re-election is fairly certain.

My mother is at Ostende and will be going home again on Saturday, as a result of which news I have changed my travelling arrangements and shall be leaving for Ostende on Thursday.

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* 11 September  
* See this volume, p. 553.
evening. I’m afraid I shall only be able to catch the night train to
London which gets in before 6 a.m. But, if I can manage it, I shall
take the 4.15, thus getting to Euston station at 9.15, when I shall
either go straight on to Dover (s’il y a moyen”), or spend the night
at the hotel at London Bridge Station. If the latter, I shall write to
you beforehand, in which case we might be able to meet.635
Meanwhile, write and tell me what you think about America.

Best wishes to the girls.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 September 1864

Dear Frederick,

During the past few days my thoughts have been damnably
preoccupied with Lassalle’s misfortune. After all, whatever else he
may have been, he was one of the vieille souche and the foe of our
foes. And then the thing came so unexpectedly that it’s hard to
believe so noisy, stirring, pushing a person is now dead as a
door-nail and compelled to hold his tongue altogether. As regards
the cause of his death, you are perfectly right. It is one of the
many indiscretions he committed in the course of his life. With all
that, I am sorry that our relationship should have been clouded in
recent years, though the fault lay with him. On the other hand, I
am very glad that I resisted every incitement from whatever
quarter and never attacked him during his ‘year of triumph’.836

Heaven knows, our ranks are being steadily depleted, and there
are no reinforcements in sight. I’m convinced, by the by, that this
catastrophe would never have happened had L. not consorted with
military adventurers and révolutionnaires en gants jaunes in Switzer-

\[a\] if it can be done \[b\] old stock \[c\] See this volume, p. 558. \[d\] kid-glove révolutionnaires
land. But he was fatalement drawn again and again to this Coblenz of European revolution.\(^3\)

The 'Bavarian envoy's daughter'\(^2\) is none other than the daughter of Dönniges of Berlin, a fellow university demagogue\(^6\) of Rutenberg and co.'s, originally one of that little weed Ranke's jeuness\(^4\) cents—or rather, since they were no gentlemen, jeuness gens\(^5\)—whom he got to edit beastly old German imperial annals,\(^6\) etc. What that capering little troll Ranke regarded as wit—playful anecdotalism and the attribution of all great events to mean and petty origins—was strictly forbidden these young men from the country. They were supposed to stick to what was 'objective' and leave wit to their master. Our friend Dönniges was regarded as something of a rebel, since he contested Ranke's monopoly of wit, in deed if not word, and showed ad oculos\(^6\) in various ways that he, no less than Ranke, was a born 'valet' of 'history'.\(^3\)

Well, I wonder what will become of the organisation built up by L.\(^4\) Herwegh, that platonic friend of 'labor' and practical friend of the 'Muses', isn't the right man. In general, none of its lesser leaders are anything but rubbish. According to what Liebknecht writes, the Schulze-Delitzsch Association in Berlin\(^6\) can now boast no more than 40 members. How things stand over there is clear from the fact that our Wilhelm Liebknecht is a consequential political personage. Should L.'s death lead fellows like Schulze, etc., to make insolent remarks about the deceased, we can only hope that L.'s official supporters conduct themselves in such a way as to enable us to enter the lists if necessary. I must now find out who has his correspondence. I shall at once obtain an injunction—for already the mob of memoir vultures such as Ludmilla,\(^1\) etc., are circling round these literary remains—prohibiting the publication of a single line of mine or yours. If necessary, this can be legally enforced in Prussia.

So far as America is concerned, I consider the present moment, entre nous,\(^8\) to be extremely critical. If Grant suffers a major defeat, or Sherman wins a major victory, so all right. Just now, at election time, a chronic series of small checks would be dangerous. I fully agree with you that, to date, Lincoln's re-election is pretty well assured, still 100 to 1.\(^1\) But election time in a country which is

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\(^2\) Helene von Dönniges (see this volume, p. 558)
\(^3\) young
\(^4\) young men
\(^5\) young
\(^7\) patently
\(^8\) Ludmilla Assing
\(^8\) between ourselves
\(^9\) See this volume, pp. 559-60.
the archetype of democratic humbug is full of hazards that may quite unexpectedly defy the logic of events (an expression which Magnus Urrhytus considers no less idiotic than ‘the justice of a locomotive’). An armistice would seem to be quite essential to the South, if it is to be saved from complete prostration. It was the first to raise this cry, not only in its northern organs, but actually in those of Richmond, although, now that the said cry has evoked an echo in New York, the Richmond Examiner is scornfully tossing it back to the Yankees. It is altogether symptomatic that Mr Davis should have decided to treat Negro soldiers as ‘prisoners of war’—the last official order of his war secretary.

Lincoln has at his disposal considerable means for achieving election. (Needless to say, the peace proposals made by him are mere humbug.) The election of an opposition candidate would probably lead to a genuine revolution. Nevertheless, there is no mistaking the fact that during the next 8 weeks, in the course of which the matter will be decided pro tem, much will depend on military eventualities. This is undoubtedly the most critical moment since the beginning of the war. Once this has been shifted, Old Lincoln can blunder on to his heart’s content. The old man, by the bye, cannot possibly ‘create’ generals. He’d be better able to select ministers. Yet the Confederate Papers attack their ministers just as the Yankees do those in Washington. Should Lincoln succeed this time—as is highly probable—it will be on a far more radical platform and in completely changed circumstances. Then the old man will, lawyer-fashion, find that more radical methods are compatible with his conscience.

I hope to see you tomorrow! Regards to Madame Liz.

Herewith a photograph of Laura. I am hourly awaiting that of Jenny, but it has not, alas, arrived yet. Salut old boy.

Your
K. M.

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* James Alexander Seddon  b Lizzy Burns
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MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 12 September 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My Dear Countess,

You will realise how surprised, dismayed and shocked I was by the utterly unexpected news of Lassalle’s death. He was one of the people by whom I set great store. For me it is all the more distressing in that of late we had no longer been in touch. The reason for this was neither his silence alone—for it was he who was the instigator, not I—nor my own illness, which lasted over a year and of which I only rid myself a few days ago. There were also reasons which I could tell you by word of mouth but not in writing. Let me assure you that no one can feel greater sorrow over Lassalle’s untimely end than I. And, above all else, I feel for you. I know how much the deceased meant to you and what his loss must mean. One thing you can be glad of. He died young, at a time of triumph, as an Achilles.

I hope, my dear Countess, that your proud and courageous spirit will enable you to withstand this blow fate has dealt you, and that you will never doubt the wholly loyal devotion of

Your sincere friend,

Karl Marx


Printed according to the original
APPENDICES
My Dear Karl,

A thousand thanks for the letter and the SPECIE. I have not got Rheinländer's address, since you took your address book away with you. But, so as to lose no time, I have, none the less, written to him and directed the letter to Mark Lane, care of Gänsewinkel. I could not think of anybody who might be able to tell me his address, which is not indicated in his letters. If you think the letter might fail to reach him by this means, you had better write to him yourself. I shall at once betake my HUMBLE BEING to Baccalaureus and make my report. We have indeed learned of late to distinguish true and loyal friends from shams. What a difference between the lesser folk and the GRANDEES. Lassalle, by the by, has grown fearfully stupid and narrow-minded; even that modicum of lawyer's acumen he had has gone to the devil, and Heraclitus has made him hellishly dull and dark. None of his raisonnements is valid, each overturning the last. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure than the news about your book. Russia has always been good ground for you. In the long run, everything is going better than I had sometimes dared to hope in my hours of solitude. One becomes so beset by doubts and fears and in the end one deserts of everything, particularly when one thinks of the universal duplicity, baseness and cowardice—the Germans' behaviour with regard to the Humboldt CASE alone is enough to

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*a* The letter, dated by Jenny Marx '50', bears a note in Engels' handwriting saying 'Should read'60' ('Soll sein 60'). - *b* An allusion to Lassalle's book *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. - *c* arguments
make them worthy of being liberated, kicked and Jena-ed by Bonaparte. Oh, what a crew! Just a few lines today. A thousand greetings from your dear, good, cheerful children and your

Jenny

First published abridged (in Russian) in Voprosy istorii KPPS, No. 5, Moscow, 1978 and in full (likewise in Russian) in The Correspondence of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Members of the Marx Family, 1835-1871, Moscow, 1983

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JENNY MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, 14 August 1860]

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has asked me to say that, if you possibly can, you should concoct an article for him by Friday or Saturday. Several have, alas, already fallen by the way, and even today’s still seems to me problematical. Anything will do. Maybe some chat about the attack on Venice—no matter what.

This week I hope to start copying the pamphlet. The thing is taking ages, and I’m afraid Karl is making too thorough a job of it.

My pet bugbear is the ‘analysis of Techow’s letter’ and that, I should say, is where the snag lies. Everything else is making better headway.

Every day Schily and Becker send us piles of fresh documents, which are being incorporated into the thing. And I’m sorry to say that nothing has been done about finding a publisher yet. But the whole business is to be completed this week. ‘And he who disbelieves it is mistaken.’

Warm regards from the girls and myself.

Yours,

Jenny Marx


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

See this volume, p. 179. - b 17 August - c This refers to Marx’s article ‘The New Sardinian Loan.—The Impending French and Indian Loans’. - d Karl Marx, Herr Vogt. - e Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzifal, IX.
Dear Mr Engels,

Another proof-sheet\(^a\) has just arrived, which Moor must look over at once and send back to the City. He has therefore asked me to tell you—in haste, as the last post goes soon—that the highly welcome £5 note has been safely received.

With warm regards from us all.

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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\(^a\) of Marx's Herr Vogt
endure, what struggles and worries and deprivations, having often been through the same thing myself. But suffering tempers us and love keeps us going.

During our early years here, we did indeed suffer bitterly, though today I will not dwell upon the many dark memories, the many losses we had to endure, nor upon the dear, sweet loved ones who have gone to their rest and whose images we always bear silently and with profound sorrow in our hearts. Let me tell you today about a new period in our lives which, along with much that is sad, has, nevertheless, brought many a bright moment. In 1856, I and our three remaining girls made a trip to Trier. My dear mother’s delight on my arrival with her little grandchildren was indescribable but, alas, of short duration. The truest and best of mothers fell sick and, at the end of eleven days’ suffering, her dear, weary eyes, having rested once more in benison on myself and the children, closed for ever. Your dear husband, who knew my affectionate mother, will best be able to gauge my sorrow.

After our dearly loved one had been laid to rest, I left Trier, having arranged for the division between my brother Edgar and myself of what little my dear mother had bequeathed to us. Up till then, we had been living in 3 wretched furnished rooms in London. With the few hundred talers that my mother left, after all the sacrifices she had already made on our behalf, we settled into the small house we still occupy, not far from lovely Hampstead Heath (a name that you, as the translator of The Woman in White, will no doubt recall). It is indeed a princely dwelling compared with the holes we lived in before and, although it was furnished from top to bottom for little more than £40 (in which secondhand rubbish played a leading role), I felt quite grand at first in our snug parlor. All the linen and what little else remained of earlier finery were redeemed from ‘Uncle’s’ and I again had the pleasure of counting the damask table napkins which are, besides, all of old Scottish descent. Although the glory did not last for long—for soon one thing after another had to make its way back to the ‘pop-house’ (as the children call the mysterious shop with its three golden balls)—we did, nevertheless, revel in our domestic comfortableness. Then came the first American crisis and halved our income. This meant a return to a more frugal way of life.

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and debts. These last were necessary if our daughters' education, but recently begun, was to continue along the same lines as before.

And this brings me to the highlight of our existence—the brighter aspect of our lives—our dear children. I am convinced that, if your dear husband was fond of the girls even as small children, he would be truly delighted with them, now that they are well-grown, blooming young damsels. Even at the risk of your regarding me as a very complacent and indulgent mother, I cannot resist singing the dear girls' praises. They are both endowed with exceptionally warm hearts, are gifted and have becoming modesty and maidenly good manners. Little Jenny will be seventeen years old on the 1st of May. She is a girl of great charm and very attractive appearance, with her thick, shiny dark hair and equally dark, shining, gentle eyes and dark, Creole-like complexion, which has, however, acquired a genuine English bloom. Her childlike face, round as an apple, wears a sweet and good-natured expression and, when the smiling lips part to reveal her nice teeth, one forgets her not very beautiful little snub nose. Little Laura, who was fifteen years old last September, is perhaps prettier and has more regular features than her elder sister, whose very opposite she is. As tall, slender and finely built as little Jenny, she is in all other respects lighter, more radiant and transparent. The upper part of her face might be described as beautiful, so lovely is her curly, wavy chestnut hair, so sweet the dear, greenish sparkling eyes, which flicker like eternal feux de joie, so noble and finely shaped is her forehead; however, the lower part of her face is somewhat less regular, nor is it as yet fully developed. A truly blooming complexion distinguishes both sisters, and both are so little given to vanity that I sometimes cannot help feeling secretly surprised, the more so since the same could not be said of their mother in her earlier days, whilst still in pinafore dresses. At school they have always carried off the first prize. They are completely at home in English and know quite a lot of French. They can read Dante in the Italian and also know a bit of Spanish; only German is their weak point and, although I do everything in my power to impose an occasional German lesson upon them, they never really bow to my wishes and neither my authority nor their respect is very much in evidence. Little Jenny has a special talent for drawing and her pastels are the finest adornment of our rooms. Little Laura so neglected drawing that, to punish her, we stopped her taking lessons. On the other hand, she practises the piano with great zeal and sings German and English duets with her sister most delightfully. Unfortunately, it was only very
belatedly, some eighteen months ago, that the girls were able to begin their musical education. To obtain the money for it was quite beyond us, nor did we possess a piano; indeed, the one we have got now and which I have hired is a veritable rattle trap. The girls make us very happy with their sweet, modest behaviour. But their little sister is the idol and spoilt darling of the entire household.

The baby had only just been born when my poor, dear Edgar departed this life, and all the love we felt for the dear little boy, all our tenderness towards him, was transferred to his little sister, whom our elder daughters tended and nursed with almost maternal solicitude. Indeed, a more delightful child can hardly be imagined — pretty as a picture, guileless and with a whimsical sense of humour. A particular characteristic is her charming way of talking and story-telling. The latter has been learned from the Grimm Brothers, who are her companions by day and by night. We all of us read her the fairy tales until we can read no more, but woe betide us if so much as a syllable is left out in Rumpelstiltskin or in King Thrushbeard, or in Snow-White. The child, who has already absorbed English with the air she breathes, has also learnt German from these fairy tales and speaks it exceptionally grammatically and precisely. She is a real PFT of Karl's and dispels many a care with her laughter and chatter. In the domestic sphere 'Lenchen' still remains my staunch, conscientious companion. Ask your dear husband about her, and he will tell you what a treasure she has been to me. For sixteen years now she has weathered storm and tempest with us.

Last year we suffered intense provocation in the shape of an infamous attack by the 'well-rounded character' and the vile behaviour of the entire German, American, etc., press. You would not believe how many sleepless nights and worries the whole business has caused us.\(^47\) The case against the *Nationalzeitung* cost a great deal of money and, when Karl had finished his book,\(^4\) he was unable to find a publisher. He had to have it printed at his own expense (£25) and, now that it has come out, it is being hushed up by the base, cowardly, venal press. I am exceedingly glad that you liked the book. Your opinion of it agrees almost word for word with that of all our friends. Needless to say, the silence quite deliberately maintained by the press has meant far fewer sales than we might rightfully have expected. In the meantime, we shall have to be content with the great encomiums
of everyone who matters. Even opponents and enemies have acknowledged it as highly important. Bucher called it a compendium of contemporary history, and Lassalle writes to say that, as a work of art, it has given him and his friends indescribable pleasure, its fund of wit having occasioned them endless glee and delight. Engels considers it to be Karl's best book, as does Lupus. Congratulations are flooding in from all sides, and even that old cur Ruge has called it a 'good piece of nonsense'. I wonder whether a similar silence is being maintained in America. It really would be too infuriating, the more so since all the newspapers there have opened their columns to stupid lies and calumnies. Perhaps your dear husband can do something about making the book known.

Hardly had I finished copying the manuscript, while it was still being printed, when I suddenly became very unwell. A most frightful fever took hold of me, and the doctor had to be called in. On 20 November he arrived, examined me carefully and at length and, after a long silence, came out with the following words: *My dear Mrs Marx, I am sorry to say, you have got the smallpox—the children must leave the house immediately.* You can imagine the horror and distress of the household on hearing this pronouncement. What was to be done? Undismayed, the Liebknechts offered to take the children in, and by midday the girls, laden with their small belongings, had already betaken themselves into exile. As for me, I became hourly more ill, the smallpox assuming horrifying proportions. My sufferings were great, very great. Severe, burning pains in the face, complete inability to sleep, and mortal anxiety in regard to Karl, who was nursing me with the utmost tenderness, finally the loss of all my outer faculties while my inner faculty—consciousness—remained unclouded throughout. All the time, I lay by an open window so that the cold November air must blow upon me. And all the while hell's fire in the hearth and ice on my burning lips, between which a few drops of claret were poured now and then. I was barely able to swallow, my hearing grew ever fainter and, finally, my eyes closed up and I did not know whether I might not remain shrouded in perpetual night!

But my constitution, aided by the most tender and constant care, got the better of it and now here I sit, once more in perfect health, but with a face disfigured by scars and a dark red

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See this volume, p. 231. of Herr Vogt

23*
tinge—quite à la hauteur de la mode couleur de 'Magenta'?" It was not till Christmas Eve that the poor children were allowed to return to the paternal fold for which they had been yearning. Our first reunion was indescribably touching. The girls were profoundly moved and could scarcely refrain from weeping over my appearance. Five weeks before, I didn’t look too bad alongside my blooming daughters. Since I was by some miracle still without a grey hair in my head and had still kept my teeth and figure, I was habitually considered to be well-preserved—but how changed was all this now! To myself I looked like a rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, which belonged in a zoological garden rather than in the ranks of the Caucasian race. But do not be unduly alarmed! Things are no longer quite so bad today, and the scars are beginning to heal. Scarcely had I been able to leave my bed than my dear, beloved Karl fell ill, laid low by excessive anxiety, worry and troubles of all kinds. For the first time, his chronic liver complaint became acute. However, God be praised, he recovered after four weeks’ suffering. In the meantime, we had again been temporarily reduced to half pay by the Tribune; instead of earning something from the book, a bill of exchange had to be paid. On top of that, there was the huge expense occasioned by this most frightful of all maladies. In short, you can imagine how things have been with us all this winter. As a result of all this business, Karl decided to make a foray into Holland, the land of his fathers, and of tobacco and cheese. He wants to see if he can wheedle some SPECIE out of his uncle. At the moment, therefore, I am a grass widow, waiting to see whether the great Dutch expedition will be successful. On Saturday, I got the first letter expressing some hopes and containing 'sixty gulden'. Such an affair is not, of course, quickly concluded and calls for careful manoeuvres, diplomacy, and proper management. Still, I hope that Karl will get something out of that country and leave it the poorer.

As soon as he meets with some SUCCESS in Holland, he intends to make a little clandestine trip to Berlin in order to spy out the terrain and, perhaps, arrange for a monthly or weekly publication. Recent experience has shown us only too plainly that we cannot possibly manage without an organ of our own. Should Karl

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*Magenta*, a deep purplish red reminiscent of the colour of blood, was fashionable in Paris in 1859. It owes its name to the North Italian town of Magenta, where the French forces defeated the Austrians in a bloody battle on 4 June 1859. See this volume, p. 252.
succeed in setting up a new party organ, he will assuredly write to
your husband, asking him to send reports from America. Hardly
had Karl left when our faithful Lenchen also fell ill and is still laid
up. However she is on the mend. My hands are completely full
therefore, and this letter has been written in the greatest hurry. But
I neither could nor would remain silent, and it has done me good
to pour out my heart for once to our oldest and most loyal
friends. So, I will not apologise for having written to you in such
great detail and about anything and everything. My pen ran away
with me, and I can only hope and wish that these scribbled lines
may give you a little of the pleasure that I got when I read yours.

I immediately attended to the matter of the bill of exchange and
arranged everything just as though my lord and master were here.

My girls send their love and kisses to your dear children—one
Laura to the other—and in my thoughts I embrace each of them.
To you yourself, my dear friend, I send my most affectionate
greetings. In these hard times, you must be plucky and keep your
head unbowed. The world belongs to the brave. Keep on being
your dear husband’s loyal, unwavering support, while remaining
yourself pliable in mind and in body, the loyal, ‘unrespectable’
comrade of your dear children, and let us have word of you from
time to time.

Your very affectionate

Jenny Marx

How often have I thought of the lovely potato soup you used to
give me in Frankfurt. Unfortunately, it cannot be made here.
There is no cream, and an egg beaten up in a drop of milk is not
half as good. Which reminds me of Dronke, and so I shall have to
start another sheet in order to give you some news of old friends.
Engels is in Manchester, as before. His father is dead, he has
inherited, but is engaged in a law-suit with his partner, is in the
clutches of the lawyers and by no means out of the wood
financially.

Lupus makes a livelihood by giving lessons in Manchester. He is
just the same as ever—a decent, hardworking chap of simple
habits. He is held in very high regard up there, and his main
battles are fought with his landlady who, being a bachelor of
long standing, now cuts down his tea, now depletes his sugar, now
interferes with his coal supply. Dronke has had a real stroke of
luck, having obtained a commission agency through Garnier-Pagès
which earns him nearly £1,000 a year. He has become an
out-an-out philistine, boastful and repulsive; he has not behaved
nearly as well towards Karl or any of his oldest friends as might have been expected. He has a penchant for that fat philistine Freiligrath, who is still living comfortably off his post as manager of a rotten bankrupt firm. He has changed considerably for the worse and has not treated us in a friendly manner! For political and diplomatic reasons an open breach with him is to be avoided. We maintain a factitious relationship. I have broken completely with the distaff side of the family. I am not fond of half measures. So, I don't see anybody just now. Pieper has gone away and is living as a teacher in Bremen—he has come down badly in the world and become a slovenly flibbertigibbet. Yesterday, Dr Eichhoff arrived here from Berlin. He is the first refugee from the régime of 'handsome William' as the Berliners call their present sovereign. Imandt is a married man in Scotland.—Red Wolf a teacher in some God-forsaken spot—turned philistine—aussi* married, 3 children. And that is all I can remember in haste about our old acquaintances.

Well, then, that's what I call gossip! But now, and for the last time, farewell.

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JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, before 16 March 1861]

My dear Mr Engels,

How can I thank you for all the love and devotion with which you have stood by us for years now in our sorrows and afflictions? I was so happy when I saw there was five times as much as I had expected, that it would be hypocritical not to admit it, and yet my joy was as nothing compared with Lenchen's! How joyously her almost lifeless eyes lighted up when I ran upstairs and told her: 'Engels has sent £5 for your COMFORTS.'

* also
It seems to me that the inflammation has gone down a bit—yesterday the doctor also thought her somewhat better, though she is still dangerously ill. The only question is whether she may not get too weak and whether some kind of haemorrhage or gangrene won't set in. The worst thing is that we are not yet allowed to give her any tonic, for all stimulants likely to aggravate the inflammation must be avoided. We have all had some really anxious days and nights, and I myself have been doubly anxious since I don't really know how Karl is getting on, whether he is in Berlin, or where he is. There was no letter again today.

Poor Lupus, how sorry I am for him, lying there helpless and in great pain, deprived of solicitous nursing and wholly à la merci of a rapacious landlady, though in fact his afflictions are largely his own fault. What's the point of such awful pedantry, such conscientiousness? You ought to take the old gentleman more in hand and, above all, wean him from gin and brandy, those arch-enemies of gout. Excuse this hasty note; there is so much to do and think about and today I have still to fit in a trip to town where a pawn ticket is due—but never mind, so long as we pull Lenchen through, and my beloved Karl soon sends good tidings.

Warm regards from the girls and from your

Jenny Marx

Published in English for the first time

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, between 21 and 24 March 1861]

My dear Mr Engels,

Hitherto I have sent you so many epistles of complaint that I now feel impelled to bring you better news for once. First, so far as it is humanly possible to say, Lenchen will recover. The doctor is very satisfied with her condition and extremely optimistic. The rambling, singing, weeping and raving that so alarmed us has subsided to a great extent, and a mutton chop has just been taken
up to her. Your help enabled me to give her all the comforts, a constantly warm room, wine, and even the luxury of eau de Cologne, which is such a great help in an illness like this, particularly in view of the frequent fainting fits. Besides this good news, I can at long last report the safe arrival of a letter from Moor.\footnote{a} He has been in Berlin since Sunday\footnote{b} and is staying with Lassalle, who welcomed him with the greatest affability. At one dinner he sat between the daughter of Babylon\footnote{c} (shades of Weerth') and the indescribably ugly Ludmilla.\footnote{d} I wish him joy! Apart from that, he doesn't go into any details, for he was in a hurry to send off 50 talers to me. He simply says that prospects are good and that he won't come home empty-handed. I only fear that his home-coming may be somewhat further delayed. With warmest regards from us all.

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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\footnote{a}{17 March. \footnote{b}{Sophie von Hatzfeldt. \footnote{c}{'Worth' in the original; the nickname 'daughter of Babylon' was used by Weerth in his letters. \footnote{d}{Ludmilla Assing. \footnote{e}{knew all about}}}}
Jenny Marx to Engels. Beginning of April 1861

main, most satisfactory. To begin at the beginning. The uncle a has fallen in with all the son's proposals and, as soon as Karl arrives in Bommel, will settle the financial business. Now, as to the rumours in the papers, they are all wrong, as you no doubt supposed, nor has it ever remotely occurred to Karl that the family might move to and settle down in Berlin. What he did propose to effect there, however, was his renaturalisation.²⁶² I don’t quite understand this and don’t know why Karl should be in such a hurry to become a Royal Prussian 'subject' again. I’d rather have remained a 'stray groschen' b (red Wolff’s late-lamented threepenny bit) a while longer. Negotiations over this have prolonged his stay in Berlin. The government wanted to settle the matter by according him Berlin citizenship with which Karl refused to be satisfied, and thus the whole business has dragged on from day to day. Today Karl writes to say that he doesn’t expect to hear for certain before the 12th and until then must continue to be bored stiff. Little Izzy still seems addicted to drivelling and the speculative notion. In other respects, he really gave proof of the utmost friendship for Karl, whose inseparable companion he has been. Now, Moor would have proceeded straight from Berlin to Bommel, had he not received from his mother an invitation, which has left him undecided whether or not he should go to Trier. If he does go there, it means yet more delay before he comes home, and he could hardly be here before a fortnight is out.²⁷⁸ Lassalle’s head seems to be filled with dreams of a great newspaper; he also maintains that he could contribute 20,000 talers to it. But what a risky venture for Karl—a daily paper, and on the countess’s own ground, too! c I myself feel small longing for the fatherland, for ‘dear’, beloved, trusty Germany, that mater dolorosa of poets—and as for the girls! The idea of leaving the country of their precious Shakespeare appals them; they’ve become English to the marrow and cling like limpets to the soil of England. It’s a good thing your warrant has been withdrawn; thus you’re free to go, after all. I assume that Schily and Imandt will be in the same category as yourself. Yesterday I had news of the former through Rheinländer. For months the poor fellow has been so ill and miserable that he finds it difficult even to write and it costs him a tremendous effort to drag himself from one place to another. His friends, it seems, had pretty well given him up and believed him to be

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consumptive. He now pins his faith on Morrison's pills, that worst of all quack medicines. The extent of the havoc wrought by these poisonous pills may be gauged from the fact that he actually feels somewhat drawn to the National Association.\(^4\) (At its last meeting here, Hans Ibeles\(^a\) and Rudolf Schramm had a fearful set-to—Schramm launched a furious onslaught upon the reverend gentleman who, replying with priestly unction, was accorded the laurels by a good-for-nothing audience made up of clerks, Islington choristers, etc.) Rheinländer had also had a letter from Schily with news about la Moïse\(^b\) Sauernheimer,\(^c\) the general, who had for many years been her lover, was getting married; to protect himself against Mrs Hess, who had threatened to create a public scandal in the church, he surrounded himself with a number of policemen. Mrs H. was not allowed into the church and had to content herself with parading in all her finery outside the church door. She is said to lead a very gay life and for a change, when things are bad, to do sewing for a German tailor. From time to time, she calls on Schily who can never forget having often seen her tipsy in Geneva. Besides this tragi-comical affair, he also relates that in Paris Mirès is said to have advanced Eugénie\(^d\) vast sums for the Pope,\(^e\) and that 'little Mathilde',\(^f\) too, is in bad odour.

I was most interested to hear from you about the Lancashire strikes, since it's impossible to get a clear idea of what's going on from the newspapers.\(^6\) At any rate, inopportune though this opposition on the part of the English workers may be, and unedifying as are its results, it is a heartening manifestation by comparison with the Prussian workers' movement and the social question in the shape it assumes over there—namely, Schulze-Delitzsch, cum the capital-loving Straubingers,\(^6\) their savings banks and distress funds!

As regards Lenchen's health, it is improving steadily, if only very slowly. She is still very, very weak, but is already spending hours out of bed, and today she even walked up and down outside the house in the sunshine.

I am glad to hear that poor Lupus is back on his feet again. Please give him my warmest regards; similarly the girls ask me to send you their most cordial regards with this gossipy scrawl.

Let us hear from you again soon. With warm regards,

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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\(^a\) Gottfried Kinkel; an allusion to Johanna Kinkel's book *Hans Ibeles in London*.  
\(^b\) Sibylle Hess - \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 185, 71.  
\(^d\) Montijo - \(^e\) Pius IX - \(^f\) Mathilde Bonaparte
Apropos. I really cannot resist depicting for you a little scene from life in London. A week ago last Wednesday, immediately after dinner, I saw a vast concourse outside our door; all the children of the neighbourhood had gathered round a man who was lying flat on his face outside our house. Never in my life have I seen anything like it. No Irishman, in the depths of degradation, could equal this skeleton. Moreover, the man, clad in filthy rags, appeared to be unusually tall. When I arrived on the scene, neighbours had already brought out food and spirits, but in vain. The man lay there motionless, and we thought he must be dead. I sent for a policeman. When the latter had arrived and taken a look at him, he at once addressed him as 'You mean impostor!' and dealt him a blow that sent his hat flying, after which he picked him up like a parcel and shook him. And who did I find staring straight at me with perplexed, despairing eyes?—the Laplander! You can imagine my horror. He went staggering off and I sent after him with some money which, however, he refused. He said to Marian: 'No, please, I don't need money', and set it down on a stone, then called out to the policeman, 'That's for your attention.' Sad, is it not?


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8

JENNY MARX TO BERTA MARKHEIM

IN FULDA

London, 6 July [1863]

My dear Mrs Markheim,

On Saturday, just as we were about to sit down at table, I received a letter addressed in an unfamiliar hand. Being more used to getting disagreeable letters than cheerful ones, I resolved to put aside this strange luncheon guest. But the children said

a Anders
'open it, there may be something nice inside', and how pleasantly surprised I was, how moved and grateful when I found it was an indirect token of your existence and your affection, and that you had again been thinking of me with love, loyalty and sympathy, without so much as a reminder on my part.

I am certain that it will be some sort of satisfaction to you to learn that your unexpected contribution has helped us—indeed made it possible—to send little Jeny to a seaside resort, a course which, in the doctor's opinion, has, alas, again become a sad necessity. The poor child is again suffering from a most obstinate cough, which has failed to respond either to medicines or to the warm summer weather but which will, I trust, be banished by sea air and bathing. 

The other two are cheerful and well. Laura now accompanies her Papa on many of his visits to the British Museum, to which end she has been given a ticket. The little one has just moved out of the 'spelling' stage into that of 'reading with obstacles'—not exactly a race. Grimm's fairy tales are a great delight to her and Snow-White, Sleeping Beauty, King Thrushbeard and Brother Merry are now the heroes of her childish fantasies.

My dear Karl had a great deal of trouble with his liver this spring. However, despite all the setbacks, his book is now making gigantic strides towards completion. It would have been finished sooner, had he kept to his original plan of limiting it to 20 or 30 sheets. But since the Germans really believe only in 'fat' books, and the far more subtle concentration and elimination of all that is superfluous counts for nothing in the eyes of those worthies, Karl has added a lot more historical material, and it is as a volume of 50 sheets that it will fall, like a bomb, on German soil. Alas for our German soil! Abroad, one feels almost ashamed of being a German—and as for the honour of being 'Prussian'? Could anything be more pitiful than the spectacle presented by Prussia? It is difficult to say which is the more deplorable, the king, the ministers, the camarilla—or the servile populace and, above all, the miserable, cowardly, toadyng, silent press! One often feels tempted to turn away in disgust from all politics, and indeed I wish we could observe the scene purely as 'amateurs'; but for us, unfortunately, it always remains a vital question.

Karl hopes to go to Germany in September. Perhaps he will see Dr. K. then, too, and will be in your vicinity as well. Do, please,
let me have some direct news from you before long. With most heartfelt and grateful good wishes from us all and, especially, from

Your
Jenny Marx

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9
JENNY MARX TO BERTA MARKHEIM
IN FULDA

Hampstead, 12 October 1863

My dear Mrs Markheim,

On writing the date, I now see to my great dismay that I have let more than a month go by without answering your last kind letter. I got it just after we returned home from Hastings and, for many petty and mundane reasons, failed to reply at once and, as you know, nothing is more dangerous in correspondence than procrastinating instead of responding to the first warm impulse of the heart and at once setting one's pen at a canter, lest the nib become encrusted with ink. I am not only pleading on my own behalf today, I must also put in a word for my lord and master, who in this respect has a much blacker list of sins with which to reproach his guilty conscience. He has, of course, received Dr Kugelmann's letter, and I really have no excuse to offer for his failure to write, other than to say that, in general, he is one of the worst correspondents the world has ever known and often keeps his oldest and best friends waiting for months, even years. If he now treats Dr K. in the same manner as he does his oldest and best friends, he (Dr K.) must be good enough to make allowances for such dilatoriness, and I trust that you, my dear Mrs Markheim, will put in a good word on his behalf. Should he not write very soon, it will, I imagine, be because he hopes to see him in person in the not too distant future; just as it is his intention to

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9. Jenny Marx to Berta Markheim. 12 October 1863 583
visit Frankfurt and call on you. For we have recently learned that
an old aunt of Karl's, his late father's only sister, is living in
Frankfurt and would love to see him again after so many, many
years."

Our stay in Hastings, a delightful and beautifully situated spot,
where we spent our time either beside, upon or in the sea, has
done us all a great deal of good, particularly our ailing little
Jenny, whose cheeks have again filled out and grown rosy.

Her cough has not quite gone, but it seldom recurs and then
only in very mild form, and she has also got her appetite back.
Touch wood, touch wood! And I only hope we shall spend a less
wretched winter than the last one.

We are closely following the course of events in our fatherland
but, with the best will in the world, I cannot share your opinion
nor give myself up to sanguine hopes. Perhaps the prolonged
anxiety and dismal experiences of the immediate past have
clouded my mind and obscured my vision so that I see everything
in darker colours and paint things grey on grey."

I hope I shall soon hear from you again and, in sending you my
family's warmest greetings, I bid you farewell for today.

Yours ever,

Jenny Marx

First published (in Italian) in Movimento
operaio No. 2, March-April 1955

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, beginning of November 1863]
9 Grafton Terrace

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor sends you herewith the 'MOST NOBLE Daoud Bey's' Free
Press. It will amuse you a lot. Karl, alas, cannot write himself.
For the past week he has been very unwell and is tied to the sofa.

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a Esther Kosel · b See this volume, p. 499. · c David Urquhart
2 boils appeared on his cheek and back. The one on his cheek responded to the household remedies one normally uses for such things. The other, on his back, has assumed such dimensions and is so inflamed that poor Moor is enduring the most frightful pain and gets no respite either by day or by night. You can imagine, too, how depressed this business makes him. It seems as though the wretched book will never get finished. It weighs like a nightmare on us all. If only the LEVIATHAN were LAUNCHED!

With warmest regards from us all.

Yours,

Jenny Marx


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11

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 24 November 1863]

My dear Mr Engels,

It's so long since we heard from you that Karl has an ardent desire for news of you. For a week now, he would seem to have been out of danger. The good, strong wine and enormous meals have enabled him to withstand the pain and the debilitating effect of the heavy discharge of pus. Unfortunately, he can't sleep at all and is still having very bad nights. The doctor is very satisfied with the way the complaint is progressing and hopes that the suppuration will stop in 4 to 6 days. He is now getting up from time to time and today has been conveyed from the sickroom to the living-room.

He sends you the enclosed circular from the Workers' Society as well as a letter from the 'Chair'-this little thing will divert the man who for 15 years has fought and suffered for the working people.

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a See this volume, p. 488. b Allen
class' a (presumably he means drinking champagne with the red-haired beauty b. 1805 b) from a course acceptable to the police to one that is unacceptable to the police. Write soon. With warm regards from us all.

Yours,

Jenny Marx

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12

JENNY MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

[London, about 24 November 1863]

My dear Mr Liebknecht,

When I last wrote to your dear wife, I had little conception of the horrifying days lying immediately ahead of us. For 3 weeks my beloved Karl was desperately ill, for he was suffering from one of the most dangerous and painful illnesses—a carbuncle on his back. I need add nothing to those few lines. You and your dear wife know how much you mean to us. Nor, even if I wanted to, could I tell you in detail all we went through during these weeks, so I will say no more and, at the behest of my beloved husband, now on the road to recovery, pass on to you the enclosed circular, issued by the Workers' Society. Aside from the interest attaching to Polish affairs, it was, I believe, sent into the world to put a stop to the 'pro-police movement' on the part of certain persons. The 'Chair' at once swallowed the thing hook, line and sinker, and asked for 50 copies for distribution to the communities. Karl is sending it to you to make you au fait with the matter.

All the same, now that I have executed my task, let me just tell you how our family afflictions began. Karl had already been ailing

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a A quotation from a speech made by Lassalle in Solingen on 27 September 1863 as reported in the Berliner Reform, No. 229, 1 October 1863. b Sophie von Hatzfeldt. c This refers to Lassalle (see end of previous letter). d of the General Association of German Workers
For months, he found it intensely difficult to work and, in an attempt to find some alleviation, smoked twice as much as usual, and took three times as many pills of various kinds—blue and amabilious, etc. About 4 weeks ago he got a boil on his cheek; though it was very painful, we got the better of it with the usual household remedies. Before it had quite gone, a similar one erupted on his back. Although it was inordinately painful and the swelling grew daily worse, we were foolish enough to believe we would be able to get rid of it with poultices, etc. Also, in accordance with German ideas, my poor Karl almost completely deprived himself of food, even eschewing the miserable ale, and lived on lemonade. At last, when the swelling was the size of my fist and the whole of his back misshapen, I went to Allen. Never shall I forget the man's expression when he saw that back. He waved me and little Tussy out of the room, and Lenchen had to hold Karl while he made a deep, deep incision, a great gaping wound from which the blood came pouring out. Karl remained calm and still, and did not flinch. Then began a round of hot poultices, which we have now been applying night and day every 2 hours, like clockwork, for the past fortnight. At the same time, the doctor ordered 3-4 glasses of port, and half a bottle of claret daily, and four times as much food as usual. The object was to restore the strength he had lost so as to help him withstand the frightful pain and the debilitating effect of the heavy discharge of pus. That is how we have spent the last fortnight—I need tell you two no more. Lenchen also fell ill from worry and exertion but is a little better again today. Whence I myself drew strength, I cannot tell. The first few nights I was the only one to sit up with him, for a week I took it in turns with Lenchen, and now I sleep on the floor in his room, so as to be always at hand. How I feel, now that he's recovering, you will be able to guess.

He sends you both his cordial regards, as do my poor daughters. Please write, both of you, as soon as you can and as much as you can. He greatly enjoys getting letters. Please excuse my writing so incoherently.

Your old friend,

Jenny Marx
Dear Sir,

I have been commissioned by Dr Marx to acknowledge the receipt of the second half of the banknotes the first half of which arrived here yesterday. Also to express his thanks for the photographs received this morning. As to the Biography which You intend writing, he says that as You have the necessary papers etc., You can commence it at once, while he writes to Dr Eisner for further materials. I think I have now said all I have been requested to say.

I am, dear Sir,

Obediently Yours,

L. M. Secretary

F. Engels Esq.


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Dear Sir,

We assume you are the author of the fine obituary of our late, dear friend W. Wolff, which appeared in the Breslauer Zeitung: My husband is anxious to write a detailed biography of him, but

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 539. \(^b\) Polish name: Wroclaw. \(^c\) [K. F. M. Eisner:] 'Kasematten-Wolff', Breslauer Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe, 24 May 1864.
has no material whatever on the earlier phases of our friend's life. You would be doing him a great service if you could help him in this respect by passing on to him in as much detail as possible everything you know about Wolff, especially his childhood and the earlier part of his life. We have been on the closest terms with him ever since 1845. Hence what we are concerned with is rather the earliest period of his life. My husband, who has just recovered from a grave and very wearisome illness, has directed me to ask you, Sir, as an old and trusted friend of the deceased, to do us this kindness, and I hope that you will soon pass on to us everything you can call to mind about our dear, dear Wolff.

With cordial regards from my husband and myself.

Yours,

Jenny Marx,

née von Westphalen


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NOTES AND INDEXES
NOTES

1 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. Marx began his letter on a form of the General Bank of Switzerland under the letter from Freiligrath, who was manager of the bank's London branch.—3

2 The Cologne trial (4 October-12 November 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of 'treasonable plotting'. The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article 'The Late Trial in Cologne' and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlet Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11).—3, 22, 44, 54, 72, 80, 135, 140, 375

3 The German Workers' Educational Society in London was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). 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. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on 17 September 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had succeeded in temporarily increasing its influence in the Society and caused a split in the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 483 and 632). In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society. It existed until 1918 when it was closed down by the British government.—3, 94, 103, 232, 342, 517, 533
This refers to the refusal by Freiligrath, former member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, to help Marx unmask the Bonapartist agent Carl Vogt. In a statement published in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung on 15 November 1859, he declared that he had nothing to do with the accusations levelled at Vogt. In so doing, he virtually dissociated himself from the attempts to establish the author of the anonymous anti-Vogt flysheet Zur Warnung, which had been launched by Karl Blind and was falsely attributed to Marx by Vogt. Marx deals with the matter in Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17) and in his letters to Engels of 19 and 26 November 1859, and to Freiligrath of 23 and 28 November 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—3, 9, 11

The Association of German Men was an organisation of German refugees in London set up after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.—4, 309

An ironic reference to Gottfried Kinkel, who had named the weekly he was publishing in London Hermann after Arminius (Hermann), chieftain of the old German tribe of Cheruscians.—4

County-court—local judicial court for civil actions in England.—4, 327, 399

Marx means his work on the second instalment of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (see also Note 35).—4, 17, 23, 274, 280

On 26 November 1859, the Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung (No. 95-96) carried a review of Engels' anonymously published pamphlet In and Rhine. It endorsed Engels' critique of the theory that Germany's security depended on German domination of Northern Italy.—4

In October 1859, the Abolitionist farmer John Brown, at the head of a band of eighteen (including five Blacks), seized a government arsenal of Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to provoke an insurrection of slaves in the Southern states. The band was surrounded by regular troops and almost wholly destroyed. Brown was seriously wounded. He and five of his comrades were tried and hanged in Charleston. The Brown uprising started a mass anti-slavery movement (see Note 12).—4, 7

Marx followed the movement for the emancipation of peasants in Russia using a variety of sources, among them the Prussian Allgemeine Zeitung. In the present case, he presumably drew on an article 'Rußland und Polen', reprinted in the Allgemeine Zeitung of 6 December 1859 (No. 340) from the Neue Hannoversche Zeitung, and the article by the Allgemeine Zeitung's St. Petersburg correspondent Zur russischen Leibeigenschaftsfrage und die Finanz-Verhältnisse des Staats', Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 3 (supplement) and No. 5 (supplement), 3 and 5 January, 1860.—4

There was an abortive black uprising in the town of Bolivar, Missouri, in December 1859. Marx refers to a note published in the New-York Daily Tribune on 30 December 1859 (No. 5830).—4, 7

In his letter of 16 December 1859 (it has not been found) Marx probably asked Szemere to help him out of his financial difficulties. In his reply of 29 December Szemere informed Marx that his efforts had been to no avail.—5

On 11 December 1859 Szemere wrote to tell Marx that he intended to publish a pamphlet on Hungary and asked Marx to help him in having it translated into English and published in Britain. Szemere's pamphlet appeared in Paris in 1860 under the title La Question hongroise (1848-1860) and in London, in
Notes

Bentley’s publishing house, the same year, under the title *Hungary, from 1848 to 1860*.

15 Marx means his letter to Lassalle of 22 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40) criticising the latter’s tactics on the question of Germany’s and Italy’s unification as set forth in Lassalle’s pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie* (see Note 52).—6, 11, 17

16 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—7

17 Marx sent articles to the *New York Daily Tribune* on Tuesdays and Fridays; 27 January 1860 was Friday.—7

18 At Cabo Negro (a mountain ridge in Morocco) a battle of the 1859-60 Spanish-Moroccan war was fought in mid-January 1860 (see also Engels’ article ‘The Moorish War’, present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 554-55).—7

19 This refers to press reports about the Prussian government’s intention to submit a bill to the Diet providing for longer army service and a bigger military budget. The bill, tabled on 9 February 1860, was rejected by the Diet’s liberal majority, and this precipitated a Constitutional crisis (see Note 290). The proposed reform of the Prussian army was discussed by Engels in the articles ‘Preparations for War in Prussia’ (present edition, Vol. 17) and ‘The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers’ Party’ (Vol. 20).—7

20 On 24 January 1860, Britain and France signed a commercial treaty which envisaged a temporary reduction of import duties on English coton and woollens and French silks and the lifting, from July 1860, of duties on imported raw materials.—8

21 This refers to Fischel’s pamphlet *Despoten als Revolutionäre*, published anonymously in Berlin in 1859. The same year it appeared in English under the title The Duke of Coburg’s Pamphlet. See also p. 153 of this volume.—8

22 When writing this letter, Marx evidently had not yet received Vogt’s pamphlet. What he calls the introduction was actually the second section. The first contained a verbatim report of the court proceedings against the Allgemeine Zeitung in Augsburg in October 1859. Vogt had sued the newspaper for reprinting, in June of that year, Karl Blind’s anonymously published pamphlet *Warnung zur gefälligen Verbreitung*, which exposed him as a Bonapartist agent (Marx calls it, for brevity, *Zur Warnung*; for details of it see his polemic *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32). Marx likens Vogt’s piece to the petty-bourgeois democrat Müller-Tellering’s libellous pamphlet *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels* (Cologne, 1850).—9

23 By the gang of imperial rascals (Reichshuderkenbande) Marx means Karl Vogt and his associates, an allusion to the fact that Vogt had been a member of the Imperial Regency (see Note 154). Marx also often sarcastically refers to him as the ‘Imperial Vogt’, the German word Vogt being the medieval name for bailiffs appointed by the German Emperor.—10, 12, 23, 34

24 The German National Association (Deutscher National-Verein) was the party of the German liberal bourgeoisie favouring the unification of Germany (without Austria) under the aegis of the King of Prussia. The Association was set up in Frankfurt am Main in September 1859. Its supporters were nicknamed Little Germans.—10, 160, 164, 192, 200, 319, 342, 385, 383, 311, 580
Lassalle took an unseemly stand on Marx's controversy against Vogt. In November 1859 he had virtually prevented Marx from publishing a declaration against Vogt and Blind in the Volks-zeitung (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9). In this connection Marx wrote to Engels, on 26 November, that Lassalle was, in effect, 'piping the same tune as Vogt' (present edition, Vol. 40, p. 542). In late January 1860, after the publication of Vogt's libellous pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung, Lassalle wrote to tell Marx of his displeasure with the latter for sharing the opinion, current in democratic circles, that Vogt was a paid Bonapartist agent. In a letter written at the beginning of February, Lassalle sought to dissuade Marx from bringing a lawsuit against the National-Zeitung for reprinting Vogt's calumnies.—10, 252, 257, 478

In 1859 and 1860, Fischel was editing in Berlin Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Documente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte, a collection of diplomatic documents modelled on The Portfolio, or a Collection of State Papers, published by Urquhart in London from 1835 to 1837. Excerpts from Marx's Lord Palmerston (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-407) appeared in Fischel's Portfolio, Hefte I and II, 1859-60.—10, 152

The Foreign Affairs Committees were public organisations run by the Urquhart and his supporters in a number of English cities between 1840s and 1860s, mainly with the aim of opposing Palmerston's policies.—10, 95

This refers to the pamphlet Juchhe nach Italia!, written by Bamberger in Paris and published, with Vogt's help, anonymously by Reinhold Waist in Frankfurt am Main, but marked 'Bern und Genf, Vogts Verlag, 1859' on the title page. It contained no direct polemic against Engels' articles on the Italian campaign in the Volk (see present edition, Vol. 16).—10

On 12 January 1860, Hermann Orges, editor of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, published a statement in that paper refuting the fabrications about him in Vogt's pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung (see also Engels' letter to Marx of 31 January 1860 in this volume).—10

Marx means the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3) whose offices were in Great Windmill Street, Soho, in the 1850s.—11

This refers to Vogt's pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. On Tellering's 'concoction' see Note 22.—12

In a letter written in late January 1860, Lassalle informed Marx that Vogt had, on his own admission, been receiving money from Hungarian revolutionaries. At the same time, Lassalle sought to exonerate Vogt and expressed doubts about his having been bought directly by Louis Bonaparte's government.—12

Here Marx replies to Lassalle's attacks on Liebknecht. In the above-mentioned letter Lassalle urged Marx to break off party relations with Liebknecht because Liebknecht contributed to the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.—12

Adolphe Chenu and Lucien de la Hodde were police spies and agents provocateurs, the former the author of the libellous concoction Les Conspirateurs. Les sociétés secrètes. La préfecture de police sous Caussidiere. Les corps-francs, the latter the author of the equally libellous La naissance de la République en février 1848, both published in Paris in 1850. Marx and Engels discussed the two books in a joint review in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.
Marx means the initial plan of his economic work, which envisaged the following books: 1) Capital, 2) Landed Property, 3) Wage Labour, 4) The State, 5) Foreign Trade and 6) The World Market. (see Marx’s Preface to his Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, present edition, Vol. 29). Book I was to comprise four sections: 1) Capital in General, 2) The Competition of Capitals, 3) Credit, 4) Joint-Stock Capital. The first instalment of Book I, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, published in 1859, contained the two introductory chapters of the section ‘Capital in General’ (a chapter on the commodity and a chapter on money). The second instalment was to be wholly devoted to capital in general.—12, 435

In a letter written late in January 1860, Lassalle told Marx he considered it necessary to postpone the writing of his own work on political economy until the publication of Marx’s book. Lassalle’s book appeared in Berlin in 1864 under the title Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Juliet, oder: Capital und Arbeit.—12

This refers to Vogt’s lawsuit against the Allgemeine Zeitung. See also Note 22.—13

In 1860, Marx, engrossed in writing his polemic against Karl Vogt, interrupted the preparation of the second instalment of Book I of his economic work (see Note 35). It was not until the summer of 1861 that he resumed his economic studies.—14

This refers to the Great Exhibition, the first world industrial and commercial fair, held in London from May to October 1851.—14

An order to this effect was issued by the Elberfeld District President (Landrat) on 20 January 1860.—15

The Landwehr was part of Prussia’s armed forces and consisted of men who had done their term of active service and service in the reserve. Under Prussia’s laws, it was only raised in the event of war or the threat of war. The Prussian government’s order to call up the Landwehr in the Rhine Province, issued at the beginning of May 1849, precipitated a popular uprising in Rhenish Prussia. In Elberfeld, Iserlohn, Solingen and a number of other cities, the Landwehr joined the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution. After the defeat of the uprising, many of the insurgents were forced to emigrate. Landwehr members guilty of breaches of army discipline were subject to the jurisdiction of courts-martial. This applied also to ex-members of the Landwehr returning to Prussia from exile.—15, 249, 290, 299

This letter by Marx has not been found.—15, 17, 33, 34, 40, 71, 77, 104, 118, 123, 130, 165, 182, 192, 196, 209, 210, 291, 341, 353, 355, 422, 434, 460, 479, 550, 567, 578

For Vogt’s attacks on Wolff, see Marx’s Herr Vogt, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 72-73.—16

In late 1859, the German socialist Eichhoff was brought to trial by the Prussian authorities for publishing in the London weekly Hermann a series of articles exposing the part played by Wilhelm Stieber, chief of the Prussian political police, in organising the trial of the Communist League members in Cologne in 1852.
In December 1859, Hermann Juch, the editor of the weekly, asked Marx for information on the Cologne trial, which he needed for Eichhoff’s defence (see Marx’s letter to Engels of 13 December 1859, present edition, Vol. 40 and also pp. 80-81 of this volume). In May 1860 a Berlin court sentenced Eichhoff to 14 months imprisonment.—16, 22, 54, 74, 80, 140, 197

In his letter of 15 January 1860, Szemere told Marx that, if he was very busy, he, Szemere, could himself find a translator for his book La Question hongroise (1848-1860) (see also Note 14).—17

This refers to the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France on the one hand, and Austria on the other (29 April to 8 July 1859).—18, 103, 125, 181

The supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 28 (28 January 1860), carried statements by its editor Altenhöfer and a journalist called Häfner denying, in rather vague terms, the accusations against them in Vogt’s pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung.—18, 34

Lassalle’s letter to Marx of late January 1860 (see notes 32 and 33).—18

This refers to the separate peace concluded by Prussia with the French Republic in Basle on 5 April 1795. It was the result of French victories and French diplomatic skill in exploiting the differences between members of the first anti-French coalition, above all Prusso-Austrian friction. The peace with Prussia initiated the collapse of the coalition; Spain concluded a separate peace treaty with France in Basle on 22 July 1795.—19

Late in January 1860, Lassalle wrote to Marx (see notes 32, 33 and 48) that Vogt’s pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung had been printed in 3,000 copies and all had been sold.—19

Engels evidently means the book Lassalle was writing, Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch... (see Note 36).—20

An allusion to the fact that, during the 1859 Italian war, Lassalle in effect supported Napoleon III’s interference in Italy’s affairs, camouflaged as struggle for its ‘liberation’, and was in agreement with Vogt on this issue. Lassalle set forth his views on the problem in the most concentrated form in his pamphlet Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie, published anonymously in Berlin at the beginning of May 1859. In it, he also backed the Prusso-Bonapartist policy of neutrality for the German states in the Italian war and favoured the defeat of Austria, which Prussia should exploit to unite Germany from above.—20

In his statement of 20 January 1860, published in the Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 24, on 24 January, the journalist Julius Fröbel, a petty bourgeois democrat, described Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent, and his conduct as ‘high treason against the German nation’. Engels ridicules Lassalle, who, in a letter to Marx at the end of January 1860, argued against this statement.—20

Engels means the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France as a result of the war it waged in alliance with Piedmont against Austria in 1859. This act exposed Napoleon III’s aggressive designs.—20

Marx means his statement to the editor of The Free Press exposing petty-bourgeois democrat Blind’s aiding and abetting the Bonapartist agent Vogt. It was not published in The Free Press, but appeared in London on
4 February 1860 as a leaflet under the title "Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette" (its text is reproduced in Vol. 17 of the present edition, pp. 10-11). In a letter of 13 February 1860 (this volume, pp. 46-47) Marx informed Engels that excerpts from the statement had been printed by the Berlin Publicist. In some letters Marx referred to the statement as the 'English circular' or the 'circular against Blind'.—21

This refers to Techow's letter to Schimmelpfennig of 26 August 1850, in which Techow gave a distorted rendering of a conversation he had had with Marx (see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 75-99).—22, 52, 58, 89, 133, 179, 568

Marx probably means Otto Lüning's review, published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* on 22, 23, 25 and 26 June 1850, of the first four issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. Lüning concentrated, in particular, on Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and gave a distorted account of Marx's views on the dictatorship of the proletariat (for details see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 387-88).—22

Marx visited Engels in Manchester on 16 February and stayed until 25 March 1860.—22, 28

This refers to a note in *The Times*, No. 25539, 3 February 1860, on a statement by Vogt in connection with the annexation of Savoy and Nice then being prepared by France. To sidetrack attention from Napoleon III's real designs, Vogt declared that France was willing to let Switzerland have the neutral provinces of Savoy—Faucigny, Chablais and the Genévois—in return for the free use of the Simplon. The pro-Bonapartist content of this statement was exposed by Engels in the pamphlet *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (present edition, Vol. 16) and by Marx in *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 195).—23, 25

Marx means his attempts to make the petty-bourgeois democrat Blind publicly admit that he, Blind, was the author of the anonymous flysheet *Zur Warnung* (see Note 4). This was essential because Vogt, in his pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, had attributed the flysheet to Marx. Marx also wished to expose, in the person of Blind, the cowardice of the petty-bourgeois democrats reluctant to come out openly against Bonapartist agents (see this volume, pp. 30-32 and 37, and present edition Vol. 17, pp. 111-32).—23, 179

This refers to the meeting held in Brussels on 22 February 1848 by the Democratic Association to mark the second anniversary of the Cracow insurrection. Marx and Engels both made speeches (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-53).

The Democratic Association was set up in Brussels in the autumn of 1847, with the active co-operation of Marx and Engels. It consisted of proletarian revolutionaries—mainly German refugees—and radical bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats from other countries. Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian, was President. Marx was Vice-President for the Germans, and Joachim Lelewel, a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigration, was Vice-President for the Poles.—24, 102

Marx reproduced Lelewel's reply, dated 10 February 1860, in the Appendices to his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 522).—24

This refers to the Communist League, 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 direct participation of Marx and Engels. League members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. After the defeat of the revolution, the League was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, differences arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which tried to impose its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution regardless of the existing conditions and practical possibilities. The discord led to a split within the League in September 1850. Because of police persecution and arrests of League members, the activities of the League as an organisation virtually ceased in Germany in May 1851. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League's London District announced the dissolution of the League (see this volume, pp. 72, 82-84).—25, 44, 73, 78, 81, 92, 135

64 Engels means an address by the Cologne Central Authority to the Communist League of 1 December 1850 ('Die Centralbehörde an den Bund'), drawn up by supporters of Marx and Engels, mainly by Bürgers. It fell into the hands of the Saxon (not Hanover) police at the arrest of League member Peter Nothjung in Leipzig on 10 May 1850 and was published, in June 1851, in the Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger and the Kölnische Zeitung (not the Hannoversche Zeitung).—25

65 The original Brimstone Gang (Schwefelbande) was a students' association in Jena University in the 1770s whose members were notorious for their brawls. Later the expression Brimstone Gang came to be applied to any group of ill repute. In Geneva in 1849-50 it was also the jocular name for a small company of German refugees, inoffensive and happy-go-lucky idlers. In his pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung, Vogt included Marx and his party associates in the 'Brimstone Gang', although they had nothing to do with it (for details see this volume, pp. 70-71) and Marx's Herr Vogt, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-37).—28, 33, 42, 89, 121, 166, 179, 298

66 Marx was trying to make Karl Blind admit that he, Blind, was the author of the flysheet Zur Warnung (see notes 4 and 60). In November 1859, Johann Wiehe, compositor at Fidelio Hollinger's press, where it had been printed, was forced by Blind and Hollinger to write a statement denying Blind's authorship (for the text of the statement see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 120). Karl Vogt reproduced Wiehe's statement in his pamphlet Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. However, on 8 February 1860, Wiehe took out an affidavit in a London police court which virtually confirmed Blind's authorship (see this volume, pp. 31-32, 37-38).—30


68 Engels' pamphlet Savoy, Nice and the Rhine was published anonymously by G. Behrend in Berlin in April 1860.——32

69 In 1858 and 1859, J. W. M. Reynolds was conducting libellous campaign against Ernest Jones, taking advantage of the latter's political blunders and vacillation (see Note 117). In 1859, Jones sued him for libel and won the case.—33
Later Marx learnt from Eduard Fischel’s letter of 30 May 1860 that The Daily Telegraph’s Berlin correspondent and the author of the item ‘The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria’, which contained a summary of Vogt’s libellous pamphlet, was Karl Abel. — 33, 58, 75, 131

Wasserpolacken — the original name for the Oder ferrymen who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles. — 33

Marx wrote these letters to people who could supply material for his book against Vogt and his lawsuit against the National-Zeitung. — 33

On Lassalle’s criticism of Liebknecht see Note 33. — 35

In mid-June 1850, Marx, through the Solingen worker Carl Wilhelm Klein, recommended to the Cologne District of the Communist League that Lassalle be admitted to the League. On 18 June, Peter Gerhard Röser, a leader of the League’s Cologne District, wrote to tell Marx that the Cologne communists could not admit Lassalle because he ‘persists in his aristocratic attitudes and is not as concerned for the working men’s general welfare as he ought to be’.

For the accusations levied at Lassalle by Düsseldorf workers, see Marx’s letter to Engels of 5 March 1856 (present edition, Vol. 40). — 35

This refers to the committee appointed to organise the celebrations of the centenary of Friedrich von Schiller’s birth on 10 November 1859. Composed of petty-bourgeois refugees, it was headed by Gottfried Kinkel. — 35, 81, 226, 236

Marx evidently means the plans for establishing a Schiller society in London similar to the one set up in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the Schiller centenary (see Note 429). — 35

The Patriots (Vaterlandsfreunde) was a society of German republican refugees in London in the 1850s and 1860s. It included, among others, Karl Blind, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Fidelio Hollinger. — 35

On 11 February 1860, the compositor Vögele took out an affidavit confirming, in effect, that Blind was the author of the flysheet Zur Warnung (see Note 60). Marx reproduced the affidavit in Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 319). — 37, 39, 47, 53, 85

Engels has in mind Marx’s trip to Manchester (see Note 58). — 39

Marx had sent Vögele’s deposition (for its text see this volume, p. 60) and a covering letter to the Editor of the Allgemeine Zeitung (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 3) to help the newspaper in the suit brought against it by Vogt (see Note 37). — 41

This refers to the so-called German-American revolutionary loan which Kinkel and other petty-bourgeois refugee leaders sought to float among German refugees and Americans of German extraction in 1851 and 1852. The funds raised were to be used for starting an immediate revolution in Germany. To publicise the loan, Kinkel went on a tour of the United States in September 1851, but it ended in failure. Marx and Engels denounced the whole undertaking as a futile and harmful attempt to produce a revolution artificially at a time when the revolutionary movement was at a low (see, in particular, Marx’s Herr Vogt, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 313-15). — 43, 98, 322
Notes

82 The bill for the printing, by the Free Press publishers, of Marx's statement 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (see Note 55).—46

83 Obviously, Marx had not yet received Engels' letter of 12 February 1860 informing him that his statement, 'To the Editors of the Volks-Zeitung. Declaration', had been published in the supplement to the Kölnerische Zeitung, No. 41, on 10 February.—47

84 This refers to Borkheim's letter to Marx of 12 February 1860 setting forth the history of the 'Brimstone Gang' (see Note 65). Marx reproduced the letter in full in Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 29-32).—48, 71

85 Marx means Euston Station in London.—49

86 As can be seen from Duncker's letter to Engels of 27 February 1860, he disagreed with Engels in assessing the stand taken by the various German political parties on the Italian question and therefore insisted on Savoy, Nice and the Rhine being published under the author's name. Engels, for his part, wanted a mere statement that the pamphlet was by the author of Po and Rhine (see this volume, p. 25 and Note 68).—50

87 This refers to the refutation by Marx and Engels of the slanderous accusations levelled at the Communist League during the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852. See Marx's Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, Engels' 'The Late Trial at Cologne' (present edition, Vol. 11), and Marx's The Knight of the Noble Consciousness (Vol. 12).—51

88 Engels means Vogt's lawsuit against the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung (see Note 22).—52

89 Two letters of 16 October 1859 from Hermann Orges, editor of the Allgemeine Zeitung, requesting Marx to send Vögele's statement concerning the provenance of the flysheet Zur Warnung. The statement was to be used as evidence against Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 123-24 and 317-18, and this volume, p. 66).—53, 63, 66

90 In this letter Blind tried to prove that he had had nothing to do with the flysheet Zur Warnung. Marx reproduced the letter in his Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 122).—53

91 A rough draft of this letter has been preserved. It was published by M. Häckel in Freiligrath's Briefwechsel, Berlin, 1968. The texts of the draft and final version are practically identical.—54

92 Marx means the lawsuits he intended to bring against the Berlin National-Zeitung and the London Daily Telegraph for reprinting Vogt's libellous fabrications against himself and his associates (see also this volume, pp. 40-45, 59-76).—54, 58

93 In a statement to the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung of 5 November 1859, published in the supplement to No. 319 of that paper on 15 November, Freiligrath declared that he had never contributed to the Volk newspaper and had been named among Vogt's accusers against his own will. A note by A. Z. editor Gustav Eduard Kolb, published together with the statement, claimed that the information in question concerning Freiligrath derived from Liebknecht's reports from London and a private letter of his dated 12 September 1859, which said, in particular: 'Should Vogt bring his action before London courts, and be is morally forced to do so, Marx and Freiligrath will act as witnesses, and so will I.' It is this letter of Liebknecht's that Marx means here.—55
An anonymous article by Blind on the Schiller centenary festival in London, published in *The Morning Advertiser* on 11 November 1859, described Freiligrath's jubilee poem as being 'above mediocrity'. In a letter to Marx dated 17 November, Freiligrath hinted that this passage had been interpolated at Marx's request. For details see Marx's letter to Engels of 19 November 1859, present edition, Vol. 40.—55

The illustrated literary weekly *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 43, 1859, carried an article, 'Ferdinand Freiligrath', signed 'B' (an abbreviation of 'Beta', the pen-name of Johann Heinrich Bettziech), which attributed the flagging of Freiligrath's powers as a poet to the 'influence' of Marx. See on this Marx's letters to Engels of 19 and 26 November and Engels' letter to Marx of 11 (or 12) December 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—55

Marx means Liebknecht's private letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (see Note 93) and his statement of 15 November in the supplement to the *A. Z.*, No. 327, of 23 November 1859 in which Liebknecht stressed that he had never named Freiligrath among the accusers of Vogt.—56

Marx had been misinformed. Vogt's pamphlet contained no letters by Freiligrath to Vogt.—56

'La classe la plus laborieuse, et la plus misérable' is a paraphrase of Saint-Simon's expression 'la classe la plus nombreuse, et la plus pauvre'.—37

Blind's statement in question, published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44, on 13 February 1860, opened with the words: 'In his latest work, Vogt speaks of my "Russophobia" and my "mistrust".'—58

The note, written by a German refugee in the USA (probably Georg Eduard Wiss) and forwarded to Marx by Chiss, described Lassalle as a man of extreme ambition, dangerous to any party because he would stop at nothing to achieve his ends.—58

Marx means his letter of 19 November 1852 notifying Engels of the dissolution of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 39, and this volume, p. 83).—59

Marx means Biscamp's article 'Der Reichsregent'. The words 'Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräter' ('The Imperial Regent as a traitor to the Empire') open one of its paragraphs. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 117-18.—64

Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from approximately 12 June to 2 July 1859.—64

The reference is to the First Rhenish District Congress of Democratic Associations, held in Cologne on 13 and 14 August 1848. Marx and Engels took part in its deliberations. The Central Committee of the three democratic associations in Cologne, set up prior to the Congress, was confirmed as the Rhenish Regional Democratic Committee. At the initiative of the Communist League, a resolution was passed on the need to carry on work among the factory proletariat and the peasants.—70

Marx gives a detailed explanation of the name 'Bürstenheimer' in his *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47).—71

Marx means the Communist League. See Note 63.—71
This refers to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3) which was headed by Willich and Schapper after the split of the Communist League.—71

In September 1851, a series of arrests was made in France among members of the Communist League local communities affiliated to the Willich-Schapper faction. The adventurist conspiratorial tactics of the faction had caused a split in the League in September 1850. In disregard of the obtaining conditions it aimed at engineering an immediate uprising. This enabled the French and Prussian police to fabricate the so-called complot franco-allemand (Franco-German plot). Julien Cherval, an agent provocateur in the pay of the Prussian minister to Paris and, simultaneously, of the French police, succeeded in establishing himself as the leader of one of the League's Paris communities. In February 1852, the arrested were convicted on charges of sedition. The attempts by the Prussian police to implicate the League led by Marx and Engels in the Franco-German plot failed completely. Konrad Schramm, an associate of Marx arrested in Paris in September 1851, was soon released for lack of incriminating evidence. The trumped-up charges were nonetheless repeated by the Prussian police officer Stieber at the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852, which he had helped organise. Marx exposed Stieber's perjuries in the chapter 'The Cherval Plot' of his Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—72, 148

As can be seen from Marx's Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 266) Schapper took out an affidavit to this effect at the Police Court at Bow Street on 1 March 1860.—78

Marx means the differences on organisational questions that arose in the summer of 1850 between the Communist League Central Authority in London and the Cologne District Authority. The position of the former was set forth by Marx and Engels in the June 'Address of the Central Authority to the League' (see present edition, Vol. 10). In a number of letters to London that summer League members in Cologne expressed reservations about certain propositions in the 'Address'.—81

The Communist Club in New York was set up in 1857 at the initiative of the German revolutionary refugees Friedrich Kamm and Albrecht Komp. Marx's associates Joseph Weydemeyer, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Hermann Meyer and August Vogt were active members.—81

Marx means his letters to Weydemeyer of 1 February 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40) and to Komp, presumably of the same date (not found).—81

Gustav Levy visited Marx in London in late February 1856. On a previous visit, in the latter half of December 1853, he had come on a mission from Düsseldorf workers.—82

La Société des Saisons, active in Paris between 1837 and 1839, was a secret republican socialist organisation led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès.—82

An appeal of the committee organising support for the communists convicted in Cologne, written by Marx, was directed to German workers in America care of Adolph Cluss. On 10 January 1853, the latter incorporated it in a message in German Americans, which he published in the California Staats-Zeitung. Marx's text was also included in the Appeal for support of the representatives of the
proletariat sentenced in Cologne, and their families' issued by the administrative council of the Socialist Gymnastic Society on 16 January 1853, and published in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 621-25).—83

116 Marx evidently means the article by Ludwig Simon, former deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, containing sallies against him and Engels, of which Weydemeyer advised him in a letter of 10 March 1852.—84

117 In an attempt to revive the mass Charter movement, in April 1857 Ernest Jones proposed calling a Chartist conference, to be also attended by John Bright, Charles Gilpin and other bourgeois radicals. In drafting the platform for union with the radicals, he made a number of important political concessions. Of the six points of the People's Charter (universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of the property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and the payment of M.P.s) he retained only the demand for universal manhood suffrage. Jones' conciliatory policy caused discontent among the rank-and-file of the National Charter Association. After repeated postponements a joint conference of Chartists and bourgeois radicals was convened in London on 8 February 1858. A sharp critique of Jones' position is given in Marx's letters to Engels of 16 January and 21 September and Engels' letters to Marx of 11 February and 7 October 1858 (present edition, Vol. 40).—85

118 This is in reply to a passage in Lassalle's letter to Marx and Engels of late February 1860, which said: 'You [Marx] conclude your letter by passing on to me with a haughty gesture a message from Baltimore purporting to show that at least I have no grounds for complaining about your mistrust of me.' (See note 100).—88

119 In his letter to Marx and Engels of late February 1860, Lassalle maintained that they were collecting a 'dossier' on him and that the note by Wiss (see Note 100) had been sent in reply to a request from them.—89

120 Not all of Marx's letters to Cluss for the period 1852-54 have been found. Some have reached us only in the form of excerpts quoted by Cluss in his letters to Weydemeyer (see present edition, Vol. 39). The letter Marx refers to here has not been found, either in full or in excerpt.—90

121 Marx is dispelling Lassalle's suspicion that the persons named had something to do with the accusations levelled at him. Lassalle (see Note 74).—90

122 The decision to transfer the Central Authority of the Communist League (see Note 63) from London to Cologne was adopted by the Authority at its session of 15 September 1850. Marx, Engels and their supporters dissociated themselves from the faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper, which set up a separate league with its own authority.—90

123 Marx means article XVIII from Engels' series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, which was published over Marx's signature in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1851-52. The article spoke highly of Bakunin's part in the Dresden insurrection in 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 90). See also the item 'Michael Bakunin' by Marx (present edition, Vol. 12).—91

124 Marx evidently means the tribute to Johanna Moeckel, wife of Gottfried Kinkel, by the German writer Fanny Lewald (married name: Stahr), published in the
London Daily Telegraph. See also Marx's letter to Lassalle of 4 February 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—92

Marx refers to that affidavit in his Herr Vogt and gives its date, 3 March 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 266).—94

The pamphlet Zwei politische Prozesse. Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln, published in Cologne in 1849, contained the minutes of the trial of that newspaper held on 7 February 1849 and of the trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, held on the following day.

At the first trial, Karl Marx, as editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels, as co-editor, and Hermann Korff, as responsible publisher, were accused of insulting Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and calumniating the police officers who arrested Andreas Gottschalk and Friedrich Anneke, in the article 'Arrests' published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 35, on 5 July 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 177-79).

At the latter trial, Karl Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II were charged with incitement to revolt in connection with the appeal by the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats of 18 November 1848 on the refusal to pay taxes (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 41). The jury acquitted the defendants in both cases. For the speeches of Marx and Engels at these trials see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22, 323-39.—95

This refers to the Revolutionary Centralisation, a secret organisation founded by German refugees, mostly petty-bourgeois democrats, in Switzerland at the beginning of 1850.

Its Central Committee, based in Zurich, was headed by Tzschirner, a leader of the Dresden insurrection in May 1849; Fries, Greiner, Sigel, Techow, Schurz and J. Ph. Becker, all prominent members. The organisation included Communist League members d'Ester, Bruhn and others, as well as Wilhelm Wolff. In July and August 1850 the leaders of the Revolutionary Centralisation approached members of the League's Central Authority with the proposal of a merger. On behalf of the Authority, Marx and Engels rejected the merger as potentially dangerous to the class independence of the proletarian party. By the end of 1850, the Revolutionary Centralisation had disintegrated as a result of the mass expulsion of German refugees from Switzerland.—97

The March Association, with its headquarters in Frankfurt and branches in a number of German cities, was named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany and was set up by the petty-bourgeois democrats Julius Fröbel, Heinrich Simon, Arnold Ruge, Karl Vogt and other Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly late in November 1848. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung sharply attacked the Association's revolutionary phrase-mongering, indecision and inconsistency in fighting the counter-revolution (see the article 'Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins' in No. 151, 29 December 1848). See also Marx's Herr Vogt, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 103-05.—100

Agreement on the expulsion of Marx and several contributors to the revolutionary-democratic newspaper Vorwärts! was reached by Arnim, Prussian envoy to Paris, and Guizot, the French Minister, in December 1844. The expulsion order was issued by the French government in January 1845. On 3 February, Marx moved from Paris to Brussels.—101

This presumably refers to the lithographed circulars which Marx and Engels issued on behalf of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. Only
one of these, the 'Circular Against Kriege' by Marx and Engels, has reached us (see Vol. 6 of the present edition).—102

131 The German Workers' Society in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 for the political education of German workers living in Belgium. Run by Marx, Engels and their associates, it provided a legal centre for the propagation of scientific socialism and a rallying point for the revolutionary proletariat in Belgium. The finest members of the Society joined the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in establishing the Brussels Democratic Association. The Society's activities ceased soon after the February 1848 bourgeois revolution in France, when many of its members were arrested and expelled by the Belgian authorities.—102, 534

132 Marx's work, based on the lectures on political economy which he gave in Brussels in the latter half of December 1847 (see also Note 610), was first published in 1849, as a series of editorials in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung under the heading Wage-Labour and Capital (present edition, Vol. 9). A draft outline of the concluding lectures on wage labour and capital was found among Marx's manuscripts. It is entitled Wages and bears, on the cover, the words: 'Brussels, December 1847'. For it see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 415-37.—102

133 Marx means the Belgian National Congress. Elected during the 1830 revolution, it proclaimed the country's independence.—102

134 This refers to the Democratic Association, of which Marx was a vice-president (see Note 61). In his letter of 25 February 1848, Jottrand requested Marx to withdraw his resignation. As a result, Marx decided to continue in his function.—102

135 Marx's memory fails him here. On about 6 April 1848, he and Engels left Paris to take a direct part in the revolution in Germany.—102

136 Marx means his election to the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats which was endorsed by the First Rhenish Congress of Democrats, held in Cologne on 13 and 14 August 1848.—102

137 Marx came from Paris to London on about 26 August 1849.—102

138 This letter is reproduced from the copy Marx made in his notebook. The copy is preceded by the words (An D. Collet) [To D. Collet].—104

139 Marx evidently means the bill of the Free Press publishers stating the cost of printing his leaflet ' Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.—104

140 This refers to Vogt's lawsuit against the Allgemeine Zeitung (see Note 22).—105

141 Marx obviously means his 'Declaration' of 15 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9) which, however, did not appear in Die Reform. On 19 November 1859 Die Reform published Marx's 'Statement to the Editors of Die Reform, the Volks-Zeitung and the Allgemeine Zeitung' (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 4-7).—105

142 This letter is reproduced from the copy Marx made in his notebook.—105, 136, 143

143 The Lesser Empire is Marx's caustic designation for the Second Empire, i.e. that of Napoleon III, as against the empire of Napoleon I.—107

144 Engels is mocking the phraseology of Prussian official documents. Nothjung
was sentenced to six years in prison at the trial of communists in Cologne in 1852.—109

145 In a letter of 11 March 1860 Lassalle requested Marx to get in touch with Ferdinand Wolff and offer him for translation into French the book Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858 (see also Note 151).

Mars's letter to Wolff has not been found.—109

146 Engels stayed in Barmen from 23 March to 6 April 1860 in connection with his father's death.—112, 260

147 In the spring of 1860 Siebel visited Paris and Geneva and obtained, through J. Ph. Becker and Georg Lommel, some documents at Marx's request and information which Marx needed for his book against Vogt.—113

148 In the letter of 28 March 1860 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung had given him notice as its correspondent, and requested Marx to help him find work as correspondent for some American newspaper. The letter, sent to Engels' address in Manchester, was, in the latter's absence (see Note 146), forwarded by Gumpert to Marx in London.—113

149 The American Workers' League was a mass political organisation set up in New York on 21 March 1853. The majority of its members were immigrant German workers. Joseph Weydemeyer was on the League's organising Central Committee. The League worked for the establishment of trade unions, fought for higher wages and shorter hours, and sought to encourage independent political action by the workers. It virtually ceased its activities in 1855, but resumed them, in New York, in 1857, under the name of the General Labor Union. The Chicago Workers' Association, formed in 1857, was one of its branches. In 1860, it took over the leadership of US workers' organisations, while the General Labor Union ceased to exist.—115, 117, 118

150 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels On the United States, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—116

151 This refers to the book Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858, Leipzig, 1860, which was published, with Lassalle's help, by Ludmilla Assing, niece of the German liberal writer Varnhagen von Ense. In the letter of 11 March 1860, Lassalle promised to send Marx a copy at once.—116

152 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 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.—119

153 Marx did not copy out the passage from Vogt's pamphlet in the draft of his letter. He did reproduce it in his Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 70). He also reproduced the corresponding passage from Lommel's reply of 13 April 1860 (p. 71).—119

154 On 6 June 1849 the rump of the Frankfurt National Assembly, which had moved to Stuttgart, formed an Imperial Regency, consisting of five members of the Left faction (moderate democrats). Their attempts to enforce by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt
Assembly and rejected by the German princes failed completely. On 18 June the rump National Assembly was disbanded by Württemberg troops.—124

Decembrist was Marx's way of referring to the Second Empire in France (an allusion to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851).—126

Marx plays on a passage from the ruling of 18 April 1860 by Lippe, Public Prosecutor at the Royal Municipal Court in Berlin, rejecting Marx's libel suit against Zabel on the grounds that 'no issue of public importance is raised by this matter which could make it desirable for me to take any action' (see this volume, p. 151).—129

This refers to the attempt by a group of Geneva radicals, supporters of James Fazy, to seize, on 30 March 1860, the towns of Thonon and Evian (on the southern shore of Lake Geneva), which under the Turin treaty of 24 March 1860 between France and the Kingdom of Sardinia were to be turned over to France (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 199-201).—129

The original of Marx's letter bears the following pencil note, presumably by Rheinländer: 'Cherval came to Geneva from England in early 1853 (beginning of March or beginning of February) and stayed there for over a year, until his expulsion in the summer of 1854.'—130

In his letter of 16 April 1860 Lassalle informed Marx that he was sending a printed copy of his as yet unpublished article 'Fichte's politisches Vermächtniß und die neueste Gegenwart', which was to appear in the Demokratische Studien published by Walesrode. In his article, Lassalle discussed Fichte's Politische Fragmente aus den Jahren 1807 und 1813 (J. G. Fichte, Sämmtliche Werke, Bd. 7, Berlin, 1846, S. 507-613).—131

This refers to Siebel's trip to Switzerland (see Note 147).—132

Under the 1858 Plombières agreement, France was to get Nice and Savoy for taking part in the forthcoming war against Austria on the side of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Although in the course of the Austro-Italian-French war (see Note 46) France violated the agreement by making a separate truce with Austria in Villafranca on 11 July 1859, it did, nonetheless, obtain Nice and Savoy under the Turin treaty of 24 March 1860.—132

On 2 May 1860, the German journalist Eduard Fischel, a supporter of David Urquhart, the English conservative political writer, invited Marx to contribute to the Deutsche Zeitung, which was to be published, with Fischel's participation, in Berlin. For this, see Marx's letters to Fischel of 8 May and 1 June 1860 (this volume, pp. 136-37 and 143-44). For Marx's view of Fischel and the Urquhartites in general, see his letter to Lassalle of 2 June 1860 (this volume, pp. 152-55).—133, 137

This refers to Napoleon III, who in 1846 escaped from prison wearing the clothes of a stonemason named Badinguet.—133, 159, 171, 350

Marx means the letters of Emmermann to Schily of 29 April 1860 and of Beust to Schily of 1 May 1860, both of which contained libellous statements about Marx.—133

Marx is referring to the events of the 1859-60 Italian bourgeois revolution—the peasant uprising in Sicily, started in April 1860, the insurrection in Palermo and the preparation of Garibaldi's expedition. On 11 May, three days after Marx wrote this letter, Garibaldi's 'Thousand' landed in Sicily. See also Marx's
Engels left for Barmen on about 12 May 1860. On his way there and back he stopped over briefly with Marx in London.—139

Boustrapa—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the cities where he staged putsches: Strasbourg (30 October 1836), Boulogne (6 August 1840) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which culminated in the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship).—139, 456, 462, 471, 489, 506, 519

The papers Reuter stole from Dietz were documents of the Willich-Schapper sectarian adventurist faction, which Dietz had joined after the split within the Communist League in the autumn of 1850 (for details see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 403-07). The Communist League members tried in Cologne had had nothing to do with these documents.—140

This refers to the so-called 'original minute-book' of the London Central Authority of the Communist League. A fabrication of Prussian police spies, it formed the basis of the prosecution's case at the Cologne trial of communists in 1852 (for details see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 420-43).—141

In reply to Marx's question about the programme of the Deutsche Zeitung, Fischel wrote on 30 May 1860 that one of its slogans was 'Black, red and gold' (i.e., the unification of Germany, black, red and gold being its national colours).—144, 493

Marx thanks Fischel for informing him, in his letter of 30 May 1860, that K. Abel, and not a certain Meier, as Marx had previously assumed (see this volume, pp. 33 and 58), was the Berlin correspondent of The Daily Telegraph.—144

Lassalle had suggested that Marx should go to Berlin to testify at the Eichhoff trial (see Note 44). The material on the police machinations attending the Communist trial in Cologne, mentioned below in this letter, was used by Marx in his polemic Herr Vogt, Appendix 4 (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 64-67).—145

On Marx's meeting with Hermann Juch see also his letters to Engels of 13 and 20 December 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40).—146

Marx means the sectarian adventurist faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper that split away from the Communist League after 15 September 1850 and formed an independent organisation with its own Central Authority (see also notes 63 and 108).—147

To create a pretext for reprisals against political refugees, the British authorities in April 1853 accused the proprietors of a pocket manufactory in Rotherhithe, near London, of conspiratorial dealings with Kossuth, which Marx ironically calls 'Kossuth's gunpowder plot' by analogy with the Catholic gunpowder plot against James I of England in 1605. Ladendorf, Gercke, Falkenthal, Levy and several other petty-bourgeois democrats were arrested in 1853 on the strength of a denunciation by the police agent Hentze, a former member of the Communist League. They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to five years in 1854 on trumped-up charges of conspiracy.—148
This article, published in *The Free Press* under the headline 'Russian State Papers Respecting Her Recent Advance to Our Indian Frontiers', was based on Engels' article 'Russian Progress in Central Asia', which appeared as a leader in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on 3 November 1858 (present edition, Vol. 16). In preparing the article for *The Free Press*, Marx changed the opening and concluding sections.—152

Here Marx draws on Eduard Fischel's letter to the Editor of *The Free Press*, published on 30 November 1859 under the headline 'The Coburg Pamphlet and Lord Palmerston'.—153

The official residence of the British Prime Minister is in Downing Street.—154

An allusion to Georg Lommel's letter of 28 May 1860 in which he informed Marx of having sent him a parcel (presumably with material exposing Karl Vogt).—155, 176

Engels stayed in Barmen from 23 March to 6 April 1860 in connection with the death of his father and, presumably, from 12 to 25 May in view of the grave illness of his mother.—156

This refers to the 'Mémoire adressé a Lord Palmerston...' of 11 June 1859, in which Szemere, as former Prime Minister of Hungary, urged Palmerston to contribute to the efforts for Hungary's independence. Szemere included the 'Mémoire' as a separate chapter in his book *La Question hongroise (1848-1860).*—157

Marx drew this information from a letter of Victor Schily dated 6 March 1860. Schily's source was Nikolai Sasonow, a Russian émigré journalist, resident in Paris. Sasonow also mentioned the lecture in his letter to Marx of 10 May 1860 (Marx quotes it in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 42). The name of the Russian professor has not been established.—157, 194

Napoleon III met Prince Regent William of Prussia and the princes of other German states in Baden-Baden on 15 to 17 June 1860. On this see Marx's articles 'The Emperor Napoleon III and Prussia' and 'Interesting from Prussia' (present edition, Vol. 17).—159

At a sitting of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 12 May 1860, deputy Niegoslewski of the Grand Duchy of Posen exposed the Prussian authorities' intrigues there.—159

An excerpt from this letter was first published in: Marx and Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 229-31.—160

Engels quotes the old Danish folk song 'Elveskud' ('The Wood King's Daughter'). A German translation of it by Johann Gottfried Herder, entitled 'Erlkönig', was put to music and became widely known. Another German translation, by Wilhelm Grimm, though philologically superior, failed to win popularity. No translation by Ludwig Uhland has been discovered.—160

On 26 June 1849 the liberal deputies in the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the Gotha party. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of the Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia.—164
This refers to the letter of Legal Counsellor Weber of 22 June 1860 informing Marx of the rejection by the Berlin Royal Municipal Court, on 8 June 1860, of his libel suit against the *National-Zeitung* (see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 271).—167, 169

Vogt had brought his suit against the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in the Bavarian city of Augsburg (see Note 22).—167

An allusion to the fact that Lassalle, as well as Vogt, had contributed to the *Demokratische Studien* almanach published by Meissner in 1860. Among other items, it contained Lassalle's article 'Fichtes politisches Vermächtniß und die neueste Gegenwart' and Vogt's article 'Ein Blick auf das jetzige Genf'.—169

This seems to refer to the negotiations on the publication of Marx's *Herr Vogt*, which originally was to appear in Meissner's publishing house in Hamburg.—169

A dictum traceable to Jean Stanislas Andrieux's short story 'Le meunier de Sans-Souci', which is based on the tradition about a miller who won a suit in a Berlin court against King Frederick II over his mill, which was to be pulled down to make room for the Sanssouci palace.—170, 176

An ironic allusion to the book *Kraft und Stoff* (Energy and Matter) (1855) by the German physiologist Ludwig Büchner, a vulgar materialist like Vogt.—171

Garibaldi's letter to Green, written in the summer of 1860, was used by Marx in his article 'Interesting from Sicily.—Garibaldi's Quarrel with La Farina.—A Letter from Garibaldi' (see present edition, Vol. 17).—171

On the reform of the Prussian army see Note 19.—172

This refers to an episode of the 1859-60 Italian revolution (see Note 165), the expulsion from Sicily of Giuseppe La Farina, an emissary of Cavour's, in July 1860. For details see Marx's article 'Interesting from Sicily.—Garibaldi's Quarrel with La Farina.—A Letter from Garibaldi' (present edition, Vol. 17).—172

An allusion to the fact that Napoleon III's negotiations with Prince Regent William of Prussia in Baden-Baden (see Note 183) could involve a betrayal of Austria's interests, just as the treaty concluded by Napoleon III with Francis Joseph in Villafranca in July 1859 (see Note 161) involved a betrayal of Italy's interests. In the course of the latter talks Napoleon III proposed leaving Lombardy to Austria in exchange for an Austrian undertaking to maintain neutrality in the event of France's attempting to seize the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine. Kinglake touched on the matter in the House of Commons speech mentioned by Engels. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 172.—173

Garibaldi's army crossed over from Sicily to the mainland on 19 August 1860.—174

On 24 July Engels wrote the article 'British Defenses', and in late July the article 'Could the French Sack London?'. They were published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 6020 and 6021, 10 and 11 August 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17).—175

This refers to the rejection by the Royal High Court of Legal Counsellor Weber's appeal against the ruling by the Berlin Royal Municipal Court on Marx's libel suit against the *National-Zeitung* (see Note 188). The High Court
ruling, dated 11 July 1860, had been forwarded by Weber to Marx (for details see Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 282-83).---175

201 Between late October 1860 and the first half of January 1861 Engels wrote 'The History of the Rifle', which appeared in eight instalments in the *Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* between 3 November 1860 and 19 January 1861 (see present edition, Vol. 18).---177

202 Weber's letter had reached Marx as early as 29 July but it was not until 2 August, when Marx got the money for the payment of Weber's fee and the legal costs from Engels and Wolff in Manchester, that he was able to answer it (see this volume, pp. 175-77).---177

203 This letter was written in reply to the one from Mrs Marx of 14 August 1860 (see this volume, p. 568).---179

204 This refers to the negotiations concerning a publisher for Marx's *Herr Vogt*. Engels' words to the effect that 'it's irresponsible on Moor's part not even to answer my questions concerning Siebel', refer to his letter to Marx of 27 June (see this volume, pp. 168-69) and, presumably, another letter, which has not reached us.---179

205 The address on the envelope is in Mrs Marx's hand: 'Herrn Justiz-Rath Weber, Berlin, 11. Brüderstrasse'. Weber answered Marx on 27 August. He drafted his reply on Marx's letter under the signature.---180

206 Marx means Garibaldi's successful operations, after his landing on the mainland on 19 August 1860 (see Note 198), to free Southern Italy from the rule of the Neapolitan Bourbons.---182, 185

207 On 1 September 1860 or thereabouts, Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi's Progress' and a few days later the article 'Garibaldi in Calabria' (see present edition, Vol. 17). On Titir see Marx's article 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (ibid.).---182, 184

208 In late August and early September Marx dealt with these subjects in two articles for the *New York Daily Tribune*, 'Corn Prices.—European Finances and War Preparations.—The Oriental Question' and 'British Commerce' (see present edition, Vol. 17).---185

209 This refers to an article and money sent by Engels. Marx added the line on Thursday, 2 September.---185

210 For details on the flysheet see Note 60.---188

211 In September 1860, the press announced the forthcoming meeting of the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia. It was held in Warsaw in October. See also Marx's article 'Russia Using Austria.—The Meeting at Warsaw' (present edition, Vol. 17).---189

212 This refers to the uprising in Rhenish Prussia, the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 in support of the Imperial Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Despite its limitations, the Constitution was seen by the people as the only surviving gain of the revolution. The volunteer corps commanded by August Willich, was the staunchest unit in the insurgent army. Engels was Willich's adjutant.---191

213 Engels contributed to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* from 1860 to 1864. His articles for that newspaper have been included in vols. 18 and 19 of the present edition.---192
In his letter of 11 September 1860 Lassalle asked Marx to make enquiries to Freiligrath about the financial position of the General Bank of Switzerland. Freiligrath was an employee of its London branch.—192

In his letter of 11 September 1860 Lassalle told Marx that Bürgers had urged Prussian hegemony in a speech before the National Association in Coburg.—194

Marx wrote this note on the top of the first page of the letter by Freiligrath to him of 15 September 1860 answering Marx's enquiry, made at Lassalle's request, about the financial position of the General Bank of Switzerland (see Note 214).—195

This refers to Engels' stay with Marx in May 1860 (see Note 166).—196

The New American Cyclopaedia was a sixteen-volume reference work prepared by a group of progressive bourgeois journalists and publishers on the New-York Daily Tribune editorial board (Charles Dana, George Ripley and others). It appeared between 1858 and 1863 and was reprinted unchanged in 1868-69. A number of eminent US and European scholars wrote for it.

Notwithstanding the editors' express condition that articles should be non-partisan in character, those of Marx and Engels reflect their revolutionary proletarian, materialist views.

Marx and Engels contributed to the Cyclopaedia from July 1857 to November 1860. Their articles for it have been included in Vol. 18 of the present edition.—196

Marx discussed this in more detail in the article 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (present edition, Vol. 17).—196

Engels wrote the article on 22 November 1860 or thereabouts (see present edition, Vol. 18).—198

Despite the victorious advance of Garibaldi's army (see notes 165 and 198), in September 1860 the peasants began to dissociate themselves from the revolution because the propertied classes were sabotaging Garibaldi's pro-peasant decrees. The initiative passed to the Piedmont government, which sent its troops to the Papal States.

Lamoricière commanded the Papal troops at the time.—199

The Quirinal—one of the seven hills on which Rome is situated. Engels alludes to Garibaldi's appeal of 10 September 1860 stating his intention to advance on Rome and, upon completing the unification of the country, to proclaim Victor Emmanuel King of Italy from the Quirinal.—200

After bringing about the collapse of the Roman Republic in 1849, the French interventionist troops stayed in Rome until 1870.—200

Otto Wigand was a publisher in Leipzig. Marx obviously means Wigand's letter of 20 March 1852 stating his refusal to bring out The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte on account of 'the risks vis-a-vis the state this involves'.—201

An allusion in the fact that Edwin James, who went to see Garibaldi in Italy in the autumn of 1860, had been datelining his reports in The Times from a different city each time.—203

Engels' article, published in The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire, was reprinted in abridged form on 21 September 1860 in The Morning Herald, No. 24831, The Standard, No. 11267, The Manchester Guardian, No. 4397 and The Sun, No. 21273, and on 22 September in The Morning Advertiser,
No. 21615. Brief excerpts were given in The Times, No. 23733, on 24 September.—203

227 Marx did not write a pamphlet on this subject.—204, 208

228 On 1 October 1860 at Volturno, Garibaldi's forces defeated the army of Francis II, King of the Two Sicilies, thereby completing, by and large, the liberation of Southern Italy.—205, 207

229 There is no evidence to support these data on Garibaldi's background.—206

230 This apparently refers to a statement by Szemere on Emperor Francis Joseph's diploma of 20 October 1860 granting a modicum of autonomy to the non-German parts of the Austrian Empire. Szemere's statement has not been found (see also Marx's Herr Vogt, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 225).—210, 215

231 This refers to the 1860 US Presidential election, which was contested by the Republican and the Democratic Party. The Republican Party was formed in 1854, on the basis of a broad coalition embracing the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, farmers, workers and craftsmen in the North-eastern states. Its establishment as a force opposed to the Democratic Party reflected the antagonisms between the rapidly developing capitalism of the North and the system of slave labour in the South. The Republican Party, controlled by the Northern bourgeoisie, favoured the restriction of slavery to the southern states, the free settlement of the West, and protective tariffs to promote the development of national industry. On 7 November 1860 the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected President.—210

232 This letter by Engels has not been found.—211, 238, 240, 253, 257, 300, 309, 333, 334, 466, 482

233 Marx means Lommel's statement of 5 April 1860 exposing Vogt's pro-Bonapartist activities. Lommel enclosed it in his letter to Marx of 13 April 1860, upon learning that the statement would not be published in the Allgemeine Zeitung. Marx quotes an extract from that letter in Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 71).—211

234 Marx means his letter of 13 November. Engels' letter in question, presumably of the same date, has not been found.—213

235 This refers to the comment of the Manchester Guardian's Paris correspondent, in its issue of 12 November 1860, that 'Louis-Napoleon spends his gold in vain in supporting such newspapers as the National-Zeitung' (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 326).—213

236 By the Kossuth-Cobden memorandum Marx evidently means the summary, sent to him by Szemere, of a conversation that Kossuth had had with British MP William Sandford on 30 May 1854. Szemere's source had been a letter from Richard Cobden, leader of the English Free Traders. An excerpt from the memorandum bearing on Hungary's relations with Austria and Russia was quoted by Marx in Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 328).—215

237 Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in a footnote in The Letters of Karl Marx. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—216, 223, 413, 446, 493

238 Only five of the articles written by Marx for the New-York Daily Tribune between September and November 1860 were published: 'British Commerce'
Notes

(written on 8 September), 'Russia Using Austria.—The Meeting at Warsaw' (17 September), 'Affairs in Prussia.—Prussia, France and Italy' (27 September), 'Preparations for War in Prussia' (23 October) and 'Great Britain—A Money Stringency' (10 November) (see present edition, Vol. 17).—216


This article, as well as the one Marx received on 12 December, was written by Engels at Marx's request (see this volume, pp. 220 and 222). It is not known whether the New-York Daily Tribune published it.—223, 226

In late January 1861 Engels wrote the article 'French Armaments'. Originally intended for the New-York Daily Tribune, it was revised by the author for The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire, in which it appeared on 2 February 1861. No. 22 (see present edition, Vol. 18).—224

Marx means Édouard Simon's article 'Le procès de M. Vogt avec la Gazette d'Augsbourg', published in Revue contemporaine of 15 February 1860. In it Simon used various turns of phrase from Techow's letter (see Note 56).—225

Here and further in the text the reference is to advertisements announcing the publication of Marx's Herr Vogt.—227

This refers to Marx's private library which he had collected in the 1840s and left in the safekeeping of his friend, Communist League member Roland Daniels, in Cologne in May 1849, when expelled by the Prussian authorities. Shortly before being arrested in 1851, Daniels hid the books in the warehouse of his brother, a wine merchant. Acquitted at the Cologne Communist trial in late 1852, he came out of prison a gravely sick man. He died of tuberculosis in August 1855. At the beginning of 1856 Daniels' widow took steps to send the books to Marx, but owing to the high transportation costs and other problems, it was not until December 1860 that he received his library, with some books missing.

A list of the books of this library, compiled by Daniels and with notes by Marx, has been preserved.—228, 239. 255, 265

Marx evidently means the articles by Engels whose receipt he acknowledged in his letters of 5 and 12 December 1860 (see Note 240).—230

The Crystal Palace in London was built of metal and glass to house the Great Exhibition of 1851.—236

The London publisher Albert Petsch was to distribute the unsold part of the Boston edition of Marx's Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (1853). Several copies of Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, published in New York in 1852, were likewise turned over to Petsch for sale. The two works are in Vol. 11 of the present edition.—238, 327

This refers to Eduard Meyer's libellous article 'Die neue Denunciation Karol Vogt's durch K. Marx' in the Freischtät, Nos. 155 and 156, 27 and 29 December 1860, and No. 1, 1 January 1861.—238, 239, 241, 242

An extract from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Civil War in the United States, New York, 1937—241,
In May 1860, Stieber was tried on a charge of abuse of power. Although acquitted, he was forced to resign in November of that year. — 241

In January 1861, the Prussian Crown passed to William I, who from 1858 to 1861 had been Regent during the reign of Frederick William IV. — 241

The late 1850s saw a rise in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Austrian Empire and, as a result, an inner political crisis. In an attempt to contain the revolutionary and democratic forces, the government of Francis Joseph made a number of half-hearted concessions to the national liberation movement late in 1860. See Engels' article 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution' (present edition, Vol. 17). — 241

The victory of the Republican Party at the 1860 election (see Note 231) gave the capitalist North of the USA a stronger position vis-à-vis the Southern slaveowners, who had dominated the Federal organs of power for a long time. Lincoln's election to the Presidency was taken by the Southern states as a pretext for secession. South Carolina was the first to quit the Union. It was followed by Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Florida. See Marx's article 'The American Question in England' (present edition, Vol. 19). — 242, 295

A reference to Marx's private library (see Note 244). — 244

A short extract from this letter first appeared in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. In 1979, the letter was published, considerably abridged, in The Letters of Karl Marx. Selected and Translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. — 245

A supreme Decree on Amnesty (Allerhöchster Gnaden-Erlaß wegen politischer Verbrechen und Vergehen) was issued in Prussia on 12 January 1861 in connection with the Coronation of King William I. See also this volume, pp. 248-49. — 246, 248, 351

This refers to the London branch of the German National Association (see Note 24). The branch was set up with Kinkel's help in 1860. — 246, 293, 297

The Manchester School—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the left wing of the Liberal Party. — 246

Marx means the siege by Piedmontese troops of Gaeta fortress, the last stronghold of Francis II, King of the Two Sicilies. Gaeta fell in February 1861. — 246

This refers to the participation of William I, then Prince of Prussia, in suppressing the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849. — 249
In mid-January 1861 Rodbertus, Berg and Bûcher published a statement on the unification of Germany (Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 13, 13 January, supplement; Der Beobachter, Nos. 17, 18 and 19, 20, 22 and 23 January). They argued that, together with Prussia, the future Germany should include Schleswig-Holstein and Austria so as to have access both to the North Sea and—via Austria's possessions in Italy—to the Mediterranean. They advocated a 'Great Germany' and held that the country should be unified through the consolidation of the German Confederation.—249, 253

An allusion to the negotiations held in Warsaw in October 1860 (see Note 211).—250

This presumably refers to the petition drawn up by Lassalle for Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt in connection with her divorce case, completed in 1854 (Klage der Gräfin Hatzfeldt wegen ungesetzlicher Vermögensaneignung [Complaint by Countess Hatzfeldt about Unlawful Appropriation of Property]). The petition was submitted to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of 1861. Appended to it was a memorandum to the Ministry which contained a sharp critique of Prussia's reactionary regime.—251, 252, 254

In this note Marx presumably informed Eichhoff of his intention to translate into English the latter's pamphlet Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten, which appeared in 1860, and have it published, whole or abridged, and probably with his own commentaries, in The Times. In his letter of 16 February 1861, Eichhoff agreed to the project, but Marx was unable to carry it out.—251

On 21 March 1857 Marx received a letter from Charles Dana, editor of the New-York Daily Tribune, informing him that in view of the economic recession only one of his articles a week would be paid, whether published or not, while the others would only be paid if published. In October of the same year, Dana informed Marx that, for the same reasons, the Tribune had discharged all its correspondents in Europe except Marx and B. Taylor, and was requesting Marx to confine himself to one article a week.—252, 570

I.e., supporters of the German National Association (see Note 24).—253

This may refer to Engels' letter to Marx of 31 January 1861, or to some other letter, which has not been found.—254

Engels means his article 'French Armaments', which he wrote at Marx's request in late January 1861 (see this volume, p. 250). He revised it for The Volunteer Journal since, after Dana's letter (see Note 265), he had good cause to fear that the New-York Daily Tribune would not publish it.—257


After the death of Engels' father in March 1860, his brothers proposed that he should renounce his title to the family concern in Engelskirchen in their favour. One of their arguments was that he had lived abroad since 1849. By way of compensation, he was to receive £10,000 to consolidate his legal and financial standing with the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester, of which
Engels hoped eventually to become a co-owner. His brothers' proposal infringed Engels' rights, since under English law the transfer of a deceased co-owner's title was highly complicated and problematic. Engels had lengthy talks with Gottfried Ermen on the terms of his continued collaboration with the firm (see this volume, pp. 134-35). It was not until 25 September 1862 that a contract was signed providing for Engels' eventual partnership. He became a co-owner in 1864 (see this volume, p. 548).—259, 548

271 Kinkel started out in life as a pastor's assistant in the Protestant community in Cologne.—262

272 During the siege of Gaeta (see Note 259), French warships kept the fortress supplied with provisions and ammunition. They left the Gaeta roadstead on 19 January 1861.—262

273 In January 1859 an anti-feudal uprising by Maronite peasants (the Maronites are a Christian sect recognising the authority of the Pope but retaining the ancient rites of the Eastern Church) erupted in Northern Lebanon. It spread to central Lebanon and, in the spring of 1860, led to bloody clashes between Maronites and Druses (a Moslem sect). The religious strife was fanned by British and French emissaries and the Turkish authorities. Napoleon III exploited the disturbances as a pretext for sending an expeditionary corps to Lebanon in August 1860. Pressure from Britain, Russia and Austria forced France to withdraw its troops the following year. For details see Marx's article 'Events in Syria.—Session of the British Parliament.—The State of British Commerce' (present edition, Vol. 17).—262

274 Heineke the lusty knave is the hero of the German folk song Heineke, der starke Knecht, a parody of 16th-century grobian literature. In his work 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality' (present edition, Vol. 6) Marx compared Heinzen's journalistic writings with samples of grobian literature.—263


276 Blind published pamphlets, Flugblätter des Vereins 'Deutsche Einheit und Freiheit' in England, on behalf of that Association in London.—264

277 In the course of the Civil War in Rome (49-45 B.C.), Caesar followed Pompey, his rival, to Epirus and defeated him at Pharsalus, Thessaly, on 6 June 48 B.C.—265

278 Marx stayed at Lion Philips’ in Zalt-Bommel, Holland, from 28 February to 16 March 1861. Thence he went to Berlin, where he stayed until 12 April. During that visit to Germany, he also went to Elberfeld, Barmen, Cologne and Trier. He returned to London on 29 April.—266, 299, 574, 577, 579

279 Following an abortive coup by petty-bourgeois democrats on 13 June 1849, a state of siege was proclaimed in Paris, bringing in its wake reprisals against democrats and socialists. On 19 July, the French authorities notified Marx that he was being expelled from Paris to Morbihan, a marshy and insalubrious region in Brittany. Rather than go there, Marx decided to emigrate to England and settle in London. He left Paris on 24 August.—268

25—558
Expelled from France by the Guizot government, Marx moved to Brussels on 3 February 1845. However, in December of that year the Prussian government, taking advantage of Marx’s coming under its jurisdiction as a Prussian subject, demanded his expulsion from Belgium. As a result, Marx was forced to relinquish Prussian nationality. For details see the article ‘The Conflict between Marx and Prussian Citizenship’ and ‘Marx’s Statement on the Rejection of His Application for Restoration of His Prussian Citizenship’ (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 407-10, and Vol. 19, pp. 345-52).—268

The Preliminary Parliament, or Preparliament, met in Frankfurt am Main from 31 March to 4 April 1848. A council of representatives of the German states, it set up a Committee of Fifty to prepare the ground for the convocation of an all-German National Assembly (see Note 282) and produced a draft of the ‘Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People’.—268

The Frankfurt Parliament, or the German National Assembly, opened in Frankfurt am Main on 18 May 1848. It was convened to unify the country and draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberals condoned the reactionary policy of the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals walked out of the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments had rejected the imperial Constitution it had drawn up. The Rump of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart, and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on 18 June 1849 (see Note 154).—268

Warađje (from the Dutch word waarđje, truly, indeed) is the favourite word of one of the characters in Hildebrand’s novel Camera obscura, a timid, ignored admirer. Here, the reference seems to be to Pastor A. Roodhuijen, Antoinette Philips’ future husband.—274


In 1861 the conflict between the capitalist North and the slaveowning South of the USA (see Note 253) assumed the form of armed struggle. On 12 April rebel Southern troops bombarded Fort Sumter (South Carolina) thus unleashing a civil war that lasted until 1865. After the outbreak of the rebellion, four more states—Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee—seceded from the Union. For details see this volume, pp. 294-309 and Marx’s articles ‘The North American Civil War’ and ‘The Civil War in the United States’ (present edition, Vol. 19).—277, 295, 306

This refers to the Congress of the secessionist states (see Note 253) which met in Montgomery, Alabama, on 4 February 1861. Attended by representatives of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, it proclaimed the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, adopted a Constitution and formed a government. On 18 February, Jefferson Davis was elected President of the Confederate States.—278, 301, 306

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and
It was not until September 1861 that Marx agreed to contribute to the Austrian liberal newspaper *Die Presse*, of which the German journalist Max Friedländer was an associate editor. Marx gave his consent after having made sure that, in the domestic sphere, *Die Presse* was opposing the reactionary forces and was also critical of the government of Anton von Schmerling, a liberal.—279

The reference is to General Pfuel's part in the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Posen, a duchy under Prussian rule, in the spring of 1848. On his orders the heads of the insurgents taken prisoner were shaved and their hands and ears branded with lunar caustic (in German *Höllenstein*, i.e. stone of hell). Hence his nickname, 'von Höllenstein'.—280

This refers to the 1860 military reform in Prussia (see Note 19) and the bill on the taxation of the estates of the higher nobility submitted to the Prussian Diet that year. Initially turned down by the Upper House, the bill was passed in May 1861.

The debates over the reorganisation of the Prussian army gave rise, in the early 1860s, to a Constitutional conflict between the government and the liberal bourgeois majority in the Diet. The conflict stimulated the popular movement. Clashes with police and troops became more frequent. The Constitutional conflict was not resolved until 1866, when, under the impact of Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie knuckled down before the government and endorsed its entire previous record.—280

Agreers Assembly (Vereinbarungsversammlung) was Marx's ironic way of referring to the Prussian National Assembly, which met in May 1848. Convoked to draw up a Constitution, it sought to do this not on the basis of its sovereign and constituent rights but 'by agreement with the Crown' (the principle formulated by the Camphausen-Hansemann government and adopted by the majority of the Assembly). The Crown used the agreement principle as a screen for preparing a coup d'état. On 5 December 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was disbanded.—281

During his stay in Berlin in the spring of 1861 (see Note 278) Marx took a series of steps to have his Prussian citizenship restored. The Berlin Police Presidium turned down his application, based on the Supreme decree on amnesty, for the rights of a Prussian subject and suggested that he should rather seek to be naturalised in Prussia. However, his application to this effect was refused by the Berlin Police President, von Zedlitz, in June 1861, and by Prussia's Minister of the Interior, Schwerin, in November (see present edition. Vol. 19).—282, 305, 579

In March 1861, Blanqui, who had returned to France after the amnesty of 1859, was arrested on charges of organising a secret society. On 14 June, he was sentenced to four years in prison, despite the absence of incriminating evidence.—284, 318

Marx met Simon Bernard on Saturday, 11 May 1861. As follows from Bernard's letter to Marx of 13 May, Marx told Bernard during their conversation that Sophie von Hatzfeldt was willing to lend a sum of money to organise Blanqui's escape. Thanks to Marx's efforts and the campaign he had
 launched, articles in defence of Blanqui appeared in the German, Italian and American progressive press (see also Note 299).—284

295 This refers to the proceedings instituted on behalf of the Emperor of Austria against Kossuth and Messrs Day and Sons who had manufactured a large amount of Hungarian paper money in England. Applying to the English court, the Austrian government demanded an end to such actions and the destruction of the banknotes produced. On 27 February 1861, the Vice-Chancellor’s Court granted the justice of this demand. On 12 June, the Court of Chancery turned down the defendants’ appeal and confirmed the initial ruling.—284

296 In September 1860, British Army Captain MacDonald, travelling in Germany, was arrested in Bonn on charges of disobeying the local authorities. He was kept in detention for six days, brought before a court and fined. The British government took advantage of the incident to whip up an anti-Prussian propaganda campaign. It was not until May 1861 that the conflict was resolved.—284, 354

297 This refers to the Parliamentary debate in March 1861 on Alexander Dunlop’s proposal for setting up a commission of inquiry into the falsification of diplomatic documents in 1839 by the British Foreign Office, then headed by Palmerston. In 1839 the British Parliament issued a Blue Book on Persia and Afghanistan (Correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan) containing, among other documents, a number of letters by A. Burnes, the British representative in Kabul, on the Anglo-Afghan war (1838-42). The letters had been selected and presented by the Foreign Office in such a way as to conceal Britain’s provocative role in unleashing the war. Shortly before his death Burnes sent duplicates of his letters to London. Those not included in the Blue Book were published by his family (A. Burnes, *Cabool, Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to and Residence in That City, in the Years 1836, 7 and 8...,* London, 1842; J. Burnes, *Notes on His Name and Family (Including a Memoir of Sir Alexander Burnes)*, Edinburgh, 1851). On 19 March 1861 Palmerston, speaking in the House of Commons, refused to discuss the matter as too far back in time and irrelevant. See Marx’s article ‘The London Times and Lord Palmerston’ (present edition, Vol. 19).—286, 517

298 An ironic reference to Lassalle’s book *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*; Dharma is a concept of Indian, particularly Buddhist, religion and philosophy. In religion, it denotes God, the Absolute. In philosophy, it stands for religion, morality, justice, law and order. In Buddhist literature it signifies, above all, Buddha’s teaching.—286

299 This refers to the Left wing of the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 291), which consisted of bourgeois radicals and liberals.—287

300 In November and early December 1848 Prussia witnessed a coup d’état which culminated in the establishment of the arch-reactionary Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the dissolution of the National Assembly.—287

301 Marx means the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 291), one of whose sittings he attended somewhere between 7 and 10 September, during his trip to Berlin and Vienna in late August and early September 1848 with a view to strengthening ties with democratic and workers’ organisations.—288

302 The reference is to the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Prussian Diet.—288
When the coup d'état was being plotted and carried out in Prussia (see Note 300), the Frankfurt National Assembly undertook to settle the conflict between the Prussian National Assembly and the Crown. With this aim in view, first Bassermann (a liberal) and later Simson and Hergenhahn arrived in Berlin as imperial commissioners. Their mediation benefited the counter-revolutionary forces because it diverted the democrats in Germany from giving effective support to the Prussian National Assembly in its struggle against the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry.

Marx ironically compares Simson to Samson, the Old Testament hero, who slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judges, 15:15).—288

Marx means the description of Vincke he gave in his Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 250-58).—289

Euston Square is in front of Euston Station, London.—290

The Elberfeld uprising of workers and petty bourgeoisie broke out on 8 May 1849 and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of cities in the Rhine Province in defence of the Imperial Constitution. The immediate occasion of the uprising was the attempt of the Prussian government to suppress the revolutionary movement on the Rhine by armed force, destroy the democratic organisations and the press, and disarm the army units which disobeyed its orders and supported the Imperial Constitution. Engels played an active part in the uprising. At a trial held in April and May 1850, most of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. See Engels' article 'Elberfeld', (present edition, Vol. 9).

In June and July 1849, Engels was fighting in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (see Note 212).—290

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in Karl Marx, On America and the Civil War. Edited and Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—291

See notes 253 and 285.—291

This letter to Sophie von Hatzfeldt has not been found. As can be seen from Hatzfeldt's reply, dated 14 June 1861, Marx had requested her assistance in drawing public attention to the harsh treatment of Blanqui in prison, and asked for money to finance the printing of a pamphlet by Louis Watteau on Blanqui's trial (see Note 293 and p. 295 in this volume). Marx also suggested organizing meetings and the publication of a series of articles in Germany in connection with the trial. A number of articles about Blanqui appeared in the German and Italian press with the help of the German writer Ludmilla Assing.—291

This refers to Marx's work on the second installment of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, which he started on completing his polemic writing, Herr Vogt (see Note 38). In the period 1861 to 1863 he produced a vast manuscript (200 sheets of print), the second rough draft of Capital—292, 315, 319, 323, 333, 352, 370, 380, 384, 401, 402, 404, 411, 426, 433, 435, 460, 461, 473, 484

In May 1861, in connection with the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, the Federal Government offered Garibaldi a commanding post in the army of the North. The offer was made through the US Minister to Brussels, who went to see Garibaldi on Caprera Island. Garibaldi replied with a letter expressing warm sympathy for the Unionists, but refused to accept the post in
the belief that it was an ordinary internecine war with no bearing on the slavery issue. He said he would be willing to fight on the side of the Northerners if it was to become a war to end slavery.—293

**Notes**

512 Yankees was the nickname given by British soldiers to residents of New England in the eighteenth century. During and after the Civil War (1861-65) it was used to denote the Northerners.—293, 325, 368, 400, 416, 562

513 This letter has not been found.—293

514 The end of this letter has not been found. The available part was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York, 1937.—294

515 In the four months between Lincoln's election and his inauguration (on 4 March 1861) the pro-Southern faction in Buchanan's Administration (Secretary of War Floyd, Secretary of the Treasury Cobb and others) used their powers to strengthen the South and prepare the ground for civil war. Troops loyal to the Union were transferred from the South to the Far West and dispersed to different garrisons. Arms and ammunition were shipped to the South and large sums of money sent there. Even before the outbreak of hostilities representatives of the slaveholders, with the connivance of the government, opened negotiations with Britain to obtain financial and military aid (on this see also p. 907).—295

516 In May 1861 four volunteer regiments, consisting mostly of German immigrants, were formed in St. Louis, Missouri. They encircled the Secessionists' military camp outside the city and forced them to surrender, thus preventing them from seizing the arsenal and coming out against the Union arms in hand.—296

517 This refers to the slave states bordering on the North which refused to join the Confederacy: Delaware, Missouri, Maryland and, later, Kentucky. For details see Marx's article 'The Civil War in the United States' (present edition, Vol. 19).

On the border states see p. 277.—296

518 Marx means Zerffi's Kinkel-inspired articles in defence of MacDonald published in the English press (see Note 296). This aroused acute discontent within the National Association and caused a split in its London branch.—297, 301

519 *South Kensington Museum* (now *Victoria and Albert Museum*) included a museum of ornamental and applied art, a national gallery of British art, an art library and a royal college of art.—297

520 This refers to the reviews 'Gatherings from the Press', which were directed against Kinkel's newspaper *Hermann*. They appeared in June and July 1859 in the weekly *Das Volk*, in whose publication Marx took a direct part (see present edition, Vol. 16).—298

521 A letter from the Countess von Hatzfeldt to Marx of 14 June 1861 (see also Note 309).—298

522 In connection with Blanqui's prosecution (see Note 293) a correspondence developed between Marx and Blanqui's friend Watteau (Denonville) on how to launch a campaign in Blanqui's defence (see notes 294 and 309). In a letter to Watteau of 18 May 1861, which has not been found, Marx presumably offered
help on behalf of German communists. In his reply (8 June) Watteau wrote
that he had shown Marx's letter to Blanqui, who 'was deeply moved by the
German proletarians' sympathy'. In the same letter Watteau requested Marx's
aid in publishing a pamphlet on Blanqui's prosecution which exposed the
unseemly methods of the Bonapartist police and judiciary. As follows from
the correspondence between Blanqui and Watteau, and from Marx's letter to
Watteau of 10 November 1861 (see this volume, p. 326), Marx sent the latter
money for the publication of the pamphlet and took part in discussing plans
for freeing Blanqui from detention. He informed Sophie von Hatzfeldt of
these plans, and she agreed to provide money for the purpose.—298

The Mexican War (1846-48) was caused by the expansionist designs of the US
slaveholding planters and big bourgeoisie. As a result of the war, the USA
seized nearly half of Mexico's territory, including Texas, Upper California,
New Mexico and other areas.—299

The Schleswig-Holstein question was prominent in nineteenth-century Euro­
pean diplomacy. The Congress of Vienna (1815) recognised the duchies of
Schleswig and Holstein to be possessions of Denmark in personal union with
the Danish King. At the same time, Holstein was declared a member of the
German Confederation. During the 1848-49 revolution, an anti-Danish national
liberation movement developed in the duchies which was, however, defeated.

At a conference in London attended by representatives of Austria, Britain,
Denmark, France, Russia and Sweden, a protocol on the Danish succession was
signed on 2 August 1850 which proclaimed the indivisibility of the Danish
Crown possessions, including the two duchies. This document formed the basis
for the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 on the integrity of the Danish
monarchy (see Note 380).

Denmark's attempts to fully subject the duchies aggravated Danish-Prussian
relations and were exploited as a pretext for intervention by Prussia, which
regarded the reunification of Schleswig and Holstein with Germany as the first
step towards the union of Germany under Prussia's aegis.—299, 496, 501

In her letter of 14 June 1861 Sophie von Hatzfeldt touched on the possibility
of Engels' return to Germany following the amnesty proclaimed in Prussia (see
this volume, pp. 247-49) and in this connection wrote that Ludwig Simon had been
officially notified that he would only be allowed to return to Prussia if he
petitioned the King for a pardon.—299

An allusion to Engels' participation in the Elberfeld and Baden-Palatinate
uprisings (see Note 306).—299

A gibe at the vulgar economists who maintained that profit was merely an extra
charge on the consumer over and above the price. Marx attacks this view in his
economic manuscript of 1861-63 and in Volume III of Capital (present edition,
vols. 32 and 37).—300

Marx means the abortive attempt of Unionist troops under General Francis
Edwin Pierce to capture the Confederates' fortifications at Big Bethel near Fort
Monroe, Virginia, in the small hours of 10 June 1861. One Unionist column
opened fire on another by mistake. Later the Confederates compelled the
Unionists to retreat in disarray.—300, 304

This refers to the victory of the Northerners, commanded by N. P. Lyon, over
the Missouri pro-Secessionist militia led by Governor Jackson at Boonville on 17
June.—300
Marx means the victory of the Republican Party in the 1860 elections (see Note 231).—301

Marx means the armed struggle in Kansas in 1854-56 between supporters and opponents of slavery (the latter were mostly farmers). It began after the adoption, in May 1854, of An Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, which let the population of the two Territories decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery or not. Despite a series of successes by the anti-slavery forces, Kansas fell to the slavery party, who had received armed support from the Federal government. However, most of the population continued the struggle and in 1861 won the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state. The struggle in Kansas was, in effect, the prelude to the US Civil War.

The Border Ruffians were gangs of pro-slavery thugs brought into Kansas from Missouri during the Kansas war.—301

At the Battle of Waterloo, on 18 June 1815, the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces, commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher, defeated Napoleon's army.—301

By the German communist association and the Frenchmen's associations Marx means the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 3) and the numerous French refugee societies in London.

The June insurrection—the uprising of the Paris proletariat of 23-26 June 1848.—302

General Winfield Scott's strategy, later known as the Anaconda Plan, called for the encirclement of the rebel states by the Federal Army and Navy and the gradual contraction of the ring until the rebellion was crushed.—304

In view of the amnesty of 12 January 1861 (see Note 256) Wilhelm Wolff, in the summer of 1861, applied to the Prussian Embassy in London for a passport to visit Wiesbaden.—304

Marx cites these facts from Lassalle's letter of 1 July 1861.—305, 313

The Border Slave State Convention, or Washington Peace Conference, was held in February 1861, on Virginia's initiative. Attended by 21 states, with the border states playing the most active part, it was a last, unsuccessful, attempt to resolve peacefully the dispute between the Seccessionists and the Union.—306

Marx means elections to the US Congress. An extraordinary session of it opened on 4 July 1861.—306

Gulf States—the states lying along the Gulf of Mexico (Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas). They formed the core of the Secessionist Confederacy.—306, 349

An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's counter-revolutionary coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851.—307

The 'poor whites'—the landless free population of the Southern slave states. On their part in the Civil War see Marx's article 'The North American Civil War' (present edition, Vol. 19).

Zouaves was the name given to French infantry regiments raised in Algeria from the Berber tribe of Zouaves.—307

This refers to the Constitution of the Confederate States of America which was adopted by the Congress in Montgomery on 11 March 1861 (see Note 286).—308
Marx means Feodor Streit's letter of 2 July 1861, written on behalf of the National Association. 

This refers to the second Great Exhibition (world industrial fair) held in London from May to November 1862. 

When Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) assumed the regency in October 1858, he dismissed the Manteuffel Ministry and entrusted power to moderate liberals. The bourgeois press hailed this 'liberal' course as a 'New Era'. William's actual aim, however, was to consolidate the monarchy and Junkers. 


In view of the Decree on Amnesty (see Note 256) Engels' relatives were exploring the possibility of his return to Germany. In reply the police superintendent of Elberfeld stated that Engels had to send in an appropriate application and a certificate of loyalty issued by the Prussian Embassy in London. 


This refers to one of the basic aesthetic principles of Classicism, the unity of time, place and action in drama. It was formulated in 1674 by the French theorist of Classicism, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, in his poem L'art poétique. 

A legacy (bequest) in Roman law was a stipulation by the testator in his will granting a person a certain right or other benefit based on the property bequeathed. 

A legatee was one to whom a legacy was bequeathed. As distinct from the legatee in this restricted sense, the heir under a will is the universal legatee, who assumes the liabilities of the deceased as well as his property and rights. 

The Gürzenich is a reception building erected in Cologne in 1441-52, in the mid-19th century used as a venue for various functions and festivities. 

Marx was Engels' guest in Manchester from the end of August to the middle of September 1861. 

This probably refers to the Report of the Thirtieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science: held at Oxford in June and July 1860, Laudau 1861. 

The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831 and still exists. It meets annually and publishes reports on these meetings. The Association's 31st annual meeting was held in Manchester between 4 and 11 September 1861. Marx, who was staying with Engels in Manchester at the time, attended the sitting of the Economic Science and Statistics Section. 

Engels went on holiday to Germany on about 3 October 1861 and stayed with his family in Barmen till the end of the month. 

Marx means, in particular, the articles 'The American Question in England', 'The British Cotton Trade', 'The London Times and Lord Palmerston', and
Notes

'The London Times on the Orleans Princes in America' (see present edition, Vol. 19). The other two articles were evidently not published.—323

In his letter to Die Presse, which has not been found, Marx inquired about the newspaper's stand on the Cabinet crisis in Austria in the autumn of 1861.—323

An editorial introductory note to Marx's article 'The North American Civil War', published in Die Presse on 25 October 1861, said: 'We have received from London a first communication on the North American Civil War from one of the leading German journalists, who knows Anglo-American relations from long years of observation. As events on the other side of the ocean develop, we shall be in a position to present communications, deriving from the same competent pen, which will outline the salient features of the war.'—323


For Bristlers see this volume, p. 71.—324

With mass rallies taking place in Warsaw, the Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland, Count Lambert, on 14 October 1861 introduced martial law. On the night of 15 October many arrests were made, accompanied by clashes between Tsarist troops and members of the population. This was followed by the closure of all Catholic churches in Warsaw.

In referring to the 'exploits of handsome William' Marx means William I's speech on the occasion of his coronation in Königsberg on 18 October 1861, in which he stressed the divine origin of the sovereignty of the Kings of Prussia.—325

Marx means Engels' holiday in Germany (see Note 354).—325

This refers to the rifled cannon invented by William Armstrong in 1854 and adopted by the British army in 1859. A try-out in the war against China gave rise to doubts about its resistance to wear and the convenience of its breech, and caused a controversy about its advantages over the Joseph Whitworth gun (see also Engels' article 'On Rifled Cannon', instalments III and IV, present edition Vol. 17).—325

This is the only letter of the Marx-Watteau correspondence on the Blanqui case to have been found (see Note 322). The French original is in the collection of the Blanqui papers at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.

The last paragraph of the letter was first published in Roger Garaudy's book, Les sources françaises du socialisme scientifique, Paris, 1948, p. 217. The letter was published in full, except for three obliterated words, in Vol. 30 of the Second Russian Edition of the Works of Marx and Engels in 1963 and in the language of the original in La Pensée, No. 125, Paris, 1966. The three obliterated words, since deciphered with the aid of modern technical facilities, read tentative de sauvetage and are evidence of Marx's involvement in the plans for rescuing Blanqui. The full text of the letter, including these three words, was published by Maurice Paz in La Nouvelle revue socialiste, Politique, Culture, No. 26, 1976.

In a letter to Marx dated 22 January 1862 Blanqui thanked him for what he was doing in his behalf.—326

Watteau's pamphlet failed to appear as no publisher had been found for it.—326

An allusion to the financial crisis experienced by Bonapartist France in the autumn of 1861, when the national exchequer was one milliard francs in the
red. On this see Marx’s articles ‘Monsieur Fould’ and ‘France’s Financial Situation’ (present edition, Vol. 19).—327, 329

365 ‘If you elect democrats...’ is a quotation from the speech William I made in Breslau (Wroclaw) in November 1861, on the eve of elections to the Prussian Provincial Diet (see Note 368).

‘Soldiers are the only answer to democrats’ (‘Gegen Demokraten helfen nur Soldaten’) is a quotation from the poem Die fünfte Zunft by the monarchist Wilhelm von Merckel, published as a leaflet in the autumn of 1848. The Prussian reactionary writer Karl Gustav von Griesheim took it as the title of his pamphlet, published anonymously in Berlin in late November 1848.—328

366 The reference is to the detention of the British mail steamer Trent by the Unionist warship San Jacinto on 8 November 1861 and the arrest, aboard the Trent, of James Murray Mason and John Slidell, Confederate emissaries going to Europe on a diplomatic mission. On this see Marx’s articles ‘The Trent Case’, ‘The Anglo-American Conflict’, ‘The News and Its Effect in London’ and other relevant items in Vol. 19 of the present edition.—329, 363, 462

367 In April 1857, Bakunin, who had been kept in prison at the Peter and Paul fortress in St Petersburg from 1851, was exiled for life to Siberia. In April 1861 he escaped (via Japan and America) to England, arriving in London in December.—329

368 This refers to the second round of elections to the Lower House (Chamber of Deputies) of the Prussian Diet, held on 6 December 1861.—329

369 Part of this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—330, 399, 403, 419, 422, 448, 453, 456, 460, 461, 466, 470, 476, 479, 483, 488, 538, 560

370 The Corpus juris civilis is the general title of law books that emerged as a result of the codification of Roman law under the Byzantine emperor Justinian I between 528 and 534. These are: Codex constitutionum, Digesta, Institutiones, and Novellae.—331

371 Engels means the victory won by the Party of Progress at the elections to Prussia’s Chamber of Deputies in November and December 1861. The Party of Progress, formed in June 1861, spoke for the German bourgeoisie. Its slogans were the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of association and freedom of assembly.—331, 501


373 In December 1861 Dronke lent Marx £50, repayable on 30 March 1862.—332, 337

374 Sheriff—the chief executive officer of a shire or county, charged with the execution of the laws and the serving of writs, and in some cases having judicial powers.—334, 338

375 Sheriff—the chief executive officer of a shire or county, charged with the execution of the laws and the serving of writs, and in some cases having judicial powers.—334, 338
375 This refers to the Trent incident (see Note 366) which was exploited by the textile manufacturers and some members of the Palmerston Cabinet for stepping up the anti-Unionist campaign in Britain. Lord Russell demanded the release of Mason and Slidell within a week's time on pain of a declaration of war by Britain. But other Cabinet members refused to support this line. (See Marx's articles 'Controversy over the Trent Case' and 'Progress of Feeling in England' and other relevant items in Vol. 19 of the present edition.)—335

376 Marx means the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, the two highest-ranking legal officials in Britain. For their decision on the Trent case see Marx's articles 'The Anglo-American Conflict', 'The News and Its Effect in London' and 'Controversy over the Trent Case' (present edition, Vol. 19).—335

377 Truly British Minister—an ironic allusion to Lord Palmerston based on a passage from Lord Russell's speech in the House of Commons on 20 June 1850. Referring to Palmerston he said: '...so long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble Friend that he will act not as the Minister of Austria, or as the Minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the Minister of England'.—336

378 This refers to the Declaration on the principles of international maritime law adopted by the Congress of Paris on 16 April 1856. It banned privateering and safeguarded merchantmen of neutral states against attack by belligerent powers. The adoption of the Declaration was a diplomatic victory for Russia, which from 1780 had opposed Britain's claims to the right to inspect and seize the ships of neutral states.—336

379 The reference is to the agreement signed by Russia, Britain and the Netherlands in London on 19 May 1815 on defraying Russia's expenses incurred in driving out Napoleon's army from the Dutch and Belgian provinces. The governments of Britain and the Netherlands undertook to pay in compensation part of Russia's debts to the Dutch bankers Hope & Co., and the interest on that debt as of 1 January 1816. The agreement stipulated that payments would be suspended if the Belgian provinces seceded from the Netherlands. After the revolution of 1830, when an independent Belgian state was formed, the Netherlands government stopped the payments. On behalf of the British government, Palmerston signed a new agreement with Russia on 16 November 1831 confirming Britain's financial obligations.—337

380 Under the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 on the integrity of the Danish monarchy, signed by Austria, Britain, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia and Sweden, the Emperor of Russia, being a descendant of Duke Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp, who had reigned in Russia as Peter III, was one of the lawful claimants to the Danish throne, who waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg. This provided an opportunity for the Tsar to claim the Danish Crown in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty.—337, 497, 543

381 This refers to a meeting held by the Urquhartites on 27 January 1862 in connection with the impending Anglo-French intervention against the Union in the US Civil War. Marx did not attend.—339

382 Marx probably means the lecture he was to give in the German Workers' Educational Society in London at Weber's request, expressed in a letter of 10 December 1861, on the views of the German vulgar economist Wirth and the stand advocated by the latter's newspaper, Der Arbeitgeber, which proclaimed the community of interests of labour and capital.—339
This letter was written in reply to one from Becker of 13 February 1862 requesting Marx to organise a subscription in London for the publication of Becker's book *Wie und Wann* and offering to translate into French a section in Marx's *Herr Vogt* which had evoked particular interest in Switzerland. Part of the present letter was first published in English in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—341

In September 1861 after a six-month interval, Marx resumed for a short time his contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—341, 344

Engels means the cotton crisis produced by the interruption in the supply of American cotton during the US Civil War (1861-65) as a result of the blockade of the southern ports by the Union's navy. The cotton shortage came on the eve of, and interlocked with, a production glut.—344, 347, 394, 413

At the time, Engels was hiring lodgings for Mary and Lizzy Burns at 252 Hyde Road, Ardwick. He kept his own lodgings at 6 Thorncliffe Grove until 1864.—344, 427

On 7 March Engels wrote the first part of the article requested by Marx, and on 18 March probably the second part (see p. 351). However, the *Tribune* did not publish this article. Engels made use of the first part for his article 'The War in America' (see present edition, Vol. 18) published in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* on 14 March 1862. Marx translated the text intended for the *Tribune* into German, added more recent data and sent the text to *Die Presse*, which published it on 26 and 27 March 1862 (see 'The American Civil War', present edition, Vol. 19).—345, 346

In October 1861 Fremont was dismissed from his post as commander of the army in Missouri for issuing a proclamation granting freedom to the slaves of rebels. For details see Marx's article 'The Dismissal of Fremont' (present edition, Vol. 19).—345

This refers to Russia's abortive attempt in 1861 to establish a naval station on Tsushima island off the coast of Japan. Marx must have drawn his data from the editorial 'Russian Progress in Asia' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6167, 30 January 1862, which gave an inaccurate and tendentious account of the affair.—345

Engels means the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and the Cumberland by the Federals under Grant in February 1862. For details see the article 'The American Civil War' by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 19). There are two inaccuracies in Engels' letter here. In the fighting referred to, the Southern troops were commanded, not by J. E. Johnston, who had won the battle of Bull Run, but by A. S. Johnston. Moreover, the latter had not been taken prisoner, as reported in *The Times* of 5 March 1862, which Engels read, but had withdrawn. *The Times* had given Johnston's name without his initials, and this misled Engels.

The battle fought on the Bull Run river near Manassas, Virginia, on 21 July 1861 was the first major engagement of the US Civil War. The Federal army was defeated by the Secessionist forces.—346

Gold was discovered in California and Australia in 1848 and 1851 respectively. The result was the 'gold rush', the mass immigration of would-be prospectors from Europe and America.—348

This refers to the triumph of the Free Trade principles in Britain in the mid-19th century. The Free Traders, members of the industrial bourgeoisie,
advocated laissez-faire, the lifting of protectionist customs duties, because Britain, having completed its industrial revolution and established itself as the leading industrial power, could afford to compete freely against other countries in the world market.—349

393 Britain’s ruling quarters carefully concealed their pro-Southern stand during the war, since public opinion supported the Northerners. On 13 May 1861 the government made public Her Majesty’s Proclamation of Neutrality which, by treating the South as a belligerent, marked the first step towards recognition of the Confederacy. It gave the rebels diplomatic, financial and military aid. In the Trent incident (see Note 375) it openly sided with the South.—349

394 On 17 July 1861 the Mexican Congress suspended all payments on foreign debts for two years, which was taken by Britain, France and Spain as a pretext for intervention. To avoid war, the Mexican government, headed by Benito Pablo Juarez, reversed the decision in November 1861 and agreed to meet the claims of the three powers.—349

395 In a letter dated 28 March 1862 Dana requested Marx to stop sending articles for the Tribune on the grounds that American domestic affairs left no space in the paper for reports from London.—353

396 The battle mentioned by Marx took place on 6 and 7 April 1862. On the 6th, the Southern forces, commanded by Beauregard, defeated Grant’s army at Pittsburg Landing (northeast of Corinth), but on the 7th, following the arrival of General Buell’s forces, the Northerners counter-attacked and threw the Southerners back to Corinth. Engels probably wrote no article on the fighting at Corinth, but he gave an analysis of it in his letter to Marx of 5 May 1862 (see this volume, pp. 359–60).—353, 359

397 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 30 March to 25 April 1862.—354

398 While Marx was in Manchester, Engels gave him a bill for £50 to be drawn on Borkheim.—354, 380, 382

399 Marx is relating the story of the publication of Beta’s (Bettziech’s) laudatory article on Kinkel headed ‘Ein Nichtamnestirter’. It appeared in the journal Die Gartenlaube, No. 2, 1862, pp. 21–24, and No. 3, pp. 38–41. Marx got the details from a letter by K. W. Eichhoff dated 26 April 1862.—355


401 In October 1860 Johann Philipp Becker came to Italy with a view to raising a Swiss-German volunteer detachment to help Garibaldi. Lassalle, who was going to visit Italy, asked Marx for a letter of recommendation to Garibaldi, Mazzini or one of their associates. Marx gave him a message for Becker, which Lassalle did not use because he heard negative rumours about Becker in Italy. These were being spread by pro-Bonapartist refugees in Italy with whom Becker had refused to collaborate.—356

402 Marx presumably means his article ‘A Traitor in Circassia’ (present edition, Vol. 15) exposing the secret police agent Bangya, with whom Türr was closely associated.—356
In June and July 1849 the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army was fighting against the Prussian forces in Baden. Becker, who commanded a corps of the people's militia, covered the retreat of the insurgents' main forces. For details see Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and 'Johann Philipp Becker' (present edition, vols. 10 and 27).—356

This refers to attempts by Britain's ruling classes to stage mass demonstrations, involving the working class, to influence public opinion in favour of Britain's intervention in the US Civil War on the side of the slave states. See Marx's articles 'English Public Opinion' and 'A London Workers' Meeting' (present edition, Vol. 19).—358

In March 1862 Marx finally ceased to contribute to the *New-York Daily Tribune* (see also Note 395).—359, 389

The battles mentioned by Engels were fought during the Napoleonic wars (Preussisch Eylau, 1807; Wagram, 1809; Borodino, 1812; Lützen, 1813, and Bautzen, 1813) and the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 (Magenta and Solferino).—359

The data and analysis of hostilities contained in this letter were used in Marx's article 'The English Press and the Fall of New Orleans' and 'The Situation in the American Theatre of War' by Marx and Engels (present edition, Vol. 19).—360

The spring of 1862 saw an aggravation of the Constitutional conflict between Crown and Diet in Prussia (see Note 290). The liberal majority (mostly members of the Party of Progress) in the Chamber of Deputies refused to endorse the budget as presented and demanded that it be concretised to prevent the use for military purposes of funds which came under other headings. In the face of this opposition, the King disbanded the Diet on 11 March. The 'New Era' Ministers resigned (see also Note 345). At the new elections, held on 28 April and 6 May, the Party of Progress again carried the day. The military reform bill was rejected once more.—361, 366

On 15 April 1862 Schily sent Marx a letter from Paris including the material on the differences existing among the Hungarian refugee leaders.—362

The Palais Royal in Paris was the residence of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon).—362

In December 1861 Britain, France and Spain launched an armed intervention in Mexico aimed at overthrowing the progressive Juárez government and turning Mexico into a colony. However, serious differences soon developed between the three powers as a result of which Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in April 1862. The French command refused to negotiate with the Mexican government and opened hostilities on 19 April. In the second half of the year, more French forces were sent to Mexico.

For the Bonapartist ruling circles' fraudulent Mexican loan, see Marx's article 'An International Affaire Mires' (present edition, Vol. 19).—363, 462

Backwoodsmen was the name given to early colonists in North America, people settling in remote uninhabited areas. In a figurative sense, backwoodsmen means narrow-minded provincials.—364

Marx presumably means Engels' letter of 5 May 1862 (see this volume, p. 361).—365
Engels means the conciliatory policy of the Prussian National Assembly, which sought to accomplish the tasks of the 1848 revolution by purely parliamentary methods, without enlisting the support of the masses.—366

In 1848, Rudolf Schramm was a deputy to the Prussian National Assembly from the constituency of Striegau (Strzegom). Marx and Engels described his parliamentary activity in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exiles* (present edition, Vol. 11).—356

New Orleans was surrendered by the Southerners on 29 April 1862, shortly after the fall of the forts protecting the approaches to the city from the Mississippi. The Northern troops entered New Orleans on 1 May. The capture of the city, an important political and military centre of the Confederacy, was a major success for the Unionist army.

The analysis of the fighting given by Engels in this letter was used by Marx in the article ‘The Situation in the American Theatre of War’ (present edition, Vol. 19).—366

This refers to the battles fought at Smolensk, 16 to 18 August, and Borodino, 7 September 1812 in the course of Russia’s liberation war against aggression by Napoleonic France.—367

White trash was the contemptuous name with which slaveowning planters dubbed the poor whites in the Southern states.—367, 416

On 14 January 1858 the Italian patriot Felice Orsini made an abortive attempt on the life of Napoleon III and was executed in March 1858.—369

The Merrimack, the rebels’ first armoured vessel, destroyed several Unionist warships in March 1862. To prevent her falling into the hands of the Southerners, she was blown up by the Confederates on 11 May 1862, after they had evacuated the Norfolk naval base in Virginia.—369

The Coercion Bills, passed by the British Parliament in 1833 and 1847, aimed at suppressing the revolutionary movement in Ireland. They introduced a state of emergency throughout Ireland and gave extraordinary powers to the British authorities.—369

In 1862 large amounts of paper money (‘greenbacks’) were issued in the USA to cover the costs of the Civil War. This gradually led to inflation.—370, 419

The Morrill Tariff—the protectionist tariff sponsored by the Republican Justin Smith Morrill. Passed by the House of Representatives in May 1860, it became law on 2 March 1861, after being approved by the Senate. It raised customs duties considerably.—370

In April 1862 the British and Spanish troops were withdrawn from Mexico following the Palmerston government’s refusal to continue in collaboration with France in the armed intervention there (see also Note 411).—370

This refers to Mary and Lizzy Burns. Engels was renting lodgings in Hyde Road (see Note 386) under the name of Frederick Boardman. Mary Burns figured as Mary Boardman.—370

Engels means the advance of the Northern troops under General Halleck on Corinth, Mississippi, in April and May 1862. Its very slow progress gave rise to press allegations by pro-Confederate correspondents (including James Spence) about Halleck’s army finding itself in dire straits.—371
Embrassez-vous et que cela finisse! (Embrace and have done with it!) is an allusion to an episode in the French Revolution: on 7 July 1792 Lamourette, a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, proposed ending all political strife by a fraternal kiss. Following his appeal, members of antagonistic groupings embraced each other. However, as was to be expected, this artificial attempt at a reconciliation proved a failure. The 'fraternal kiss' was forgotten the next day.

Engels uses the dictum ironically, in reference to the debates in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, which was elected on 6 May 1862 (see Note 408) and first met on 19 May.—373

The Hesse-Cassel affair—the long conflict in Hesse-Cassel (1850-62) between Elector Ludwig III's reactionary government and the Chamber of Deputies, which demanded the reintroduction of the moderate liberal Constitution of 1831. The liberal party was supported by Prussia, which feared a strengthening of Austria in the struggle for hegemony in Germany. However, Prussia's attempts to influence the Hesse-Cassel government with a view to having the Constitution reintroduced were foiled by Ludwig III. The Prussian General Willisen sent to Hesse-Cassel in May 1862 with a message from William I was given an insulting reception. The Constitution of 1831 was reintroduced at the end of June 1862, after Prussia had presented Ludwig III with an ultimatum and mobilised two army corps.—373

The Schiller Institute was set up in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller's birth. Its founders intended it as a cultural and social centre for Manchester's German community. Initially, Engels took almost no part in the Institute's activities, but in January 1864 he became a member of its Directorate, and eventually its chairman.—374, 524

Engels presumably means his translation of the old Danish song Herr Jon, contained in the collection Et Hundrede udvalde Danske Viser, om allaenhede, maniledige Krigs-Bedrivt oganden selve Eventyr, som sig her udi Riget ved gamle Kaemper, unumindelige Konger, ogellers fornemme Personer begivet haver, af Arilds Tid til denne nærværende Dag..., published by P. Syv.

The text of Engels' translation follows:

Herr Lave, der ritt zum Inselstrand
Zu трин um des schönsten Mädchens Hand.
Ich reite mit, sagte Jon.

Er freite die Braut und führt' sie nach Haus,
Ritter und Knappen kommen herans.
Hier reite ich, sagte Jon.

Sie setzen die Braut auf den brautlichen Thron,
Den Herren liess brav einschenken Herr Jon.
Trinkt drauf los, sagte Jon.

Sie führen die Braut zum Brautchen herfür,
Sie vergassen den Schnürleib zu lösen ihr.
Will's schon lösen, sagte Jon.

Herr Lave rode to the island strand
To sue for the loveliest maiden's hand.
I'll ride with you, said Jon.

He took her home, his new-won bride.
The knights and squires all came outside.
I'm coming too, said Jon.

They sat the bride on the bridal throne.
The cups were filled by request of Herr Jon.
Now drink away, said Jon.

They led the bride to the bridal chamber.
But to loosen her stays did not remember.
I'll loosen them, said Jon.
Herr Jon der schloss so rasch die Tür!
Jetzt sagt Herrn Lave gut' Nacht von mir.
Ich liege hier, sagte Jon.

Kam die Botschaft zu Herrn Lave hinein:
Herr Jon schlief bei der jungen Braut deim.
Das m ich, sagte Jon.
Herr Lave pocht ans Kämmerlein:
Steht auf Herr Jon und lasst uns ein.
Bleibt draussen, sagte Jon.
Er stiess mit Schild und Speer an die Tü:
Steht auf Herr Jon und kommt herhin.
Da könnt Ihr warten, sagte Jon.

Und kann meine Braut nicht sein ungeschoren.
So sag ich das zu des Königs Ohren.
Jawohl, sagte Jon.
Früch am Morgen, da war es Tag,
Herr Lave bringt zum König die Klag.
Ich will mit, sagte Jon.
Ich hatte gefreit eine Jungfrau mir,
Jetzt hat Jon geschlafen bei ihr.
Das tat ich, sagte Jon.

Und liebt Ihr beide die Jungfrau sóschr,
So müsst Ihr brechen um sie einen Speer.
Ist mir recht, sagte Jon.
Als die Sonn' am Morgen ist aufgehen,
Da kamen die Ritter den Kampf anzusehen.
Hier bin ich, sagte Jon.

Den ersten Gang den ritten sie,
Herrn Jon's Ross fiel nieder auf die Knie.
Hilf jetzt Gott, sagte Jon.

Herr Jon locked upright speedily!
Now bid Herr Lave goodnight for me.
I'll lie down here, said Jon.

Then with the news to Herr Lave they hied:
Herr Jon is sleeping beside your bride.
I am indeed, said Jon.
Outside, Herr Lave began to knock!
Get up, Herr Jon, unfasten the lock.
You stay out there, said Jon.
He banged on the door with shield and spear.
Get up, Herr Jon, and come out here.
No, you must wait, said Jon.

If my bride must be molested so,
Then to the King's ear it must go.
Of course it must, said Jon.
In the early morning, at break of day,
Herr Lave set out for His Majesty.
I'm coming too, said Jon.
I married myself a fair young bride.
All night, Herr Jon has lain by her side.
I have indeed, said Jon.

If you both love the maiden fair,
Then you must break a spear for her.
I'll go with that, said Jon.

Later that day, when the sun was bright,
The knights came out to watch the fight.
Well, here I am, said Jon.
The first pass of the joust rode they,
Herr Jon's horse knelt as if to pray.
God, help me now, said Jon.
Zum zweiten Gang anrannten die Pferde, Herr Lave fiel nieder auf die Erd'.
Da liegt er, sagte Jon.

Herr Jon nach seinem Hause ging, Draussen sein Mädchen wartend steht.
Du bist mein, sagte Jon.

Jetzt hat Herr Jon verwunden seinen Herrn, jetzt schläf er in sein Maidens Arm.
Jetzt hab' ich sie, sagte Jon.

(Translated by Alex Miller)—375.

—376. The Schwabenspiegel is a code of common law compiled in Swabia in the 13th century, a period of feudal fragmentation in Germany. Julian Schmidt, in his book, mistakenly describes it as a monument of Swabian poetry.

Julian Schmidt erroneously listed among the 'seven wise men' of Greece (Solon, Bias, Pittacus, Cleobul, Chilon, Moson and Thales, all of whom lived in the 7th-6th centuries B.C.) Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Democritus and other later philosophers who derived all natural phenomena from a single source.

Die sieben Schwaben (The Seven Swabians) is a German comic folk story.—377

432 An allusion to the fact that Julian Schmidt's book was a success with the German liberal bourgeoisie, in particular the supporters of Wilhelm Grabow, president of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—377

433 The Epicureans, Stoics and Sceptics were the principal Greek philosophical schools of the Hellenistic period.—377

434 In the summer of 1862 Marx was engaged in studies on rent of land (see Notebooks X and XI of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63).—377, 380, 394


436 Marx means the table of reproduction and circulation of social capital contained in Quesnay's Analyse du tableau économique. Marx used the edition, Physiocrates... Avez une introduction sur la doctrine des Physiocrates, des commentateurs et des notices historiques, par M. Eugène Daire. Première partie. Paris, 1846. He gives a detailed analysis of the table in Notebook X of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31) and in his study on
the subject incorporated in Engels' Anti-Dühring (Ch. X, Part II, present edition, Vol. 25).—381

437 In 1862, following the Order of Amnesty (see Note 256), Wilhelm Wolff made an unsuccessful attempt to restore his Prussian citizenship. It was probably with this end in view that he went on a second trip to Germany in the summer of that year (he made the first in the summer of 1861).—383

438 An allusion to money matters between Marx and Freiligrath mediated by Engels.—384

439 The ideas Engels expressed here were developed by Marx in the article 'A Criticism of American Affairs', published in Die Presse on 9 August 1862 (present edition, Vol. 19).—386

440 The Territories were divisions of the USA that had not yet been granted full state rights. Engels may be referring to the 'old Northwest', a Territory formed by the Congress in 1787. By the time of the Civil War, the states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Minnesota (the last named partly outside its boundary) had been formed there.—388, 420


442 The Quadrilateral was the stronghold of Northern Italy, formed by the fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera.—389

443 Blue Books—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. They have been appearing since the seventeenth century.—389

444 In his Herr Julian Schmidt der Literarhistoriker Lassalle gives a critical analysis of Schmidt's Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in the form of remarks and commentaries to the text by the compositor and his wife.—391

445 Engels means Wilhelm Wolff's return from Germany (see Note 437).—391

446 Engels is referring to the pamphlets of the German idealist philosopher Bruno Bauer: Rußland und das Germanenthum, Charlottenburg, 1853; Rußland and England, Charlottenburg, 1854; Die jetzige Stellung Rußlands, Charlottenburg, 1854, and others. Marx attacks Bauer's foreign-policy views in his unfinished work 'Bruno Bauer's Pamphlets on the Collision with Russia' (present edition, Vol. 15).—393


448 In this letter Marx uses the term cost price (Kostpreis, Kostenpreis) in the sense of price of production (c+v+average profit).—396

449 New England—a highly industrialised region in the northeast of the USA (comprising the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut). It was the centre of the Abolitionist movement.—400, 416
459 To cope with Britain's increased national debt, William Pitt's government set up in 1786 a redemption fund, to finance which it raised existing and introduced new, indirect taxes. The Tax Bill, passed in the USA in April 1862, was shelved. To cover its military expenditure the Federal government had recourse to the emission of paper money (see Note 422).—400, 421

451 The physiocrats were a school of bourgeois political economy that emerged in France in the 1750s. They held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the economy where value was created. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they showed the moribund nature of the feudal economy, thus contributing to the ideological preparation of the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the physiocrats' views in Notebook VI of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 31).—403

452 Engels penned this letter on the back of Borkheim's letter to him of 12 August 1862. Borkheim had written to say that Lassalle was away from Berlin and therefore no acceptance could be obtained for a bill issued by Engels.—405

453 On 27 August 1862 the board of the Great Exhibition in London issued Marx, as a correspondent of Die Presse, with a free pass to the Exhibition for its duration.—408

454 This letter has not been found.—410

455 Marx probably means Borkheim's letter to Engels of 12 August 1862 (see Note 452).—410

456 Marx discusses the use of the replacement fund in the function of accumulation fund in Notebook XIII of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (present edition, Vol. 32).—412

457 Engels travelled in Germany from 12 to 29 September 1862. After a journey along the Mosel and Rhine and a trip to Thuringia, he stayed with his relatives in Barmen and Engelskirchen.—414, 417, 418

458 This refers to the Federals' ill-starred offensive on Richmond in August 1862. At the second battle of Bull Run (for the first see Note 390) near Manassas (southwest of Washington) on 29 and 30 August 1862, their forces, commanded by General Pope, suffered a severe defeat and had to retreat towards Washington. To prevent the fall of the capital, the Federal command had to bring in reinforcements.—414, 437

459 In August 1862 the War Department in Washington ordered that henceforth only officers of the regular army could be promoted to Brigadier General or Major General. Volunteer officers could only be raised to those ranks for distinction in action and provided they had displayed the appropriate military qualifications.—415

460 From 28 August to 7 September 1862 Marx was in Zalt-Bommel and Trier to settle his financial affairs.—415, 420, 425

461 On 29 August 1862, during his march on Rome, Garibaldi was seriously wounded and taken prisoner in a clash with Royal troops at Astromonte. The capture of Italy's national hero evoked an outcry in many countries, Britain included. On this see Marx's article 'A Meeting for Garibaldi' (present edition, Vol. 19).—417
Marx refers to his article 'A Note on the Amnesty' (see present edition, Vol. 19). Based on data sent to him by Wilhelm Wolff from Manchester in a letter written between 10 and 12 September 1862, it revealed the demagogic nature of the 1861 political amnesty in Prussia (see Note 256) and was rather widely read in Germany. The article appeared in the Barmer Zeitung and was reprinted in the Niederrheinische Volks-Zeitung and the Märkische Volks-Zeitung.—417

On 23 September 1862, at the height of the Constitutional crisis (see Note 408), Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister of Prussia. This move signalled the government's resolve to go ahead with the planned military reform, despite the refusal of the Chamber of Deputies to provide the funds for it.—418

This refers to the Constitution adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on 28 March 1849 (it was rejected by the King of Prussia and other German monarchs). On 28 September 1862, about 200 deputies to the diets of various German states, meeting in Weimar, argued the convocation of an all-German Parliament with a view to establishing, in keeping with that Constitution, a united federal all-German state, its members enjoying autonomy in internal affairs.—418

On 21 March 1848, King Frederick William IV of Prussia declared that he was ready, for the salvation of Germany, to assume the leadership of the whole nation. Hence the phrase 'Prussian leadership', which won currency as a euphemism for Prussia's striving to unite the country under its supremacy.—419

On 12 April 1862 Lassalle made a speech at a meeting of handicraftsmen in Oranienburg, a suburb of Berlin. It was published as a pamphlet under the heading Über den besondern Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichteperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes. The pamphlet was confiscated and legal proceedings instituted against Lassalle. On the second publication of this speech see Note 498.—420, 486

On 4 September 1862 the Confederates launched an offensive in Maryland which ended in their defeat at Antietam Creek on 17 September. For details see Marx's articles 'Comments on the North American Events' and 'The Situation in North America' (present edition, Vol. 19).—420

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 22 September 1862 declared all Black slaves in the rebellion-ridden states free as of 1 January 1863 and granted them the right to enlist in the army and navy. But as the freed Blacks were given no land, they continued to be exploited by their former masters, the rich planters, who had retained their dominant position in the South. Nor did the emancipation end racial discrimination.

The Confederate forces that invaded Kentucky on 12 September 1862 were defeated by the Unionists at Perryville on 8 October.—420, 428, 440

Marx means the chronic financial crisis in Austria that set in in 1848. It led to an enormous growth of the national debt, the massive emission of paper money and depreciation of currency. On this see Marx's article 'Highly Important from Vienna' (present edition, Vol. 16).

On the financial measures of the US government see Note 422.—420

To raise funds for military needs the Lincoln Administration paid bankers extending it loans in bullion an annual interest of 12 per cent instead of the
usual 5. According to The Times, in October 1862, the interest even rose to 29 per cent.—421

471 Marx means a series of revolutionary-democratic measures carried out by the Lincoln Administration from mid-1862 onwards. These included, besides the Emancipation Proclamation (see Note 468), the Homestead Act of 20 May 1862 which, by distributing public lands without compensation to everyone wishing to cultivate it, provided a democratic solution to the agrarian problem. Of great importance were also the purge of the army and administration of traitors, and the Act on the confiscation of rebels' property. These and other measures ensured the victory of the North in the Civil War.—421

472 This refers to the State and Congressional elections held in October and November 1862, which brought substantial losses for the Republicans as compared with previous elections, and victory for the Democrats in a number of states. For details see Marx's article 'The Election Results in the Northern States' (present edition, Vol. 19).—423

473 In the elections of 4 November 1862 the New York State governorship went to the Democrat Horatio Seymour. Democrats also won the majority of Congress seats in New York.—428

474 West Point, near New York, is the site of a military academy. Founded in 1802, it was the United States' only higher military educational establishment in the mid-19th century. Its graduates fought both in the Unionist and in the Confederate army. McClellan, too, studied at West Point. On this see Marx's article 'American Affairs' (present edition, Vol. 19).—428

475 Engels evidently means the wave of dismissals, started on 23 October 1862, of Prussian officials who had supported the opposition in the Provincial Diet during the Constitutional conflict in Germany (see notes 408 and 463).—428

476 At the battle of Corinth, Mississippi, fought on 3 and 4 October 1862, the Unionists, commanded by General Rosecrans, defeated the Confederates, led by generals Van Dorn, Price and Lovell.—429

477 Marx uses the word Sonderbund (separate union), which may be an allusion to the Swiss Sonderbund, the separatist union formed in 1843 by Switzerland's seven Catholic, economically backward cantons to resist progressive bourgeois reforms in the country. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to open hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On 23 November 1847 the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces.

Marx developed the ideas contained in this letter in his article 'Symptoms of Disintegration in the Southern Confederacy' (present edition, Vol. 19).—430

478 Marx means the returns of the autumn elections in the Northern States (see notes 472 and 473).—430

479 This refers to the suppression by General Napoleon Bonaparte of a royalist mutiny against the Thermidorian Convention in Paris on 4 and 5 October (12 and 13 Vendémiaire) 1795.—430

480 A Presidential election was due in November 1864. The 38th Congress elected in the autumn of 1862 and first convened in December 1863 (see notes 472 and 473) was to meet for its 1864 autumn session in December, after the Presidential election.—430
On 30 October 1862 the French government sent a message to Britain and Russia calling for joint action by the three powers to impose a ceasefire in the USA, lift the blockade and open the Southern ports to European trade. On 8 November Russia, and later Britain, rejected Napoleon III's proposal to interfere in US home affairs.

Calling for the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the Party of Progress (see Note 371) was advocating a Little Germany (see Note 24).

This refers to French armed intervention in Mexico (see Note 411).

By crapauds (French: toads; figuratively, nonentities) Marx means the Bonapartist generals.

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: Karl Marx, On America and the Civil War, New York, 1972.

From 1858, Marx had had serious differences with Freiligrath over the Vogt affair (see Note 4), the attitude to Kinkel and other matters. In the spring of 1862, following Freiligrath's breach with Kinkel, who had joined the National Association (see Note 24), relations between Marx and Freiligrath began returning to normal.

Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester and then with Eichhoff in Liverpool approximately from 5 to 13 December 1862.

This refers to a letter by Ludwig Kugelmann to Freiligrath of 21 November 1862 with inquiry about the progress of Marx's economic studies. In forwarding the letter to Marx on 3 December, Freiligrath called it 'paroles d'un crauca' (an allusion to F. de Lamennais' book Paroles d'un Croyant, published in Paris in 1834). Marx's reply to it (see Note 488) marked the beginning of his correspondence and friendship with Kugelmann.

The Manichaeans were adherents of a religion that originated in the Middle East in the 3rd century A.D. In colloquial German, Manichäer also means an implacable creditor (by analogy with the phrase mahnder Gläubiger—dunning creditor).

This letter opened the Marx-Kugelmann correspondence, which continued until 1874. In 1902 Marx's letters to Kugelmann dealing with the basic problems of the international working-class movement and Marxist theory were published by Karl Kautsky in the journal Die Neue Zeit.

The English translation of this letter first appeared in: Karl Marx, Letters to Dr. Kugelmann, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.

This refers to the abortive offensive of the Union army under Burnside on the Confederates' strongly fortified positions near Fredericksburg, on the southern bank of the Rappahamock (Virginia), in December 1862. The Union forces had reached Fredericksburg on 17 November but it was not until 13 December that they began to cross the river and advance. On the night of 14 December, after a series of unsuccessful attacks, Burnside's troops were forced to withdraw to the northern bank.

In late December 1862, workers and democrats in London, Manchester and Sheffield held mass meetings of solidarity with the Union states in their struggle to end slavery.

Marx obviously means the active participation in the US Civil War of immigrant Germans, veterans of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany.
applied, in particular, to Joseph Weydemeyer, a close friend and associate of Marx and Engels.

During the American War of Independence (1775-83) France was helping the North American colonies against Britain, her rival in trade and the struggle for colonies. —440


493 This refers to the lodgings occupied by Mary and Lizzy Burns (see Note 386).—443

494 Marx means the section on machinery in Notebooks V and XIX-XX of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63. Later this material formed the basis of Chapter XV of Vol. I of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 35).—446, 449


496 The jenny was a spinning machine invented by James Hargreaves in 1765. He named it after his daughter, Jane.—449

497 This refers to the speech Lassalle made in the Berlin criminal court on 16 January 1863. It was published as a pamphlet, under the title Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter. Eine Vertheidigungsrede vor dem Berliner Criminalgericht, Zürich, 1863.—451

498 Marx means the second publication of Lassalle’s speech of 12 April 1862 (see Note 466). It appeared in Zurich in 1863 under the title Arbeiterprogramm. Ueber den besondern Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes.—451

499 In January 1863 an uprising against Tsarist oppression erupted in the Kingdom of Poland (see Note 513). It was an expression of the Poles’ striving for national independence and of the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom. On 22 January 1863 the National Committee, which headed the uprising, put forward a programme of struggle for Poland’s independence and a number of democratic agrarian demands. In May the Committee constituted itself the National Government. However, its inconsistency and indecision, in particular its failure to abolish the privileges of the big landowners, alienated the peasants, the majority of whom stayed away from the uprising. This was one of the main causes of its defeat. The movement was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government towards the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.

The leaders of the uprising pinned great hopes on help from the West European powers, but these confined themselves to diplomatic representations and, in effect, betrayed the insurgents.

The Polish uprising was enthusiastically supported by Russian and West European democrats.—453, 460, 464
Marx probably means the Little Germans (see Note 24) who supported the national liberation struggle of the Italians and Hungarians against Austrian domination, their aim being a weakening of Austria, Prussia’s main rival in the drive for the unification of Germany ‘from above’, under the supremacy of the ruling classes.—453

This refers to the French intervention in Mexico (see Note 411).

The Lower Empire (Bas-Empire in French) is the name sometimes given to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire. In a more general sense, the name is applied to any state going through a period of decline and disintegration. Marx means the Second Empire in France.—453, 463

An allusion to Alexander Herzen’s ‘Fraternal Appeal to Russian Warriors’, published in Kolokol (The Bell), No. 155, 1 February 1863. It called on Russian officers and soldiers to receive as brothers the Polish recruits brought into the army under the levy declared in Poland by the Tsarist government in October 1862.—453

In 1849, the bourgeois republican Armand Marrast, President of the French Constituent Assembly, requested General Changanier to bring in troops for the protection of the Assembly, which was being threatened by the Bonapartists. Changanier refused, declaring that he disapproved of ‘baïonnettes intelligentes’, i.e. soldiers meddling in politics.—454

Marx presumably means the attempt, in 1863, to organise a military expedition to Circassia involving Urquhartites and Polish émigrés. The party was to be carried by the ship Chesapeak.—454, 492

General Joseph Hooker succeeded Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac in January 1863, after the latter’s dismissal following the defeat on the Rappahannock (see Note 489).—454

Marx’s eight-year-old son Edgar died at 28 Dean Street, Soho, on 6 April 1855.—454

In 1863 the Prussian government, fearing the spread of the Polish national liberation uprising to the parts of Poland held by Prussia, and hoping to win Russia’s support for its endeavours to unite Germany under Prussian supremacy, offered the Tsarist government military aid for the suppression of the uprising. On 8 February, on Bismarck’s initiative, the two Parties concluded the Alvensleben convention (so called after the Adjutant General of the King of Prussia, who signed it) on joint action against the insurgents. The convention was not ratified.—455, 456, 547

Marx carried out this plan, if only in part, at the end of October 1863 when he wrote a ‘Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers’ Educational Society in London’ (present edition, Vol. 19) which was published in November as a leaflet on behalf of the Society (see Note 3).—455, 458

In 1861 a Polish youth society was formed in Paris by the most active element of the Polish national liberation movement. In October of that year the society started a military school in Genoa to train officers for an insurrection in Poland. The instructors at the school, which was later transferred to Cuneo (also in Italy), prepared a number of military manuals and had them published in Paris.—456

The dispute between Bakunin and Mieroslawski was provoked by the ‘Letter of the Polish Central National Committee in Warsaw to the Editors of the Kolokol’
published in that journal on 1 October 1862. It recognised the right of the peoples of Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Ukraine to self-determination as one of the main principles of the future national liberation uprising. The letter evoked a sharp protest from Mieroslawski and other moderate Polish democrats advocating the great-power slogan of the inviolability of Poland’s frontiers of 1772. Bakunin attacked this stance in the pamphlet Le comité central de Varsovie et le comité militaire russe. Réponse au général Mieroslawski, London, 1862. Mieroslawski replied with the pamphlet Dernière réponse à M. Michel Bakounine, published in Paris on 20 January 1863. The Mieroslawski-Bakunin polemic was given broad coverage in the press.—456

541 Engels speaks about the possible revival of the Holy Alliance, the association of European monarchs founded at the Congress of Vienna on 26 September 1815 on the initiative of Emperor Alexander I of Russia and the Chancellor of Austria, Metternich, for protecting the ‘legitimate’ regimes restored after the victory over Napoleon and for suppressing revolutionary and national liberation movements.—456, 505, 513, 543

542 The pamphlet, on which Marx worked from mid-February to the end of May 1863, failed to materialise. Marx’s numerous manuscripts, drafts and excerpts on the subject were published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU in the Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973 and also in Warsaw in: Marks K., Przyczynki do historii kwestii polskiej (Rękopisy z lat 1863-1864), 1971. No manuscripts by Engels relating to the pamphlet in question have been found.—458, 459, 461

543 There were three divisions of Poland between Prussia, Austria and Russia, in 1772, 1793 and 1795. As a result, Russia obtained Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories, while Prussia and Austria gained portions of Poland proper. By decision of the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15 (see Note 511), a large part of the original Polish lands was annexed to Russia under the name of the Kingdom (Tsardom) of Poland.—459, 470, 538

544 On 18 February 1863 the liberal majority in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies criticised the Prusso-Russian convention against the Polish insurgents (see Note 507) and passed a resolution urging the Prussian government to remain neutral.—461

545 This refers to Kugelmann’s letter to Marx of 18 March 1863.—461

546 On 10 March 1863 Langiewicz, who led a unit of insurgents in the Sandomierz province, in South Poland, was proclaimed ‘dictator’ by the conservative bourgeois and landowner party of the ‘Whites’. His government, established as a result of backstage intrigues, opposed the revolutionary leadership of the uprising, notably the National Central Committee of the petty-bourgeois and szlachta (gentry) party of the ‘Reds’, which was acting as a provisional national government. However, as early as 19 March Langiewicz abandoned his unit, which was being pushed back by superior forces of the Tsarist army, and fled to Austria.—461, 464

547 Letters of marque were licenses granted by the state to private persons to seize and destroy enemy and neutral vessels carrying cargoes for enemy states. The Paris declaration of 1856 on maritime law (see Note 378) abolished privateering.—462
On America's stand with regard to the resolutions of the 1856 Congress of Paris see Marx's article 'The Washington Cabinet and the Western Powers' (present edition, Vol. 19).

On the Trent affair see Note 366.—462

Marx is referring to Palmerston's treacherous policy towards Poland. The immediate occasion for these comments were extracts from Palmerston's speech on Poland in the House of Commons on 28 March 1863, given in The Times and The Morning Star on the following day. Marx's manuscripts for the book on Poland he intended to write (see Note 512) contain the following passage from The Morning Star of 24 March: 'For he told the House of Commons again last night that his view of the Polish question was quite unaltered—that he adheres now to the position he took up in 1831: that our obligations are exhausted by a note "representing in friendly terms to the Emperor of Russia considerations as to the arrangements he would make for the re-establishment of tranquility in Poland".' (See Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973, p. 512.)—462

This refers to the speech by Plon-Plon (Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) in the Senate on 18 March 1863. In his manuscripts for a book on Poland (see Note 512) Marx called this speech a 'farce' (Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1973, p. 502).—463

There were riots by starving unemployed weavers in the industrial towns of Ashton and Staleybridge, Lancashire, in March 1863 caused by the cotton crisis in Britain during the US Civil War of 1861-65 (see Note 385). Large forces of police, and regular troops of infantry and cavalry were employed against the rioters.—463

The Polish insurrection started off a wave of peasant risings against the landowners and Tsarist autocracy in Lithuania and West Byelorussia in February and March 1863. The Lithuanian provincial committee, which led the movement both in Lithuania and in Byelorussia, declared its solidarity with the programme of the Polish insurrection put forward by the Provisional National Committee in Warsaw. The armed insurgent units in Lithuania and Byelorussia consisted mostly of peasants, and also included artisans, students and members of the landless nobility. Their leaders were the revolutionary democrats Konstanty Kalinowski, Zygmunt Sierakowski and Walery Wróblewski. The special significance of the Lithuanian risings lay in their democratic tendency and the opportunities they created for the movement to spread into Russia.

Congress Poland was the part of Poland annexed to Russia by decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) under the name of the Kingdom (Tsardom) of Poland.—464

Engels is referring to the following passage in Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 18 March 1863: 'I have been repeatedly told of late that Engels' Condition of the Working Classes in England is inaccurate and one-sided, indeed that the author, himself, has disowned his work as a piece of immature juvenilia. Is it true? I can't believe it.' Further on Kugelmann suggested that the book should be republished.—465

Plonplonism—from Plon-Plon, nickname of Napoleon III's cousin, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, who led a Bonapartist faction that sought to distract the masses from struggle against the existing regime by means of large-scale social demagoguery and ostensible opposition to the policy of
Napoleon III. Plon-Plon took an equally demagogic stand on the national liberation struggle of the Hungarian, Italian and Polish peoples and acted, in effect, as a vehicle of Napoleon III's foreign policy, recruiting supporters for it among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic émigrés.—466, 505

On 10 February 1863 the Leipzig central committee for the convocation of a general German working men's congress requested Lassalle to set forth his views on the problems of the working-class movement. Lassalle responded by writing a pamphlet entitled Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig (Zurich, 1863). He suggested that the pamphlet be made the "official manifesto of the movement". Below Marx quotes from pp. 11, 23, 36 et seq. of the pamphlet.—467

On 26 March 1863 the London Trades Union Council held a meeting at St James's Hall to express the British workers' solidarity with the North American States' struggle to abolish slavery. It was chaired by John Bright, an opponent of Britain's armed intervention in the US Civil War on the side of the Southern States.—468

The Independents were a Protestant trend in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they constituted the left wing of the Puritan movement and were in radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the Independents formed a political party which held power under Oliver Cromwell (1649-53).—468

This refers to an item in the Berliner Reform of 10 April 1863 which gave a distorted account of the talks on the joint publication of a newspaper Marx had had with Lassalle when visiting Berlin in the spring of 1861. On 13 April 1863 Marx wrote a refutation, which was published by the Berliner Reform on 17 April (see present edition, Vol. 19).—469

Schulze-Delitzsch's agitation among German workers and handicraftsmen for the establishment of cooperative societies and savings banks with funds contributed by the workers themselves was an attempt to distract them from the revolutionary struggle against capital and to perpetuate the bourgeoisie's influence on the proletariat. By claiming that cooperative societies were capable of improving the workers' condition within the framework of capitalism and saving the handicraft producers from ruin, Schulze-Delitzsch was preaching the harmony of the capitalists' and workers' interests. In his pamphlet Offenes Antwortschreiben ... (see Note 525) Lassalle attacked these views and, instead, advocated universal suffrage and the reformist idea of producers' associations to be set up by workers with the aid of the state, which he regarded as a supra-class institution.—470

The Livonians were the inhabitants of Livonia, a Baltic area which is now part of the Latvian and Estonian republics within the USSR. Originally inhabited by the Livs, an extinct Finno-Ugric group, Livonia was conquered by the German Knights in the thirteenth century and formed the nucleus of the Livonian Order. In the second half of the sixteenth century it became part of the Rzecz Pospolita (Poland); and in the seventeenth century, joined Sweden. In 1721, as a result of the Northern War, it was included in the Russian Empire and in 1783 was constituted a separate gubernia, Livland, within Russia.—471
This refers to an episode of the Constitutional conflict in Prussia (see Note 408). In May 1863 a clash in the Prussian Diet between War Minister Roon and Deputy Sybel gave rise to a controversy over whether the president of the Diet had the right to interrupt speakers, in particular government Ministers. The Bismarck government was adamant on the issue, denying this right to the president. Engels pokes fun at the debate started in this connection by the deputies of the Party of Progress (see Note 371) and the draft resolution they tabled. On 15 May the Diet recognised by a majority vote the president's right to interrupt any deputy. In retaliation, the Diet was closed down by Royal decree on 27 May, ahead of time, and a restrictive decree on the press issued on 1 June.—473

In April and May 1863 a sharp political struggle developed between Lassalle and the bourgeois Party of Progress (see Note 371) in connection with Lassalle's propaganda campaign preparatory to the establishment of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536). Lassalle's stepped-up attacks on the Party of Progress were countered by sharp articles in the bourgeois press accusing him of collaboration with Bismarck.—473

Marx means the manifesto on the 1863 insurrection in Poland (see Note 508) which he intended to write jointly with Engels on behalf of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 3).—474

This refers to Marx's work on the book on Poland which he planned to write in collaboration with Engels. Its tentative title was Deutschland und Polen. Politisch-militärische Beobachtungen bei Gelegenheit des polnischen Aufstands von 1863 (see this volume, pp. 455 and 459 and Note 512).—474

By the time when he was making the excerpts in question Marx had written the greater part (Notebooks I-XXI) of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 310). The excerpts are in eight 'Supplementary Notebooks' (Beihefte), marked with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. When writing the last two notebooks of the 1861-63 manuscript (XXII and XXIII), filled up between May and July 1863, Marx was already drawing on the Supplementary Notebooks'.—474

By the new movement Marx means the General Association of German Workers, the political organisation founded at the congress of workers' associations in Leipzig on 23 May 1863. Lassalle was elected president of the Association. Its establishment was a milestone in freeing the German workers from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie and forming an independent political organisation of the proletariat. However, the reformist programme imposed on the Association by Lassalle (see Note 525) was an obstacle to its becoming a revolutionary party of the proletariat. Lassalle's policy was meeting with growing opposition within the Association from Liebknecht, Becker, Klings and other members who relied on the support of Marx and Engels.—475

Engels means the elections to the Corps législatif in France held on 31 May and 1 June 1863, and the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Diet on 6 May 1862.—477

The Prussian Diet was closed down on 27 May 1863, ahead of time (see Note 531).—477

Unionist General Joseph Hooker, defeated by numerically inferior Confederate forces at Chancellorsville, Virginia, on 2-4 May 1863, and himself wounded
in the fighting, on 6 May issued an order congratulating his army on its 'achievements of the last seven days'.—478

549 This refers to the Code civil, the Civil Code adopted in France in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon I in the conquered regions of West and Southwest Germany and remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.—478

541 An allusion to the Brimstone Gang (see Note 65).—479

542 Marx means the bourgeois philanthropist Robert Gladstone and his associates in Liverpool.—480

544 The Free Traders were British industrialists advocating non-interference by the state in business, notably the repeal of the protectionist Corn Laws. Their centre was Manchester. The movement was led by the textile manufacturers Cobden and Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838.—480

543 The Free Traders were British industrialists advocating non-interference by the state in business, notably the repeal of the protectionist Corn Laws. Their centre was Manchester. The movement was led by the textile manufacturers Cobden and Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838.—480

544 Widespread discontent with the policy of the bourgeois and landowner party of the 'Whites', who usurped the leadership of the uprising (see Note 499) in April-May 1863, prompted the revolutionary elements within the insurgents' organisation in Warsaw to take over power at the end of May. One of the slogans of the new National Government, composed of moderate 'Reds' (see Note 516), was the formation of a universal militia with a view to enrolling the peasant masses in the guerrilla struggle. However, within ten days the 'Whites' reasserted themselves in the National Government. Reluctant openly to reject the popular slogan of a universal militia they 'postponed' its implementation indefinitely. As a result, the insurrection remained fragmented and failed to assume nationwide proportions.—483

546 In the summer of 1863 the Southerners made an unsuccessful attempt to launch a fresh offensive in Pennsylvania.—484


On Quesnay's table see Note 436.—485

547 In late July or in August 1863 a new stage began in Marx's work on Capital, when he rewrote the 1861-63 manuscript (see Note 310) producing, by the beginning of 1866, a third rough draft of the theoretical part of Capital (three books). In the present letter Marx writes about his work on Book I.—488, 530

549 Marx's wife and daughters spent three weeks on holiday in Hastings, on the South coast of England, from 14 August to 4 September 1863. The main reason for their stay was the health of Jenny, the Marx couple's eldest daughter, who had been unwell throughout the spring and summer of 1863.—488, 583

549 These photographs have not been found.—488

550 In March 1863 bonds were issued in a number of European countries for a 7% Cotton Loan of the Confederate States of America to the tune of £3 million. Although not officially quoted at the London Stock Exchange, they were rapidly distributed thanks to the publicity given to the loan by The Times.—489
In his article 'Bourbon War and the London Newspaper Press' published in Cobbett's Weekly Register, Vol. 45, No. 6, February 8, 1823, pp. 354-81, William Cobbett described The Times as follows (p. 375): 'Here is a pretty concern... it is a trading concern; a concern for making money; a concern with which truth or falsehood can have nothing at all to do.'—489

After seizing Mexico City in 1863, the French interventionists on 18 June set up a Supreme Junta, composed of 35 conservatives nominated by the French commander. The junta called an assembly of notables, who on 10 July proclaimed Mexico an 'empire' under the rule of Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a placeman of Napoleon III. Marx ironically compares this 'suffrage' by the Mexican notables with the elections of 10 December 1848 in France, in which Louis Bonaparte secured the Presidency of the French Republic, and with the referendum he held in 1860 in Savoy and Nice, after their annexation by France as a result of the 1859 Austro-Italo-French war.—489

In March 1863, Polish refugees in England fitted out a corps of about 200 Poles, Frenchmen and Italians for participation in the Polish uprising. Commanded by Colonel Lapinski, they were to sail to Lithuania on the steamer Ward Jackson and join the insurgents there. However, the expedition failed due to poor organisation and inadequate security precautions. On arrival in Malmö, in April, the ship and the members of the expedition were detained by the Swedish authorities. Bakunin who had joined the corps at the Swedish port of Helsingborg, after the detention of the ship, went to Stockholm, where he stayed till October trying to establish contacts with Swedish and Finnish revolutionaries.—490, 492

The Rosicrucians were members of secret mystical societies, active in Germany and other European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The name is believed to derive from Christian Rosenkreutz, the reputed fifteenth-century founder of the Society. Another theory traces the name to the Society's emblem, which features the cross and roses.—491

On 17 September 1863 the bourgeois and szlachta (gentry) party of the 'Reds' formed a new National Government, which operated until 17 October.—492

An assembly of German princes was held on Austria's initiative in Frankfurt am Main from 15 August to 1 September 1863 to discuss a draft reform of the German Confederation. In view of William I's refusal to attend, it ended in failure marking another defeat for Austria in its struggle against Prussia for supremacy in Germany.

The edict in support of Poland, issued by the cardinal vicar of Rome, called for a solemn procession and public prayers in favour of Poland in early September.—492

The death, on 15 November 1863, of the childless King Frederick VII terminated the personal union of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with Denmark. The enthronement of Christian IX, named heir to the Danish Crown by the London Protocol of 8 May 1852 (see notes 324 and 380), and the promulgation, on 18 November, of a new Constitution proclaiming the final incorporation of Schleswig and Holstein into the domains of the Danish monarch led to a rise of the anti-Danish national liberation movement in the two duchies and a sharp aggravation of Danish-German differences.—493

This refers to Friedrich of Augustenburg. On 30 December 1852 his father, Christian of Augustenburg, renounced the Danish throne in favour of
Christian IX. However, after the death of Frederick VII (see Note 557) Friedrich of Augustenburg on 16 November 1863 proclaimed himself Duke of Schleswig and Holstein as Frederick VIII.—494, 496

The October 1863 elections to the Prussian Diet brought another victory for the Party of Progress. On 21 November, the newly elected Chamber of Deputies enforced the repeal of the decree, imposed on 1 June 1863, abolishing the freedom of the press.—494

Engels did not carry out his intention to write a pamphlet on the Schleswig Holstein question.—496

Marx left for Trier on 7 December 1863. From there he went to see his relatives in Frankfurt am Main and then travelled on to Zalt-Bommel to stay with Lion Philips, his mother's executor (see this volume, pp. 500-01). Marx was taken ill in Zalt-Bommel and did not return to London until 19 February 1864.—498, 511

During Marx's young years in Trier, the address of the von Westphalens' house was 389 Neugasse (later Neuustrasse). Roman antiquities—the local inhabitants were very proud of the ancient Roman architectural monuments in Trier.—499

Grünberg—a small vineyard that belonged to Marx's father.—500

In his letter of 16 December 1863 Freiligrath informed Marx of a demand by Williams, a London bookseller, that Liebknecht return the money he had borrowed from him, this loan having been guaranteed by Freiligrath.—502

An ironic reference to the resolution of the Prussian Diet recognizing Friedrich of Augustenburg's right to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (see notes 557 and 558) and urging immediate help for him. The words a 36th potentate are an allusion to the fact that the German Confederation comprised 35 (according to other data, 34) states and four free cities.—503

The representatives of Prussia and Austria at the Federal Diet meeting in Frankfurt am Main in late December 1863 to consider the problem of Schleswig and Holstein were instructed to refrain from discussing the Polish question.—503

On Kossuth's ties with Plon-Plon see Marx's Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17).—505

Two motions—one on the occupation of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and another on the so-called execution—were tabled at the German Federal Diet on 7 December 1863 following the promulgation of the new Danish Constitution (see Note 557). The latter motion was proposed by Prussia and Austria, who wanted no open violation of the 1852 London Protocol (see Note 380). Under pressure from Austria and Prussia, their proposal was adopted, and by 31 December Saxau and Hanover troops had occupied the whole of Holstein, meeting with no resistance from the Danes. Friedrich of Augustenburg was proclaimed Duke of Schleswig and Holstein under the name of Frederick VIII (see Note 558).—506

On 18 December 1863 the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, in an address to King William I, refused to allocate the emergency funds for the forthcoming war against Denmark. In his reply of 27 December William rejected the address. Engels probably knew the text of the reply from The Times, where it was published on 2 January 1864.—506

571 The enthronement of Christian IX as King of Denmark (see notes 557 and 558) led to a controversy in Germany over the status of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The smaller and medium-sized German states, through their representatives in the German Federal Diet, supported Friedrich of Augustenburg as claimant to the two duchies. In conformity with the London protocol of 1852, Austria recognised Christian IX’s title to them. Prussia (Bismarck), while ostensibly taking a stand similar to Austria’s, from the outset worked for the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia. The so-called execution (see Note 568) failed to eliminate the inner-German differences. The Warsaw Protocol, mentioned by Marx below, was signed by Russia and Denmark on 5 June 1851. It proclaimed the indivisibility of the Danish Crown possessions, including Schleswig and Holstein.—507

572 The entry of Austro-Prussian troops into Schleswig on 1 February 1864 opened the Danish war, which marked an important stage in the struggle to unify Germany under Prussia’s agis. The purpose of the war was to sever Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark. Under the Vienna treaty of 30 October 1864, the two duchies were declared co-possessions of Austria and Prussia. After the 1866 Austro-Prussian war they were annexed to Prussia.—509, 538

573 On 12 March 1864 Marx came to stay with Engels in Manchester for a few days to tell him about his trip to Germany and Holland (see Note 561).—511, 518

574 First published in English in: Marx on Revolution, Tr. by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—512

575 The Mormons are members of a religious sect founded in the United States in 1830 by Joseph Smith (1805-1844). The Book of Mormon, which he wrote in 1830, allegedly on the basis of divine revelation, tells, in the name of the prophet Mormon, of the migration of Israelite tribes into America, which is claimed to have taken place in antiquity.—512

576 In the spring of 1848, Schleswig and Holstein were swept by a national liberation movement against Danish domination and for unification with Germany. The states of the German Confederation, with Prussia at the head, opened hostilities against Denmark, but it soon became clear that the Prussian government had no intention to uphold the interests of the liberation movement. The seven-month truce concluded in Malma on 26 August 1848 nullified the revolutionary and democratic gains in Schleswig and Holstein and virtually ensured the continuance of Danish domination. The Prusso-Danish war, resumed at the end of March 1849 and carried on until 1850, ended in victory for Denmark, which retained Schleswig and Holstein. (See also Note 324.)—513

577 At the end of February 1864, after the Prussian troops had entered Jutland (see Note 572), the British government, to prevent the spread of hostilities, proposed calling in London a conference of the powers signatory to the 1852 protocol on the integrity of the Danish monarchy (see Note 324) with a view to settling the Prusso-Austro-Danish conflict. However, the conference, initially due to open on 12 April 1864, was repeatedly postponed because Prussia and Austria, who were doing everything to delay its convocation, did not send their
representatives. Though it did open eventually, the two-month deliberations (25 April to 25 June) produced no results because of sharp contradictions between the participants. No sooner did the conference close than Prussia and Austria resumed the fighting in Denmark.—513, 517, 519, 538, 543

Marx means the elections to the French Corps législatif of 31 May-1 June 1863.—513

At the time, Garibaldi was preparing to visit England (he arrived in early April 1864) with a view to raising funds for another expedition to end Austrian domination in Venetia (see also Note 582).—513

On 21 February 1864 Austria introduced a state of siege in Galicia, thus preventing any help to the Polish insurgents.—513

According to Epicurus, there is an endless multitude of worlds whose origin and existence is governed by their own natural laws. Gods exist too, but outside these worlds, in the spaces between them, and exert no influence whatever on the evolution of the universe or on human life.—515

The British government hoped to exploit Garibaldi's visit to England in April 1864 (see Note 579) to bring pressure to bear on Austria. It also had to take into account the enthusiastic welcome given to Italy's national hero by the public at large. Official honours were therefore bestowed on him at the beginning of his visit. However, the British bourgeoisie were angered by Garibaldi's meeting with Mazzini, who lived in London as a political émigré, and by his speeches in support of the Polish insurgents. A campaign against the Italian revolutionary was launched in the press. In connection with a request by Napoleon III for Garibaldi's immediate expulsion from Britain, the House of Commons discussed his health and a number of bourgeois newspapers hastened to announce that he 'was ill and leaving for Caprera'. Garibaldi denied this fabrication, declaring that he intended to visit several English cities. The result was an open statement by Gladstone to the effect that Garibaldi's further stay in Britain was undesirable. Soon after that, at the end of April, Garibaldi left the country.—516

Meetings in honour of Garibaldi were held at the Crystal Palace (see Note 246) on 16 and 18 April.—516

In 1844 letters from the Bandiera brothers to Mazzini containing the plan for their expedition to Calabria were opened by order of Sir James Graham, the British Home Secretary. The members of the expedition were arrested. The Bandieras were executed.—516

The National Shakespeare Committee was formed in England in 1863 to organise the celebration of the bicentenary of Shakespeare's birth on 23 April 1864. Blind's admission to the Committee was announced in the Athenaeum, No. 1902, 9 April 1864.—517

An allusion to the fact that the aggravation of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict was alleged to be the result of a purely dynastic dispute that developed after the death of the childless King Frederick VII of Denmark (see notes 557 and 558).—517

In March 1864, after inheriting a small legacy from his mother, Marx and his family moved to a new house at 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, in northwest London.—517

26*
Peelers was a nickname for members of the Irish constabulary, founded in 1812-18 by Sir Robert Peel; also, by extension, a nickname for the police in England.—518

A decree issued on 1 June 1863 imposed severe restrictions on the press in Prussia.

In late April 1864 King William I visited the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with a view to inducing their population to vote for a merger with Prussia in the forthcoming plebiscite which was to decide their status.—519

An illusion to France’s annexation of Savoy and Nice under a treaty she concluded with the Kingdom of Sardinia in Turin in 1860. In keeping with that treaty, plebiscites were held in Savoy and Nice in April to create the illusion of a voluntary merger.—519

The Danish stronghold of Düppel (Dybbøl) in Schleswig was stormed and captured by Prussian troops on 18 April 1864, in the course of the war that Prussia and Austria were waging against Denmark (see Note 572).—519

Engels means the defence of Sebastopol in the Crimean war of 1853-56.—519

Marx went to Manchester to see the sick Wilhelm Wolff on 9 May and stayed there until 19 May 1864.—520

The Friends of Light was a religious trend that opposed the Junker-backed arch-reactionary hypocritical pietism predominant in the official church. It was an expression of the bourgeoisie’s dissatisfaction with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s.—525

Engels arrived in London on 19 May and stayed with Marx for four days.—526

Marx means the formalities involved in the transfer of the inheritance left to him by Wilhelm Wolff.—527

Jenny, Marx’s eldest daughter, was jocularly called ‘the Emperor of China’ in the family; her sister Eleanor was ‘the Successor’, and the other sister, Laura, was ‘the Secretary’.—527

Some time earlier, Harney had been invited by friends to settle in Australia, which probably gave rise to rumours that he had gone there. In fact, he did not follow up the invitation, emigrating with his wife and son to America in May 1863.—527

This letter has not been found. It may have contained an account of Frederick Engels’ dealings with Gottfried Ermen and financial transactions with Hermann Engels.—528

This refers to the obituary of Wilhelm Wolff, published in the Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 144 (supplement), 23 May 1864, and other German newspapers over the signatures of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ernst Dronke, Louis Borchardt and Eduard Gumpert (see present edition, Vol. 19).—529

Marx means the books bequeathed to him by Wilhelm Wolff.—530, 534

In May 1864 the Union forces commanded by Grant launched their third offensive on Richmond. It was not until 3 April 1865 that the city was taken (see also Note 632).—530, 531
In this note, written on 23 May 1864, Ernest Jones expressed his regret at having failed to meet Marx on the eve of the latter’s departure from Manchester. It was in Manchester that they had first met a week earlier, on 16 May, after not having seen each other for several years (see this volume, p. 526).—530

This refers to the power of attorney issued to Engels by Marx to take over the property bequeathed to him by Wilhelm Wolff (see present edition, Vol. 19, Appendices).—531

At Solferino, on 24 June 1859, the Austrian army was defeated by the Franco-Italian forces.—531

An ironic reference to the fact that, prior to the resumption (28 May 1864) of the London conference of European powers on the Schleswig-Holstein problem (see Note 577), Prussia and Austria had agreed on the candidature of Prince of Augustenbourg as duke for Schleswig-Holstein (see Note 558), the Prince having promised in return a number of concessions to Prussia. However, his negotiations in Berlin with William I, Crown Prince Frederick William and Bismarck produced no results. The London conference, too, failed to reach agreement.—531

An allusion to the Warsaw Protocol of 1851 (see Note 571) and the London Protocol of 1852 (see Note 380).—532

In May 1864 Lassalle toured Germany in connection with the festivities to mark the first anniversary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536). In a speech he made in Elberfeld he called Wilhelm Wolff an ‘outstanding fighter for the cause of the working class’.—533

In a letter to Friedrich Moll and Julius Melchior of 27 May 1864, Karl Klings describes the celebration in Germany of the first anniversary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 530), stressing, in particular, that working-class audiences enthusiastically reacted to speakers’ references to Marx and Engels. Klings requested Moll and Melchior to tell Marx that the workers wished to be worthy of such champions of their cause as Marx and Engels.—533

Marx gave lectures on wage-labour and capital at the German Workers’ Society in Brussels in the latter half of December 1847. These lectures formed the basis of his Wage-Labour and Capital, published as editorials in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Nos. 264-67 and 269, 5-8 and 11 April 1849 (present edition, Vol. 9). Later he gave up his intention to reproduce Wage-Labour and Capital as an appendix to Vol. 1 of Capital. He did, however, cite individual passages from it in notes to Volume I (see present edition, Vol. 35, author’s notes to Part VII). In the Preface to the first German edition of Volume 1 Marx pointed out that Lassalle had borrowed many important theoretical propositions from his writings ‘without any acknowledgement’.—534

Marx paraphrases the dictum ‘They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing’, which won currency during the restoration of the Bourbons (1815-30). Attributed to Charles Talleyrand, but in fact coined by Rear Admiral Chevalier de Panat in a letter to the journalist Mallet du Pan in 1796, it referred to royalists who failed to draw any lessons from the French Revolution.—535

The Probate Court (Court of Probate) existed in England from 1857 to 1873. Its function was to prove wills and issue titles to the management of property.—535
In his letter of 3 June 1864 Liebknecht described the position in the General Association of German Workers, notably the growing opposition within its ranks to Lassalle’s dictatorial leanings. He wrote that he had refused to work for the newspaper Lassalle intended to start, because Marx and other ‘veteran party comrades’ had not been invited to contribute. He also gave an account of his moves in support of Marx and asked for advice on how best to counteract Lassalle’s policies within the Association. Marx’s reply has not been found.—537

An ironic allusion to Frederick William IV, during whose reign, in 1852, the London Protocol, unfavourable to Prussia, was signed (see Note 380).—537

In May 1864, Russian troops captured the Kbaada area (now Krasnaya Polyana), the Caucasian mountaineers’ last resistance centre. This marked the end of the Caucasian wars started by the Tsarist government in the late eighteenth century and the final incorporation of the Caucasus into Russia.—538

Preparing to write a detailed biography of Wilhelm Wolff, Marx in June 1864 drew up a brief list of dates on the subject (see his ‘Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff’, present edition, Vol. 19). However, the project failed to materialise. In 1876, Engels carried it out in his series of articles, ‘Wilhelm Wolff’, published in the journal Neue Welt (see present edition, Vol. 24).—539

The battle in the Wilderness, Virginia, 5 to 7 May 1864, opened the Union troops’ last, third campaign to seize the Confederate capital, Richmond (see Note 632).—540

Russia put forward Peter Nicholas Friedrich, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, as pretender to the Schleswig-Holstein throne. Marx is alluding to the fact that the Romanov dynasty was related to the Oldenburg house through Peter III (see Note 380). From the second half of the eighteenth century many of the Oldenburg princes lived in Russia.—541

Marx probably means the publication Le Traité de Londres, Copenhagen, 1863, and the tendentious commentaries to it in The Free Press (in particular, the leading article ‘The Treaty of London’ in No. 1, 6 January 1864).—543

In connection with Marx’s work on the biography of Wilhelm Wolff (see Note 617) Marx’s wife had written, on his behalf, to the journalist K. F. M. Elsner requesting him to send whatever information he had on Wolff’s youth (see this volume, p. 589). Elsner failed to do so.—545, 588, 589

In the letter in question, Brass requested Biscamp to contribute to the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, which he was publishing in Berlin.—548

The letter contained the news that a maid in Lion Philips’ house had contracted smallpox. As a result, Marx cancelled his intended visit to Zalt-Bommel with his daughters.—550

In speaking of the rebirth of the Holy Alliance, Marx means the meeting of King William I of Prussia with Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in Carlsbad in June 1864, and with Emperor Alexander II of Russia in Potsdam and Bad Kissingen in July (business talks were carried on by Bismarck, Gorchakov and Rechberg). Worried by the Prusso-Austro-Russian rapprochement and Prussia’s stepped-up military activity in Denmark, the British government proposed that
Britain and France take joint action against Prussian aggression. However, Napoleon III refused because of France’s grave internal position and foreign-policy setbacks.—552

629 This refers to the card announcing Pieper’s engagement to Ida Gravenhurst.—553

626 After the death of Mary Burns, Engels moved from 252 Hyde Road to 4 Tennant Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock where he lived in 1863-64.—553

627 Medialisation — the degrading of princes, formerly independent members of the Imperial German Confederation, to the status of subjects of a bigger German sovereign. Here the reference is to Prussia’s attempts to bring Schleswig-Holstein under her hegemony.—554

628 The old provinces — Brandenburg, East Prussia, West Prussia, Posen, Pomerania and Silesia, i.e. the provinces that constituted the Kingdom of Prussia before the Congress of Vienna (1815). The Rhine Province was annexed to Prussia in 1815.—554

629 N’est pas Palmerston qui veut — not everyone who wishes to be Palmerston is Palmerston. In paraphrasing the famous dictum ‘N’est pas maître qui veut’ from Victor Hugo’s pamphlet Napoléon le petit, Engels was alluding to the fact that in 1864 Palmerston, aged 80, was still Prime Minister of Britain.—554

630 Fazy suffered a crushing defeat at the elections to the Geneva Canton Council in August 1864, following the exposure of his financial machinations as President of the General Bank of Switzerland. After the elections, Fazy’s supporters caused disturbances by attacking voters who had opposed him at the polls. When Swiss government troops were sent to Geneva to restore order, Fazy fled to France.

Freiligrath was a member of the board of the London branch of the General Bank of Switzerland.—555, 556

631 This telegram has not been found. Presumably, it contained the news of Lassalle’s death.—558

632 Richmond, the capital of the Southern Confederacy, was the rebels’ main stronghold, protected by their elite troops. In the course of the Civil War, the Northerners fought three major campaigns to seize it. The first ended in their defeat at Bull Run on 21 July 1861 (see Note 390). In the second — spring and summer 1862 — they were repulsed and had to retreat to Washington (see Note 458). The third, launched in May 1864 and crowned by the capture of Richmond on 3 April 1865 (see Note 618), was crucial in securing the Union’s victory in the war.—558

633 In May 1864 the Union command embarked on a new plan for crushing the Confederacy, which in many respects coincided with the strategic propositions put forward by Marx and Engels in the article ‘The American Civil War’ as early as March 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 19). Simultaneously with Grant’s offensive on the Central Front in Virginia (see Note 602), General Sherman launched, on 7 May 1864, his famous ‘march to the sea’. Fighting his way through Georgia at the cost of heavy losses, he seized Atlanta on 2 September and reached the sea on 10 December. By cutting the Confederate territory in two, Sherman’s march provided the conditions for the rout of the main Confederate forces in Virginia in the spring of 1865.—559
On 8 November 1864, Presidential and Congressional elections were to be held in the United States. The National Convention of the Republican Party in Baltimore adopted, on 7 June 1864, a campaign programme calling for the abolition of slavery throughout the territory of the Union, and renominated Abraham Lincoln as candidate for the Presidency.—559

After briefly meeting Marx in London on 8 September 1864 and visiting his mother in Ostende, Engels travelled in Schleswig-Holstein until mid-October.—560

Marx means the year-long period of Lassalle's large-scale propaganda activities that followed the establishment of the General Association of German Workers in May 1863 (see Note 536) and his election to its presidency.—560

The city of Coblenz in Western Germany was the centre of the counter-revolutionary emigration during the French Revolution. After the defeat of the 1848-49 European revolutions, many petty-bourgeois refugees flocked to Switzerland.—561

The demagogues were members of an opposition movement among German intellectuals. The term won circulation in this sense after the Carlsbad Conference of Ministers of German States in August 1819, which adopted a special resolution against the 'intrigues of demagogues'.—561

This refers to Wilhelm Dönniges' work 'Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter der Herrschaft König und Kaiser Ottos I. von 951 bis 973', in 'Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs aus dem Sächsischen Haus. Herausgegeben von Leopold Ranke. Erster Band. Dritte Abtheilung. Berlin. 1839'. In calling Dönniges a born 'valet' of history, Marx is alluding to the saying, 'No man is a hero to his valet', which was quoted, in particular, by Hegel in his Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.—561

Marx means the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536).—561

This refers to the Berlin Workers' Association, founded in January 1863. It was under the influence of the Party of Progress. Schulze-Delitzsch frequently gave lectures on the co-operative movement to its members (see also Note 529).—561

From 16 February to 25 March 1866, Marx stayed in Manchester discussing with Engels and Wilhelm Wolff plans for exposing the Bonapartist agent Karl Vogt, who was libelling Marx and his associates.—567

This refers to Marx's book 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy', which was published in 1859 and soon became known in Russia (see this volume, pp. 157, 193-94).—567

Jenny Marx evidently means Wilhelm von Humboldt's abortive attempt to introduce a modicum of constitutionalism. The onslaught of reaction forced him to resign the post of Minister of the Interior, which he had held from January to December 1819, and retire from politics altogether.—567

Jenny Marx has 'gegenant', the past participle form of the 'jenis', which she coined from the name of the town of Jena. On 14 October 1806 Napoleon's army routed Prussia's forces near Jena, compelling Prussia to surrender.—568

From December 1850 to the autumn of 1856 the Marx family lived at 28 Dean Street, Soho, and after that at 9 (later 46) Grafton Terrace, Mainland Park, Haverstock Hill.—570
This refers to the libellous campaign against Marx and his associates launched by Karl Vogt and supported by the bourgeois press. The barrister K. Hermann, who represented Vogt in his lawsuit against the Allgemeine Zeitung (see Note 22), described him as an 'abgerundete Natur' ('an intellectually mature character'). The phrase can also mean 'potbelly', and Marx puns on it in his polemical work Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 28).—572

Presumably an allusion to the Prodigal Son.—579

There were riots among Lancashire textile workers in connection with the cotton shortage caused by the Union's blockade of the Secessionist states during the US Civil War.—580

Straubingers—travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels used the term to denote German artisans and also certain participants in the working-class movement who were still swayed by guild prejudices and the petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to small handicraft production.—580

These remarks refer to the continuing Constitutional conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (see Note 290). On 2 September the Chamber was disbanded, but at the new elections the Party of Progress, the unfavourable conditions notwithstanding, again won the majority and succeeded in getting all its leaders (Jacoby, Schulze-Delitzsch, Waldeck and others) into the Chamber.

Jenny's pessimistic remarks are consonant with Marx's assessment of the developments in Germany contained in his letter to Engels of 15 August 1863, in which he says: 'Our fatherland would seem to be in a pitiful state'.—584

By the circular Jenny Marx means the 'Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London', written by Marx (see Note 508).

By a letter from the 'Chair' she means a letter from J. Vahlteich, secretary of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 536), to Wilhelm Wolff in his capacity of member of the committee to raise funds for the Polish uprising of 1863-64. Vahlteich expressed the Association's support for the 'Proclamation on Poland by the German Workers' Educational Society in London' and the Association's readiness to back it up with vigorous action. He also requested 50 copies of the 'Proclamation' for circulation to the Association's branches.—585, 586

A sarcastic allusion to Lassalle's petitions to the Berlin Chief of Police of 3, 15 and 17 November 1863 requesting the Prussian authorities to put an end to police harassment of the General Association of German Workers and instruct the police to ensure order during the Association's meetings. The agitation of the Association, he stressed, did not conflict with the interests of the Prussian state.—586

This letter was written in reply to one from Engels dated 9 June 1864 (see this volume, pp. 539-40).—588
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Becker—German refugee in London.—149-50

Becker—Leipzig correspondent of the Hermann in the 1860s.—342

Becker, Gottfried (1827-1865)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to America (1853); fought in the US Civil War; son of Johann Philipp Becker.—129

Becker, Hermann Hinrich (Red Becker) (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League from 1850; sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); a member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s, later a National-Liberal, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66).—79, 90, 366, 375

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1850s-60s, the international working-class movement and the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the First International and delegate to all its congresses; editor of the Vorbote; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—110, 114, 115-16, 127, 129, 163, 164, 202, 237, 246, 316, 341-43, 356, 466, 568

Becker, Max Joseph (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 and after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later moved to the USA.—70

Becker, Oskar (1839-1868)—son of a Baltic German, studied at a gymnasium in Odessa; student at Leipzig University; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for an attempt on the life of King William I of Prussia in 1865, pardoned in 1866.—314, 316

Beckmann—Prussian police spy in Paris in the early 1850s, Paris correspondent of the Kölnische Zeitung.—70, 148, 149

Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827)—German composer.—159

Behrend, G.—German publisher.—108, 135, 145

Beneske—merchant in Manchester.—525

Bennigsen, Rudolf von (1824-1902)—German politician, advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy. President of the National Association (1859-67), from 1867 leader of the Right wing in the National-Liberal Party.—194
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Bentley, Richard (1794-1871)—head of a publishing house in London.—5

Bermbach, Adolph (1821-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; member of the Communist League; witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); Marx's correspondent; liberal in later years.—73, 80, 135

Bernal Osborne, Ralph (1808-1882)—English liberal politician, M.P., Secretary of the Admiralty (1852-58).—517

Bernard, Simon-François (1817-1862)—French politician, republican; emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848 revolution; in 1858 was accused by the French Government of being an assassin in Carnot's attempt on the life of Napoleon III but was acquitted by the British court.—284, 356, 388, 368, 369

Bernstorff, Albrecht, Count von (1809-1873)—Prussian diplomat, envoy to London (1854-61), Foreign Minister (1861-62), ambassador to London (1862-73).—305

Bettel—German lawyer, chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society in Cologne (1860).—189

Bet—see Bettische, Heinrich

Bethlen, Gergely, Count (1818-1867)—Hungarian army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, emigrated after its defeat; Lassalle's second.—555, 557

Bettische, Heinrich (pen-name Bet) (1813-1876)—German democratic journalist, refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—4, 85, 244-45, 325, 354, 355, 369

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899)—Prussian army officer, resigned for political reasons; committee member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the

Neue Kölnische Zeitung (September 1848-February 1849); took part in the 1849 Baden-Fulda uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; professor of pedagogy.—133

Bille, Carl Steen Andersen (1828-1898)—Danish journalist and politician, member of the National-Liberal Party, editor and owner of Dagbladet (1851-72), member of the Lower Chamber of the Rigsdag (Parliament).—554

Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of Das Volk published by German refugees in London in 1859 with Marx's active participation.—41, 45, 52, 61, 63, 64, 66-68, 166, 213, 215, 228, 234, 241, 548

Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat, Prussian envoy to St. Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Union (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia.—418, 428, 431, 440, 456, 461, 477, 478, 494, 519, 531, 538, 554

Blanc, Jean-Joseph Louis (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois 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 the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848.—47, 86, 104
Blanckenburg, Karl Henning Moritz von (1815-1888)—Prussian politician, leader of the Right-wing conservatives, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1852), North German (1867-71) and German (1871-73) Imperial Diet; abandoned politics in 1873.—289

Blank, Emil—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank, Frederick Engels’ nephew.—529

Blank, Karl Emil (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels’ sister Marie.—168, 228, 259, 261, 267, 529

Blank, Marie (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels’ sister; married Karl Emil Blank in 1845.—529

Blank, Rudolf (b. 1851)—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank, Frederick Engels’ nephew.—529

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organiser of conspiracies and secret societies; took an active part in the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, a leader of the French proletariat; was repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment.—284, 291, 298, 318, 326, 439

Bleibtreu, Georg (1828-1892)—German battle-painter.—271

Blind, Friederike—Karl Blind’s wife.—86


Blum, Babette (Bülchen) (c. 1791—c. 1865)—sister of Karl Marx’s father.—498, 501

Blum, Robert (1807-1848)—German democratic journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; committed suicide after the fall of the city.—236

Bodin (Bodinus), Jean (1530-1596)—French philosopher and economist, ideologist of absolutism.—479

Boelling, Friedrich (1816-1884)—German merchant, Frederick Engels’ brother-in-law.—261, 267, 529

Boelling, Hedwig (1830-1904)—Frederick Engels’ sister, wife of Friedrich Boelling.—529

Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus (c. 480-524)—Roman Neoplatonist, translator and commentator of treatises by ancient philosophers and mathematicians.—514

Bonaparte, Louis—see Napoleon III

Bonaparte, Mathilde Letizia Wilhelmine (1820-1904)—Jérôme Bonaparte’s daughter, cousin of Napoleon III.—580

Bonaparte—see Napoleon I

Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-1891)—cousin of Napoleon III; during the Second Republic deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies; a divisional commander (1854) in the Crimea; commanded a corps in the Austro-Italian-French war of 1859, went by the name of Prince...
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<td>Borchardt—Louis Borchardt’s younger daughter</td>
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<td>Borchardt, Louis</td>
<td>German physician, one of Engels’ acquaintances in Manchester. 29, 68, 211, 238, 240, 291, 490, 518, 520-25, 531, 535, 545, 547</td>
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<td>Börnstein, Heinrich (1805-1892)</td>
<td>German democratic journalist, in 1844 founded Verwörs’ in Paris and edited it with Marx’s collaboration; emigrated to the USA in 1849; editor of the Anzeiger des Westens (St. Louis), took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners. 300</td>
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<td>Baucher de Crévecœur de Perières, Jacques (1788-1868)</td>
<td>French archaeologist and author, known for his study of material culture of primitive society. 473</td>
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<td>Bragg, Braxton (1817-1876)</td>
<td>American general; commanded the Southern Army in Kentucky and Tennessee during the Civil War. 530</td>
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<td>Bronnicki, Ksawery, Count (1812-1879)</td>
<td>Polish magnate, a leader of Polish conservative-monarchist refugees in Paris, was close to Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon). 465</td>
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<td>Buss, August (1818-1876)</td>
<td>German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; editor-in-chief of the Neue Schweizer Zeitung (1859-60); later a National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck. 118, 124, 206, 227, 234, 254, 548</td>
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<td>Breckinridge, John Cabell (1821-1875)</td>
<td>American statesman, Democrat; Vice-President (1857-61); a leader of the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; Secretary of War for the Confederacy (1865). 400</td>
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<td>Bright, John (1811-1889)</td>
<td>English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left-wing Liberals (from the early 1860s); held several posts in the government. 85, 468, 535</td>
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<td>Bronner, Eduard</td>
<td>German physician, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly in 1849; emigrated to England. 29, 38, 204</td>
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<td>Brown, John (1800-1859)</td>
<td>American farmer; a revolutionary leader in the Abolitionist movement; fought against slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); tried to organize an uprising of Black slaves in Virginia in 1859; was put on trial and executed. 4</td>
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<td>Bruck, Karl Ludwig, Baron von (1798-1860)</td>
<td>Austrian statesman, diplomat and big manufacturer; Minis-</td>
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ter of Trade, Industry and Public Works (1848-51); Minister of Finance (from 1855); committed suicide in April 1860.—136

Bracken brothers—Borkheim's acquaintances.—410

Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich (1810-1887)—German liberal journalist; editor-in-chief of the Kölnische Zeitung (1845-55).—241

Brühl, Karl von (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws, the League of the Just and subsequently of the Communist League from which he was expelled in 1850; editor of the Lassallean paper Nordstern in Hamburg (1861-66).—489

Brüningk, Maria, Baroness von (d. 1853)—wife of Baron A. von Brüningk, a German refugee in London.—262

Buchanan, James (1791-1868)—American statesman, Democrat; State Secretary (1845-49); minister to London (1853-56); President of the United States (1857-61); advocate of slave-owners' interests.—295, 307

Bucher, Lothar (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to London; correspondent of the Berlin National-Zeitung; later a National-Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—67, 155, 154, 227, 252, 254, 248, 249, 233, 255, 258, 262, 266, 376, 391, 408, 412, 425, 436, 573

Buckle, Henry Thomas (1821-1862)—English historian and sociologist, positivist.—581

Buell, Don Carlos (1818-1898)—American general; fought in the Civil War on the side of the North-
C

Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—265, 450

Campe, Johann Julius Wilhelm (1792-1867)—German publisher and bookseller, co-proprietor of the Hoffmann & Campe Publishing House in Hamburg.—32, 202

Camphausen, Ludolf (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848; pursued a policy of collaboration with the reactionaries.—101, 102

Cardan(o), Gerolamo (1501 or 1506-1576)—Italian mathematician, philosopher and physician.—450

Carden, Sir Robert Walter (b. 1801)—British official, Tory M.P.—84

Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte (1792-1888)—French journalist and politician; republican; member of the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies during the Second Republic; after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—439

Carpenter, William Benjamin (1813-1885)—English naturalist and physiologist.—538

Catherine II (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-1796).—336, 470-71, 588

Chavet, Honoré Joseph (1815-1877)—Belgian philologist.—540

Chenu, Adolphe (born c. 1817)—member of secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy, secret police agent-provocateur.—12, 15

Cherval, Julien (real name Joseph Crémer)—Prussian policeman, spy in Paris for Prussia and France; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the sectarian 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 Switzerland in 1853-54.—45, 72, 73, 75, 78-79, 92-94, 110, 130, 146-49, 152, 202

Christian IX (1818-1906)—Prince of Glücksburg, King of Denmark (1863-1906).—337, 513, 544

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman statesman, orator and philosopher.—166, 279

Claessen, Heinrich Joseph (1813-1885)—German physician and politician; liberal; member of the Board of Directors of and contributor to the Rheinische Zeitung; Camphausen's confidential agent.—101

Clavijo, Ulick John de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of (1802-1874)—British diplomat and politician, Whig, Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41), Lord Privy Seal (1857-58).—516

Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-1852); Foreign Secretary (1858-59, 1865-66, 1868-70).—336

Covatto, Camilla Benso, conte di (1810-1861)—Italian statesman, head of the Sardinian government (1852-59, 1860-61); pursued a policy of unifying Italy under the supremacy of the Savoy dynasty relying on the support of Napoleon III; headed the first government of united Italy in 1861.—191, 203, 246, 293

Charpentier, Gervais (1805-1871)—French publisher and bookseller.—357
Clausewitz, Karl von (1780-1831) — Prussian general and military theoretician. 359

Cluss, Adolf (1825-1905) — German engineer; took part in the workers' movement in Germany and the USA; member of the Communist League, secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in Mainz (1848); emigrated to the USA (autumn 1848); one of the first propagandists of scientific communism in America in the 1850s; later abandoned politics; known as an American architect of the late 19th century. 89, 90, 99

Cobb, Howell (1815-1868) — American statesman, Democrat, Governor of Georgia (1851-53), Secretary of the Treasury (1857-60) in the Buchanan Administration, took an active part in the Southern slave-holders' rebellion. 307

Cobbett, William (c. 1762-1835) — British politician and radical journalist; published Cobbett's Weekly Political Register from 1802. 114, 336, 489

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865) — English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. 215, 229, 246, 535

Coburgs — members of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty; ruled in Belgium, Portugal, Britain and several other European states. 153

Cohnheim, Max — German petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution. 70

Colenso, John William (1814-1883) — English clergyman and theologian, criticised some Bible texts. 541

Collet, Collet Dobson — English radical journalist and public figure, editor and publisher of The Free Press, organ of Urquhart's followers. 21, 28, 33, 46, 66, 104, 105, 144, 341, 347, 517, 536, 552

Collins, William Wilkie (1824-1889) — English novelist. 570

Colomby, Friedrich August von (1775-1854) — Prussian army officer, subsequently general; fought against Napoleonic France. 367

Cunningham, William (b. 1815) — English radical M.P. 356

Conradi, Emilie (1822-1888) — Karl Marx's sister, wife of Johann Jakob Conradi. 220, 499, 502

Conradi, Johann Jakob (1821-1892) — engineer in Trier, Marx's brother-in-law. 220, 499, 500, 501, 514

Constantine (Konstantin Nikolaevich) (1827-1892) — Russian Grand Duke, second son of Nicholas I, Admiral-General, head of the Naval Department (1853-81) and commander-in-chief of the Navy (1855-81); Viceroy of Poland (1862-63). 492

Cosenz, Enrico (1820-1898) — Italian general; took part in the national liberation movement in Italy; commanded a division during Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); Chief of the General Staff (1882-93). 322

Cola, Johann Georg, Baron von Countedorf (1796-1863) — German publisher, owner of a large publishing house (1832-63); publisher of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung. 202, 227, 262

Crassus (Marcus Licinius Crassus) (c. 115-53 B.C.) — Roman politician and general; suppressed the slave uprising under Spartacus in 71 B.C. 265

Creutz, Anna Maria (Marianne) (1835-1862) — Helene Demuth's stepsister. 433, 581

Curts, Samuel Ryan (1807-1866) — American general and politician; Republican; Congressman (1857-
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61); commanded the Northern troops in Missouri and Arkansas (1861-62) during the Civil War.—372, 386

Czartoryski, Wladyslaw, Prince (1828-1894)—Polish magnate, a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist émigrés, a diplomatic representative of the Provisional National Government in Paris from May 1868.—489, 490, 492

D

Datier, André (1651-1722)—French philologist, translator of and commentator on works by ancient authors.—318

Dâ-Dâ—Arabian writer, translated Bonapartist pamphlets into his native tongue on the instructions of the Algerian authorities (1850s).—197-98, 202, 205, 212

Dümmer, Otto (d. 1910)—German chemist; a leader of the General Association of German Workers and its representative in Leipzig.—489

Dümmler, Helene Demuth's relative.—500


Demuth——see Watteau, Louis

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 (1850) belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, was a member of its Central Committee; later took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union.—91, 140, 146-47

Diódorus Siculus (c. 90-21 B.C.)—Greek historian.—354, 359

Dönniges, Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von (1814-1872)—German historian and diplomat; Ranke's pupil; author of works on German medieval history; Bavarian envoy to
Switzerland (1862-64).—555, 557, 558, 561

Donniges, Helene von (1845-1911)—Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von Donniges' daughter; fiancée of Janko von Racowija, Romanian nobleman.—555-58, 561

Dozy, Rheinhart Pieter Anne (1820-1883)—Dutch orientalist, professor at Leyden University; author of several works on the history of the Arabs.—541, 542

Dralle, Friedrich Wilhelm (b. 1820)—German democratic journalist; emigrated to London after 1852; a leader of the London branch of the National Association.—302

Drenkman—court officer in Berlin.—101

Droske, Ernst (1822-1891)—German author, a 'true socialist', a member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; sided with Marx and Engels at the time of the split in the Communist League (1850); later withdrew from politics and engaged in commerce.—8, 21, 22, 29, 38, 71, 39, 323-35, 337, 344, 354, 460, 461, 465, 476, 479, 481-83, 525-27, 548, 575

Drucker, Louis—German democratic journalist; publisher of the comic weekly How Do You Do? in London.—245

Dumont (Du Mont), Joseph (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; publisher of the Kölnische Zeitung from 1831.—241

Ducker—Prussian official; Police Superintendent in Berlin in 1848.—80

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher.—9, 19, 17, 21, 27, 28, 32, 48, 50, 51, 102, 103, 108, 109, 135, 210, 217, 221, 274, 280, 436, 458

Eccarius—Johann Georg Eccarius' wife.—183

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, journalist; 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 British trade union movement.—11, 172, 174, 176, 182, 189, 426, 427, 493, 536

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895)—German socialist, journalist; in the late 1850s exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the First International from 1868 and one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—16, 54, 74, 80-81, 140-41, 189, 190, 194, 195, 247, 251, 355, 362, 369, 371, 374, 464, 526-27, 576

Elizabeth (1801-1873)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William IV.—428

Eisner, Karl Friedrich Moritz (1809-1894)—Silesian radical journalist and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; in the 1850s an editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung to which Marx contributed in 1855.—69, 282, 533-34, 543, 552, M1, 588, 589

Emmermann, Karl—chief forester from the Rhine Province; commanded an infantry unit of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland.—133
Engel, Ernst (1821-1896)—German statistician, director of the Prussian Royal Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—480-81

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Matritia (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels’ mother.—120, 137, 138, 256-61, 266, 267, 528-29, 559

Engels, Emil (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels’ brother; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—120, 134, 137, 259, 260, 266, 267

Engels, Emma (b. 1834)—Hermann Engels’ wife.—529

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels’ brother; manufacturer in Barmen.—259, 261, 267, 528-29

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels’ brother; manufacturer in Barmen.—259, 261, 266, 267, 529

Engländer, Sigmund (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist; emigrated to France (1848) and later to England; secret police agent.—70, 121-22, 144

Epicurus (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher; atheist.—515

Erichstein, 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 by the jury.—90

Ermann—publisher and bookseller in London.—31, 37


Erie II (1818-1893)—Duke of Saxony, Coburg and Gotha (1844-93); brother of Prince Albert, Queen Victoria’s husband; opposed the policy of uniting Germany under Prussia’s supremacy (early 1860s); supported Bismarck from 1866.—8, 153, 319

Esser, J. P.—Prussian judiciary officer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849.—101

Esser I, Johann Heinrich Theodor—Prussian official, lawyer, advocate of clericalism, Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848; counsel for the defence in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—151

Esterházy von Galántha, Anton, Count (1825-1865)—cousin of Georg Esterházy von Galántha.—192

Esterházy von Galántha, Georg, Count (1811-1886)—Austrian diplomat.—192

Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzman, comtesse de Teba (1826-1920)—French Empress, wife of Napoleon III.—206, 580

Ewerbeck, August Hermann (1816-1860)—German physiologist and man of letters; leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, later member of the Communist League until 1850.—90, 296

Exera—reformer and codifier of Judaism.—541

Farini, Luigi Carlo (1812-1866)—Italian statesman and historian; championed the unification of Italy under the Savoy dynasty; Minister of Public Instruction (1851-52); Sardinian Minister of the Interior
(1860): Vicegerent of Naples (November 1860-January 1861); head of the Italian Government (1862-63)—246

Farragut, David Glasgow (1801-1870)—American naval officer, admiral (from July 1862); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded a flotilla during the seizure of Mobile, Alabama (August 1864).—559

Feuer, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; Free Trader; refugee in England from 1850 to 1861; contributor to The Morning Star; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress.—9, 54, 79, 131, 136, 246, 264, 506

Fayet, Jean Jacob (James) (1794-1878)—Swiss journalist and statesman, radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53, 1855-61); founder of the Swiss Bank, pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—17, 63, 99, 115, 129, 188, 212, 224, 226, 284, 562, 525, 527, 553, 556

Ferrand, William Bushfield—English landowner, Tory.—544

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)—classical German philosopher.—124, 131

Fieschert, Johann (c. 1545-1590)—German satirist.—225

Fischel, Eduard (1826-1868)—German journalist; belonged to the Party of Progress; assessor of the Berlin Municipal Court from 1858; editor of the Berlin Ueberhaupt journal Das Neue Wort (1859-60); sharply criticized the foreign policy pursued by Palmerston and Napoleon III.—8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 22, 29, 34, 46, 46, 112, 113, 130, 133, 153, 156, 141-44, 152, 153, 154, 155, 163, 164, 227

Fleury, Charles (real name Carl Friedrich August Krause) (b. 1824)—merchant in London; Prussian spy and police agent.—84, 141, 146-51

Floren, Ferdinand (1800-1866)—French journalist and politician; petty bourgeois democrat; an editor of La Réforme; member of the Provisional Government (1848).—95, 101-02

Floyd, John Buchanan (1807-1863)—American statesman, Democrat; Governor of Virginia (1850-53); Secretary of War (1857-60); fought in the Civil War on the side of the Southerners.—307, 429

Forster, Friedrich Christoph (1791-1888)—Prussian historian, writer and poet.—271

Fould, Achille (1860-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; several times Minister of Finance between 1849 and 1867; Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-1860).—329

Fouquet, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French mathematician, author of several textbooks on mathematics, astronomy and mechanics.—532

Francis II (1835-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60); son of Ferdinand II nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—189, 295

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—175, 242, 492

Francon, Louis Benjamin (1773-1849)—French mathematician, author of several textbooks on mathematics, astronomy and mechanics.—532

Frank, A.—Paris publisher in the 1840s-early 1860s.—101

Franklin, William Buel (1823-1903)—American general, participated in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded two corps in the battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia.—437

Frankowski, Leon (c. 1843-1863)
participant in the Polish national liberation movement; member of the Central National Committee, belonged to the party of the 'Red'; leader of the insurgents in the Lublin province in 1863; taken prisoner and executed on June 4.—456

Frederick I (1657-1713)—first King of Prussia, crowned in Königsberg on 18 January 1701.—319

Frederick I (1826-1907)—virtual ruler of Baden from 1852; Grand Duke of Baden from 1856.—473

Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—462

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—460

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—23, 238, 271, 377, 428, 429

Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); clerk of the London branch of the Swiss Bank in the 1850s-1860s; withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.—3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 30, 31, 35, 36, 43, 47, 54-57, 67, 68, 73, 80, 84, 95, 113, 118, 124, 133, 168, 192, 193, 203, 224-26, 233, 235-37, 246, 251, 252, 255, 256, 258, 261, 268, 323, 335, 384, 422, 429, 432, 435, 448, 475, 489, 502, 525, 527, 534-55, 546, 548, 555, 556, 557, 576

Freiligrath, Ida (1817-1899)—Ferdinand Freiligrath’s wife.—556, 576

Freiligrath, Louise (married name Wien)—Ferdinand Freiligrath’s daughter.—556

Freemant, John Charles (1813-1890)—American traveller and politician; Left-wing Republican; candidate to the presidency (1856); commanded the Northern troops in Missouri (up to November 1861) and Virginia (1862) during the Civil War.—343, 361, 363, 372, 386

Friedrich, Friedrich Theodor von (1819-1885)—German clinician and pathologist, professor in Berlin University and director of a clinic from 1859.—286

Freytag, Gustav (1816-1895)—German playwright and novelist.—270, 280

Friedländer, Julius—assessor in Berlin, brother of Max Friedländer.—280, 282, 292

Friedländer, Max (1829-1872)—German democratic journalist; member of the editorial boards of the Neue Oder-Zeitung (1855) and Die Presse (1862) to which Marx contributed; cousin of Ferdinand Lassalle.—280, 292, 323, 353, 358, 370

Friedrich Christian August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg (1829-1880)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein under the name of Friedrich VIII (from 1863).—494, 496, 503, 508, 511, 549, 554

Friedrich Karl Nikolaus, Prince (1828-1889)—Prussian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian and then of the Allied army in the Danish war of 1864.—200-01, 280, 519

Fröbel, Julius (1805-1893)—German writer and publisher of progressive literature; democrat, later liberal; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to America in 1849; returned to Europe in 1857.—20, 61, 101

Gabriel—a dentist in London.—220

Ganesco, Grégoire (c. 1830-1877)—French journalist, Romanian by
Name Index

Gisquet, Henri-Joseph (1792-1866)—French businessman and politician; prefect of the Paris police (1831-36).—80

Gladstone, Robert (1811-1872)—British businessman, philanthropist; William Gladstone's cousin.—480

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1895)—British statesman, Tory and later Liberal; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—935

Gleisner, John Stuart—British author, accompanied Buckle in his journey in Palestine (1862).—381

Glücksburg—see Christian IX

Goetz, Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von (1816-1893)—German lawyer and politician, professor at Berlin University, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1855) and of the North German and German Imperial Diets (1867-84); belonged to liberal opposition (early 1860s); National-Liberal from 1866.——494

Göbel—presiding judge of the Assizes in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—140, 151

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.——159, 265, 379, 507, 515

Goldheim—Prussian police officer, a secret agent of the Prussian police in London in the early 1850s.——140, 146, 147, 149, 218

Goldmann, Karl Eduard (died c. 1865)—German journalist.——393

Goudchaux, Michel (1797-1862)—French banker, republican; Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government (1848); a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime in the 1850s.——439

Gipperich (Gipperich), Joseph—German tailor; member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League; one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; later emigrated to England.——148

Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; member of the Provisional Government (1848); during the Second Empire, member of the Corps Legislatif (from 1864) and the Government of National Defence (1870-71).——8, 575

Gerstenberg, Isidor (d. 1876)—London banker, a supporter of Gottfried Kinkel.——81, 589

Gibson, Thomas Miller (1806-1884)—British politician; a leader of the Free Traders, subsequently liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-64, 1865-66).——335

Giffen, Charles—managing director of the London branch of the Swiss Bank; creditor of The People's Paper; M.P.——85

Gingold, Joseph—German tailor; member of a Paris community supporting the separatist Willich-Schapper group after the split of the Communist League; one of the accused in the case of the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; later emigrated to England.——148
Grabow, Wilhelm (1802-1874)—
Prussian politician, moderate liberal; President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Deputy Chairman (1850-61) and Chairman (1862-66) of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—377

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885)—
American general and statesman, Republican; commanded the Northern troops in Kentucky and Tennessee in 1861-62; Commander-in-Chief from March 1864; Secretary of War (1867-68), President of the USA (1869-77).—360, 478, 530, 531, 538-40, 558-59, 561

Green—Marx’s acquaintance in London.—171, 193

Greif—Prussian police officer; one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—140, 141, 146-50, 241, 248

Griesheim, Karl Gustav von (1798-1854)—Prussian general and writer; reactionary; War Ministry representative in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—328

Grimm brothers—see Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl and Grimm, Wilhelm Carl

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist, professor at Berlin University, author of a historical grammar of the German language, and of the folklore adaptations; liberal.—572, 582

Grimm, Wilhelm Carl (1786-1859)—German philologist, co-author of his brother Jacob Grimm in his main works; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—572, 582

Grace, Sir William Robert (1811-1896)—British physicist, qualified as a barrister.—551, 553

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (pseudonym Ernst von der Holte) (1817-1887)—German writer, a ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s; petty-bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy in the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—188, 197, 190

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; de facto directed France’s domestic and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—101

Gumport—Edmund Gumport’s wife.—539

Gumport, Eduard (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; a friend of Marx and Engels.—68, 112, 113, 135, 138, 139, 155, 156, 204, 211, 222, 240, 241, 245, 250, 256, 282, 285, 290, 322, 423, 447, 460, 483, 490, 518, 520-21, 523, 524, 525, 529, 531, 539

Guthrie, James (1792-1869)—
American statesman and big businessman; Democrat; Secretary of the Treasury (1855-57) in the Pierce Administration; advocated compromise with the slave-owners of the South.—308-09

H

Habsburgs (or Hapsburgs)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Spanish kings (1516-1700), of emperors of Austria (1804-67) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—229, 230

Hadji Hayden Hassan—Circassian deputy to London in 1862.—491

Häßler, Leopold (b. 1820)—Austrian journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to France.—18, 34

Hallock, Henry Wager (1815-1872)—
American general, moderate Re-
publican; commander of the Missouri Department (November 1861-March 1862) and the Mississippi army (March-July 1862); Commander in-Chief of the Northern Army (July 1862-March 1864).—360, 371-72, 386, 420

Hansemann, David Justus (1790-1864)—German capitalist, banker, a leader of the Rhine liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance (March-September 1848).—287

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of The Northern Star and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—527, 534

Hartmann, Martin (1821-1872)—Austrian writer; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left).—212

Hatzfeld zu Trachternberg-Schönstein, Maximilian Friedrich Karl Franz, Count von (1813-1859)—Prussian diplomat; envoy to Paris in 1849; Sophie von Hatzfeldt's brother.—147

Hatzfeld, Sophie, Countess von (1805-1860)—German democratic journalist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to England.—16, 21, 67

Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA where he fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—265, 361

Heckscher, Martin—Frederick Engels' physician, a German who lived in Manchester.—68, 129, 134, 167, 168, 211, 218, 240

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—9, 220, 255, 281, 330, 333, 381, 546

Helft, Karl (1789-1864)—Bavarian writer and traveller, contributed to the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.—14

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—33, 101, 159, 342, 462

Heintzmann, Alexis (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer, liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; emigrated to London; Chairman of the London branch of the National Association (1861).—297, 301, 302, 309-11, 319, 342

Heinzen, Karl (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; from 1847 Marx's opponent; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—10, 127, 263

Heine, Hermann (1820-1860)—German democratic journalist; participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later emigrated to England.—16, 21, 67

Henne, John Pope (1834-1891)—Irish politician, M. P.—148

Henry, Sir Thomas (1807-1876)—English judge.—39, 38, 53, 78

Heracleitus (c. 540-c. 480 B. C.)—Greek philosopher, one of the founders of dialectics.—142, 281, 567

Herder, Johann Gottfried von (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist.—265
Herwegh, Georg Friedrich (1817-1875)—German democratic poet; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland; supported Lassalle in the 1860s.—101, 389, 561

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847; lived in England (from 1852) where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical Pashernau Zvezda (Polar Star) and the newspaper Kaskal (The Bell).—341, 492

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer, a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; a Lassallean in the 1860s.—156

Hess, Sibylle (née Pesch) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess's wife.—185, 580

Heydt, August, Baron von der (1801-1874)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (from December 1848 to 1862); Minister of Finance (May-September 1862, 1866-69).—506

Hiersemenzel, Karl Christian Eduard (1825-1896)—German lawyer, judge in Berlin from 1859, editor of the Preußische Gerichts-Zeitung; Lassalle's friend.—282

Hildebrand (1814-1908) (real name Beets, Nikolaus)—Dutch poet and writer.—274, 510, 516

Hill—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—392, 494, 447, 546

Hinsdale, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von (1805-1866)—Prussian government official, Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848; chief of the police department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—74, 149, 287

Hirsch, Johann Peter Wilhelm (b. 1830)—commercial clerk from Hamburg; Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—16, 24, 74, 81, 141, 146-51

Hirschfeld, Rudolph—owner of a printshop in London which printed Die Neue Zeit and the weekly Herrmann; Marx's pamphlet Herr Vogt was printed there in 1860.—190, 199, 202, 208, 211, 226, 294, 296, 298

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—984

Höchster—Ernst Hermann Höchster's son; an employee in the Koenigswarter Bank in Paris, later at a private firm in London.—235

Höchster, Ernst Hermann (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety during the uprising in Elberfeld (May 1849); emigrated after the failure of the uprising; lived in Paris in the 1860s; abandoned politics.—232, 235

Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde, pseudonym Dupré) (1808-1865)—French writer; participated in secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and July monarchy, police agent.—12, 15, 148, 149

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—460, 462, 477

Hollinger, Fidelio Hollinger's wife.—31, 37

Hollinger, Fidelio—German refugee, owner of a printshop in London which printed Das Volk.—30, 32, 36, 37, 41, 42, 60-65, 68, 87, 104

Homer—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the Iliad and the Odyssey.—311, 357
Hooker, Joseph (called 'Fighting Joe') (1814-1879)—American general, Abolitionist, Republican; first commanded a corps of the Northern army on the Potomac (1862) and then the whole Potomac army (January-June 1863).—420, 450, 454, 478

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—92, 354, 452

Hörfei, Gustav—Austrian petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to Paris in 1850 and became an agent of the French police.—70, 122

Hornet, Leonard (1783-1864)—English geologist and public figure, factory inspector (1833-59).—5

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte.—513, 519

Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von (1769-1859)—German naturalist and traveller.—116, 131, 153, 159, 371, 397

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895)—English naturalist, biologist; a friend and follower of Charles Darwin; popularised his teaching.—449, 465

I

Immanuel, Peter (born c. 1824)—German teacher; democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated first to Switzerland and, in 1852, to London; member of the Communist League; follower of Marx and Engels.—16, 21, 34, 71, 213, 324, 398, 401, 426, 576, 579

Imbert, Jacques (1793-1851)—French socialist; took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; refugee in Belgium in the 1840s; Vice-President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847); commandant of the Tuileries after the February 1848 revolution.—102

Ives, Melan—American journalist, Democrat; contributor to The New York Herald from the late 1850s.—345

Ivy—Lassalle, Ferdinand

Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (1824-1863)—American general; commanded the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-63) during the Civil War; was nicknamed Stonewall Jackson after the battle of Bull Run (July 1861).—386, 414, 416

Jacob, Abraham (1830-1919)—German physician, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1849), acquitted by the jury; later emigrated to the USA where he disseminated Marxism in the workers' press; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; President of the Medical Academy in New York (1885-89).—80, 99, 100, 541

James, Edwin John (1812-1882)—British lawyer, M.P.; counsel for the defence at Simon Bernard's trial in April 1858.—33, 203

Jardine, David (1794-1860)—British lawyer; a magistrate in London from 1839.—151

Jeker, Jean Baptiste (c. 1810-1871)—Swiss banker; French subject from 1862; was close to the ruling circles of Bonapartist France; assisted the French intervention in Mexico; held as hostage and shot by the Communards.—363, 456

Jessen—see Anrooij, Henriette Sophia van

Johnston, Albert Sidney (1803-1862)—American general. Commander of
the Western Department of the Confederate army (1861-62) during the Civil War; killed in the battle of Corinth.—346

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston (1807-1891)—American general, took part in the Mexican War (1846-48), during the Civil War, commander of the Southern troops in Virginia (1861-62), later in Tennessee and Mississippi.—346

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, Left-wing Chartist leader; friend of Marx and Engels.—33, 85, 86, 95, 103, 154, 284, 526, 530, 542, 553, 554

Jottrand, Lucien Léopold (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; President of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847).—95, 102, 107

Juárez, Benito Pablo (1806-1872)—Mexican statesman, fought for national independence; leader of the Liberals during the Civil War (1858-60) and French intervention in Mexico (1861-67); President (1858-72).—363

Juch, Hermann—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London, Kinkel's supporter, editor of the Hermann (from July 1859).—16, 36, 80, 81, 146, 297, 301, 302, 354, 355

Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), the Apostate (c. 331-363)—Roman Emperor (361-63).—377

Juta, Johann Carl (Juan Carol) (1824-1886)—Dutch merchant, husband of Karl Marx's sister Louise.—239

Juta, Louise (1821-1865) — Karl Marx's sister, Johann Carl Juta's wife.—239, 499

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis) (born c. 60—died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—327

Kahle, Ernst (1816-1878)—German journalist, publisher and bookseller, petty-bourgeois democrat, founded the weekly Gartenlaube.—233, 354

Kezély, Károly Mára (real name Benczéki) (1824-1882)—Hungarian man of letters, liberal, was in contact with the leaders of the 1848-49 revolution.—533

Kinglake, Alexander William (1809-1891)—English historian and politician, Liberal M.P. (1857-68).—173, 175, 456, 478, 482, 517

Kinkel, Gottfried (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; an editor of the Hermann (1859); opposed Marx and Engels.—4, 12, 13, 15, 16, 27, 28, 43, 48, 70, 84, 98, 236, 237, 294, 246, 249, 253, 282, 293, 297, 298, 301, 302, 304, 309-11, 319, 322, 354, 355, 369, 419, 580

Kinkel, Johanna (née Mockel) (1818-1858)—German writer, Gottfried Kinkel's wife.—92, 262, 580

Kapp, Friedrich (1824-1884)—German historian and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in the USA (1850-70); visited Germany in the early autumn of 1862.—416

Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović (Kutahuš, Vuk Carnefevnoth) (1787-1864)—Serbian philologist, historian and folklore specialist, founder of the modern Serbian literary language.—473

Kavanagh (Cavanagh)—one of Marx's acquaintances in London.—17

Kapp, Friedrich (1824-1884)—German historian and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in the USA (1850-70); visited Germany in the early autumn of 1862.—416

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Kinglake, Alexander William (1809-1891)—English historian and politician, Liberal M.P. (1857-68).—173, 175, 456, 478, 482, 517

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Kinkel, Johanna (née Mockel) (1818-1858)—German writer, Gottfried Kinkel's wife.—92, 262, 580
Klapka, György (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s; returned to Hungary after the amnesty (1867).—17, 79, 84, 85, 109, 247, 362, 493, 555-57

Klein, Johann Jacob (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician, member of the Communist League; a defendant in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; took part in the German workers' movement in the early 1860s.—289, 369, 371

Klings, Karl (born c. 1825—died after 1874)—German metal-worker, member of the Communist League, then of the General Association of German Workers; emigrated to the USA in 1865 where he worked in the Chicago Section of the First International.—533

Knorsch—German lawyer, Chairman of the German Workers' Educational Society in Düsseldorf (1860).—189

Königswarter, Maximilien (1815-1878)—French banker, deputy to the Corps législatif (1852-63).—235

Kolášek, Adolph (1821-1889)—Austrian journalist and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49); petty-bourgeois democrat; publisher of the Deutsche Monatsschrift (1850-51) and the Stimmen der Zeit (1858-62).—206, 208, 212, 216, 253, 262, 321, 324

Kölliker, Rudolf Albert von (1817-1905)—German histologist and embryologist; professor of anatomy at Würzburg University (1849-1902).—546

Komp, Albrecht—German refugee in the USA, an organiser of the Communist Club in New York (1857); Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—81

Körner, Karl Friedrich (1808-1863)—German radical journalist and historian; Young Hegelian; later an authority on the history of Buddhism. —286, 287

Korn, Adolf (1822-1904)—Prussian officer (until 1845); took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat and to Argentina in 1857.—70, 71

Kościelski, Władysław (1818-1895)—Polish democrat; took part in the national liberation movement in Posen (1848), emigrated to Berlin; maintained contact with the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; general in the Turkish army under the name of Sefer Pasha in the 1850s.—23, 91, 465, 466

Kosel, Esther (c. 1786-1865)—sister of Karl Marx's father.—498, 501, 584

Kossuth, Lajos (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the revolutionary government (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and later to England and the USA; sought for support in the Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—12, 17, 18, 27, 84, 106, 125, 148, 157, 181, 182, 196, 203, 215, 284, 362, 468, 493, 505

Krause, Carl Friedrich August—see Fleury, Charles

Krause, Friedrich August (d. 1834)—shoemaker, Charles Fleury’s father.—148
Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)—German physician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International; corresponded with Marx from 1862 to 1874; friend of Marx and Engels.—435-37, 461, 463, 582, 583

Kuhlmann, Georg (b. 1812)—secret informer in the service of the Austrian government; in the 1840s preached 'true socialism' among the German artisans, followers of Weitling, in Switzerland; posing as a prophet he used religious phraseology.—9

Küpper—an innkeeper in Düsseldorf.—206

Kustar, Ogli Ismael—Circassian deputy to London in 1862.—491

Laboulaye, Edouard René Lefebvre de (1811-1883)—French lawyer, journalist and liberal politician.—502

Lacambre, Cyrill—French physician, refugee in Spain in the 1860s; Blanqui's close friend.—326

Ladendorf, August—German petty-bourgeois democrat, philosopher; sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of conspiracy (1854).—148

La Farina, Giuseppe (1815-1863)—Italian liberal politician, writer and historian; a leader of the revolutionary movement in Sicily (1848-49); Cavour's emissary in Sicily in 1860 (up to July); adviser to the viceroy of Sicily (October 1860-January 1861).—172, 246

Lamennais (La Mennais), Hugues Félicité Robert de (1782-1854)—French abbé and philosophical writer.—452

Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de (1806-1865)—French general, moderate Republican; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris; War Minister in the Cavaignac government (June-December 1848); expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; commanded the Papal army in 1860.—195, 196, 199

Langiewicz, Maryan Melchior (1827-1887)—participant in the Polish national liberation movement; a Right-wing leader during the 1863 insurrection in Poland, after its defeat fled to Austria where he was arrested and kept in prison until 1865.—456, 461, 464

Łapinski, Theophil (Tosfili) (1827-1886)—Polish general; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; served in the Turkish army under the name of Tevfik Bey; fought against Russia in Circassia (1857-58); headed a military expedition to help the Polish insurgents in 1863.—489, 491-93

L'Aspée, Henry de—Wiesbaden police official; emigrated to London in the early 1850s, helped to expose provocative methods used by the Prussian authorities in staging the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—146, 147

Lassal, Heimann (d. 1862)—German merchant; Ferdinand Lassalle's father.—406, 408, 411

Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870)—American general; took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); suppressed the uprising of John Brown (1859); during the Civil War commanded the Confederate forces in Virginia (1862-65); Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate army from February to April 1865.—457, 484, 530, 531, 539, 540, 558

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—115

Lelewel, Joachim (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigrants (1847-48).—23, 95, 102, 114

Leuchten—see Demuth, Heinrich

Leypus, Karl Richard (1810-1884)—German Egyptologist.—286

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—German tailor; participant in the German and international working-class movement, member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London and of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—8

Levasseur de la Sarthe, René (1747-1834)—leading figure in the French Revolution, deputy to the Convention, Jacobin; author of the memoirs on the French Revolution.—114

Levy, Gustav—German socialist from the Rhine Province; sent as delegate by Düsseldorf workers to Marx in London in 1856; later an active member of the General Association of German Workers.—82, 89

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—a founder and the publisher of The Daily Telegraph.—33

Lexald, Fanny—see Sahr, Fanny

Lexald, Otto (1813-1874)—German lawyer. Fanny Lexald’s brother.—81

Lewis, Sir George Cornwall (1806-1863)—British statesman, Whig, Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61) and Secretary for War (1861-63).—335

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German agronomist.—139

Liebknecht, Ernestine (d. 1867)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s first wife.—77, 216, 573, 586, 587

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participated in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; a leader of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; returned to Germany in 1862; opposed Lassalle’s policy of conciliation with Bismarck; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party (Eisenach); member of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—3, 12, 31, 34, 35, 37, 41, 44, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63-67, 77, 78, 105, 113, 114, 133, 134, 149-51, 216, 221, 224, 228, 232, 262, 502, 537-39, 541, 545, 552, 553, 561, 573, 586, 587

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; President of the
United States (1861-65); under the influence of the masses carried out important bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; was shot by a slave-owners' agent in April 1865.—297, 301, 306, 385, 387, 400, 420, 421, 428, 462, 539, 561, 562

Lippe, Leopold, Count zu (1815-1889)—Prussian statesman and lawyer; Public Prosecutor in Berlin (1860): Minister of Justice (1862-67).—131, 144, 186, 219

Lochner, Georg (born c. 1824)—carpenter; prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League, German Workers' Educational Society in London and the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—154

Loening—German publisher.—64

Lommel, Georg—German petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the Baden uprising (April 1848); emigrated to Switzerland.—115, 118, 119, 123, 126, 127, 129, 141, 144, 155, 158, 160, 163, 164, 170, 172, 211, 227, 327

Lord, Percival Barton (1808-1840)—British physician and diplomat.—346

Lormier, Marie—an acquaintance of the Marx family.—527

Louis XIV (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—318

Louis XVI (1754-1793)—King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—430

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of France (1830-48).—93, 462, 463

Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris (1838-1894)—grandson of Louis Philippe, pretender to the French throne.—94

Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) (39-65)—Roman poet.—367

Lucullus (Lucius Licinius Lucullus) (c. 1174-56 B.C.)—Roman general, famous for his wealth and sumptuous feasts.—257, 265

Ludwig III (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—373

Löning, Otto (1818-1868)—German physician and journalist; a 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; an editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung.—22

Lupus—see Weiß, Wilhelm

Lützow, Ludwig Adolph Wilhelm, Baron von (1782-1834)—Prussian army officer, later general; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—367

Lyell, Charles (1797-1875)—British scientist, geologist.—465, 473

M

McAdam (Mac Adam), John—Scottish journalist from Glasgow; supported the national liberation movement in Hungary, Italy and other European countries in the 1850s.—17, 467

McClintock, George Brinton (1826-1885)—American general and big railway businessman; was close to the Democrats; championed a compromise with Southern slave-owners; Commander-in-Chief of the Northern army (November 1861-March 1862) and Commander of the army on the Potomac (March-November 1862) during the US Civil War; candidate for the presidency (1864).—345, 360-62, 365-67, 372, 384, 386, 387, 400, 415, 420, 428, 430, 431, 440

Macdonald—British army officer, arrested in Bonn and brought to trial...
on the charge of insubordination to local authorities (September 1860).—284, 297, 301, 354

McDowell, Irvin (1818-1885)—American general; during the Civil War commanded the Northern troops in Virginia (1861-62).—360, 372, 386

McElrath, Thomas (1807-1888)—American lawyer, publisher and politician, Abolitionist, co-founder and business manager (1841-57) of the New-York Daily Tribune.—362

Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer.—302

Mackay, Charles (1814-1889)—Scottish poet and journalist; New York special correspondent of The Times in 1862-65.—439, 457

Mädler, Johann Heinrich von (1794-1874)—German astronomer.—354

Majewski, Karol (1833-1897)—participant in the Polish national liberation movement, member of the Central National Committee; was close to the party of the 'Whites'; headed the National Government of Poland (June-September 1863).—492

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—British clergyman and economist; author of a population theory.—381

Marke, Maria (end of the 4th-first half of the 3rd cent. B.C.)—Egyptian high priest and annalist during the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II; author of a history of Egypt written in Greek.—286

Mantisffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58); deputy in the Lower Chamber (1859 and 1860) and Upper Chamber (1864) of the Prussian Provincial Diet.—248, 287, 288

Marjanne—see Creuz, Anna Maria

Marie Antoinette (1755-1793)—Queen of France (1774-93); wife of Louis XVI, guillotined during the French Revolution.—206

Marilley, Étiennne (1804-1889)—Swiss clergyman, Bishop of Fribourg (Freiburg) (1846-79); inspired the anti-democratic revolt in Fribourg on 24 October 1848.—71

Mario, Alberto (1825-1883)—Italian politician and writer; took part in Garibaldi’s revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).—379

Marthheim, Berta—a close acquaintance of Marx’s wife Jenny.—581, 583, 584

Marutzki, H. E.—Protestant pastor in Manchester.—525, 526

Mariott (d. 1864)—Rode’s son-in-law.—526

Mariott, Thekla—Rode’s daughter, Mariott’s wife.—526

Marx, Edgar (1847-1855)—Karl Marx’s son.—570, 572


Marx, Franziska (1851-1852)—Karl Marx’s daughter.—670

Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838)—Karl Marx’s father; lawyer, Counsellor of Justice in Trier.—90, 101
Marx, Heinrich Guido (1849-1850) — Karl Marx's son. — 670
Marx, Henriette (née Pressburg or Presswich) (1787-1863) — Karl Marx's mother. — 220, 221, 268, 273, 279, 283, 324, 416, 442, 495, 499, 500, 579
Mason, James Murray (1798-1871) — American politician, big slave-owning planter, Chairman of the Senate commission on foreign affairs, advocate of secession; was sent by the Southern Confederacy on a diplomatic mission to England in the autumn of 1861; commissioner of the Confederacy in London (1862-65). — 329, 336
Masson, Marie Alexandre (1806-1875) — French journalist, utopian socialist; contributed to the newspapers La Réforme and Voix du peuple (1848-50); Proudhon's friend. — 433, 439
Masterman, John (c. 1782-1862) — British banker and politician, Tory M.P. — 434, 437
Maujas, Charles-maguen Estelle 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). — 144, 148, 149
Maynard, Michael (d. 1622) — German alchemist, physician-in-ordinary and counsellor of Emperor Rudolph II, author of works on chemistry, medicine and philosophy. — 490
Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872) — Italian revolutionary, leader of the national liberation movement, head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); sought for support among the Bonapartists in the early 1850s; subsequently opposed Bonapartism. — 185, 198, 196, 246, 255, 264, 325, 390, 468
Medici del Vascello, Giàcomo (1817-1882) — Italian general, fought in the national liberation war of 1848-49 and defended the Roman Re-
public (April-July 1849); participated in Garibaldi's revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860).

Meissner, Otto Carl (1819-1902)—publisher in Hamburg, printed Marx's Capital and other works by Marx and Engels.

Melchior, Julius—a worker from Solingen, member of the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA in 1864.

Mellinet, François Aimé (1768-1852)—Belgian general of French descent; took part in the revolution of 1830 and democratic movement in Belgium; Honorary President of the Democratic Association in Brussels.

Menchikoff (Menshihov), Alexander Sergeyevich, Prince (1787-1869)—Russian general and statesman; was sent on an extraordinary mission to Constantinople (1853), Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in the Crimea (1858-55).

Mieroslawski, Ludwik (1814-1878)—prominent figure of the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection and in the 1848-49 revolution; sought for support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s; was proclaimed dictator of the Polish National Government at the beginning of the 1863 Polish insurrection; emigrated to France after its defeat.

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901)—German politician and financier; member of the Communist League in the 1840s; a founder of the National Association (1858); a National-Liberal from the 1860s.

Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de (1749-1791)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, advocate of constitutional monarchy.

Miramón, Miguel (1832-1867)—Mexican general, leader of the Conservative Party; led the counter-revolutionary mutiny against the Liberal government; head of the insurgents' government (1859-60); supported French interventionists and their protégé Maximilian in 1862-67; was shot by Mexican republicans.

Mires, Jules Isaac (1809-1871)—French banker.

Mitchel, Ormsby MacKnight (1809-1862)—American astronomer, director of the observatory in Cincinnati (1845-59); general of the Northern army (1861-62) during the Civil War.

Mithridates VI Eupator (132-63 B.C.)—King of Pontus (Asia Minor), fought three wars against the Romans; was defeated in the third war (74-63 B.C.) first by Lucullus and finally by Pompey.

Mockel—see Kinkel, Johanna

Mocquard, Jean François Constant (1791-1864)—French politician and man of letters, active participant in the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Louis Bonaparte's private secretary and chief of his office from 1848.

Moll, Friedrich (c. 1833-1871)—a worker from Solingen, member of...
the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA in 1864, a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York.—353, 534, 540, 541

Mönnck (Monck), George, Duke of Albemarle (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist, later served in Cromwell's army, helped to restore the Stuarts to power in 1660.—440

Monrad, Ditlev Gothard (1811-1887)—Danish bishop and politician, Minister of Education and Worship (1848, 1859-63), Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (1863-64), leader of the National-Liberal Party in the 1850s.—544

Morton, Robert, Lord (1825-1902)—British politician, Conservative M.P.—299

Montgomery, Alfred.—351

Murray, John (1808-1892)—British publisher.—5

Murray, Jolm (1808-1892)—British publisher.—5

Mussurus Bey (Constantin) (1807-1891)—Turkish diplomat, Greek by birth; envoy (1851-56) and Ambassador (1856-85) to London.—80

Muzembini—Muzembini's acquaintance in London.—79

Muzembini—Muzembini's wife.—80

Murray, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de (1811-1866)—French politician, Bonapartist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; cousin of Napoleon III.—246

Murray, Justin Smith (1810-1898)—American politician, Republican, Congressman from Vermont (1853-67); author of law on protective tariffs (1861).—370

Nasmyth, James (1808-1890)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steamhammer.—411

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—130, 460, 489, 513, 568


Napoleon, Prince—see Bonaparte, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul

Nasmyth, James (1808-1890)—Scottish engineer, inventor of the steamhammer.—411

Mueller-Tellering, Eduard von (born c. 1808)—German lawyer and writer, petty-bourgeois democrat; contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution; libelled Marx and Engels in the press; emigrated to the USA in 1852.—9, 10, 12, 82, 85
Neuhof, Theodor Stephen, Baron von (c. 1686-1756)—son of a Westphalian nobleman, adventurer; in 1736 was proclaimed King of Corsica under the name of Theodore I but soon dethroned; made several abortive attempts (1738, 1743 and 1744) to seize the throne of Corsica.—206

Niebuhr, Barthold Georg (1776-1831)—German historian of the ancient world.—357

Niegolewski, Wladyslaw Maurycy Grzymala (1819-1885)—Polish lawyer and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848), member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies for Posen from 1849.—159

Normanby, Constantine Henry Phipps, Marquess of (1797-1863)—English statesman, Whig M.P., Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1835-39), Secretary for War and the Colonies (1839); Home Secretary (1839-41); Ambassador to Paris (1846-52).—10

Nostitz, August Ludwig Ferdinand, Count von (1777-1866)—Prussian general, close to William I; Sophie von Hatzfeldt’s brother-in-law.—280

Nostitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Nicolas, Count von (1835-1916)—Prussian army officer; August Nostitz’s son and Sophie von Hatzfeldt’s nephew.—280

Nothgung, Peter (1821-1866)—German tailor, member of the Cologne Workers’ Association and of the Communist League; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to six years’ imprisonment.—109, 146

O

Oelhermann—a publisher in Bonn.—201

Ohm—police agent.—245

Oldenburg—dynasty of Danish kings (1448-1863), and of Schleswig-Holstein dukes (1460-1863); Emperor Peter III of Russia (1761-62) also belonged to this dynasty.—541

Oldenburg, August Paul Friedrich—see August Paul Friedrich

Oldham, Williamson Simpson (1813-1868)—American lawyer and politician, Democrat; took part in the rebellion of Southern slave-owners; a member of the Confederacy Congress.—429

Opdyke, George (1805-1880)—American businessman, economist; Mayor of New York (1862-63).—440

Oppenheim—a banker in London.—534

Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard (1819-1880)—German politician, economist and journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of Die Reform (Berlin) in 1848; from 1849, a refugee in Switzerland, France and England; subsequently a National Liberal.—190, 212

Orsini, Felice (1819-1858)—Italian revolutionary, democrat and republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy’s national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—356, 369

Osborne—see Bernai Osborne, Ralph

Oswald, Ernst—former Prussian army officer, took part in Garibaldi’s revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); emigrated to the USA at the end of 1861.—321, 322

Owen, Sir Richard (1804-1892)—
English naturalist, opponent of Darwin's theory of evolution.—465

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—Welsh utopian socialist.—114

Palleske, Emil (1823-1880)—German actor and author.—50

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman; Tory and, from 1830, Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-60).—10, 88, 103, 121, 122, 133, 144, 152, 153, 154, 156, 173, 228, 262, 284, 286, 299, 335, 356, 357, 345, 349, 363, 370, 462, 463, 467, 484, 490, 491, 492, 494, 496, 516, 517, 519, 537, 538, 543, 544, 549, 554

Pam—see Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount

Paracelsus (real name Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim) (1493-1541)—German physician and naturalist.—491

Parker, Sarah—Frederick Engels' housemaid.—344

Patkul, Johann Reinhold (1660-1707)—Livonian nobleman; was in the Russian service from 1702.—471, 541

Patzke—Prussian police official, chief of the Berlin police (late 1850s-early 1860s).—189, 280


Peter I (the Great) (1672-1725)—Russian Tsar (1682-1721); Emperor of Russia from 1721.—470

Peter III (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1762-1762).—471

Peter Nikolaus Friedr. Grand Duke of Oldenburg (1827-1900) —Russia's nominee to the Schleswig-Holstein throne (1864), ceded his claims to it in favour of Prussia in 1866.—549

Pfänder, Karl (c. 1818-1876)—German artist; prominent in German and international working-class movement; refugee in London from 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League Central Authority and later of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—11, 472, 536

Pfau, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von (1779-1866)—Prussian general; commandant of Berlin (March 1848); headed the suppression of the up—
rising in Posen in May 1848; Prime Minister and Minister of War in September-October 1848.—271, 280

Philips—Dutch relatives of Karl Marx.—272, 499

Philips, Antoinette (Nannette) (c. 1837-1885)—Karl Marx’s cousin, daughter of Lion Philips.—269, 272, 274, 276, 283, 311, 313, 320, 322, 503, 504, 507, 508, 510, 550

Philips, August (d. 1895)—Karl Marx’s cousin, lawyer in Amsterdam.—276, 302, 313, 315, 320, 322, 325, 341, 346, 426, 509

Philips, Friedrich (Fritz)—Karl Marx’s cousin, banker in Zalt-Bommel.—314, 310, 511

Philips, Jacques—Karl Marx’s cousin, lawyer in Rotterdam.—276, 277, 279, 283, 286, 313, 509

Philips, Jean—Karl Marx’s cousin, merchant in Aachen.—514

Philips, Karl—Karl Marx’s cousin; merchant in Aachen.—514, 516


Pi de Cosprons, Honoré (duc du Roussillon)—French philologist and historian.—484, 490

Pfeffer, Wilhelm (born c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist; member of the Communist League; refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—511, 553, 576

Pierce, Francis Edwin (d. 1896)—American general. commanded the Northerners’ troops in Virginia.—309

Pierce, Franklin (1804-1869)—14th President of the USA (1853-57); Democrat.—300

Pitt, William (the Younger) (1759-1806)—British statesman. Tory, Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—400

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—492, 580

Plon-Plon—see Bonaparte, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul

Plouc, Parme Carl (1813-1894)—Danish poet. journalist and politician, a National-Liberal, editor of the Faedrelandet (1841-81), member of the Upper Chamber of Rigsdag (Parliament).—554

Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—265

Pope, John (1822-1892)—American general, Republican; commanded a Northern army on the Mississippi (1862) and then in Virginia during the Civil War.—372, 400, 414, 415

Potter, Edmund—British manufacturer and politician, Free Trader; in the early 1860s Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, M.P.—463

Presburg, Martin Isacq (1794-1867)—merchant in Nijmegen, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—499, 502

Pyet, Félix (1810-1889)—French journalist and playwright; politician; petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; from 1849 refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England, later opposed Marx and the First International.—47

Pythagoras (c. 570-c. 500 B.C.)—Greek mathematician and philosopher.—515

Q

Quevauy, François (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the school of Physiocrats; a physician by profession.—381, 485, 487
Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) (c. 35-c. 96) — Roman rhetorician.— 268

R

Racowija, Janko von (d. 1865) — Romanian nobleman, fatally wounded Lassalle in a duel in 1864.— 555, 557, 558

Ranickel — German bookbinder, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat.— 99, 163

Ranke, Leopold von (1795-1886) — German historian, professor at Berlin University, ideologist of the Junkerkom.— 561

Rau, Karl Heinrich (1792-1870).— German economist.— 280

Reclus, Michel Elie (1827-1904) — French ethnographer and journalist, utopian socialist, participated in the 1848 revolution; expelled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; returned in 1855; during the Paris Commune director of the Bibliothèque nationale.— 439

Reiff, Wilhelm Joseph (born c. 1824) — member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, expelled from the League in 1850; a defendant in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to five years' imprisonment.— 3, 4, 85, 134, 135


Ricardo, David (1772-1823) — British economist.— 378, 380, 386, 397, 403, 404, 480, 485

Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de (1585-1642) — French statesman during the period of absolutism, Cardinal.— 289

Richter, Jakob Ferdinand (1814-1875) — German journalist, liberal, publisher of Die Reform.— 234

Rings, L. W. — member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels.— 149, 150

Ripley, Roswell Sabine (1823-1887) — American army officer and military writer; general from 1861, participant in the war against Mexico (1846-48), wrote a history of this war.— 299

Roberts, William Prowting (1806-1871) — English lawyer, participated
in the Chartist and trade union movements.—47

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875)—German economist and politician, proponent of Prussian 'state socialism'.—253, 285, 377, 378

Rode—German refugee in Liverpool.—526

Roegen, Charles—an employee in the firm of Ermen & Engel in Manchester.—21, 112, 121, 134, 211, 392, 447

Rollenhagen, Georg (1542-1609)—German pastor and teacher.—311

Ronge, Johannes (1813-1887)—German clergyman; an initiator of the German Catholics movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to England after its defeat.—28

Roodhuyzen, A.—pastor in Zalt-Bommel, future husband of Antoinette Philips.—510, 515

Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military figure, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); reorganised the Prussian army.—440

Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich (1817-1894)—German economist, professor at Leipzig University, founder of 'historical school' in political economy.—285, 377, 378, 379, 425, 449

Rosen, William Sianke (1819-1898)—American general, commanded Northern troops in Mississippi and Tennessee (1862-63) during the Civil War.—478

Roseck, Christian (1803-1873)—American lawyer and politician, Whig; professor at Louisiana University; championed preservation of the Union.—308

Rosengren, Eduard—German student; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated after its defeat.—70

Röhr, 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; a defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to six years' imprisonment; later sympathised with the Lassalleans.—83

Rössoff (Rostovtsev), Yakov Iwanowitch, Count (1803-1860)—Russian statesman, member of the State Council (1856), took part in the preparation of the Peasant Reform (1861); Chairman of the 'drafting commissions' (1859).—4

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher; Marx's ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s.—70, 82, 101, 259, 381, 556, 573

Ruge, Franziska—Arnold Ruge's daughter.—556

Russell, John Russell, Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—325

Russell, Sir William Howard (1820-1907)—English journalist, military correspondent of The Times in Washington (1861-62).—363

Rügstow, Alexander (1824-1866)—Prussian army officer and military writer; Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow's brother.—383

Rügestow, Cäsar (1826-1866)—Prussian army officer and military writer;
Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow's brother.—383

Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm (1821-1878)—German army officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; chief-of-staff of Garibaldi's troops during the campaign in South Italy (1860); Lassalle's friend.—205, 322, 383, 389, 390, 393, 398, 409, 412, 555, 557

Rutenberg, Adolf (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; editor of the National-Zeitung (1848); a National-Liberal after 1866.—287, 288, 561

Rütten, Joseph Jakob (1805-1878)—head of a publishing house in Frankfurt am Main.—101

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—57

Sasonow, Nikolai Ivanovich (1815-1862)—Russian journalist, democrat and radical; emigrated abroad in the early 1840s; contributed to various newspapers and magazines; Marx's acquaintance.—164, 446

Sauernheimer—German brushmaker; refugee in Switzerland and Chairman of the German Workers' Association in Geneva in the early 1850s.—71, 185

Saul (11th cent. B.C.)—First King of Israel (c. 1025 B.C.).—541

Sas, Jean Baptiste (1767-1832)—French economist.—280

Scheibelitz, 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.—74, 83, 98

Schaible, Karl Heinrich (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to England.—49, 52, 53, 62, 63, 66, 83, 86, 87, 104, 105, 264, 265

Schapper, Karl (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the Communist League Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; resumed contact with Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International.—11, 36, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 91, 92, 83, 93, 133, 147, 242, 428

Schepers, Andreas (1807-1879)—German tailor; member of a Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the Willich-Schapper sectarian group in 1850; later refugee in London; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; publisher of Die Neue Zeit and contributor to Das Volk.—82

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—159, 236, 274, 488, 552

Schily, Victor (1810-1877)—German lawyer, democrat, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, later refugee in France; member of the First International.—29, 33, 34, 48, 71, 92, 130, 133, 138, 155, 156, 168, 164, 182, 202, 215, 237, 240, 247, 316, 321, 324, 350, 356, 362, 420, 466, 568, 579, 580

Schimmelpennig, Alexander (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat, participated in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; supported the
sectarian Willich-Schapper group; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—14, 133

Schleiden, Matthias Jakob (1804-1881)—German botanist, a theorist of the cell structure of organisms.—546, 553

Schleinitz, Alexander, Baron von (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Foreign Affairs (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—177, 284

Schlesinger, Max (1822-1881)—German journalist, emigrated to London in 1848; correspondent of the Kölnische Zeitung.—121, 122, 227

Schlösser, Friedrich Christoph (1776-1861)—German historian.—265

Schmalhausen, Sophie (1816-1883)—Karl Marx’s eldest sister, wife of Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen.—499

Schmalhausen, Wilhelm Robert (1817-1862)—lawyer in Maastricht; Karl Marx’s brother-in-law.—268, 132

Schmeilhauen, Sophie (1816-1883)—Karl Marx’s eldest sister, wife of Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen.—499

Schmeilhauen, Wilhelm Robert (1817-1862)—lawyer in Maastricht; Karl Marx’s brother-in-law.—268, 132

Schmelzer, Anton von (1805-1893)—Austrian liberal statesman; Imperial Minister of the Interior (July-December 1848), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (September-December 1848); Austrian Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (1860-65).—321, 322

Schmelzer, Philippe Charles (1791-1836)—Belgian physician and palaeontologist.—473

Schmidt—agent of a ship company, Chairman of the Association of German Men in London; member of the London branch of the National Association.—310

Schmidt, Heinrich Julian Aurel (1818-1886)—German critic and historian of literature; moderate liberal; supported Bismarck from 1866.—377

Schneider II, Karl—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (1848); defended Marx and Engels at the trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung on 7 February 1849; counsel for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852).—73, 93, 97, 146, 150, 151, 289

Schöler, Caroline (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne; friend of the Marx family.—165

Schönberg, Countess.—148

Schramm, Conrad (Konrad) c. 1822-1858)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League; refugee in London from 1849; responsible editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—96, 97, 534

Schramm, Rudolf (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution; opposed Marx; supporter of Bismarck in the 1860s; Conrad Schramm’s brother.—366, 497, 580

Schröder—German refugee in London.—3

Schröder, E.—agent for the firm of Ermen & Engels in Amsterdam.—346

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist and politician; advocated unification of Germany under Prussia’s supremacy; a founder of the National Association; a leader of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; tried to detract workers from the revolutionary struggle by organising cooperative societies.—418, 467, 470, 480, 561, 580

Schulze-Delitzsch, Karl (1829-1906)—German petty-bourgeois democrat; parti-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pant in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA, where he took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; later American statesman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schwabe</td>
<td>merchant in Manchester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwabenbe, Eugen Alexis</td>
<td>German journalist, contributed in the <em>Kölische Zeitung</em> (1847-49).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwann, Theodor</td>
<td>German biologist; founder of the theory of the cell structure of organisms in 1839.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schwart—Chief Public Prosecutor of the Prussian Royal Court of Appeal.</td>
<td>131, 144, 148, 186, 219</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schwarm, Wilhelm</td>
<td>member of the board of the Great Industrial Exhibition in London (1862).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schweiert, Ludwig</td>
<td>former Austrian army officer, member of the National Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheuerin, Maximilian Heinrich Karl, Count von</td>
<td>Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Public Education and Medicine (March-June 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); Minister of the Interior (1859-62); later National Liberal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Winfield</td>
<td>American general, Commander-in-Chief of the US army (1841-November 1861).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searle, Joseph Alfred</td>
<td>(pen-name Manhattan)—American journalist, supporter of the Democrats; during the Civil War New York correspondent of the London papers <em>The Morning Herald</em> and <em>The Evening Standard</em>; opposed the policy of the Lincoln Administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldon, James Alexander</td>
<td>American statesman, Democrat; War Secretary of the Confederacy (1862-65) during the Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seel, Johann Richard</td>
<td>German cartoonist, Engels' acquaintance in the 1840s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servius (Quintus Servius)</td>
<td>(c. 122-72 B.C.)—Roman politician and general; praetor in Spain (83-81 B.C.); led the struggle of the Iberian tribes against Rome (80-72 B.C.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seward, William Henry</td>
<td>American statesman; a leader of the Right-wing Republicans; governor of New York State (1839-43); Senator from 1849; candidate for the presidency (1860); Secretary of State (1861-69); advocated a compromise with the Southern slaveowners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of</td>
<td>(1801-1883)—British politician; head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s; a Whig from 1847; Palmerston's son-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare, William</td>
<td>English poet and dramatist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft</td>
<td>(1797-1851)—English writer; Percy Bysshe Shelley's second wife; wrote <em>Frankenstein</em> or the <em>Modern Prometheus</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherman, William Tecumseh</td>
<td>(1820-1891)—American general and politician; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners (1861-65); in May-December 1864 commanded the troops that made a successful &quot;march to the sea&quot;; commander-in-chief of the US army (1869-84).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney, Herbert</td>
<td>British lawyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siebel—merchant in Barmen, Carl Siebel's father.</td>
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Siebel, Reinhilde—Carl Siebel's wife.—179, 206, 239, 289, 374, 375

Sigel, Franz (1824-1902)—German army officer, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolutionary movement in Baden; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; went to the USA in 1852, where he took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—372

Simon, Edouard (1824-1897)—French journalist, born in Berlin; Bonapartist spy.—223, 225

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 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, lived in Paris (1855-70).—84, 187, 212, 228, 233, 254, 235, 299

Simons, Ludwig (1803-1870)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Minister of Justice (1849-60).—248

Simons, Martin Eduard Sigismund von (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; member and President (from December 1848 to May 1849) of the Frankfurt National Assembly; imperial commissioner to Berlin (November 1848); member (from 1859) and President (1860-61) of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.—288

Sippel—German refugee in England in the 1850s-60s.—351

Slidell, John (1793-1871)—American politician, member of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs; advocate of secession; in autumn 1861 was sent on a diplomatic mission to France by the Confederacy; commissioner of the Confederacy in Paris (1862-65).—329, 336

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish classical economist.—391, 396, 397, 403, 411, 479, 485

Socrates (470 or 469-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—377

Solms, Marie Laetitia Studolmine (1833-1902)—French writer and journalist; Louis Bonaparte's niece.—456

Sommer—Prussian police agent in Paris in the early 1850s.—148

Soulouque, Faustin Élie (c. 1782-1867)—President of the Republic of Haiti (1847-49), proclaimed himself Emperor of Haiti under the name of Faustin I (1849-59); the anti-Bonapartist press ironically referred to Napoleon III as Soulouque.—319

Spartacus (d. 71 B.C.)—Roman gladiator who headed the biggest revolt of slaves in Rome (73-71 B.C.).—265

Speck—assistant manager of Das Volk.—121

Spruce, James—merchant in Liverpool, the Times correspondent; repeatedly came out in defence of Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—371, 372, 431, 489

Spilthoorn, Charles Louis (1804-1872)—Belgian lawyer; republican; took part in the democratic movement and the Belgian revolution of 1830; member of the Brussels Democratic Association; President of the Ghent Democratic Association.—107

Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—512
Spurzheim, Johann Kaspar (Christoph) (1776-1832)—German phrenologist.—546

Stahr, Adolf Wilhelm Theodor (1805-1876)—German writer, author of historical novels and works dealing with the history of art and literature.—92

Stahr, Fanny (née Lewald) (1811-1889)—German writer.—92

Stanbury, G.—owner of a printshop in London in the 1850s.—149

Standau, Julius—German teacher, took part in the German democratic movement in the 1830s-40s and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution; an editor of Die Stimme des Volkes in 1860.—183

Stanton, Edwin McMasters (1814-1869)—American lawyer and statesman; Attorney-General (1860-61); Secretary of War (January 1862 to 1868); took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—372, 373, 386, 387

Stechen, Gottlieb Ludwig (born c. 1814)—Hanover joiner, member of the Communist League, after the split in the League in 1850 belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; rejoined the supporters of Marx and Engels in December 1851; headed a workers' society in London from January 1852.—147

Stecher, G.K.—former headmaster of a secondary school in Baden; emigrated after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; engaged in lithography.—190

Steffen, Wilhelm—former Prussian army officer, witness for the defence at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); emigrated to England in 1853, later to the USA; closely associated with Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—103, 376, 416

Stein, Julius (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and democratic journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; an editor of the Neue Oder-Zeitung in the 1850s; editor of the Breslauer Zeitung from 1862.—69, 282

Stein, Maximilian, Baron (1811-1860)—Austrian army officer; chief of staff of the revolutionary army during the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat emigrated to Turkey where he assumed the name of Ferhad Pasha; fought against Russia in the Caucasus (1857-58).—493

Steinthal—owner of the Manchester trading firm in which Georg Weerth was employed in 1852-56.—525, 547

Stieber, 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 Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.—12, 16, 44, 54, 72, 73, 74, 80, 93, 140, 141, 145, 51, 187, 197, 241, 244, 245, 248, 287

Stierlin—German liberal journalist, member of the Democratic Association in Münster; correspondent of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—289

Steffesen, Ludvig (b. 1815)—German teacher of music; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; in 1850 emigrated to England where he became a religious poet.—106, 111

Stone, Charles Pansey (1824-1887)—American general; commanded the Northern troops in Virginia (1861); after the defeat at Ball's Bluff (October 1861) was arrested on suspicion of high treason; released in August 1862.—345

Streit, Feodor (1820-1904)—German
lawyer, journalist and publisher; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a leader of the National Association.—309, 310

Strohn, Wilhelm—member of the Communist League; a friend of Marx and Engels; refugee in Bradford, England.—46, 366, 527, 541

Stücker—Aulic Councillor.—391

Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla) (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, consul (88 B.C.), dictator (82-79 B.C.).—255

Sumner, Edwin Vose (1797-1863)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; commanded two corps in the battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1862.—457, 458

Sumner, John Bird (1780-1862)—English clergyman, Archbishop of Canterbury (1848-62).—465

Süss-Oppenheimer, Joseph (1692-1753)—as court financier to Charles Alexander, Duke of Württemberg, he was in charge of his treasury and all his affairs; hated by the people for his machinations; executed.—534

Søv, Peder Pedersen (1631-1702)—Danish linguist, poet; published a popular collection of Danish folk-songs.—160, 375

Szépmévi, Bartoloméus (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.—5, 17, 18, 27, 34, 106, 111, 123, 133, 134, 135, 156, 157, 181, 210, 214, 215, 222, 228, 229, 230

Taylor, John Edward (1831-1905)—owner and editor-in-chief of The Manchester Guardian.—456

Techeau, Gustav Adolf (1813-1893)—Prussian army officer, democrat; participant in the 1848 revolutionary events in Berlin, Chief of the General Staff of the Palatinate revolutionary army; emigrated to Switzerland, became a leader of the Revolutionary Centralisation, a refugee organisation; moved to Australia in 1852.—14, 22, 52, 58, 89, 98-99, 138, 179, 202, 225, 568

Tellering—see Müller-Tellering, Eduard von

Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) (c. 195-159 B.C.)—Roman comic verse dramatist.—57, 90, 236, 363

Terentianus Maurus (latter half of the 2nd cent.)—Roman grammarian.—20

Thimm, Franz—bookseller in Manchester in the 1850s-60s.—255

Thompson, Jacob (1810-1885)—American statesman, Democrat, Secretary of the Interior (1857-61) in the Buchanan Administration.—307

Thucydides (Thukydides) (c. 460-406 B.C.)—Greek historian.—292

Thudichum, Friedrich Wolfgang Karl (1831-1913)—German historian of law; professor in Tübingen from 1862.—498

Tietz, Friedrich Wilhelm (born c. 1823)—German tailor, member of the Communist League, after its split in 1850 belonged to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group.—148

Toucey, Isaac (1792-1869)—American statesman, lawyer, Democrat; General-Attorney (1848-49), Senator (1852-57), Secretary of the Navy (1857-61) in the Buchanan Administration.—307
Trübner, Nikolaus (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London. 224, 297

Tscharner, Johann Karl (1812-1879)—Swiss lawyer and radical journalist, an editor of the newspaper Der Bund. 159

Tschernyschew (Chernyshev), Alexander Ivanovich, Prince (1785-1857)—Russian general and statesman, fought in the wars against Napoleonic France; headed War Ministry (1828-52). 367

Türr, István (Ahmed Kiamil Bey) (1825-1908)—Hungarian army officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Italy and Germany; fought in the Crimean War on the side of the Allies; took part in the Garibaldi’s revolutionary campaign in South Italy (1860); general of the Italian army (from 1861). 182, 205, 322, 356, 362, 493

Tussy—see Marx, Eleanor

Tuwen, Karl (1820-1870)—German politician, lawyer, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1861) and North German Imperial Diet (from 1867); a leader of the Party of Progress; a founder of the National-Liberal Party (1866). 361

U

Uhland, Johann Ludwig (1787-1862)—German romantic poet, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left centre) in 1848-49. 160, 163

Ullendorff—German democrat, member of the Cologne Workers’ Association. 90

Ullon Calì, Girolamo (1810-1891)—Italian army officer, took part in the national liberation and revolutionary movements in Italy in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to France; commanded the Tuscan army in the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859. 174

Ulmer, Johann—member of the Communist League, refugee in London in the early 1850s; supporter of Marx and Engels during the split in the Communist League. 149

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turcophile; carried out diplomatic missions in Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of The Free Press. 8, 10, 21, 28, 46, 63, 64, 95, 103, 142, 152, 158, 154, 175, 339, 341, 348, 355, 454, 484, 491, 492, 497, 536, 537, 562, 584

Varriale, Giambattista (1668-1744)—Italian philosopher and lawyer. 533, 535, 537

Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878)—King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of
Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of 
Great Britain and Ireland (1837-
1901).—121, 122, 144, 329, 350,
535, 537

Vidocq, François Eugène (1775-1857)—French secret police agent; chief of the secret criminal police (1812-27); his name was used to denote any cunning sleuth and rogue.—80,
244, 245

Vincke, Georg, Baron von (1811-
1875)—Prussian politician, a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfort National Assembly in 1848-49; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849; member of the Chamber of Deputies in the Prussian Provincial Diet in the 1850s-
60s; moderate liberal.—154, 262,
280, 288, 289, 305, 461

Virchow, Rudolf (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—418, 494

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19
B.C.)—Roman poet.—283, 288,
451, 475

Vissering, Simon (1818-1888)—Dutch economist and statistician.—509

Vögele (Voegele), August—German refugee, compositor in Hollinger's printshop in London (1859).—31, 36-39, 41, 46, 47, 53, 60-65, 85

Vogler, Carl Georg (born c. 1820)—German publisher in Brussels; member of the Communist League.—101

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German naturalist; deputy in the Frankfort National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regiments (June 1849); refugee in Switzerland from 1849; in the 1830s-60s received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—6, 9, 10, 12-20,
22-28, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 48, 49,
51-58, 60-64, 66, 67, 69, 76-79, 81,
82, 84-89, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 99,
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205, 206, 211, 212, 217, 218, 219,
224, 225, 226, 228, 231-34, 252,
257, 262, 268, 362, 435, 478, 479,
537

Voltaire (pen-name for François Marie
Arouet) (1694-1778)—French philoso-
pher, writer and historian of the Enlighten-
ment.—265

Wagener, Hermann (1815-1889)— 
German journalist and politician, editor of the Neue Preussische Zeitung (1848-54); a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party.—288, 289, 494

Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo (1802-
1870)—German radical politician and lawyer; a Left-wing leader and Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848; deputy in the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet (from 1861) and North German Imperial Diet (from 1867); a leader of the Party of Progress.—289

Waldsee, Friedrich Gustav, Count von
(1795-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, Minister of War (1874-58).—200, 201

Walesrode, Ludwig Reinhold (1810-
1889)—German democratic journalist; publisher of the Demokratische Studien (1860-61).—124, 190, 247, 253

Wallace, Lewis (1827-1905)—American general, fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union; commandant a division in Tennessee (1862).—360

Watteau, Louis (pen-name Denonville)
(b. 1824)—French physician and
journalist; took part in the French revolutionary movement in the 1840s-early 1850s; later refugee in Belgium; Louis Auguste Blanqui's close friend.—298, 318, 326

Watts, John (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later a liberal.—444, 445, 447


Weber, Joseph Valentin (1814-1895)—German watch-maker, took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848; refugee in Switzerland, later in London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—77, 297, 300, 302, 339, 472, 517

Weert, Georg (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; shop assistant; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—43, 89, 99, 113, 115-16, 123, 172, 183, 184, 376, 571, 572, 573, 575

Weydemeyer, Louise—Joseph Weydemeyer's wife.—569-76

Wiehe—Johann Friedrich Wiehe's wife.—31, 37

Wicke, Johann Friedrich—composer in Hollinger's printshop in London (1859).—30-33, 36-39, 42, 47, 49, 53, 61, 62, 63, 85, 86, 105, 188

Wigand, Otto (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which published works of radical authors.—201

William (1845-1913)—son of King Christian IX of Denmark, King of the Hellenes under the name of George I (1863-1913).—544

William I (the Conqueror) (1027-1087)—King of England (1066-87).—537, 544
William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia; Prince Regent (1838-61); King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—154, 159, 173, 189, 197, 241, 248, 249, 257, 264, 270, 280, 281, 312, 314, 319, 325, 328, 331, 361, 373, 418, 428, 429, 431, 503, 519, 537, 544, 576

Williams—bookseller in London.—502

Willich, August (1810-1878)—Prussian army officer, retired for political reasons; member of the Communist League; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the US in 1853; general in the Northern army during the Civil War.—14, 71, 73, 78, 89, 91, 97, 98, 115, 133, 147, 206, 262, 360, 371, 416

Willis, Robert (1800-1875)—English scientist, mechanical engineer and archaeologist; gave lectures to workers in 1854-67.—449

Wilson, James (1805-1860)—British economist and politician; Free Trader, founder and editor of The Economist; financial secretary to the Treasury (1853-58); Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer (1859-60).—165

Winter—Prussian official; chief of police in Berlin from the middle of 1861.—305, 312

Wiss, Georg Eduard—German physician and journalist; Young Hegelian; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in the early 1850s; associate of Kinkel.—89, 90

Wolf(j), Ferdinand (Red Wolff) (1812-1895)—German journalist, member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49; emigrated from Germany after the 1848-49 revolution; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently gave up politics.—109, 165, 445, 488, 576, 579

Wolf (Wolfius), Friedrich August (1739-1824)—German philologist, student of ancient culture and Homer's epic poems in particular.—357

Wolffers, Franz Anton von (b. 1813)—German journalist, Belgian by birth; member of the editorial board of the Kölnische Zeitung in 1847-49.—241

Wolf, Bernhard (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin National-Zeitung from 1848, founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—122, 287, 288


Wolfram von Eschenbach (1170-1220)—German Minnesinger poet, author of the Parzival, a poem of chivalry (1198-1210; published in 1783).—563

Wood—lawyer in Manchester.—536
Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von (1784-1877)—Prussian general, took part in the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia and dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848; commander-in-chief of the Prussian and Austrian forces during the war with Denmark. (1864).— 506

Wyke, Sir Charles Lennox (1815-1897)—British diplomat, minister plenipotentiary (1860-61) and special representative (1862-63) in Mexico.— 349, 350

Wyse, Thomas (1791-1862)—British politician and diplomat, Lord of the Treasury (1830-41); envoy in Athens (1849-62); Lucien Bonaparte’s son-in-law in the 1820s.— 456

Young.— 341

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Z


Zamacona, Manuel—Mexican journalist and politician; Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1861.— 349, 350

Zamoyski, Wladislaw, Count (1803-1868)—Polish magnate and general; took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; after its defeat a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist refugees in Paris.— 484, 491, 492

Zang, August (1807-1888)—Austrian liberal journalist, founder and publisher of the Viennese newspaper Die Presse; member of the Lower Austria Provincial Diet.— 323

Zell—notary in Trier.— 499

Zerfaffi, Gustav (Hirsch) (1820-1892)—Hungarian journalist, after the 1848-49 revolution a refugee in Turkey, in Paris from 1851, and in London from the spring of 1853; secret agent of the Austrian police; Kinkel’s follower; member of the London branch of the National Association.— 297, 301, 302, 310, 319

Zemin, Eduard—German journalist, publisher of the Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung.— 32

Zimmermann, Ernst Wilhelm Eduard—Burgomaster of Spandau, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing); emigrated to England after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution.— 46, 182, 188, 232, 235, 246, 268, 327

Zinn—German refugee in London, compositor in Hirschfeld’s printshop in London; founded the Association of German Men in 1858.— 4, 208

Žižka, Jan (c. 1360-1424)—Bohemian general and a Hussite leader.— 235

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Abraham (Bib.).— 411, 511

Achilles (Gr. myth.)—the bravest Greek hero in the Trojan War, the central figure in Homer’s Iliad.— 563

Amphitryon (Gr. myth.)—King of Tiryns. His name was associated with lavish hospitality.— 283

Ariadne (Gr. myth.)—daughter of Minos, King of Crete, who gave
Theseus—see Dionysus

Brother Merry—the title character of a fairy-tale by the Grimm brothers.—582

Buddha—the title applied to Siddhartha Gautama, a religious philosopher and the founder of Buddhism.—282, 285

Christ, Jesus (Bib.).—511

Circe—a sorceress in Homer’s Odyssey who turned Odysseus’ companions into swine.—274

Custard—the clown in Shakespeare’s comedy Love’s Labour’s Lost.—265

Crispinus—a character from a satire by Juvenal, a courtier of the Roman Emperor Domitian.—327

Dionysus (Bacchus) (Gr. and Rom. myth.)—god of wine and fertility.—275

Don Juan—legendary nobleman; a libertine; hero of plays, poems, and operas in several European languages.—262, 389, 558

Don Quixote—the title character of Cervantes’ novel.—115, 289

Dundreary—the main character of Tom Taylor’s satirical comedy Our American Cousin.—494, 518

Egeria (Rom. myth.)—the nymph who advised the Roman king Numa Pompilius.—275

Falstaff, Sir John—a character in Shakespeare’s Merry Wives of Windsor and King Henry IV; a sly, fat braggart and jester.—171

Faust—hero of the medieval German legend and of Goethe’s tragedy.—546

Frankenstein—the title character of Mary W. Shelley’s novel; he creates a monster that destroys him; from his name being taken to be the name of the monster he created, Frankenstein also came to denote anything that becomes dangerous to its creator.—503

Godfrey of Bouillon—the hero of Turquato Tasso’s Gerusalemme liberata, an idealised knight of the First Crusade (1096-99).—302, 304

Heineke—a servant and athlete, hero of a German song, a parody on the so-called Grobian literature of the 16th century; Karl Heinzen’s nickname.—283

Ibeles, Johannes—a character in Johann Kinkel’s novel Hans Ibeles in London.—580

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Belletristisches Journal and New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung—a weekly founded by German petty-bourgeois emigrants in New York in 1852 and published under this title from March 18, 1853 to March 10, 1854. In 1853 the paper printed articles libelling Marx and the other proletarian revolutionaries associated with him.—74, 89, 98-99, 227

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Breslauer Zeitung—a German daily, founded in Breslau (Wroclaw) in 1820.—227, 282, 529, 558, 588

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Cobbett's Weekly Political Register—a radical weekly published in London from 1802 to 1835 under different titles.—336

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Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a German newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1878.—227

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 financially backed by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. The newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—94

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Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearbook published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge: only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—104, 404

The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper—a weekly published in London since 1843 under different subtitles; organ of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—165, 345, 348, 369
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*Elberfelder Zeitung*—a German daily published from 1834 to 1904; a liberal bourgeois newspaper in the 1860s.—417

*L'Esperance*—a Bonapartist paper published in Geneva in 1859-62.—156

*The Evening Post*—a daily published in New York from 1801 to 1934; a newspaper of the Republican Party from 1856.—394, 404, 406

*The Examiner*—an English liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—82

*Faedrelandet*—a Danish newspaper published in Copenhagen weekly from 1834 to 1839 and then daily; a semi-official organ of the Danish government from 1848; a conservative paper in the second half of the 19th century.—554

*Frankfurter Journal*—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the 17th century to 1903.—27, 30, 227

*The Free Press. Journal of the Foreign Affairs Committees*—a journal on questions of foreign policy, opposed to the Palmerston government; it was published by David Urquhart and his supporters in London from 1855 to 1865 (weekly until April 1858 and then monthly); in 1866 it was renamed *Diplomatic Review*. It printed several works by Marx.—8, 12, 41, 59, 62, 65, 70, 103, 125, 152, 175, 286, 341, 344, 347, 351, 356, 359, 362, 383, 429, 431, 453, 484, 494, 497, 536, 549, 552

*Der Freischütz*—a literary and artistic newspaper published in Hamburg from 1825 to 1878.—227, 238-39, 243, 284, 277

*Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt*—a German literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903, and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.—55, 245, 354

*Gazette*—see *The London Gazette*

*Genfer Grenzpost. Eine Wochenschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft und Kunst*—a German-language weekly published in Geneva in 1860-61; the editor of the paper was August Bräh.—234, 238, 243, 235

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*The Globe and Traveller*—a daily published in London from 1803 to 1921; organ of the Whigs until 1866, and later of the Conservatives.—264

*Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur*—a German liberal weekly published in Leipzig from 1841 to 1922.—541

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*Guardian*—see *The Manchester Guardian*

*Hamburger Correspondent*—see *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheiischen Correspondenten*

*Hamburger Nachrichten*—a daily published from 1792; during the 1848-49 revolution, it expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie demanding an Imperial
Constitution; in the years of reaction it supported the Prussian monarchy; official organ of Bismarck at the end of the century.—227

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Historische Deutsche Monatsschrift—a German magazine published in Brunswick.—227

How Do You Do?—a German-language humorous weekly published in London in the 1850s by Louis Drucker and edited by Beta (Beutzeit).—245

Illinois Staats-Zeitung—a German-language daily published in Illinois (USA) from 1851 to 1922.—119

The Illustrated London News—a weekly published since 1842.—227

Illustrirte Zeitung—a German weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the mid-19th century was of a moderate liberal orientation.—227

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Journal de Saint-Petersbourg—a daily newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs; published under this title in French from 1823 to 1914.—508

Karlsruher Zeitung—a daily newspaper published from 1757, official gazette of the Grand Duchy of Baden.—25, 227

Kladderadatsch—a satirical illustrated weekly published in Berlin from 1848, originally of a liberal and later national-liberal orientation.—311

Kölner Anzeiger—see Kölner Anzeiger und Rheinische Handels-Zeitung

Kölnerische Zeitung—see Kölner Zeitung

Kölnerische Zeitung—a daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in the period of reaction following it, expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie. From 1831 it was published by Joseph du Mont.—3, 27, 30, 39, 47, 61-62, 70, 121, 140, 145, 147, 164, 227, 239, 241, 250, 529, 558

Kölner Anzeiger und Rheinische Handels-Zeitung—a German daily published under this title in the 1860s.—239, 248

Kolokol (KOAOKOJI7>) (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (La Cloche) with supplements in Russian; it was published in London until 1865, then in Geneva.—454, 456

Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—288

Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen—a German daily published in Berlin from 1785; also known as Vossische Zeitung after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—117, 140.
Königsberger Hartung'sche Zeitung—a German paper published under this title from 1850; founded in 1752, and till 1850 appeared under the title Königlich-Preußische Staats-Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung.—227

Kreuz-Zeitung—see Neue Preußische Zeitung

The Leader—a liberal weekly founded in London in 1850.—82

The London Gazette—a British government newspaper published under this title twice a week since 1666.—288, 536

Londoner Lithographirte Korrespondenz—a German-language information bulletin, published in London by Max Schlesinger.—227

The Macon Daily Journal and Messenger—an American newspaper published in Macon, Georgia.—307

Mainzer Zeitung—a German paper, published from 1802; in 1848 its editor was Ludwig Bamberger.—212

Manchester Daily Examiner and Times—a liberal newspaper, founded in 1848 as a result of the merger of the Manchester Times and the Manchester Examiner; published under various titles until 1894.—359

The Manchester Guardian—a daily founded in 1821; a newspaper of the Free Traders and, from the mid-19th century, of the Liberal Party.—185, 209, 219, 227, 258, 321, 328, 456, 506

Mannheimer Journal—a German daily, founded in 1790; published under this title from 1837 to 1886.—227

Märkische Volks-Zeitung—a German paper published in Hagen.—417

Militärische Blätter—see Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung

Militärische Zeihtung—a German weekly published in Berlin from 1860 to 1874.—9

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Mittelrheinische Zeitung—a German daily, founded in March 1848; published under this title in Wiesbaden from 1851 to 1874.—134, 139-40

Mobile Advertiser and Register—an American paper published in Mobile, Alabama, from 1861 to 1863.—308

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.—175, 462

Morgenblatt—see Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser

Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser—a German daily literary paper published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1807 to 1865; in 1840 and 1841 it printed several articles by Engels.—44, 227

The Morning Advertiser—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1860s it was a newspaper of the radical bourgeoisie.—55, 82, 86, 236

The Morning Herald—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—501, 452

The Morning Post—a daily published in London from 1772 to 1837; in the mid-19th century organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped round Palmerston.—531, 544

The Morning Star—a daily of the English Free Traders published in London from 1856 to 1869.—33, 246, 366-61, 452
Le National—a daily published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; the newspaper of the moderate republicans.—115


La Nazione. Giornale politico quotidiano—a daily published in Florence from 1859.—255, 262

Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily published in Darmstadt from July 1, 1848 to April 1, 1849 and then in Frankfurt am Main until it was suppressed on December 14, 1850. Joseph Weydemeyer was one of its editors.—99, 118

Neue England Zeitung—a German-language daily published by the petty-bourgeois refugees in Boston (USA) from 1846 to 1853; Joseph Weydemeyer was among its contributors.—98

Neue Oder-Zeitung—a German democratic daily published in Breslau (Wroclaw) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical paper in Germany; Marx was its London correspondent in 1855.—44, 69, 91

Das Neue Portfolio. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Dokumente und Aktenstücke zur Zeitgeschichte—a periodical collection of diplomatic documents and papers published in Berlin in 1839-60 under the editorship of Eduard Fischel, Urquhart’s supporter.—10, 152

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles, also known as the Kreuz-Zeitung because the heading contained a cross bearing the device: "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!".—76, 85, 190, 227, 239, 241, 246, 249, 288, 329, 440, 478

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 Marx’s editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848. Engels was among its editors.—87, 90-93, 98, 100-103, 117, 125, 106, 193-94, 202, 232, 289, 354, 546

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a theoretical journal of the Communist League published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850.—96, 102, 259

Neue Schweizer Zeitung—a radical weekly published in Geneva by the German refugee August Braß in 1859-60.—105, 118

Neue Süddeutsche—see Süddeutsche Zeitung

Die Neue Zeit. Organ der Demokratie—a newspaper of the German refugee workers; was published in London from June 1858 in April, 1859.—82

Neue Zürcher-Zeitung—a Swiss paper published in German from 1821; pro-Bonapartist in the 1850s and 1860s.—227

The New Orleans True Delta—an American paper published in New Orleans, Louisiana, from 1835 to 1866.—308

New-York Daily Tribune—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the

*The New-York Herald*—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published in New York from 1835 to 1924.—345

*The New-York Times*—a daily newspaper founded in 1851, later organ of the Republican Party.—107

*New-Yorker Abendzeitung*—a German-language newspaper published by petty-bourgeois democratic refugees in the USA in the 1850s.—227

*New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—see *Belletristisches Journal und New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German-language democratic daily published from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—98, 114, 227

*Niederdeutsche Volks-Zeitung, Düsseldorfer Journal*—a German daily published in Düsseldorf from 1848 to 1862; from 1863 it was published under the title of *Rheinische Zeitung*—417

*Nordstern*—a German weekly published in Hamburg in 1860-66; from 1863 it expressed Lassalle views.—264, 489

*The North Alabamian*—an American weekly published under this title in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, from 1831 to 1907.—308

*North British Daily Mail*—a liberal bourgeois paper founded in Glasgow in 1847.—408

*The Observer*—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—203

*L'Opinion nationale*—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—203

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—an Austrian daily of the moderate liberals published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—227

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly, founded in London in May 1852 by Ernest Jones and published until 1858; from October 1852 to December 1856 Marx and Engels contributed to the newspaper and helped with the editorial work.—82, 103, 154

*Portfolio*—see *Das Neue Portfolio*

*Press*—see *The Free Press*

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1894; in 1861 and 1862, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, it printed a number of articles and reports by Marx.—227, 278-80, 292, 321, 323, 325, 327, 392-33, 338, 340, 344, 349, 351, 354, 370, 388, 394, 408

*Preußische Gerichts-Zeitung*—a liberal weekly published in Berlin from 1859 to 1866; beginning with No. 44 for 1861 it appeared under the title of *Deutsche Gerichts-Zeitung*. Its editor-in-chief was K.Ch.E. Hiersemznel.—248, 282

*Preußisches Wochenblatt*—a conservative weekly published in Berlin from 1891 to 1861.—257
**Die Preußische Zeitung**—a daily published in Berlin from 1851 to 1859; organ of the Manteuffel and later of Hohenzollern-Auerswald Ministries.—270, 288

**Le Progrès de Lyon**—a daily published from 1860.—362

**Der Publicist**—a liberal newspaper published in Berlin from 1845 to 1874.—16, 27, 30, 47, 227, 243

**Die Reform**—a liberal daily published in Hamburg in 1848-92.—25, 27, 30, 105, 129, 134, 167, 218, 227, 234, 243

**Republik der Arbeiter**—a workers’ weekly published by Wilhelm Weitling in New York from 1850 to 1855; it voiced the views of the representatives of the egalitarian communism.—90

**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.—43

**Revue**—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue

**Reynolds’s Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence**—a radical weekly published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement.—338

**Rheinische Zeitung**—a German daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1863 to 1866, and in Cologne from 1867 to 1874.—535

**Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe**—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. Marx began to contribute to it in April 1842, and from 15 October of the same year to 17 March 1843 he was one of its editors.—101

**Richmond Enquirer**—an American paper published under various titles in Richmond, Virginia, from 1804 to 1877.—489

**Richmond Examiner**—an American paper published in Richmond, Virginia, from 1845 to 1866.—562

**Rostocker Zeitung**—a German daily founded in 1711 and published under this title from 1847 in 1927.—227

**The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art**—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—227

**Schlesische Zeitung**—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742 to 1949; the newspaper of the constitutional monarchists on the eve of and during the 1848-49 revolution; a conservative newspaper in the 1860s.—282

**Schwäbischer Merkur**—a German liberal daily published in Stuttgart from 1785 to 1885.—227

**Schweizer Handels-Courier**—a weekly published in Biel (Canton of Berne). It appeared under this title from 1853 to 1909; expressed Bonapartist views in the 1850s and 1860s; its editors were closely connected with Karl Vogt.—22, 66, 166

**Le Siècle**—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1839; a moderate republican newspaper in the 1860s.—362

**The Spectator**—a weekly published in London from 1828; at first liberal, then conservative.—82

**Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheischen Correspondenten**—a monarchist daily published from 1814 to 1869.—361

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