MARX TO LONDON BOOKSELLER

[London,] 14 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Will you send me,
The 2 reports on the Orissa famine;
'The Hours of Labour Regulation Act', as soon as it is printed, and ditto:
'The Artisans' and Labourers' Dwelling Bill'.

Yours truly
Karl Marx

---

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 August 1867

Dear Moor,

Encl. 3 £5-notes I/V 65551
  "  "  65113
  "  "  44954
Manchester 29 January 1866

and the tax-slip returned. In these circumstances, it is essential that my return be kept a secret from Borkheim, so that I do not

---

a This presumably refers to P. St. King. 
b Marx refers to East India (Bengal and Orissa Famine). Papers and Correspondence relative to the Famine in Bengal and Orissa, including the Report of the Famine Commission and the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Governor General of India... Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 31 May 1867; East India (Madras and Orissa Famine). Return to an Address of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 4 July 1867. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30 July 1867. 
c An Act for Regulating the Hours of Labour for Children, Young Persons, and Women employed in Workshops..., 21 August 1867.
need to pay him until as late as possible in September, otherwise I shall be completely stuck, since you will understand that I too have a mass of payments to make here, especially in the new half-year. Furthermore, consequent upon the fall in the price of yarns, we are having to enter the stock in the accounts at approx. £2,500 less than by the prices which applied at the time of my departure. Which is not very pleasant either!

When do you wish to have some of the sheets returned? Schorlemmer asked me to pass them on to him a few at a time, as I finished with them, but that naturally depends on you. I have now read the thing through to the end (cursorily) and definitely think that the second volume is also indispensable, and the sooner you finish it, the better. I am now looking through the whole thing again, i.e., the more theoretical aspects. The fellows will be astonished to see with what consummate ease the most difficult points, such as Ricardo's theory of profit, are dealt the coup de grâce here 'in this way'.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

Lupus was born in Tarnau on 21 June 1809, died 9 May 1864.

---

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

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

---

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 August 1867, 2.0 a.m.

DEAR FRED,

Have just finished correcting the last sheet (49th) of the book. The appendix—Form of Value—in small print, takes up 1 1/4 sheets. of the first volume of *Capital* - Polish name: Tarnów - Marx wanted to know this because he meant to dedicate the first volume of his *Capital* to Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus).
Marx’s letter to Engels of 16 August 1867

...
242. Engels to Marx. 23 August 1867

Preface ditto returned corrected yesterday. So, this volume is finished. I owe it to you alone that it was possible! Without your self-sacrifice for me I could not possibly have managed the immense labour demanded by the 3 volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!

Enclosed 2 sheets of corrected proofs.
The £15 received with best thanks.
Salut, my dear, valued friend.

Your
K. Marx

I do not need to have the corrected proofs back until the book is completely out.

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

Printed according to the original

242

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 August 1867

Dear Moor,

I have now worked through as far as sheet 36\(^a\) approx., and I congratulate you on the comprehensive way in which the most complex economic problems are elucidated simply and almost sensuously merely by arranging them suitably and by placing them in the right context. Likewise, in respect of subject-matter, on the quite splendid exposition of the relationship between labour and capital—for the first time here in its full context and complete. I was also greatly diverted to see how you have worked your way into the language of technology, which must surely have given you much trouble and on which account I had various misgivings. I have corrected several slips of the pen in pencil in the margin, and also ventured to make a few conjectures. But how could you leave the

\(^a\) of the first volume of *Capital*
outward structure of the book in its present form! The 4th chapter is almost 200 pages long and only has 4 sub-sections, indicated by four headings in ordinary print, which it is hardly possible to refer back to. Furthermore, the train of thought is constantly interrupted by illustrations, and the point to be illustrated is never summarised after the illustration, so that one is for ever plunging straight from the illustration of one point into the exposition of another point. It is dreadfully tiring, and confusing, too, if one is not all attention. It would have been highly desirable here to have subdivided the text more frequently and to have made the most important sections stand out more,⁴⁵⁴ and this must emphatically be done for the English version. In this exposition (especially of cooperation and manufacture) there are indeed several points that are not yet quite clear to me, where I cannot work out which facts lie behind the argument that is expressed solely in general terms. To judge by the outward form of the exposition, this 4th chapter also appears to be the most hurriedly written and the least carefully revised. However, all that is of no import, the main thing is that our economists are not given a weak point anywhere through which they can shoot holes; I am indeed curious to hear what these gentlemen will say, they have not been left even the smallest opening. Roscher and his ilk will not be unduly perturbed, but for the people here in England who do not write for 3-year-olds, it is a different matter altogether.

I very much look forward to your sending me some more sheets as soon as you can, I particularly want to read the section on accumulation in its context.⁴⁵⁵

Give your wife my best wishes. When are the girls coming back?

Your
F. E.

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

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

⁴⁵⁴ See this volume, pp. 396-97.
DEAR FRED,

I have received no further corrected proofs since the last that I sent you. I am exceedingly vexed with Meissner. He has obviously held back what Wigand has sent him in order to send everything at once—and save 4d. postage!

The same Meissner wrote me last week that he is printing a certain part of my preface specially (and he has indeed made the right choice) to send to the German newspapers. I wrote asking him to send me copies of it at once. I reckoned that you would translate the thing into English (I shall then give it to The Bee-Hive, which is taken by Mill, Beesly, Harrison, etc.), and Lafargue with Laura's help into French for the Courrier français, finally I wanted to send one copy to my correspondent in America. To save the 4d., Meissner has sent nothing. He will be sending it all together. But a great deal of time is lost in the process!

The best points in my book are: 1. (this is fundamental to all understanding of the facts) the two-fold character of labour according to whether it is expressed in use-value or exchange-value, which is brought out in the very First Chapter; 2. the treatment of surplus-value regardless of its particular forms as profit, interest, ground rent, etc. This will be made clear in the second volume especially. The treatment of the particular forms in classical political economy, where they are for ever being jumbled up together with the general form, is an olla potrida.

Please enter your desiderata, critical remarks, queries, etc., on the corrected proofs. This is very important for me, as I am reckoning on a 2nd edition sooner or later. As regards Chapter IV, it was a hard job finding things themselves, i.e., their interconnection. But with that once behind me, along came one blue book after another just as I was composing the final version, and I was delighted to find my theoretical conclusions fully confirmed by the

---

a of the first volume of Capital - b hotchpotch - c recommendations - d See previous letter.
FACTS. Finally, it was written to the accompaniment of carbuncles and daily dunning by creditors!

For the conclusion to the 2nd book *(Process of Circulation)*, which I am writing now, I am again obliged to seek your advice on one point, as I did many years ago.

Fixed capital only has to be replaced *in natura* after, say, 10 years. In the meantime, its value returns partially and gradatim, as the goods that it has produced are sold. This progressive return of the fixed capital is only required for its replacement (aside from repairs and the like) when it becomes defunct in its material form, e.g., as a machine. *Prior to that*, however, these successive returns are in the capitalist’s possession.

Many years ago I wrote to you that it seemed to me that in this manner an accumulation fund was being built up, since in the intervening period the capitalist was of course using the returned money, before replacing the capital fixe with it. You disagreed with this somewhat superficially in a letter. I later found that MacCulloch describes this *sinking fund* as an accumulation fund. Being convinced that no idea of MacCulloch’s could ever be right, I let the matter drop. His apologetic purpose here has already been refuted by the Malthusians, but they, too, admit the fact.

Now, as a manufacturer, you must know what you do with the returns on capital fixe before the time it has to be replaced *in natura*. And you must answer this point for me (without theorising, in purely practical terms).

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

(*Salut to Mrs Lizzy!*)

The children are still at Royan, near Bordeaux.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1919

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

---

*a in kind - b piecemeal - c J. R. McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825, pp. 181-82. - d Lizzy Burns*
Manchester, 26 August 1867

Dear Moor,

On the question of the replacement-fund, full details with accompanying calculations tomorrow. You see, I must ask some other manufacturers whether our practice is the customary one or an exception. The question is whether, with an original outlay of £1,000 on machinery, where £100 is written off in the 1st year, the rule is to write off 10% of the £1,000 in the 2nd year, or of £900, etc. We do the latter, and understandably the matter goes on thereby in infinitum, at least in theory. This complicates the arithmetic considerably. But, otherwise, there is no doubt that the manufacturer is using the replacement-fund on average for 4 1/2 years before the machinery is worn out, or at least has it at his disposal. However, this is included in the calculations, by way of what one might call a certain guarantee against moral wear and tear, or alternatively the manufacturer says: the assumption that in 10 years the machinery will be completely worn out is only approximately correct, i.e., it presupposes that I receive the money for the replacement-fund in 10 annual instalments from the outset. At all events, you shall have the calculations; regarding the economic significance of the matter, I am none too clear about it, I do not see how the manufacturer is supposed to be able to cheat the other partners in the surplus-value, that is, the ultimate consumers, by thus falsely representing the position—in the long run. *Nota bene*, as a rule, machinery is depreciated at 7 1/2%, which assumes a useful life of approximately 13 years.

Moore sends you his photograph, enclosed, and reminds you that you promised him yours, which he is very eager to have.

The chapter on accumulation is quite splendid.453

Your

F. E.
Dear Moor,

Enclosed two schedules for machinery, which will make the matter fully clear to you. The rule is that part of the original sum is written off each year, usually 7½%, but to simplify the calculation I have kept to 10%, which is not excessive for many machines either. Thus, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>Purchases</td>
<td>£ 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>Written off 10%</td>
<td>£ 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New purchase</td>
<td>£ 900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>Written off 10% £1,200 (£1,000 + £200)</td>
<td>£ 1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New purchase</td>
<td>£ 980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>Written off 10% £1,000 + £200 + £200</td>
<td>£ 1,180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In schedule No. 1 I am now assuming that the manufacturer puts his [money] out at interest for writing-off purposes; on the day when he has to replace the old machinery with new, he has not £1,000 but £1,252-11s. Schedule No. 2 assumes that he puts the money straight into new machinery, each year. As is shown in the last column giving the value of the total purchases as it stands on the last day of the 10 years, it is true that the value of his machinery then does not exceed £1,000 (and he cannot have more, as he has, after all, only invested the value of what has been worn out, and the total value of the machinery cannot thus grow by the process), but he has extended his factory from year to year, and as an average over the 11 years he has employed machinery which cost £1,449 in investment, in other words, he has produced and earned substantially more than with the original £1,000. Let us assume he is a spinner and every £ represents one spindle together with the roving-frame; in that case, he has on average

---

a The original has: £1,020.
spun with 1,449 spindles instead of 1,000, and, after the original spindles have ended their useful lives, he begins the new period on 1 January 1866 with 1,357 spindles that he has purchased in the meantime, to which is added a further 236 from the writing off as per 1865, which makes 1,593 spindles. The money advanced for writing off has thus enabled him to increase his machinery by 60% and without putting a fath ing of his actual profit into the new investment.

Repairs have been disregarded in both schedules. At 10% write-off, the machine should cover its own repair costs, i.e., the latter should be included. Nor do they affect the issue, as they are either included in the 10%, or else they prolong the useful life of the machine in proportion, which amounts to the same thing.

I hope schedule No. 2 will be sufficiently clear to you; if not, just write, I have a copy of it here.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

I. The manufacturer invests the renewal-fund at 5% interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>on Jan. 1 machinery purchased for</td>
<td>£ 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857 Jan.</td>
<td>1 10% written off for wear and tear</td>
<td>£ 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858 &quot;</td>
<td>1 10% &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Interest on £100</td>
<td>£ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Interest on £100</td>
<td>£ 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859 &quot;</td>
<td>1 Interest on £205</td>
<td>£ 10-5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10% written off</td>
<td>£ 110-5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 &quot;</td>
<td>1 Interest on £315-5s.</td>
<td>£ 15-15s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10% written off</td>
<td>£ 115-15s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861 &quot;</td>
<td>1 Interest on £431</td>
<td>£ 21-11s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10% written off</td>
<td>£ 121-11s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862 &quot;</td>
<td>1 Interest on £552-11s.</td>
<td>£ 27-13s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10% written off</td>
<td>£ 127-13s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863 &quot;</td>
<td>1 Interest on £680-4s.</td>
<td>£ 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10% written off</td>
<td>£ 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£ 814-4s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1864 " 1 Interest on £814-4s. .......................... £ 40-14s.
10% written off ....................................... " 100 " 140-14s.

1865 " 1 Interest on £954-18s. .......................... £ 42-15s.
10% written off ....................................... " 100 " 142-15s.

1866 " 1 Interest on £1,097-13s. .......................... £ 54-18s.
10% written off ....................................... " 100 " 154-18s.

Total after 10 years ........................................ £1,252-11s.

or on January 1, 1866: instead of the £1,000 in worn-out machinery, £1,252-11s. in ready cash.

II. The renewal-fund is reinvested in machinery each year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reinvestment</th>
<th>Wear and value on Jan. 1, 1866</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856 on Jan. 1 machinery purchased</td>
<td>£1,000</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857 Jan. 1 10% written off and reinvested</td>
<td>£100</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863 Jan. 1 10% write-off</td>
<td>£1,000 £100</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>£948</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1864 Jan. 1 10% write-off  £ 1,000 £ 100
" 948 " 95 " 195 20% £ 156

£ 1,143

1865 Jan. 1 10% write-off  £ 1,000 £ 100
" 1,143 " 114 " 214 10% " 193

£ 1,357

1866 Jan. 1 10% write-off  £ 1,000 £ 100
" 1,357 " 136 " 236 0% " 236

Nominal value of the new machinery £1,593
Real value of the new machinery .................................................. £1,000

@ £1 per spindle he has employed:

1856 ...................... 1,000 spindles Brought forward ........ 9,486 spindles
1857 ...................... 1,100 " 1863 ...................... 1,948 "
1858 ...................... 1,210 " 1864 ...................... 2,143 "
1859 ...................... 1,331 " 1865 ...................... 2,357 "
1860 ...................... 1,464 " In 11 years .......... 15,934 spindles
1861 ...................... 1,610 " On average 1,449 spindles
1862 ...................... 1,771 "

Brings forward 9,486 spindles and begins 1866 with
1,357
236

1,593 spindles.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original

MARX TO AUGUSTE VERMOREL⁶⁷

IN PARIS

London, 27 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Citizen,

Two things astonish me in your newspaper,¹ for whose character, courage, good will and talent I have respect.

¹ Le Courrier français
1. You are turning your paper into an echo for Russian lies (and Greek, the Greeks having been taken in by the Russians) about the so-called revolution in Crete.\textsuperscript{460} May I be permitted to send you an English extract on the true state of affairs in Candia.\textsuperscript{a}

2. You reproduced the canards (of Russian origin) concerning the initiative North America is to take against the Turks. You ought to know that the President of the United States does not have the power to declare war. The Senate alone can decide. If President Johnson, who is a dirty tool of the SLAVEHOLDERS, although you are so naive as to make him out to be a second Washington,\textsuperscript{b} seeks to win a little popularity by entangling foreign-policy affairs and by swaggering abroad, the YANKEES are neither children nor French. The mere fact that he has taken the initiative amid all this tentative exploration suffices to nullify any serious effect it may have.

You must excuse my taking the liberty of writing to you thus. We are both pursuing the same aim, the emancipation of the proletariat. This entitles us to be frank with one another.

I would ask you not to publish these lines. I am addressing them to you privately and as a friend.

Greetings and fraternity,

Karl Marx
Member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

I am most astonished at your plaudits for the Peace League.\textsuperscript{461} It is no less (I refer to the Peace Congress) than cowardice in action. One must either protest in Berlin and Paris, or else—if one is too cowardly to do that—at least not deceive the public with ambiguous, ineffectual and declamatory pronouncements.\textsuperscript{c}

---

\textsuperscript{a} Grete \textsuperscript{b} The rough copy has: If President Johnson, who is a mere tool in the hands of the former SLAVEHOLDERS (although you make him out a hero à la Washington)... -

\textsuperscript{c} See this volume, p. 420.
London, 27 August 1867
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Excerpt enclosed from the preface to the first volume of my book, which is being published next week. Try to place it as far as you can in German-American papers and, where feasible, in English-American papers as well. Be so kind as to send me a copy, where it appears, since this is important for my publisher.¹

*Ad vocem Weber.*² His father³ is a fool, *exilé* from Baden, clockmaker. The boy with whose presence you are blessed there is a scoundrel. The Hatzfeldt woman picked him for the assassination of Lassalle's *killer.*⁴ He took the money and followed his intended victim as far as Augsburg or thereabouts. Then he funked it. He then absconded with the Hatzfeldt money from Germany to America (trying to squeeze yet more from the old woman by threats).

His worthy father and his brother,⁵ living here, said in the (German) Communist Society⁶ here that I *denounced* the good lad to the German police. That was how they explained his exit and cheating of Countess Hatzfeldt. I went along to the Society, denounced the scoundrels, and Weber jun. was chucked out in disgrace.

Now you know the facts of the matter.

Salut.

Your
K. Marx

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

---
Dear Fred,

Received both your letters with the calculations. Thanks.

I have got to pay £4 between 2 shitty épiciers by next Tuesday (3 September), and that's only a part of what I owe them both. I have the feeling these fellows are pressing harder this year than ever.

The children are returning a week on Sunday (morning). I wish they had stayed away longer. They were enjoying themselves over there. But Lafargue has to get back to his school. (It always vexes him if I ask: N'allez-vous pas à votre école?)

For the congress at Lausanne (INTERNATIONAL) from here: Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont. Also, the president of the Coventry ribbon weavers and A. Walton, Esq. (from Wales). Eccarius has safely received the contribution about the congress for The Times—having previously made enquiry of the latter.

Judging from all the news from Paris, Bonaparte's position there is looking very shaky.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

---
a shop-keepers - b See this volume, pp. 396-97. - c Are you not going to your school? - d Daniel Swan
Manchester, 1 September 1867

Dear Moor,

I have just received payment for a very long-standing bad debt of £5 which will put me in a position to send you that sum tomorrow as soon as I have cashed the Cheque. Otherwise, I should have been in something of a fix, what with the repayment of the £45 to Borkheim now due. What about Borkheim, is he back? I am now able and therefore wish to settle up.

The 8 sheets\(^a\) received with thanks. The theoretical side is quite splendid, as is the exposition of the history of expropriation. But the piece you have inserted on Ireland was done in the most fearful haste, and the material is not properly knocked into shape at all. On first reading often positively incomprehensible. Further comments as soon as I have considered the stuff more closely. The résumé on the expropriation of the expropriators is most brilliant and will create quite an effect.\(^4\)

It is fortunate that almost all of the book is 'enacted' in England, so to speak; otherwise para. 100 of the Prussian Penal Code would be operable: 'Whosoever ... shall incite the subjects of the State to hatred or contempt of each other',\(^b\) etc.—and confiscation would ensue. Bismarck seems to be needing to stage a little demonstration against the workers anyway. In Erfurt or thereabouts a Lassallean poet, printer and publisher\(^4\) have been arraigned for high treason, and in Elberfeld they have even confiscated a scrawl by the noble Schweitzer.\(^c\) So, it is possible that the book would be prohibited in Prussia, but, anyway, that would not have any effect in present conditions.

Your

F. E.

---

\(^a\) of the first volume of *Capital* - \(^b\) *Strafgesetzbuch für die Preussischen Staaten. Vom 14. April 1851.* - \(^c\) J. B. Schweitzer, *Der Kapitalgewinn und der Arbeitslohn.*
Manchester, 2 September 1867

Dear Moor,

The £5 banknote enclosed. You will have received the booklet ‘TRANSACTIONS’ [of the] R[oyal] S[ociety]. Can you send me the July and August Free Presses, as promised?

Things appear to have taken a very sharp turn in Paris; every day all the papers are following Girardin’s example in recalling 1829 and 1847, and the Lille speech, full of resignation, appears to prove that there is nothing to be done in South Germany and Austria precisely now when he needs it, obviously solely in consequence of the sorry state of the latter. ‘And hence’ it is only ‘weak governments’ which incline to use foreign conflicts as a means of avoiding internal difficulties. Then, the constantly reiterated allusions to ‘mon fils’ do not appear to imply any very significant confidence in the longevity of the ‘père’ quem nuptiae demonstrant either. You must press ahead with the second volume, things may soon start to happen.

On Saturday I saw a Californian newspaper, which suggested the 8 hours movement must have had an enormous impact amongst the building trades there. The masters are forming a 10-hours-association to oppose it and are setting up a considerable wailing. Contracts for 1½ million dollars are said to have been withdrawn as a result of the 8 hours business.

Gumpert is back and says that in Electoral Hesse the rage at the Prussians is as furious as in Hanover, though less demonstrative. The moment the military were to leave, every ‘Prussian’ would be slaughtered. Amongst other things the Prussians have confiscated the officers’ widows and pension fund in Kassel which derived from compulsory contributions from the officers. He found things even hotter in Hanover than I did.

Kugelmann also wanted to attend the Lausanne Congress, i.e., as a spectator, perhaps it would be a good thing to inform Eccarius of this. He will probably encounter Schorlemmer, who left yesterday (via Grimsby), at the Naturalists’ Congress in Frankfurt.

---

a Napoleon III - b ‘my son’ (Eugène Bonaparte) - c father, who became so by marriage
Moore is travelling to Thuringia in approx. 3 weeks, to learn German for 6 weeks; I have sent him off there so that he may get off the track of the British tourists.

Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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

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

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

The £5 received with thanks.

Borkheim wrote to me a few days ago from Berne and sent me 'for comment if you would be so kind' the brouillon for the speech, which he is intending to give at the Peace Congress in Geneva. He also wanted your assistance. I wrote to him, as we had agreed, that you had not yet returned. You can, however, send the money to his associate Schyler, 65 Fenchurch Street. But it is £50, not 45. When I looked, I found that the bill was on £48, and Borkheim then told me that he could probably give me the full sum of £50. I did not tell you of this before, as I was expecting the money I had been promised any day, and then wanted to pay the £50 myself.

Enclosed:
1. The last sheets of the proofs.
2. 2 Diplomatic Reviews and 1 number of Courrier français.

Regarding the final sheets, they have put the Addendum to the Notes in large print, and the Appendix on the Form of Value in small print, despite my instructions. They probably did this so that the book should be neither over nor under 50 sheets in length. In my

---
a draft of the first volume of Capital
opinion, Meissner has made a serious blunder in increasing the purchase-price from 3 talers to 3 talers 10 silver groschen. It is, however, possible as well that he has subsequently received so many more firm orders that this was commercially the correct thing to do.

A word of explanation concerning the article in the Courrier français (which you must send back to me after you have read it through): 'Les Conditions de la Paix'3:

You know that on the General Council I expressed my opposition to our joining the peace-at-any-price party. My speech lasted about 1/2 hour. As minute-secretary, Eccarius reported on it in The Bee-Hive, giving only a few sentences of what I said. The reprint in the Courrier even omits the sentences about the necessity for armies vis-à-vis Russia and about the cowardice of these fellows.471 The affair has, nevertheless, created quite a stir. The jackasses from the Peace Congress, whose agent in London is M. de Colleville, completely changed their original programme and even smuggled into the new one, which is much more democratic, the words 'THE HARMONIZING OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITH LIBERTY', which could mean almost anything, including just freetrade. They have been bombarding me with letters and even had the impertinence to send me the enclosed scrap of paper with the new programme. Their impertinence consists in nominating me as a 'MEMBER OF THE GENEVA, ETC., CONGRESS' in the address. The Courrier, which was their most vociferous advocate in Paris, is deserting them, as you will see. The same Courrier has changed its policy in respect of Russia, following a private letter that I wrote to Vermorel about a fortnight ago (we are not acquainted).

The main point was that these fine gentlemen from the peace congress, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, L. Blanc, etc., had kept themselves supremely aloof from our International Association. I have now obliged them to acknowledge us as a real force.

From Naples I have received the first 2 numbers of a paper Libertà e Giustizia. In No. I they declare themselves to be our organ. I have passed it to Eccarius to place before the congress.462 No. II, which I shall send you, contains a very good attack on Mazzini.4 I suspect that Bakunin has a hand in it.

With regard to the confiscation and prohibition of my book, there is a world of difference between prohibiting electoral

---

a by L. Dubois. See Le Courrier français, No. 77, 2 September 1867. - b i.e., the League of Peace and Freedom. - c See this volume, pp. 413-14. - d 'La questione romana', Libertà e Giustizia, No. 2, 24 August 1867. - e See this volume, p. 417.
pamphlets and a book of 50 sheets which has such an air of erudition and even contains notes in Greek. Admittedly, that might be of little avail if I had chosen 12 administrative districts in Prussia instead of 12 COUNTIES in England to describe the conditions of the agricultural workers. I also feel that Mr Bismarck will think twice about the matter before provoking me into attacking his regime in London and Paris.

What conditions are like in Prussia, incidentally, is shown by the following statement by O. Hübner, Director of the Central Statistical Archive, in a message to his electors:

"The people are already overburdened. Apart from the armament factories, almost every trade is depressed, hundreds of hungry men are applying for the humblest positions, in the cities the number of empty dwellings and of citizens, who cannot afford to pay rent, is growing, a whole host of estates and houses are being subjected to compulsory auction, the poor-houses are being besieged by our maimed victors and by the unemployed, everywhere there is a lack of confidence in the present and the future, and the budgets of the poorest are beset by the realisation that they are already paying more for the services of the state than they are worth."

In Berlin, neither the government nor the National-Liberal Party\(^a\) has got a single candidate through.\(^a\) But just what utter blockheads those men of Progress\(^b\) who now form the extreme left, is shown amongst other things by the following extract from their 'most radical' organ, the Zukunft:

"The whole English nation is permeated by a snobbery which treats all alike and to which all personal industry is anathema. [...] It is this same snobbery which is for ever urging reduction of working hours and prohibits overtime on account of the unions!\(^b\)"

Would you credit it! Even now the Parisian press is truly a giant compared with the German press!

Your

K. Marx

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

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

\(^a\) at the elections to the North German Reichstag (end of August-beginning of September 1867) - \(^b\) 'Englische Briefe', Die Zukunft, No. 199 (supplement), 27 August 1867.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

In haste

[London,] 7 September 1867

DEAR FRED,

I letter from Lessner enclosed. I already had the Gazettes de Lausanne. The Times has cut Eccarius quite disgracefully. I am, at the same time, sending you newest Diplomatic Review and copies of the Courrier français, which I must always have back. The Courrier français has made nonsense of the short notice I sent it about Hübner by putting 'tomber sous le marteau des démolisseurs' instead of 'tomber sous la subhastation' (which is an expression from the Code Napoléon).

Adio.

Your

K. Marx

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

PRINTED ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester, 9 September 1867]

Dear Moor,

I intended writing yesterday and today but commerce prevented me from doing so. The Courriers returned enclosed. Vermorel is a fine one with his talk of the influence of the French at the congress and their caractère sérieux and them not making any speeches. Poor Eccarius!

a Le Courrier français, No. 81, 6 September 1867. b fall beneath the hammer of the demolishers. c be subjected to compulsory auction (see this volume, p. 421)
I must congratulate you on your appendix on the form of value.\textsuperscript{438} In this form, it is brought home to the most rebellious understanding. Likewise with regard to the preface. But who did the appalling, ungrammatical translation in \textit{The Bee-Hive}?\textsuperscript{456} Why was it not sent to me, saying what you wanted? I am afraid it will harm your reputation with Beesly, etc., who will think you did it yourself.  
Apropos, what shores does the \textit{transatlantic Ocean} wash, exactly?  
More tomorrow.

Your  
F. E.

---

First published in \textit{Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx}, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913  
Printed according to the original  
Published in English for the first time  

254  
MARX TO ENGELS\textsuperscript{101}  
IN MANCHESTER  

[London,] 11 September 1867  

Dear Fred,  

Regarding the \textit{transatlantic Ocean}, it is a matter for the final corrector to put right such \textit{lapsus penneae}.\textsuperscript{a} I see that the \textit{Zukunft} has reprinted this splendid 'flow' along with the greater part of the preface.\textsuperscript{b}  
The translation in \textit{The Bee-Hive}\textsuperscript{c} is by Eccarius. I believe that most of the errors stem not from him, but, because of his bad hand-writing, from \textit{The Bee-Hive}'s correctors. I would naturally have preferred you to do the translation. However, as Eccarius offered his services \textit{de prime abord},\textsuperscript{d} and is now on the staff of \textit{The Bee-Hive}, that was not feasible.  
I shall personally deliver the coup de grâce to those Proudhonist jackasses at the next congress in Brussels. I have \textsc{diplomatally}

\textsuperscript{a} slips of the pen - \textsuperscript{b} to the first volume of \textit{Capital} (\textit{Die Zukunft}, No. 206, 4 September 1867) - \textsuperscript{c} of a part of the preface to the first volume of \textit{Capital} (\textit{The Bee-Hive Newspaper}, No. 308, 7 September 1867) - \textsuperscript{d} initially
MANAGED the whole affair and did not want to come out personally before my book appears and our Association is firmly rooted. By the by, I shall give them a caning in the Official Report of the General Council (despite all their efforts, the Parisian wind-bags were unable to prevent our re-election\(^475\)).

Meanwhile our Association has made great progress. The wretched Star, which wanted to ignore us entirely, announced in its leading article yesterday that we are more important than the Peace Congress.\(^461\) Schulze-Delitzsch could not prevent his 'Workers' Association' in Berlin from joining us.\(^476\) Those wretches from among the English Trade Unionists, who think we are too 'extreme', are coming flocking. Besides the Courrier français, there have been reports on our congress in Girardin's Liberté, Siècle, Mode, Gazette de France, etc. Les choses marchent\(^8\) And when the next revolution comes, and that will perhaps be sooner than might appear, we (i.e., you and I) will have this mighty engine at our disposal. Compare with this the results of Mazzinis, etc., operations since 30 years! And with no money to boot! And with the intrigues of the Proudhonists in Paris, Mazzini in Italy and the jealous Odger, Cremer, Potter in London, with the Schulze-Delitzsch and the Lassalleans in Germany! We can be well satisfied!

My children arrived back safe and in good spirits with Lafargue yesterday.\(^b\) He has brought an enormous crystal goblet (holds 1½ pots) back with him for you. He appears to be impressed with your 'transatlantic Ocean'.

In these days, Lafargue would like to visit you for 3 days at this time before his lectures begin again. The most awkward thing about it is that he is demanding (of course, not being in the secret of my money-affairs) that I should accompany him, and I have not yet found a satisfactory excuse for turning down this tour, which I just cannot manage.

I am exceedingly vexed with Meissner. He has wasted weeks in bringing out the book. Why?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

2nd letter from Lessner enclosed.\(^477\) Apropos. Our plump poet's\(^c\) begging-campaign, which, vide\(^d\) the latest Hermann,\(^e\) is not proceeding quite as desired, has had one

\(^a\) Things are going ahead. \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 396-97. \(^c\) Ferdinand Freiligrath \(^d\) see \(^e\) Hermann, 7 September 1867.
good result.\textsuperscript{422} Käthen of the sturdy calves\textsuperscript{a} is to get married. Notice of betrothal to a certain Kröker (a most poetic name) in the \textit{Zukunft!}\textsuperscript{b}

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

255

ENGELS TO MARX\textsuperscript{419}

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 September 1867

Dear Moor,

The congress really does appear to have been swept away in the French tide this time, the number of Proudhonist resolutions is really far too large.\textsuperscript{462} It is good that it will be coming to Belgium next time, by then it will perhaps be possible to do something in North Germany as well, and then, with the help of the English, to dam up the flood. Meanwhile, whatever they resolve there is more or less just wasted breath as long as the Central Council remains in London. Once again \textit{notre cher}\textsuperscript{c} Philipp Becker appears to have committed some of his unprescindated blunders, for which one must forgive the old agitator when he has no one to guide him.\textsuperscript{478}

That Eccarius wrote the reports in \textit{The Times} must be kept secret.\textsuperscript{475} In view of the manner in which the editors have trimmed his story, it could do him enormous harm. The next time that he reports to the paper, he will have to consider more carefully to what extent his humour can be exploited by the bourgeois editors to cast ridicule on the whole business and not just on the few crapauds.\textsuperscript{d}

Since you are in contact with Vermorel, can you not moderate the fellow’s asinities with regard to Germany? It is really too much if the jackass is demanding that Bonaparte should become

\textsuperscript{a} Käthe Freiligrath - \textsuperscript{b} \textit{Die Zukunft}, No. 208 (supplement), 6 September 1867. - \textsuperscript{c} our dear - \textsuperscript{d} toads; philistines (here Engels refers to the French Proudhonists, delegates to the Lausanne Congress)
liberal, bourgeois liberal, and then start a war to liberate Germany from the tyranny of Bismarck! These crapauds, who will have to handle Germany with great delicacy even if they do make a revolution, believe that but a slight turn toward liberalism would enable them to revert to their old roles. I regard it as most important, particularly in the event of a revolution, that these gentlemen should become accustomed to treating us d'égal à égal.

According to them, Bismarckism in Germany is an inherent characteristic of Germany, which they must destroy by intervening, but their own Bonapartism is a mere accident and could be terminated just by a change of ministers and transformed into its opposite.

The great Schweitzer has been happily elected with the assistance of the pietists of Elberfeld and Barmen, and will now have the opportunity to bowdlerise various points from your book in the 'Reichstag'. You may wager your life that he will do so. However, it can only do good and will afford us much entertainment; once the book is out, only good can come of such things.

Apropos of Barmen, I am reminded of Siebel. The poor devil is dreadfully sick again and is once more having to leave Barmen, though I do not know whereto; it is possible he will not live out the winter. He must be very bad, so I cannot count on him raising any cry for your book in the newspapers. He has written me a very desponding letter.

The Trades outrage Commission's conclusions here are entirely farcical and are no different from those reached 7 years ago. If they do not produce anything better, they might as well pack their bags. Just imagine seeing brickmaking and bricklaying treated as the chief industries of Manchester!

The defects which have become apparent in the tests carried out on the Chassepot rifle here are the very ones which had already been discovered in Berlin and which Bötzig told me of in Hanover. At that time, I thought that they had deliberately allowed faulty specimens to fall into the hands of the Prussians, but now it rather looks as though there is something in it, in which case the rifle is not half as good as the Prussians' needle-gun.

Meissner's people in Leipzig appear to be taking an inordinately long time to send the book out. Still no notices anywhere. Do you think I should attack the thing from the bourgeois point of view,

---

a A. Vermorel, 'La prochaine campagne de la Prusse', Le Courrier français, No. 84, 9 September 1867. b as equals c the first volume of Capital
to get things under way? Meissner or Siebel would surely get that accepted by a paper. As for it being prohibited, I don't believe it myself, but one can never swear that the zeal of some government official will not get the better of him, and once a case has been brought, you could rely on your friend Lippe.

Kindest regards to your wife and the girls, who I presume are back now.

The Diplomatic Reviews received with thanks.

Your
F. E.

---

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

256

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 September 1867

Dear Fred,

Meissner's procrastination bodes most ill. He could have disposed of many copies at the congress in Lausanne. And the book would have been discussed there as a real event. Such stupidity is beyond my comprehension. Next Saturday it will be 4 weeks since I sent the last corrections to Leipzig.

Your plan to attack the book from the bourgeois point of view is the best tactic. However—once the thing is out—I consider it better to have this done through Siebel or Rittershaus, rather than Meissner. There is no need to let even the best publishers see through one's game. On the other hand, you must write a few instructions to Kugelmann, who is back, concerning the positive aspects he should emphasise. Otherwise, he will do something foolish, enthusiasm alone being insufficient in this case. Naturally, you will feel less inhibited about doing this than I.

---

I am entirely of your mind *quoad* Eccarius. A worker is lacking in diplomatic finesse, especially one with the critical bluntness of Eccarius. He writes to The Times as though he were writing for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Revue*. However, no harm has been done. Here in London they are saying that the International Association, etc., must be strong indeed for The Times to report so expressly on it. Eccarius' sneers are taken to be Times sneers.473

It was the wretched French Swiss, who, being very strongly represented, gave the French wind-bags from Paris so much scope. Old Becker was responsible for the most serious blunder.478 He first disrupted the agenda we had planned, so as to spring his freedom resolution. This then provided the Parisians with the opportunity to let themselves go.

But none of that signifies. The main thing is that the congress was held, not what happened there. *On se moquera bien* of the Paris wiseacres in our General Report. To the latter's great dismay, a resolution was adopted that *those who do not pay* (and the Parisians have not paid a farthing) cannot send delegates in future. The aim must be to send 20 English and 30 Germans to Brussels next time.475 As to the Belgians themselves, they can only send 1 man per 500, so there will not be very many of them. They are furthermore rather rebellious towards the Parisians.

Nota bene: the worst thing is, we have not a single man in Paris who could make contact with the workers' sections which are hostile to the Proudhonists (and they form the majority!). If Dupont were to spend a few weeks in Paris, everything would be in order, but the police have him under close surveyance.

In due course I shall write privately to Vermorel and knock those absurd notions about German politics out of him. I shall have to proceed *gradatim* and therefore deliberately began with the United States, Russia and Turkey, because this is 'neutral' ground between Germans and French.8

Laura and Lafargue are just now translating part of the preface for the *Courrier français*.56

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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

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

a concerning - b See this volume, p. 425. - c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - d We shall make fun - e See this volume, pp. 425-26. - f gradually - g See this volume, pp. 413-14.
DEAR FRED,

I am sending this 2nd letter, because Eccarius' letter has just arrived.\textsuperscript{480}

Apropos. What Eccarius could not have known: L. Blanc has absented himself from the Geneva Congress,\textsuperscript{a} because 'my' people would be playing tricks there; Jules Favre, because the 'class question'\textsuperscript{b} (as a supporter of Cavaignac in the June days,\textsuperscript{481} his conscience is, of course, not clean) has been adopted by the \textit{Courrier français}, along London lines.

Your
K. M.

---

\textsuperscript{a} of the League of Peace and Freedom - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 420. - \textsuperscript{c} ibid., p. 424.
easily take some French leave on Monday. But write or telegraph beforehand, so that I can arrange lodging (telegraph the office, except Saturday after 11.0.a.m. and Sunday).

£5 enclosed to help with money-matters; apart from the cost of travelling here, you can leave it at home for your wife.

Here, too, the press is treating the International much more decently than before. All the newspapers here have carried some part of the proceedings,\(^a\) the *Examiner & Times*\(^b\) had a philistinish-ly benevolent leader.

Would it not be appropriate also to report on the meetings of the *Central Council* in the German newspapers? e.g., the *Zukunft*; Wilhelmchen\(^c\) might perhaps find somewhere else, too. Where actually is the noble fellow now?

The Lassalleans are beset by a fresh shindig again. Dr Reincke in Hagen and Schweitzer are *at daggers drawn*. Reincke went along with the party-of-Progress clique\(^{99}\)—Bürgers and E. Richter—to ensure his election in Hagen, Düsseldorf and Solingen, but failed in the two latter.

We really must try to establish a direct link with the workers in Germany again, that is what we most lack, otherwise everything is buoyant enough.

I read of the betrothal of *Käthe*,\(^d\) as she calls herself, in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

You will have to give me a verbal account of the congress telegrams from Germany.

The *Courriers*\(^e\) returned herewith. Apropos of the vote in Schleswig, it is splendid how those jackasses declared: *avons une carte devant nous*,\(^f\) which shows Holstein within Schleswig (or vice versa)! Likewise, they first have the *Federal troops* and then the *Dutch* (instead of the Luxemburgers themselves) marching into Luxemburg. And it is they who want to abolish ignorance!

*Your*

*F. E.*

---

\(^a\) of the Lausanne Congress - 
\(^b\) *The Manchester Daily Examiner & Times* - 
\(^c\) Wilhelm Liebknecht - 
\(^d\) Freiligrath's daughter (see this volume, p. 425) - 
\(^e\) *Le Courrier français*, Nos. 85 and 86, 10 and 11 September 1867. - 
\(^f\) *we have a map before us*
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[Telegram]

London, 13 September 1867

From Karl Marx, 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park. To Fred Engels, Southgate, St. Mary’s.
Will start from Euston station 4.15 p.m.

First published in the language of the original, English, in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930
Reproduced from the photocopy of the telegram

ENGELS TO LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 September 1867

Dear Löhrchen,

I have received your delightful letter, and as soon as the books arrived I despatched the various copies\(^a\) to their resp. recipients—those to Imandt and Strohn sent securely packed by book post, but the one intended for me, for which my best thanks to Moor, straight to the binders.

You will be interested to learn that a week ago last Saturday I already showed Lafargue\(^b\) the battlefield where the great Fenian liberation battle was enacted the previous Wednesday.\(^c\) We were actually within ten paces of the railway arch; however, he will scarcely recollect it.

So that you may see what man, and cotton-man in particular, is capable of, I am sending you enclosed the latest abomination of this kind in the form of a cotton sheen-wig. These guys are now being made and sold in colossal quantities.

Your friend Library\(^d\) has been successfully elected at Schneeberg in Saxony to the great North German Reichstag

\(^a\) of the first volume of Capital - \(^b\) Wilhelm Liebknecht
against Count zur Lippe, and will no doubt soon be making a great maiden speech.\textsuperscript{484} The right man in the right place.

With hearty greetings to the whole family, most sincerely

Your

F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

MARX TO ENGELS\textsuperscript{33}

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 October 1867\textsuperscript{a}

\textit{Dear Fred,}

Since my return from Manchester\textsuperscript{482} almost until now, I have had a feverish cold. I caught the cold in the course of the railway malheur.\textsuperscript{b}

As there are many things about which I wish to write to you, on public and private affairs, in this letter, I shall start with the book,\textsuperscript{c} so that I do not forget it. You would have spent long indeed searching in Table C for the decrease in the cultivation of green crops (p. 695). Mr Wigand has printed C instead of B (p. 690), which tells us, under the heading ‘Green Crops’, that from 1861-65 107,984 acres were put out of cultivation.\textsuperscript{485} Indeed you will observe from the schedule of misprints on p. 784 that Mr Wigand has willfully abbreviated it from p. 292 onwards in order to accommodate it on the last page. The section concerning Ireland was certainly written very hastily, but for a second edition it could be put in order with but a few formal alterations. The most important thing is the facts, which are not known even in England.\textsuperscript{463}

I have heard nothing from Meissner. Schabelitz (Basle) told Borkheim he has requested 5 copies for sale or return on the

\textsuperscript{a} The original has ‘1859’ corrected by Engels: ‘!! 1867’, with the note \textit{Voilà bien, le père Marx!} (There you are, Father Marx!). \textsuperscript{b} misfortunes \textsuperscript{c} the first volume of \textit{Capital}
strength of 5 copies which he ordered for cash payment, but Meissner replied he did not have enough to send him so many for sale or return. However, this may merely be a diplomatic manoeuvre on Meissner's part. I see from the enclosed note from Liebknecht (who 
\textit{by the by} has done us proud with his first intervention in the Reichstag, \textit{vide} the \textit{Zukunft} No. 229 of 1 October\textsuperscript{486}) that Meissner is not \textit{always} so punctilious. It was agreed that he should send 1 copy to Liebknecht and 1 copy to Dr Weiss for the editors (\textit{Zukunft}).

Professor Beesly has now returned home, and I shall be hearing from him before very long. \textit{Quant à Siebel}, I should also like to know whether he has received the copies, 1 for himself and 1 for Rittershaus? and how the latter has requited it?

\textit{Ad vocem Vogt}: you will find some news about Vogt in the enclosed letter from Kugelmann.\textsuperscript{487} After Kugelmann had departed\textsuperscript{d} and the gang thought Borkheim had likewise gone, a final meeting of the Germans took place, at which Borkheim suddenly appeared and witnessed the following occurrence. Mr Goegg handed a slip of paper to the Vice-President, Büchner, in which he declared that the Bonapartist rumours, etc., regarding Vogt were false, and offered a \textit{testimonium virtutis} for the man, whom he claimed to have known for 20 years. He demanded that Büchner \textit{sign} this note, i.e., \textit{certify} that it had been communicated to him. Büchner naturally did so. Whereupon \textit{little} Beust jumps up, states in writing that Goegg is only expressing a private opinion which is by no means shared in Switzerland, etc., etc. Ditto demands certification of his \textit{protest} by Büchner, which the latter supplies. Vogt's manoeuvre was thus frustrated. To what depths that fellow has descended!

Another \textit{incident} at the Peace Congress! Ludwig Simon approaches Goegg: 'Why have you not moved my name nearer to the top of the list of speakers! Why is Borkheim given the floor before me?' Goegg: 'Those fellows—\textit{the proletarians}—had 4 of the German vice-presidents. To bring in our man \textit{Grün} and get Borkheim to give up his place, we had to make this concession to him, etc.!' Hardly were the words out of that beau's\textsuperscript{f} mouth than he looks round and to his horror sees Eccarius grinning behind his back.

\textit{Ad vocem Stumpf}: Maybe Stumpf understands me, but I do not understand Stumpf. Perhaps you will be more fortunate and be

\textsuperscript{a} see - \textsuperscript{b} As regards - \textsuperscript{c} Regarding - \textsuperscript{d} from the inaugural congress of the League of Peace and Freedom - \textsuperscript{e} certificate of virtue - \textsuperscript{f} The German word used by Marx here is \textit{Geck}, a pun on Goegg.
able to 'delineate the scientific process of pauperisation' and ditto 'the correct conclusion' from the 'evidence' which he keeps in his pocket and does not divulge. His letter enclosed.\textsuperscript{488}

\textit{Ad vocem Dronke}: Borkheim spoke to a man in Paris who has a precise acquaintance with all Dronke's affairs and described him as a 'voleur'\textsuperscript{a} The copper company had served notice on Dronke a year ago. It now has a firm in Glasgow as its associate and therefore has no more need of an English agency. Dronke, \textit{dictur},\textsuperscript{b} has been guilty of much 'embezzlement' in the past year and has made himself the object of an 'embarrassing' investigation. I hope the affair will be hushed up.

\textit{Ad vocem Collet}: what follows is by way of explanation for the enclosed \textit{curiosa}: Collet's little girl (whom you have met) and her even younger brother were visiting us a few days ago. The boy had a boxing match with Lafargue, who eventually pinned him to the floor in a humiliating position. Then says the boy, '\textsc{r}emember \textsc{h}ow you \textsc{g}ot \textsc{o}n \textsc{a}t \textsc{W}aterloo!' Hence this comical correspondence, with the girl denouncing the lad to the old man.

Collet has withdrawn from \textit{The Diplomatic Review}, although his name still figures on the paper this time. I immediately noticed the change of editor, as I was only sent 1 \textsc{copy}. You shall have it as soon as I am finished with it. It is a thoroughly foolish number. Garibaldi is described as 'a common bandit, atheist, \textsc{f}ool, etc.', M. Dupanloup, the \textit{évêque}\textsuperscript{c} of Orleans, by contrast, as the great man of the age.\textsuperscript{d} Will David\textsuperscript{e} yet become a Catholic one day perhaps? The Peace Congress in Geneva was, of course, a fabrication of the Russians, which is why they sent along their '\textsc{w}ell \textsc{w}orn \textsc{ou}t \textsc{a}gent Bakounine'. I have the impression that \textit{The Diplomatic Review} is on its last legs.

\textit{Ad vocem International Association}. At my suggestion, the office of president has been abolished, after Odger had already been proposed for re-election.\textsuperscript{489}—Fox, who has missed no opportunity to exhibit his profound hatred for Eccarius since the latter's return,\textsuperscript{f} gave notice for the next meeting (Tuesday) that he would ask the \textsc{council} to consider \textsc{censuring Eccarius} for his '\textsc{t}imes' \textsc{articles}.'\textsuperscript{473} To Fox's great surprise I thereupon gave ditto notice that I would interpellate Fox next Tuesday about a '\textsc{se}cret \textsc{letter}' that he had written to Becker\textsuperscript{g} requesting him 'to do all in his power to remove the seat of the \textsc{central council} from \textsc{London}'.\textsuperscript{490} Fox, who is

\textsuperscript{a} thief - \textsuperscript{b} it is said - \textsuperscript{c} bishop - \textsuperscript{d} 'Events of the Month', \textit{The Diplomatic Review}, 2 October 1867. - \textsuperscript{e} David Urquhart - \textsuperscript{f} from the Lausanne Congress of the International - \textsuperscript{g} Johann Philipp Becker
altogether composed of caprices and crotchets, imagines that he must found an 'opposition party' on the council against the 'German dictatorship', as he calls it. He will be astonished at his success in this line!

Ad vocem Borkheim: d'abord, the following facts. Borkheim spoke (or rather read from his manuscript) for over 20 minutes, whereas only 10 were permitted by the rules. Naturally, like Garibaldi and Edgar Quinet, he too felt he could afford to take liberties. Secondly, he mounted the rostrum in a state of extreme excitement, and, as Eccarius says, 'did not let himself get a word in edgeways'. Nobody understood him. All that people heard were the few catchwords about Schulze-Delitsch, at which Vogt jumped up and clenched both his fists, and about the Cossacks. That was fortunate indeed. His speech was thought to be significant because it was not understood. He therefore plays some part, both in The Times and in the French press. But now comes the drawback. The fool wishes to have his speech printed in German, English, Russian and in the French original. I now have the latter in front of me. He sent it to me so that Lafargue could look through it. With the exception of the few catchwords, which I whispered into his ear, it is not merely a tasteless hotchpotch, but often pure balderdash. And his French! E.g.,

'Sans stultification il serait impossible de discuter, s'il faudrait d'abord faire enlever la femelle Isabelle, faire sauter le mâle Bismarck ou faire s'évanouir l'agile hermaphrodite Beust. Il y a de grands orateurs, de profonds penseurs français, membres de cette union, mais fussent-ils tous des Mirabeaux achevés et des Descartes consommés, les têtes allemandes seraient trop carrées pour le trouver rond, qu'il fût d'abord et avant tout le gouvernement français, l'abolition duquel intronisera l'ère de la paix internationale.'

Assez!

How little he suspected the quality of 'his French' is clear from the note he jotted in the margin of the manuscript he sent me:

'Please ask Mr Lafargue to look quickly through it and correct any (!) bad French in the margin!'

---

a firstly - b Le Courrier français, No. 88, 13 September 1867. - c S. Borkheim, Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève. - d 'It would be impossible, without descending to the level of idiocy, to discuss whether the first task should be to arrange for the female Isabella to be abducted, for the male Bismarck to be overthrown, or for the nimble hermaphrodite Beust to evaporate. Among the French members of this Association there are some great orators and some profound thinkers, but were they all accomplished Mirabeaus and consummate Descartes, the Germans would be too squareheaded to accept roundly that it would be first and foremost the French government whose destruction would inaugurate the era of international peace.' - e Enough!
I was, OF COURSE, OBLIGED to tell him that Lafargue would have to see him, as he could not proceed to make the 'deletions' (to begin with, Lafargue wants to delete the whole of THE FIRST HALF) and 'amendments' in his absence. He is therefore coming to see me this evening. Lafargue additionally showed me French commis voyageur* SLANG in almost every sentence. E.g., 'parlons rondement!' b

PRIVATE AFFAIRS: I have talked to Borkheim about the possibility of finding me a loan of at least £100 in London. He says yes, he is willing to be 1 guarantor if you will be the other. But he would, after all, need to hear from yourself about the matter first. The situation is simply that I can neither complete Volume II, 418 nor find the time for the intrigues required for the English edition, 229 nor even remain in England, if I do not manage to pacify the Manichaeans 431 for SOME WEEKS AT LEAST. If the English transaction succeeds, and if they proceed in such a manner in Germany—which does not seem difficult to me—that a 2nd impression 454 soon becomes necessary, the crisis will have been overcome.

This damned year has been made even worse by Lafargue staying with me until now, Laura is to marry in the spring, etc.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

262

ENGELS TO MARX c

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 October 1867
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Detailed letter tomorrow. Just the letters returned enclosed and the one question: will Borkheim be writing to me about the loan or

a commercial traveller - b let us not beat about the bush - c The letter is written on the blank of the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester.
is he expecting me to write to him? I shall send the newspapers back to you tomorrow.

Meissner will no doubt have sent the copies to Weiss and Liebknecht through a bookshop, where they would not arrive until about 1 October in Berlin, about the time when the other copies arrived there and came into the shops. The Kölnische and Augsburger Zeitung only carried the notice a few days ago.

Your
F. E.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

263

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 October 1867

DEAR FRED,

Borkheim is expecting a letter from you first that you are willing to be co-guarantor.

Poor Lafargue is in the final throes today, putting Borkheim’s preface into decent French (insofar as that is possible!). The latter has baptised his opus: ‘Ma perle devant le Congrès de Genève’. Curious how the itch for literary fame can make a fool of an otherwise quite intelligent garçon!

So, yesterday, Fox was to decapitate Eccarius. The former took more than 1 hour to speak his indictment. He had most maliciously assembled the worst passages and displayed all the arts of an Old Bailey barrister, also continually attacking me. In my riposte I dealt him such telling blows that in his final reply he quite lost his composure and self-control. Everyone joined in the

---

a See previous letter. b of the first volume of Capital. c Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 273, 30 September 1867. d See previous letter. e fellow. f A reference to the meeting of the General Council of the International on 8 October 1867 (see this volume, pp. 434-35). g Old Bailey—Central Criminal Court in London
discussion. The outcome: my motion (or amendment rather) 'to proceed to the order of the day' was accepted by an enormous majority. Nevertheless, Eccarius got a regular dressing down in the course of the debate.

You must read the piece 'Le troisième larron' I have marked in the Courrier\(^a\) that you will get at the same time (splendid that the French are already sans gêne\(^b\) calling their Bonaparte one of the larrons').\(^{492}\) As soon as I have the numbers back from Lormier, I shall send the interesting communications about the Mexican affair.\(^{270}\)

Salut

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Strohn spent the day here yesterday. He fancies you meant to slight him on his last visit to Manchester, with your remark, 'Yes, in Bradford the commis voyageur\(^d\) still counts for something.' I tried to drive this nonsense out of his mind.—He says Dronke had procured the British associé for the copper company himself. He had probably demanded to be indemnified for it, and no doubt he had based himself on spurious but legally defensible claims when appropriating or laying his hands on a portion of the copper passing through his hands. He did not believe that Dronke had unwarrantedly frisé\(^c\) the code pénal directly. Tant mieux\(^f\)

---


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

264

MARX TO ENGELS\(^{302}\)

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 October 1867

DEAR FRED,

You will see from the enclosed letter from Kugelmann that the time for action has now come.\(^{493}\) You are better placed to write to

\(^a\) Le Courrier français - \(^b\) without inhibition - \(^c\) thieves - \(^d\) commercial traveller - \(^e\) infringed - \(^f\) So much the better.
him about my book than I am. He must, at the same time, avoid
divagations and not send us the things for correction, but after
they have appeared. You must impress on him that ‘making a
commotion’ is what matters most, far more than how it is done or
being thorough.

Nothing in the enclosed note from Meissner. How can he expect
reviews before his own publisher’s notices have appeared?

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

265

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 October 1867

Dear Moor,

Kindest thanks for the letters and newspapers, which I shall
send back in a few days.

I am writing to Borkheim that I will gladly take on the
guarantee with him, provided he can so arrange the matter that
everything proceeds secretly and that, e.g., no references are
required of me—as I am contractually forbidden to become surety,
and my relations with Monsieur Gottfried are such that he would
seize upon any occasion to put me in the wrong before a court of
arbitration. So long as he cannot do that, I am prepared to give
him my solemn assurance that I will be co-liable for the £100, and
await further proposals. Or would Freiligrath, e.g., be sufficient
reference for me? The point is that the business would have to be
concluded entirely behind the backs of all my commercial
connections. Enfin nous verrons.

---

a the first volume of Capital - b Gottfried Ermen - c Well, we shall see.
Tomorrow afternoon I shall put something together for Kugelmann; if we are to wait until he has read the book through, we shall not get far. I shall write to Siebel, too. I do not know what you have in mind with the Freiligrath-bard Rittershaus, I do not know the fellow at all, and as far as I know, he is definitely not one of our people.

There was much else about which I wished to write to you, but then along comes that damned old Jew Leibel Choras, whom you know, and detains me for over an hour. Then another fellow immediately following. For a week now I have been overrun with clients, 2 more this morning. Yet another expected tomorrow morning. On top of that, endless bother with Gottfried, it is enough to drive one mad.

So till tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

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

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

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 11 October 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

D'abord, best thanks for your two letters. You would give me great pleasure if you were to write as often as your time allows. But you must not expect an exactly equal response, as my time is in any case scarcely sufficient now for the multifarious correspondence which I am obliged to conduct with a variety of parties.

First, before turning to the subject of my book, a preliminary word or a wordy preliminary. I fear that Borkheim is, malgré lui, on the point of doing me a very bad turn. He is publishing his

---

a the first volume of Capital - b Firstly - c of 29 September and 8 October 1867 (see this volume, pp. 433 and 438) - d the first volume of Capital - e despite himself
'Geneva speech' in 4 languages, French, German, English, and Russian. He has, furthermore, provided it with a baroque and tasteless preface, overladen with quotations. Between ourselves—and in the interests of the party—I must tell you the plain truth. Borkheim is a capable man and even an homme d’esprit. But when he takes up the pen, beware! All tact and taste leave him. Nor has he the necessary education. He is like those savages who imagine that they are enhancing their appearance by tattooing their faces with all possible gaudy colours. Banality and sensationalism always get the better of him. Almost his every phrase instinctively dons cap and bells. If he were not so vain through and through, I could have prevented the publication and made it clear to him that it was his good fortune that people had not understood him in Geneva except for a few good points from his speech. On the other hand, I owe him a debt of gratitude for the part he played in the Vogt affair, and he is a personal friend of mine. There are in his speech, etc., a number of phrases in which he has fatuously garbled certain views of mine. My enemies (Vogt has already hinted in the Neue Zürcher-Zeitung that I am the secret author of the speech) will now have the greatest fun in making me responsible for Mr Borkheim, his follies and eccentricities, instead of attacking my book. If anything of that kind should occur, you will have to use Warnebold, etc., to place some short articles in the newspapers to which you have access, to expose these tactics and, without insulting Borkheim in any way, nevertheless to state quite plainly that only ill intention or an exceedingly uncritical mind could identify things that are so disparate. The baroque and confused manner in which our views are reflected in Borkheim’s mind (from the moment he ceases to speak and starts to write), will naturally offer the vile press-gang the most welcome excuse for an offensive and might even indirectly serve to harm my book.

However, if, as I scarcely dare to hope, since Borkheim is meticulously despatching his progeny to all the newspapers, the press says nothing about it, you must do absolutely nothing to break this solemn silence.

If Borkheim were not a personal friend, I should publicly disown him. You will understand my fausse position and at the

---

a S. Borkheim, Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève. b a man of some wit. c The original has: verkladderadatscht—from Kladderadatsch, a German satirical weekly. d in his note on the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva, see Neue Zürcher-Zeitung, No. 254, 13 September 1867. e false position
same time my vexation. Here one is presenting to the public a work that has cost much trouble to write (and perhaps no work of this kind has ever been written in more difficult circumstances), with the purpose of giving the greatest possible lift to the party and of disarming even ill-disposed critics by the very method of its exposition, and at that same moment a member of the party clad in cap, bells and motley insists on standing next to one in the market-place and provokes a barrage of rotten apples and eggs, which may hit one in the head even as a party member!

Your manoeuvres against Vogt in Geneva have greatly satisfied me.487 I am glad you like my book.

Concerning your questions:

Ernest Jones had to speak as a party man to Irish men in Ireland, in other words, since the big landownership there is identical with English proprietorship of Ireland, he had to speak against the big landownership. You must never look for any matters of principle in hustings speeches by English politicians, but only for what is immediately expedient.

Peonage is the advancing of money against future labour. The consequences of these advances are the same as with ordinary usury. The worker does not merely remain in debt throughout his life, thus performing forced labour for his creditor, but the relationship is inherited by the family and the next generation, who thus actually belong to the creditor.495

The completion of my second volume depends chiefly on the success of the first. This I require in order to find a publisher in England, and, without the latter, my material circumstances will remain so difficult and disruptive that I shall be able to find neither time nor peace for speedy completion. Naturally, these are things which I do not wish Mr Meissner to know. It thus now depends on how skilful and active my party friends in Germany are, whether the second volume takes a long or a short time to appear. Considered criticism—whether from friend or foe—can only be expected to appear gradually, as one needs time to read and digest such a compendious and, in parts, difficult work. But its immediate success will not be decided by considered criticism, but, to put it bluntly, by making a noise and beating the drum, which compels even the adversaries to speak. To begin with, it is less important what is said than that something should be said. Above all, no time must be lost!

I have sent your last letter to Engels for him to send you the

---

a gratified
necessary suggestions. He can write about my book better than I can myself.

My kindest compliments to your dear wife.\(^a\) One of these days I shall send her a recipe for reading the book.\(^b\)

Yours

K. M.

Please keep me *au fait* with all developments in Germany respecting Volume I.

Paul *Stumpf* (Mainz) has written me a letter\(^d\) in which he calls Borkheim's speech 'my' speech, and as at present I have *no time* to write to Stumpf, you would oblige me by writing to him yourself to tell him the true situation and to advise *silence* when Borkheim's pamphlet appears. *Entre nous*\(^e\) Stumpf tends to put his foot in it himself whenever he takes up the pen.

---

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 3, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

---

267

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

Manchester, 12 October 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Marx sent me your letter of the 8th,\(^493\) believing I would be better able to give you the right ideas for a review of his book\(^f\) than he could himself. To save trouble, I have just set out what are, in my opinion, the most suitable ideas for the *populus*\(^8\) in two complete articles which will probably be appropriate for almost any bourgeois paper\(^496\); they may, however, be of use to you until you have worked your way through the 50 sheets' yourself, for writing both long and short articles for other publications. The

\(^{a}\) Gertruda Kugelmann - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 490. - \(^c\) informed - \(^d\) of 29 September 1867 (see this volume, p. 434) - \(^e\) Between ourselves - \(^f\) the first volume of *Capital* - \(^8\) public
main thing is not what and how but that the book be discussed, and that the Fauchers, Michaelis, Roschers and Raus forced to express an opinion on it. In as many papers as possible, political and other, wherever it can be done. Long and short notices, provided they come thick and fast. We must make it impossible for these gentlemen to pursue their policy of total silence, which they would dearly love to try, and indeed as quickly as possible. Make sure you always send a copy of what is printed to Marx, so that we, and Meissner, too, are informed of events.

Liebknecht is giving a pretty good account of himself in the Berlin cattle-shed. He is consistently voting against everything and also made a good maiden speech—immediately interrupted by Zeus Cronion Simson. And what’s more, his motion was the only sensible one.

I hope all has been well with you since my departure. I have been back here for 2 months now, sitting at my office desk and frittering good time away with this lousy commerce. You will have heard about our little Fenian coup de main here. The affair was splendidly organised and executed; but the ringleaders were caught unfortunately.

With best greetings.

Yours

F. Engels

Marx expressly asks that all the articles should be placed there immediately and that you should only send them to him after publication.


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

---

a A reference to the North German Reichstag. - b surprise attack - c This sentence was written by Engels in the margin.
Dear Moor,

I have written Kugelmann two articles about the book from different points of view and sent them to him\textsuperscript{496}; I think they are such as almost any newspaper can take, and he can do others from them. That should help him a bit.

I shall be writing to Siebel tomorrow. I must first know where the fellow is and how his health is.\textsuperscript{498}

Borkheim written to.\textsuperscript{151}

Liebknecht is doing very well; he has retained sufficient from us to realise that the only correct policy consists in voting against everything without exception. This he has faithfully done so far. If you should be writing to him again these days, you can draw his attention to the following: the final article of the law on freedom of movement reads: this law shall not apply to the Aliens' Police.\textsuperscript{499}

With the consequence that what one gains as a North German citizen, one loses again as an 'alien'. It would have a great effect here if Liebknecht were to propose: the Aliens' Police be abolished. Only on the Continent does such an absurdity exist; the proposition would have a great effect. In fact, it would in general strengthen his position to suggest he chaff the bourgeois members with the fact that he, the communist, is obliged to champion their own interests despite their opposition. Liebknecht's speech was much better in the \textit{Kölnische Zeitung}, by the way, than in the \textit{Zukunft}.\textsuperscript{486}

I was very pleased to read the things about Vogt.\textsuperscript{a} For all his manoeuvres, your attack\textsuperscript{b} has put paid to him entirely, and only the liberal bourgeoisie still considers him the German Véron.

All that Stumpf\textsuperscript{c} is asking for is that you supply him with theoretical and factual material to explain how it comes about that the petty bourgeois gradually yields to the proletarian. And you know that as well as I do, but you just want to get out of the work. Of course, good old Stumpf thinks that one page of a letter would suffice—for him to learn how to handle the question. That, however, I would doubt.

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 433. - \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, \textit{Herr Vogt}. - \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, pp. 433-34.
Dronke. Borkheim is just as much of a scandalmonger as the little fellow himself, and if the 2 of them say anything about each other, it will be six of one and half a dozen of the other. Dronke still has enough jus in his little head to take care to avoid direct criminal prosecution, within the periods prescribed by present extradition treaties. You know, by the way, how in commerce even the most blatantly criminal affairs can be taken care of simply as civil law cases. But the little fellow has certainly been too clever by half and much too greedy.

Strohn is the same curious old fellow as ever. Fancy him applying a remark to himself the moment that I make it, when he has made it countless times himself!

I cannot wait to see Borkheim’s ‘Pearl’. In the matter of literary vanity, the fellow is pure ‘Yid’.

Gumpert has a cousin staying here, ex- Electoral-Hessian, now Prussian lieutenant. The fellow enlisted with the Prussians, full of high expectations, but found the old pack-drill in full flower once again. Gymnastics, etc., performed by commands, parading, ramrod marching order, etc. Some of it may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the latest successes have also lent a certain sanction to military display. The exaggeration derives from the disagreeable impression, which the newly recruited officers have already received, that 9 out of every 10 of them will never reach the rank of staff-officer. And the fellow is just looking for an opportunity to extricate himself.

Kindest regards to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

---

\(^a\) See this volume p. 434. \(^b\) Ernst Dronke. \(^c\) juridical knowledge. \(^d\) See this volume, p. 438. \(^e\) S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. \(^f\) i.e., Prussian victories in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866
Dear Fred,

You will see from the enclosed letter No. II from Juch that, although Achilles\(^a\) is dead, Beta is still alive. Juch's letter was probably provoked by the fact that Beta speaks well of Kinkel but not Freiligrath, and that Beta's article also contains some malicious remarks directed at Juch. When Freiligrath and Juch form an alliance, they are incapable of producing even a bad joke. For which reason I am to be incited to action, being 'thoroughly venomous', as Beta calls me in that vile scrawl of an article he wrote: 'Die Deutschen in London', which begins with the Norman Conquest and ends with that oily Jew Bender as the sole epitome of mankind in England.

This is about the 6th time now that Mr Juch has offered me his stale columns\(^b\) for the purpose of 'self-glorification', for him a well proven tactic which he has used, successfully of course, with Blind, Kinkel, Freiligrath, and Heintzmann. I wrote him a few lines only.\(^{111}\) And not to Mr. Freiligrath's liking either. I told him privatim of what happened at Beta's How do you do? editorial office when I went there in the company of Ziegenhainer, Freiligrath, and our W. Wolff.\(^{501}\) So as to give him one bad joke for his trouble, I told him that I would not allow Kinkel the credit for being more than the $\alpha$ and $\omega$ to this Beta.

Typical of Juch: he sends me Payne's people's calendar\(^{502}\) which contains the corpus delicti (like all such abominations in Germany, Gartenlaube, etc., this calendar has 250,000 subscribers), along with the inevitable invoice for 11d., which I immediately enclosed with my reply. Though admittedly he was once more on the threshold of the Bankruptcy Court and has with great difficulty settled with his creditors for monthly payments of 2s. 6d. in the £.

How shall I answer the enclosed from Nahmer?\(^{503}\)

Has Borkheim sent you the Courrier français with the translation of my preface? I am asking because poor Lafargue is on tenterhooks for 'your verdict'—every day. The Belgian Liberté

---

\(^{a}\) Ferdinand Lassalle  
\(^{b}\) in the Hermann  
\(^{c}\) to the first volume of Capital
arrived today, having ditto printed the préface, with very 'fulsome' preamble, in which it reminds the Belgian government of my expulsion. I had already replied to Liebknecht, but had to write to him again today because I only today received the 2 acts relating to the Trade Unions Commission. Your tips attached to my letter.

Salut. Compliments to Mrs Burns.

Your
Moro

First published slightly abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 October 1867

Dear Moor,

In the greatest of haste, just this:

Borkheim wants me to allow a bill to be drawn on myself, which more than anything else I am not permitted to do. I have written to him that I will give him a guarantee for the £150 (having at the same time increased the amount) and am prepared to give him privativum any security that it will be paid any time after 1 August 1868, and asked him whether in these circumstances he can raise the money. He has said nothing further about the loan. Perhaps it would be best if you saw him, as he is going away at the end of the week and will not be back for a fortnight.

Your
F. E.

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

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

---

a See this volume, p. 445. - b Ibid., pp. 436, 437 and 439.
Dear Kugelmann,

You must not write to Borkheim. It would be pointless in any case as the work has already been announced in the Buchhändler-börsenblatt and is being already published by Schabelitz. Moreover, Borkheim himself is now in Bordeaux: such a letter from you could have no effect whatsoever except to make an enemy of Borkheim for me.

Ce qui est fait, est fait! Never mind! It was just that, my mind being in a turmoil from working all night, I at first exaggerated the gravity of the événement. And indeed, je suis puni par où j'ai péché! You see I was amused at premier abord by the thought of the scandal that our friend would create amongst the respectable philistines of Geneva. Of course, I did not foresee the fruits it would bear in the book trade. I should, moreover, have reflected that, in working out his plan, Borkheim would naturally overstep the bounds of prudence which I suggested to him in my letter. The only policy we can pursue now is silence, for as long as our opponents do not speak; as soon as they speak and attempt to hold me responsible, we must make bad jokes about their being obliged to burden me with Borkheim's pranks in order not to have to reply to my book. Borkheim ought furthermore to be treated indulgently in that event, for after all, except for his literary vanity, he is a capable and well-meaning man, and good as an homme d'action, as long as his sense of devilry does not get the better of him.

You will probably already have received Engels' recipes. I am in correspondence with Liebknecht and Becker.

By the 'success of the book', I only meant that it should sell quickly, on account of the effect this will have back in England.

The Courrier français (at present the Paris daily which creates the biggest stir) and the Liberté in Brussels have published a

---

a S. Borkheim, Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève. — b Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, No. 230, 3 October 1867. — c What is done, is done. — d event — e I am punished for my sins! — f initially — g the first volume of Capital — h man of action — i Johann Philipp Becker
French translation of my preface along with complimentary preambles.\textsuperscript{456}

One Nahmer in New York has offered his services as English translator over there.\textsuperscript{503} Quod non.\textsuperscript{a}

I am very pleased with Liebknecht’s performance in Berlin.\textsuperscript{486} I sent him over some instructions from here.

Poor Becker has reached such a pass that he is on the verge of abandoning politics and writing altogether.\textsuperscript{506} How one regrets not being able to help in such circumstances!

My compliments to your dear wife and my little friend,\textsuperscript{b} for whose portrait I have not yet thanked you.

Yours

K. M.

First published in \textit{Die Neue Zeit}, Bd. 2, Nr. 3, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

\textbf{272}

\textbf{ENGELS TO MARX}\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{IN LONDON}

Manchester, 18 October 1867

Dear Moor,

I have written to Borkheim that I cannot accept in any circumstances and that now that I have guaranteed him the amount, it all depends on his sources of credit, as mine are tied up.\textsuperscript{c}

The letters returned enclosed. Liebknecht appears to have been sick, or else he could surely have said something about the combination law. Perhaps it is better so. Schweitzer has shown himself to be a vain jackass and phrasemonger. He’s finished now.\textsuperscript{507}

I was much amused by the Beta correspondence.\textsuperscript{d}

The \textit{Courrier français}\textsuperscript{e} has arrived, but I have no time whatsoever to form an opinion of it today.

\textsuperscript{a} Impossible. - \textsuperscript{b} Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann - \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, p. 448. - \textsuperscript{d} Ibid., p. 447. - \textsuperscript{e} No. 308 of 6 October 1867 containing a French translation of part of Marx’s preface to the first volume of \textit{Capital}. 
I could write another 4-5 articles about your book\textsuperscript{a} from various points of view, but don't know where to place them. Goodness knows where Siebel is! Maybe in Algiers or in Palermo! But I hope to have an answer from him soon. If I could have them copied in London, so that my handwriting would not be recognised, it might after all be wisest to send them to Meissner.

Kindest regards to all.

Your
F. E.

---

**ENGELS TO HERMANN MEYER**\textsuperscript{10}

**IN LIVERPOOL**

Manchester, 18 October 1867

Dear Meyer,

I received your telegram this morning and can't say how sorry I am that I am unable to go to Liverpool this evening. My associé\textsuperscript{b} and our chief clerk\textsuperscript{c} are both away tomorrow, and so I have to be here to sign cheques and keep an eye on everything myself. Moreover, we close at 1 o'clock here on Saturdays, and as you yourself are not arriving in Liverpool until about 11 o'clock this evening and the *Russia* sails at 12 o'clock, you will see for yourself that there is nothing to be done.

Please write your address and Mrs Weydemeyer's on the enclosed piece of paper and then hand in the envelope at the hotel for posting. Please convey my hearty greetings to Mrs Weydemeyer and tell her I would have written her a few lines long ago if I had known her address.

I hope you will be able to bring Marx's book\textsuperscript{a} to the attention of the German-American press and of the workers. With the

\textsuperscript{a} the first volume of *Capital* - \textsuperscript{b} Gottfried Ermen - \textsuperscript{c} Charles Roesgen
8-hour-agitation that is in progress in America now, this book with its chapter on the working day will come at just the right time for you over there, and, in other respects too, it is likely to clarify people's minds on a variety of issues. The future of the party in America will be greatly beholden to you for any step you can take in that direction.

Please pass on my best greetings to Jacobi in New York as well. Have a safe journey!

Yours most sincerely
Friedrich Engels


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

274

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 October 1867

Dear Fred,

As regards Borkheim, I told him: what Engels wrote is final and is not subject to 'negotiation'. He (today he left for Bordeaux) let himself be ruled by me to the extent of paying out £40 to me and promising to find the rest by 10 November without further prevarication if you were unable, etc. But as a businessman and a Jew he had to make just one more attempt!

Incidentally, Borkheim has just had a hugely gratifying experience. Schabelitz put an exceedingly bombastic notice of Borkheim's 'Perle' in the Buchhändlerbörsenblatt, in which Borkheim is featured as Peter the Hermit vis-à-vis Russia. Well! The Moscow Newspaper has printed this (in translation) as a curiosity, and he thus had the pleasure of seeing himself and his name in print in Russian! He showed me a copy and interpreted it for me.

a Abraham Jacobi  b S. Borkheim, Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève.  c Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, No. 230, 3 October 1867.  d Московские ведомости, No. 210, 28 September 1867.
Lafargue was put to a deal of trouble translating Borkheim’s French at least passably into French. I had to give him some assistance, of course, especially for the quotations from Kant, Fichte and Hegel, which Borkheim probably did not quite understand even in German. But he has these gentlemen in his library.

I am glad the matter is thus settled. In recent weeks I have found it perfectly impossible to write for more than maybe 2 hours. Apart from the incursions from without, there are all the aggravations of home life, which I always find especially nerve-racking. I have been suffering from insomnia again and had the pleasure of seeing 2 small carbuncles blossom near the membrum. Fortunately, they have faded away. My sickness always originates in the mind. While on the subject of the membrum, may I commend the following lines to you for Moore from the French satirist of the 16th century, Mathurin Régnier. Well-read though I am in this field, I do not think that chaude pisse has ever been more poetically described:

Mon cas, qui se lève et se hausse,  
Bave d’une estrange façon;  
Belle, vous fournîtes la saussse,  
Lors que je fournis le poisson.

Las! si ce membre eut l’arrogance  
De fouiller trop les lieux sacrés,  
Qu’on lui pardonne son offence,  
Car il pleure assez ses péchés.  

And this by the same poet is not bad either:

Fluxion D’Amour

L’amour est une affection  
Qui, par les yeux, dans le cœur entre,

---

a See this volume, pp. 435-36.

b My will, which riseth up in pride,  
Doth spout most curiously;  
The sauce, my love, thou didst provide,  
The fish it was from me.

Ah, did that member overween  
To delve the sacred place?  
Pray pardon him his grievous sin,  
He weepeth his disgrace.

M. Régnier, Stances.
Finally:

**Lizette tuée par Régnier**

Lizette, à qui l'on faisait tort,
Vint à Régnier tout éplorée,
Je te pry: Donne-moi la mort,
Que j'ai tant de fois désirée!
Lui, ne la refusant en rien,
Tire son... vous m'entendez bien;
Et dedans le ventre la frappe.
Elle, voulant finir ses jours,
Lui dit: Mon cœur, pousse toujours,
De crainte que je n'en réchappe.
Régnier, las de la servir,
Craignant une seconde plainte,
Lui dit: Hastez-vous de mourir,
Car mon poignard n'a plus de pointe.

2 Freiligrath snippets enclosed.\(^{508}\)

Enclosed 2 *Courrier français* and 1 *Liberté*. There is no need for you to send back these journals. But do keep them! I have not

\(^{a}\) **Love's Fluxion**

Our love is an affection
That by our eyes attains the heart,
Then takes the form of fluxion
And issues through the nether part.

M. Régnier, *Épigrammes*, X.

\(^{b}\) **Lizette slain by Régnier**

Lizette, beset by slander's breath,
To Régnier came with tearful eyes:
My friend, I pray thee, give me death,
Therein my only yearning lies.
He, ever eager to obey,
Unsheaths his... what more need I say?
And at her belly lunges low.
She, hoping that he her would kill,
Tells him, my heart it yearneth still,
I fear I shall my fate forego,
But Régnier, weary of his pledge,
Fearing a second suppliant cry,
Tells her, oh haste thee now and die,
For this my sword has lost his edge.

M. Régnier, *Épigrammes*, XV.
read the nonsense in the *Courrier* on the *Art Militaire*, but I did read Proudhon on the *generatio aequivoca*! I suspect that *l'un vaut l'autre.*

H. Meyer was here the day before yesterday *en route* for America. Perhaps he called on you, too.

Let me have your recipes\(^c\) for the German newspapers. I will have them copied out and find the most suitable placements. They will even find *double emploi*,\(^d\) at least in part, as Meyer was also asking for something of the kind for over there and will put them to good use. As soon as this has been done in Germany—*and that is the most important thing, for success here* depends largely on what happens there—you must write a critique for *The Fortnightly Review*.\(^5\) Beesly will get it in. This is a necessary prerequisite to *catch a publisher in London*. The paper is secretly (so secretly that not a soul notices it) of Comteist persuasion, but wishes to provide an outlet for *every* point of view. If your critique arouses Mr Lewes’ (the Goethe man, and unfortunately semi-Comteist, too) interest in the book (Lewes is secretly also *co-proprietor* of the *Review*), it will be easy to find a publisher. And even without that, a publisher will in any case be easier to find then. The latest number contains a truly pitiful article by Thornton, in which he reproduces *Malthusianism* (in which the real *mongers* do not believe) in the most commonplace and trivial form.\(^e\)

What our party lacks is money, as the enclosed letters from Eccarius and Becker once more painfully demonstrate.\(^5\) But for this deficiency, we should always be, despite great and irreplaceable losses, today as in 1848, *les plus forts.*\(^f\)

Regards to Mrs Lizzy.\(^8\)

Your

K. M.

---

\(^a\) spontaneous generation - \(^b\) the one is as bad as the other. A reference to L. Nouguès, *L'Art militaire et le progrès* (*Le Courrier français*, Nos. 123 and 125, 18 and 20 October 1867) and to P. J. Proudhon, ‘Lettres inédites de P.-J. Proudhon sur les générations spontanées’ (ibid., Nos. 121, 123 and 124, 16, 18 and 19 October 1867). - \(^c\) reviews of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 451) - \(^d\) double utilisation - \(^e\) W. T. Thornton, ‘Stray Chapters from a Forthcoming Work on Labour’, *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. II, No. 10, 1 October 1867. - \(^f\) the greatest force - \(^8\) Lizzy Burns
Dear Moor,

The letters from Becker and Eccarius returned enclosed. The lack of money is, of course, a great misfortune for the party, and a yet greater one for those poor devils.

Siebel has written to me from Honnef on the Rhine that he is coming here at the beginning of November to embark at Liverpool again for Madeira. He says I should send him the articles\(^b\) by return; this evening I shall set to work to knock a few into shape for him. What I am writing for the German press is, of course, all dressed up in disguise; I shall have to write differently for America, since one can take greater liberties there.

Sam Moore has written from Eisenach; he seems to be making considerable progress with his German.

I am greatly amused by Liebknecht. It is truly fortunate that he is still thoroughly infected with the South-German-Federalist nonsense and can consequently attack Bismarckism with great singleness of purpose and with undaunted moral indignation. A somewhat more critical and more dialectical outlook would only sow confusion in his mind and lead him astray. He has obviously taken Lupus in the Frankfurt Parliament\(^511\) as his model and has properly earned his call to order by describing the Reichstag as the fig-leaf of naked absolutism. You will have seen that he has inserted a paragraph for the protection of factory children in the combination law.\(^512\)

The Party of Progress\(^99\) has rejected the Commission of Inquiry as not being within the competence of the Reichstag.\(^504\) The Confederation is, however, competent to deal with all matters of trade and industry, only the Reichstag cannot appoint a commission, although it can indeed request the Federal authority to do so.

In the interest debate Bismarck has rejected the idea of granting the mortgage banks state assistance, saying that if it is a question of state support, this could only be approved for the workers’

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 455. - \(^b\) on the first volume of Capital
associations at most. So, the scoundrel still thinks he can dupe the workers.

Victor Emmanuel appears to be playing a most risky game. For all that, the Roman fracas is not yet over. The air is becoming more electric every day, and I should not be at all surprised if the storm were to break right next spring.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and Doctor Eisenbart.a

Your

F. E.

I'm glad the Borkheim business is straight now. Under no circumstances can I give Gottfried Ermen a pretext just now to terminate his contract with me on the grounds of direct breach of contract. I hope the money drives away your carbuncles; don't forget to take plenty of exercise in the open air.

I shall be glad to do the thing for The Fortnightly Review. But you must let me know about how much space I am allowed for it. I presume you will prefer me to summarise, so as briefly to give the main points of the book—origin of capital—surplus-value—working day—revision of Ricardo's laws, etc., etc., after all I really cannot criticise the thing. I should also like to know approximately when the thing must be complete. It is too late for the 1 November number, so for the 1 December number it will have to be.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

276

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 November 1867

Dear Moor,

What is the matter? Why have I not heard from you at all? Ever since your last letter I have been in constant fear that you have the

a Paul Lafargue (Engels jocularly calls Lafargue by the name of a wandering German physician, which became synonymous with a quack) - b the first volume of Capital
DEAR FRED,

Although none of my recent carbuncles has fully developed, fresh ones are forever appearing; they always disappear again, but fret me. And then my old insomnia. But it has been better for about the last 3 days. The silence about my book a makes me fidgety. I have had no news of any kind. What good fellows the Germans are! Their achievements in the service of the English, French and even the Italians in this field would indeed entitle them to ignore me and my affairs. Our people over there do not have the knack

a the first volume of Capital - b Benjamin Disraeli - c Victoria
of agitation. Meanwhile, we must do as the Russians do—wait. Patience is the core of Russian diplomacy and of their successes. But the likes of us, who only live once, may well never live to see the day.

Letter enclosed from the German communist association. Well meant. But strangely louche in style.

Enclosed letter from Maughan, man of private means, old Owenite, very decent fellow. These people are obviously intending to emancipate the freethink movement from the professional agitators Bradlaugh, etc. I very politely declined. On the one hand, it is true that I would thereby have had the chance, which I am wanting so much, of becoming acquainted with all manner of people who are to a greater or lesser extent, directly or indirectly, connected with the English press. On the other hand, I have not the time, nor do I think it right that I should figure on the leading committee of any English sect.

A certain Auberon Herbert, brother of the Earl of Carnarvon and cousin to Stepney (who is member of our central council) and much dabbling in socialism (i.e., co-operative dodges, etc.), has asked Stepney to arrange a rendezvous with me. As I first want to have sight of the man and smell him over, I have made an appointment to see him next Tuesday at the Cleveland Hall, where we hold our meetings. This 'channel' (Vogt) may perhaps prove useful for reaching publishers.

Apropos. Subscriptions for the International: now have to be renewed. As soon as Moore is back send your subscriptions to me per Post Office Order (Charing Cross), but drawn on our treasurer: Robert Shaw, 62 Hall Place, Hall Park, London W. It would be desirable for Schorlemmer to send his at the same time as you, even if only a few shillings. Is he back yet? When shall I be getting his Chemistry?

I don't know whether you are familiar with the course of the Italian affair, fragments of which have accidentellement found their way into the English and German press in the form of extracts from Russian and other papers. It is easy to lose track of such threads.

At the time of the Luxemburg affair Mr Bonaparte came to an agreement (informal) with Victor Emmanuel, by which the latter was given the right to annex the remaining Papal States.

\[ a \] The original has: Egerton Herbert. \[ b \] H. E. Roscoe, Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft. Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer. \[ c \] by chance
except Rome, in exchange for offensive alliance against Prussia in the event of war. But when the Prussian horns’ nest turned into good will to all men, Mr Bonaparte began to regret the thing and with his usual cunning attempted to betray Emmanuel and make advances to Austria. As we all know, nothing came of it in Salzburg either, and so for a while the witches’ cauldron that is Europe appeared not to seethe. Meanwhile the Russian gentlemen, who had as usual procured a copy of the agreement, thought the moment had come to inform Mr Bismarck of it, who, in his turn, had the Prussian envoy lay it before the Pope. Whereupon, at the Pope’s instigation, the pamphlet written by Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans. On the other side, Garibaldi set on by Emmanuel. Subsequently: Rattazzi dismissed as an enemy of Prussia and Bonapartist. Hence the present imbroglio. That scoundrel Bonaparte is now up to his eyes in the mire. War, not just with Italy, but Prussia and Russia, and in a cause which in France enjoys the most fanatical hatred of Paris, etc., hated in England, etc.—or yet another retreat! The fellow attempted to save himself by appealing to Europe, a European Congress. But Prussia and England have already sent him their reply, that, having made his bed, he must now lie on it. The fellow does not know what year it is. He is no longer secret general to Russia and Europe.

If retreat, then with present corn-prices, business in crisis and disaffection in France revolution is possible one fine morning.

One good thing about our Bismarck—although he is the chief instrument of Russian intrigues—is that he is pushing things towards crisis in France. However, in respect of our German philistines, their entire past has shown that unity can only be imposed on them by the grace of God and the sabre.

The Fenian trial in Manchester exactly as was to be expected. You will have seen what a scandal ‘our people’ have caused in the Reform League. I sought by every means at my disposal to incite the English workers to demonstrate in favour of Fenianism.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I once believed the separation of Ireland from England to be impossible. I now regard it as inevitable, although Federation may follow upon separation. The way the English are proceeding is

---

a Karl Georg von Usedom  b Pius IX  c confusion
shown by the Agricultural Statistics for this year, which appeared a few days ago. Over and above that the manner of the eviction. The Irish Viceroy, Lord Abicorn\(^a\) (the name is something like that), has 'cleared' his estate in the last few weeks by forcibly driving thousands from their homes. Among them, well-to-do tenant-farmers, their improvements and capital investments being thus confiscated! In no other European country has foreign rule assumed this form of direct expropriation of the natives. The Russians confiscate only for political reasons; the Prussians in West Prussia buy out.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

278

ENGELS TO MARX\(^{522}\)

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 November 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed placed in the Elberfelder Zeitung by Siebel.\(^b\) It is such a pity that the poor devil, who will probably be arriving here tomorrow, will have to leave straight away, he would probably have arranged a few more things. However, I will see what else he can do, perhaps something will be possible nonetheless.

Notre ami\(^c\) Kugelmann appears to have miscalculated in respect of the Hanoverian newspapers, too—at least, to my utter astonishment I discovered one of the articles\(^d\) sent him, and the tamest of them at that, shortened and mutilated to boot, in the Zukunft!\(^e\) We hardly needed amicum\(^f\) for that, and at all events I would have written differently for that paper. But I was writing for the national-liberal papers he had boasted about.

\(^a\) James Hamilton Abercorn - \(^b\) F. Engels, ‘Review of Volume One of Capital for the Elberfelder Zeitung’. - \(^c\) Our friend - \(^d\) on the first volume of Capital - \(^e\) F. Engels, ‘Review of Volume One of Capital for the Zukunft. - \(^f\) this friend
We must adopt a different approach. Have you Liebknecht's present address, or alternatively his old one in Leipzig? If you let me have it, I will spur him on a bit. I now realise that I shall have to write all the articles myself (Eccarius could probably also do one); the people on the Continent are finding the book is still lying too heavily on the stomach, and, if we are to wait until they have digested it, the opportunity will have been missed. I shall write to Kugelmann again, too, asking him at least what he has done with the other article and whether he can place any more.523 You must write to Meissner and ask whether they are sent to him, and where. In addition, I shall write to Klein in Cologne about the Rheinische Zeitung, and offer an article if need be. It is a dreadful handicap not being on the spot oneself. If we were in Germany, we should already have created a stir in all the papers, and have managed to get the book denounced, which is always the best thing.

Louis in Paris does not know which way to turn. What a mess he has got himself into! Either another retreat or war on behalf of the Pope. I can hardly believe that he has really served the Italians an ultimatum to evacuate Roman territory, no more than I can believe that he can let things rest with Moustier's churlish note.524 In either case, he is foutu. The present mood in Paris was shown at the cimetière Montmartre.525 Things may begin to happen any day now, and I hardly believe that the great man will celebrate another 2 December, or at least it will probably be for the last time. He is in such a bad way that even the philistines here only treat him as a common adventurer now.

If the storm does break, however, the revolution will everywhere be faced with a quite different situation from 1848. After last year, the disorganisation of that time will be out of the question in Germany, and even if an immediate violent uprising in Berlin has little chance, the impact of events would provoke clashes there, too, which would inevitably end in the downfall of the present regime. Monsieur Bismarck would very soon lose command of the situation. And then this time England would be dragged in straightaway and above all the social question would at once become the burning issue throughout Europe.

Yesterday Blackburn showed the depths to which the English judges have sunk when he asked the witness Beck (who had first sworn to William Martin, but said afterwards that it was John M.):

---

a See this volume, pp. 467-69. b Napoleon III. c Pius IX. d done for. e the anniversary of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851
THEN YOU SPOKE TO WILLIAM, AND YOU MEANT TO SWEAR TO JOHN? The whole prosecution will, I believe, crumble increasingly with each new batch of accused, the amount of perjury to get the £200 reward is quite incredible.

Can you tell me where I can find more details about Lord Abercorn's evictions? a

Louis in Paris would once more have to mind bombs and bullets. The Italians are not to be trifled with.

I shall return the Courriers b to you tomorrow if I can.

Kindest regards to your wife, the girls and the lovelorn cobbler. c

Your

F. E.

---

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

---

279

MARX TO ENGELS 522

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

My remerciments d for the Elberfelder: e

Liebknecht's old address: '11, Braustrasse, Leipzig.' By the way, perhaps safer to forward it through Kugelmann, who is in contact with a friend of Liebknecht's in Leipzig.

I forgot to tell you in my letter of Saturday f 1 sheet maximum for the Fortnightly g. 509 If longer than half a sheet, it should be set out as First Notice, Second Notice.

As regards Meissner, it appears to me to be undiplomatic to let him see into our cards too much. What he can do from his own resources, he does anyway. It would be important—and for the present more important than the English article—to send a more

---

a See this volume, pp. 461. - b Le Courrier français - c Paul Lafargue - d thanks - e F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of Capital for the Elberfelder Zeitung'. - f 2 November (see this volume, pp. 458-61) - g The Fortnightly Review
detailed report (perhaps broken down into several articles) to the Austrian *Internationale Revue* (Arnold Hilberg’s publishing house, 4, Kolowrat-Ring, Vienna). As Arnold Hilberg lists you and me as his contributors (and through me has asked us both for contributions), there are no obstacles here. It is in fact the sole German ‘Review’ which is open to us.

The only weekly paper here in London which has a certain impartiality and is much concerned with things German, such as German philology, natural science, Hegel, etc., is a—*Catholic paper, The Chronicle*. It is obviously their tendency to show that they are more learned than their Protestant rivals. I sent them one copy at the end of last week with *A Short Letter to the Purpose*, saying that my book does not share their opinions, but that the ‘scholarly’ nature of their paper suggests that ‘some notice will be taken of this first attempt at applying the dialectic method to Political Economy’.\(^{111}\) *Nous verrons!*\(^{b}\) There is a great desire prevailing at present in the more refined circles (I am referring, of course, to the intellectual portion of the latter) to become acquainted with the dialectical method. And perhaps that is after all the easiest way to get at the English.

The most interesting thing in the enclosed *Diplomatic Review* is the excerpts from the new book by Prokesch.\(^{c}\)

Detailed description of Abercorn’s evictions appeared about a fortnight ago in the (Dublin) *Irishman*.\(^{d}\) I may manage to get again the copy which was only lent me for 24 hours.

At the meeting presided over by Colonel Dickson and at which Bradlaugh delivered a lecture on Ireland, our old Weston, seconded by Fox and Cremer, put forward a resolution in support of the Fenians, which was passed unanimously. Last Tuesday ditto, during Acland’s lecture on the Reform Bill, Cleveland Hall (right above us, we were meeting downstairs in the coffee room, which is in the basement), tempestuous demonstration in favour of the Fenians. The business is boiling up in the intelligent section of the working class here.

How very characteristic of the diplomatic farce being enacted in Europe at present, that at the same time as Bonaparte is intervening in Italy, France, Italy and Prussia are jointly, and most

---

\(^{a}\) of the first volume of *Capital*; \(^{b}\) We shall see! \(^{c}\) ‘Conference held on August the 27th, 1822, at Constantinople. From the Work of Baron Prokesch’, *The Diplomatic Review*, 2 October 1867 (excerpts from the book by A. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom Türkischen Reiche im Jahre 1821*). \(^{d}\) See this volume, pp. 461 and 463. \(^{e}\) In this paragraph Marx refers to the meetings of the Reform League branches.
obediently at Russia's behest, delivering a threatening note to the Porte.\textsuperscript{526}

\textit{Salut.}

Your

K. M.

Old Urquhart with his Catholicism, etc., grows more and more disgusting.

\textit{On lit dans un registre d'une inquisition d'Italie cet aveu d'une religieuse; elle disait innocemment à la Madonne: 'Degrâce, sainte Vierge, donne moi quelqu'un avec qui je puisse pécher.'\textsuperscript{a} However, the Russians are \textit{plus forts}\textsuperscript{b} in this, too. A case is reported of a fellow in the best of health who emerged dead after only 24 hours in a Russian nunnery. The nuns had ridden him to death. Of course, in their case \textit{le directeur des consciences n'entre pas tous les jours}\textsuperscript{c}!}


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

280

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 November 1867

Dear Moor,

In great haste:

Siebel will be here tomorrow or in Liverpool, where I shall see him. He can place another 3 articles,\textsuperscript{d} which I have prepared at once and which we shall then despatch with all speed. If I had known that it would be so long before he came, he should have received them in Barmen long ago.

\textsuperscript{a} The following confession from a nun is to be found in an inquisition record in Italy, who innocently prayed to the madonna: 'I beg of you, Holy Virgin, send me someone with whom I may sin.'\textsuperscript{-b} stronger - \textsuperscript{c} the Father Confessor \textit{does not come in every day} - \textsuperscript{d} on the first volume of \textit{Capital}
The idea about the *Internationale Revue* had already occurred to me, too, and shall be attended to. Likewise with *The Fortnightly Review*, as soon as acceptance is assured.\(^509\) For the moment, however, I believe it is most important to create a rumpus in the German daily press, *pour forcer la main à ces gueux d'économistes*.\(^a\)

The downbreak of the police in the trial here has been more rapid and more complete than I had expected. But there is probably even better to come. Old Blackburn also appears to be changing his tune, today he complimented Ernest Jones most fulsomely on his speech.\(^497\)

Have you read Bismarck's instructions to Usedom (in the *Augsburger Abendzeitung*,\(^b\) denied, of course\(^518\))? The fellow is making no bones about exposing the Italians' intrigues with Bonaparte; one has to grant him that he is capable of the most undiplomatic manners if it suits him. (*Kölnische Zeitung* of Wednesday has reprinted it.) This stance of Bismarck's also explains the Italians' retreat and their present grovelling.

Concerning the true nature of the inspections, checks and interferences of the Prussian bureaucracy: my brother writes that the manufacturers want to set up an association on the Rhine and in the Ruhr, like the ones here, to have their boilers periodically examined by competent engineers, and he goes on to say of the government control:

>'Here at our place, a District Architect inspects 7 boilers in half an hour (!!) and goes home quite satisfied, in another factory a similar official *took 2 hours for 35 boilers*!! If anyone is so foolish as to imagine he can sleep soundly after such an inspection, he is, of course, deceived. It would be a real blessing if this nonsense were done away with and replaced by some sensible practical arrangement. At one inspection, *I first explained the boiler with all its fittings to the District Architect, then I carried out his instructions as well and finally wrote the report for the government for him.*'

There are the Prussians for you! Portrayed by themselves.

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

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

\(^{a}\) to force the hand of these miserable economists - \(^{b}\) *Augsburger Abendzeitung*, No. 303, 4 November 1867.
Dear Kugelmann,

Since my last letter neither Marx nor I have heard anything from you, and I can scarce believe that you are so deeply ensconced in some anteflexio uteri as to be entirely incommunicado. I have, moreover, a letter to send to Liebknecht, and Marx advises me to forward it to you, as we do not have the exact address and do not know whether he is in Berlin or Leipzig; I am therefore enclosing it.\(^{131}\)

The German press is still observing complete silence in respect of *Capital*, and it really is of the greatest importance that something should be said. I have discovered that one of the articles\(^{b}\) I sent you is in the *Zukunft*; I am sorry I did not know that it might eventually be destined for that paper; one could probably have taken greater liberties there. However, it does not matter. The main thing is that the book should be discussed over and over again, in any way whatsoever. And as Marx is not a free agent in the matter, and is furthermore as bashful as a young girl, it is up to the rest of us to see to it. Please be so kind therefore and let me know what success you have so far had in the matter, and which papers you think you may still be able to use. In the words of our old friend Jesus Christ, we must be innocent as doves and wise as serpents.\(^{c}\) The good old vulgar economists at least have enough intelligence to treat the book with respect and to take good care not to talk of it if they are not obliged to. And that is what we must *compel* them to do. If the book is being discussed in 15-20 newspapers at once—never mind whether favourably or not, whether in articles, regular features or unsolicited pieces in the correspondence section—even if merely as a phenomenon of some significance that merits attention, then the whole crowd of them will start yapping away, too, of their own accord, and the Fauchers, Michaelis, Roschers, and Max Wirths will then *have to* do the same. We have a moral obligation to

---

\(^{a}\) See this volume, pp. 443-44.  
\(^{b}\) F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*.  
\(^{c}\) Matthew 10:16
damned well get these articles into the papers, and as near simultaneously as possible, especially the European ones, and that includes the reactionary ones. In the latter, we might point out that the vulgarian gentlemen make a deal of noise in parliaments and economic gatherings, but now, when they are confronted with the consequences of their own science, they prefer to keep their mouths shut. And so forth. If you think my assistance would be desirable, let me know which paper you wish to have something for—in the service of the party I am always on call. The letter to Liebknecht concerns the same business, and you will therefore oblige me exceedingly by ensuring it reaches its destination.

The Roman affair has again been an absolute boon to us. The noble Bonaparte appears to me to be gargling his last gasp, and when this episode comes to an end in France, with the position in England becoming more revolutionary every day, and with revolution in Italy inescapable—, then this must surely also spell the end of the reign of the 'Europeans' in Germany. Rapid progress is being made here in England with the formation of a really revolutionary party, and revolutionary conditions are developing hand in hand with it. With his Reform Bill, Disraeli has thrown the Tories into confusion and routed the Whigs, although all he has done is to render it impossible to continue dilly-dallying as before. This Reform Bill will either prove to be nothing at all (and this is now impossible, there is too much momentum behind it), or it will infallibly and immediately bring in its train of an altogether different character, which will go much farther. The next steps, which will have to be taken forthwith, are the allotting of representatives in proportion to population and the secret ballot, and that will be the end of the old scheme of things here. The capital thing about Disraeli is that his hatred for the Country Gentlemen in his own party and his hatred of the Whigs have set things going on a course which can no longer be halted. You will be astonished, and the German philistines who think England is finished will be even more astonished, at what will happen here once the Reform Bill is in force. The Irish are also doing their bit to keep things properly on the boil, and every day the London proletarians are more openly declaring their support for the Fenians, in other words, and this is without precedent here and really splendid, for a movement that firstly advocates the use of force and secondly is anti-English.

Have you heeded my medical advice and taken to horseback?

---

a See this volume, pp. 361 and 372.
Since my return\footnote{449} I have again found the beneficial effects of riding amply demonstrated, and you will see how quickly all your complaints and reservations about drink disappear thanks to an hour's riding daily. As a gynaecologist, you owe it to science, for after all gynaecology is intimately connected with riding or being ridden, and a gynaecologist must therefore be in every sense the master of his mount.

Schorlemmer kept an eye open for you at the congress of naturalists in Frankfurt but maintains you were not there.

So, dear friend, let us hear from you soon. The photograph of Lupus has been ordered and will be ready as soon as the fine weather comes, unfortunately we do not have much daylight here in winter. Please convey my best compliments to your wife,\footnote{a} despite our being unacquainted, and best regards from

Yours
F. E.

Address: Ermen & Engels, Manchester FOR F. E.

20 November. Since I wrote the above, Marx has communicated to me your letter to him,\footnote{b} and I am sorry to see from it that we can hardly count on further press-notices in your locality. Might it not be possible, perhaps through third persons, to get attacks on the book, either from a bourgeois or a reactionary point of view, into some of the papers? This seems to me to be one means of publicity, and there would be no difficulty in producing the articles. And then: what about scientific journals, or purely literary or semi-literary ones?

Respecting the Rheinische Zeitung, I am writing to Cologne in case there has still been no progress.\footnote{525}

Büchner ought to be able to get things into the papers as well; you can refer him to me for the articles if necessary. Give him no peace.

I have still not received the photographs, but they are sure to come one of these days.

Once more, in all friendship

Yours
F. E.


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

\footnote{a} Gertruda Kugelmann \footnote{b} of 6 November 1867
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed from Kugelmann.
Salut.

Your
Moor

[Postscript from Laura Marx in English]

Dear Engels,

As Mohr's Secretary I am really rather ashamed to send off a letter of this kind.

Yours sincerely
Kakadou

First published in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930
Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 November 1867

Dear Moor,

What touching gaucheness in dear old Kugelmann's letter! And what discernment of character in respect of that Warnebold! The fellow extracts all his secrets from him, and all the while he is a Prussian spy! You must tell Kugelmann the truth about that cur—at least sufficiently to stop the Prussians learning every detail

a Laura's jocular nickname
of our activities. The cur is abusing your confidences, which absolves you from any obligation toward him.

I saw Siebel yesterday in Liverpool. I fear the poor devil's days are numbered. Since I last saw him, his disease has advanced considerably, his health broke down in Barmen, he has had 3 successive attacks of pleurisy and is coughing very violently (he calls them coughing-spasms, and they recur periodically), however he has lately regained some of his health and strength at Honnef on the Rhine. Unfortunately, I could only speak to him alone for a short while, there were always several relatives there apart from his wife. Despite that, we settled the most important things.

D'abord: Siebel has up to the present moment neither received a copy nor even seen one, although he wrote to Meissner asking to be sent one by post immediately on publication. Mr Rittershaus, however, who has not lifted a finger, has received one, and Siebel thought you had not sent him one at all, but had done so to Rittershaus, which may have piqued him. I naturally explained the true position to him, but a few lines from you to him, which you can enclose in a letter to me, really are called for. But you must now take Meissner to task forthwith for this negligence. This affair has cost us 20 short notices which Siebel would immediately have had in all the papers, but could not because he did not have the book. Furthermore, I must have a copy here by 22 November at the latest to send to Siebel in Madeira, where he will make up for lost time as far as he can. But really what can one say to such a slapdash approach? And these are the Germans who are demanding self-government and cannot look after their own business!

Of the 3 articles I took with me, we sent off 2 to the Frankfurter Börsenzeitung and to the Düsseldorfer Zeitung forthwith— the latter will do Mr Heinrich Bürgers good, with his circumspect scruples: my article—a very simple report, which makes no judgments and was composed for a national-liberal newspaper—is too dubious for that brute! Siebel took the 3rd with him, it will probably go to the Barmer Zeitung. Notices will also appear in all kinds of illustrated and other papers, as soon as Siebel himself has the book. Furthermore, the Weser-Zeitung will receive an article a tempo from him for its literary section, and one on the book, and will be faced only with the choice of taking both or neither. (Siebel is using the literary section articles as a bait for editors, they are desperate for them, and he often lets them pocket the fee

---
a Firstly - b of the first volume of Capital - c Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt - d F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of Capital for the Rheinische Zeitung' - e in time
themselves.) Other ideas will occur to him as soon as he has the book.

Ad vocem\(^a\) Freiligrath: that worthy's debts amounted to approx. £6,000, £4,000 with the Swiss Bank advanced for shares in the Mansfield Co. which are now worthless, and the rest debts of honour. The Comité\(^b\) has settled these debts at 5% dividend, a few of them at 10%. Freiligrath has thus gone bankrupt in optima forma.\(^b\) The collection will amount to approx. 30,000 talers. Freiligrath is said to have lied to the Comité through and through, concealed his debts and pretended his wife knew nothing of it and must not be allowed to know anything of it either, so that eventually they were very rude to him; even on the day when he knew that a letter was to arrive from London to say that the debts of honour totalled £2,000, he was still saying they were only £1,500, etc. In short, his conduct has been disgraceful and cowardly. I said I was quite convinced that dear old Ida\(^c\) knew all about it, to which he replied: how was it then possible for her to give fêtes\(^d\) last summer in Barmen? Just imagine, Ida goes a-begging and at the same time holds fêtes for the people she is begging from with the money that has not yet been given!

I am surprised Tussy\(^e\) has not yet sent me a receipt for my contribution to the Freiligrath funeral-fund. THAT IS NOT BUSINESSLIKE.

Your

F. E.

\(^{a}\text{Regarding}\) \(^{b}\text{in the best of form}\) \(^{c}\text{Ida Freiligrath}\) \(^{d}\text{parties}\) \(^{e}\text{Eleanor Marx}\) \(^{f}\text{the first volume of Capital}\)
had actually instructed him to send you the first copy to appear in Germany. I hope that Madeira will do you good.

Karl Marx


Printed according to the text of Volume XXV of the First Russian Edition

Translated from the Russian

Published in English for the first time

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

A letter from Russia enclosed and one from Solingen.\(^{582}\) I believe the Russo-German\(^{a}\) must be the same man that Meyer\(^{b}\) told us about.

Kugelmann has sent me a copy of the Deutche Volkszeitung (Hanover) containing a short notice of my book\(^{c}\) written by himself. In it, Kugelmann has imitated one of your articles,\(^{d}\) and by no means happily. As this paper is democratic, he could have gone into the content more. Among other things, he has me arrive ‘at the’ admittedly ‘astonishing conclusion that all capital is derived from unpaid labour power’. Among the ‘German authorities on political economy’ whose ‘verdict’ he seeks, Mr ‘Faucher’ (fortunately printed as ‘Taucher’) appears at the head of the list and Roscher at the end.

Your ‘revelations’ in respect of Freiligrath have created a great sensation here at home.

At this moment, Bonaparte has need of a riot or a secret society in Paris if he is to extricate himself from his predicament. For the time being, he is treating the Ligue de la Paix\(^{e}\)\(^{461}\) as such. However,

\(^{a}\) Joseph Dietzgen - \(^{b}\) Sigfrid Meyer - \(^{c}\) the first volume of Capital (Deutsche Volkszeitung, 10 November 1867) - \(^{d}\) F. Engels, ‘Review of Volume One of Capital for the Zukunft’ - \(^{e}\) League of Peace
that jackass Pyat is just now preparing the necessary *corpus delicti* for him from here.

I am being plagued by a carbunculum on the right side of my back.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

---

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

286

**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 24 November 1867

Dear Moor,

The letters returned enclosed.

So, yesterday morning, and by Mr Colcroft's hand, the Tories have really performed the ultimate act of separation between England and Ireland. The *only thing* the Fenians still lacked were martyrs. Derby and G. Hardy have now provided them with these. It was the execution of those 3\(^a\) which will transform the liberation of Kelly and Deasy into an act of heroism, such as will now be sung at the cradle of every Irish child in Ireland, England and America. The Irish women will see to that as surely as did the Polish womenfolk.

The only time that anyone has, to my knowledge, been executed for anything similar in a civilised state was the case of John Brown at Harpers ferry.\(^533\) The Fenians could not wish for a better precedent. And yet even the Southerners had the decency to treat J. Brown as a *rebel*, whereas here no effort is spared to convert an act of political violence into a common crime.

Everybody knows that while he was leading his band of ruffians at Boulogne, Louis Napoleon shot the duty-officer dead.\(^534\) He

---

\(^a\) the Fenians Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien
thus did what Allen is supposed to have done but did not do. For which the English government hangs Allen, while the English queen a kisses Louis Napoleon's cheek and the English aristocracy and bourgeoisie his backside.

The latter point should be made in the press.

Your
F. E.

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

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

287

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 November 1867

Dear Moor,

I have not received the promised letter *in quo tua res agebatur.* b

Meissner's proposal to send out new notices with excerpts from the reviews was what I had in mind to suggest to you as soon as Siebel's articles (i.e. the ones I gave him c) appear. The excerpt from the *Zukunft* is quite good, 535 but a few more would be even better; he should send you the whole caboodle, and you can then prepare a notice from it. Or if you do not wish to, then he can send it to me and I will do it. I was most struck by the fact that the first notice *took up precisely the same space* as the one for my little pamphlet, d and it had not a word of commentary with it. 536

If the matter does not turn out differently soon, then I shall have to write—with your consent of course—to Meissner and offer him articles written by myself for newspapers to be specified by him. I am sure that could not compromise you.

I have just managed to convey Meissner's excuses to Siebel 131 before the post office closed. They are admittedly persuasive,

a Victoria - b in which your business was dealt with (see next letter) - c F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Elberfelder Zeitung* and 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*. - d F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*
Siebel was at the time at a very low ebb and only recovered in Honnef.

You will have received my letter of Sunday with the returned letters.\(^a\) The Tanner\(^b\) returned enclosed, *autodidactum integrum*,\(^c\) which does not, however, mean that other nations are incapable of bringing forth such a Tanner. Philosophy, which in Jakob Böhme’s day was just a shoemaker, is making progress when it assumes the shape of a Tanner.

How is the carbuncle? I do not like its location, I hope Lafargue has lanced it for you. A stop really must be put to this business.

Has Borkheim paid you the money? He has not written a word to me, although I am guarantor.\(^d\)

Your

F. E.

---

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

288

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 November 1867

Dear Engels,

With regard to my private business (I intended writing to you on Saturday\(^e\) but was prevented on that and on the following days by people consulting me from every side about the Fernian Affairs,\(^{497}\) etc., in short, they were confiscating my time), Mr Borkheim—despite the best of intentions, I am sure—has throughout this month kept me suspended between frying pan and fire. You will see from his latest letter, of yesterday, that we are again faced with a new, indefinite delay. The worst part of it all is that he had positively promised me he would pay out the whole sum on the

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 474.  \(^b\) Joseph Dietzen  \(^e\) entirely self-educated  \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 436, 437, etc.  \(^e\) 23 November
10th of this month (at the latest), and I had made my dispositions with the creditors accordingly. The amount he has actually paid since he returned is £5. So, you will realise what trouble I find myself in. The state of my health has greatly worsened, and there has been virtually no question of working. I am furthermore expecting summonses any day, and we no longer know which way to turn from one day to the next.

With regard to Meissner, my view is that we should let him have a free hand with his notice, as everything else would mean further delay. Thimm told Borkheim that Meissner had requested all the booksellers to send any still unsold copies\(^1\) back to him (or to his agent in Leipzig). I have also heard from York, the Workers’ Society\(^2\) bookseller, that it is at the moment very difficult to obtain copies from Meissner. To me this indicates no more than 1. that the stock in Meissner’s hands is very small, 2. that he wants to know how much of the stock not in his hands is really sold, 3. he wants to force his business ‘friends’ to hold as much as possible at their own expense. I shall write to Meissner that should he need notices or reviews for certain newspapers or journals (and he must tell me which), he can obtain them from friends such as yourself, etc. Must keep me informed.

Dr Contzen, private lecturer in political economy at Leipzig, partisan and pupil of Roscher and friend of Liebknecht, has asked me through the latter for a copy with the promise of a detailed review. You will see that this has already been attended to through Meissner. Contzen is a good opening.

Liebknecht has sent me 50 of his pamphlets\(^3\) (of which I am sending you one today) for sale here, 3d. each. Lessner is seeing what can be done in the Workers’ Society.

The extract from Liebknecht’s speech at the Berlin Workers’ Society\(^4\) on the deferment of the ‘social question’ which he has published as an appendix admittedly gives some grounds for Kugelmann’s censure.\(^5\) As Liebknecht is asking you, among other things, to contribute to the little paper he is planning,\(^6\) you can give him a few hints privatim about how to combine political opposition with social agitation.

Letters from Liebknecht and Kugelmann enclosed.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

\(^{a}\) of the first volume of *Capital* - \(^{b}\) German Workers’ Educational Society in London - \(^{c}\) W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner ‘Reichstag’ sagte.*
What is the position regarding Mr Schorlemmer’s Chemistry\(^a\) which I was to receive?

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 5, Stuttgart, 1913

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

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

I see that I did not enclose the 2 letters from Borkheim for you. But it is not really necessary. Yesterday we had the ‘discussion’ he desired. He has reverted to the idea (which I suggested to him 2 months ago) of a loan from the ‘Atlas’ Life Assurance Company, whose secretary is a friend of his. I completed the papers yesterday at his house. You only figure as a reference on them. £150 (of which Borkheim would receive £45), repayable on 1 September.

I no longer have any faith in the success of Borkheim’s operations. I have no doubt about his good will.

Have you received his ‘Pearl’? (French and German so far\(^b\)).

Important letter from Schily enclosed. Please send it back by return; give your opinion at the same time. Whatever happens I shall not permit Moses\(^c\) to derive ‘profit’ from my work\(^d\) without profiting to some extent from it myself.\(^539\)

I am having to be diplomatic about Fenianism. I cannot keep entirely silent, but under no circumstances do I want the fellows, when criticising my book, to confine themselves to the statement that I am a demagogue.

I am sending you Borkheim’s Gentz (important for the article on

\(^a\) H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer*. \(^b\) S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève* (German edition: *Meine Perle vor dem Genfer Congress*). \(^c\) Moses Hess \(^d\) the first volume of *Capital*
Russia)² without his knowledge. Please return it to me as soon as you have finished.

I now have a rash of furuncles more or less all over, and am glad of it. It puts paid to the carbuncle malady.

Salut.

Your

Moro

*My compliments to Mrs Burns. Jenny goes in black since the Manchester execution,⁴⁹⁷ and wears her Polish cross on a green ribbon.*⁴⁵⁰

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

290

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 November 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed for your immediate relief £30 in 3 notes à 10, O/U 56068 to 70, Manchester, 9 January 1867. The letter from Borkheim was not enclosed. I have also received a letter from Kugelmann⁶ which I enclose and wish to have returned, I have to answer him.

Liebknecht would have done better to leave his pamphlet unprinted.⁵ His speeches appear better in the Kölnische Zeitung than in this form, and the stuff at the end indeed shows just how pig-headedly he is stuck in his errors.⁵³⁷ It is true I have already told him a thing or two by letter, but now that he is starting up another little paper, he must be told some more home truths.

---

we could do Bismarck no greater favour than to let ourselves be lumped together with the Austrians and South German Federalists, Ultramontanes and dispossessed princes. I am awaiting a letter from him daily and will then write to him about that, too.

How goes it with your health?

Your
F. E.

More tomorrow.
The Englishman in Kugelmann’s letter is Moore, who has greatly improved his German and is now sweating away assiduously at *Capital*. Schorlemmer’s book is still not out yet!!


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

291

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 28 November 1867

Dear Hermann,

Forgive me for leaving your two letters unanswered for so long. Many things were to blame for this, but above all the fact that yarns were certain not to go up for the time being and—with no demand from you at the moment—there was thus no danger in delay.

The *sewings* we normally send out bleached and dyed in the finer nos., are doubled by us from the same *cops* which we also send to you. (36/45 Taylor, finer No. Knowles.) But we can have these *cops* doubled by a *doubler* for you here, and the *sewings* would at today’s prices then cost

\[a\] H. E. Roscoe, Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer.
For diamond 2d., however, we use a yarn that has been doubled on the doubling frame but is more loosely spun; at today's prices that costs us:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.:</th>
<th>36</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19d.</td>
<td>19 ½d.</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>2/11</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am enclosing a sample of the latter in No. 60, but you also had some of this last spring, bale No. 319, delivery note 9 April, so you can compare whether you need this cheaper product or whether you must have the more expensive yarns with real sewing twist.

We are all expecting a drop in prices here in view of the exceptionally good American harvest. MIDDLING was selling at 6½ FREE ON BOARD in New Orleans. However, the spinning business is very much in the doldrums just now, and so when things first pick up again yarn might well remain stable, even if there is a fall in cotton. The fine nos. will hold their own best, the ordinary fine DOUBLES being already cheaper than in 1860 (16d. as against 18d. for 60/RFOLD). The prices I gave you overleaf are approximately the same as those at the end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860, the more expensive 60s being then at 2s. 5d., the 40s at 19d., and the cheaper 60s was anything a little more expensive then. I cannot make an exact comparison as we were not using the same threads in those days.

Otherwise everything is pretty much as usual here. From time to time, a bit of a tussle, now with Anton, now with Gottfried," ensures that our old love never fades.

I am wishing myself many happy returns of my birthday today from all of you, and send you all my very best wishes. I shall be answering mother's letter one day soon.¹³¹

Your
Friedrich

---

¹ Anton and Gottfried Ermen  -  ᵃ Elisabeth Engels'
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £30.

Letter from Kugelmann returned enclosed. We must watch out that he doesn't commit any stupidities in his enthusiasm. Such as with Miquel, for example.528

As regards the paper of the United States of Europe—a—and the contributions I have been asked for from Geneva—it is the purest nonsense. Mr K. Grün probably the editor. And the thing is in itself a FAILURE.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Cold and disagreeable though it is, I am supposed to circumambulate the Heath, etc., for a few days.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Published in English for the first time

---

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 November 1867

You can see how deucedly forgetful I am. I have just sent the letter off without enclosing Kugelmann.

Published in English for the first time

---

\(^a\) Les États-Unis d'Europe \(^b\) Hampstead Heath
Manchester, 29 November 1867
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Schily returned enclosed. Oh, Lord, have mercy upon us, here comes olle Moses\textsuperscript{a} pissing up to us again! And he is congratulating himself that you certified he was right when he asserted that capital is accumulated labour!

I would be just the tiniest bit reticent in respect of that worthy. He will then take the bait all the more surely, and you know how little we can trust him if we have not made quite sure of him. In my view, for the present you could permit him to publish a few extracts from it\textsuperscript{b} in the Courrier français, so that we may see how he proposes to handle the thing. He will naturally put his signature to these, and we shall thereby again have him to some degree qualified as a repentant sinner. Then you could talk about the translation of the whole book which he is envisaging; your right of revision always reserved; and discuss conditions as soon as a publisher has been found. What Schily says of Reclus seems important to me, as the man knows German.

You are perfectly right about the Fenians.\textsuperscript{c} The vile deeds of the English must not allow us to forget that most of the leaders of this sect are jackasses and some of them exploiters, and that we can, under no circumstances, make ourselves responsible for the idiocies that are perpetrated in any conspiracy. That there will be some, is certain.

I need hardly tell you that black and green\textsuperscript{d} are the prevailing colours in my house, too. The English press has again conducted itself abominably.\textsuperscript{497} Larkin is said to have fainted, and the others\textsuperscript{c} to have looked pale and confused. The Catholic priests who were there declare that is a lie. Larkin, they say, stumbled over an irregularity in the ground and all three showed great courage.

\textsuperscript{a} Moses Hess (olle—Low German for ‘old’) - \textsuperscript{b} the first volume of Capital - \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, pp. 478-79. - \textsuperscript{d} i.e., colours symbolising mourning and the struggle for the emancipation of Ireland - \textsuperscript{e} William Allen and Michael O’Brien
The Catholic Bishop of Salford complained bitterly that Allen refused to repent of his deed, saying he had nothing to repent, and if he were free, he would do the same thing again. The Catholic priests, incidentally, were very impudent, it was stated from the pulpit in every church on Sunday that these three men were murdered.

You will have received my letter of yesterday with the £30. As regards the life assurance, I am willing to guarantee the sum concerned, provided that Borkheim retains the original in his own keeping and merely gives the secretary a copy, in the hope that this will facilitate matters.

I agree that the furuncles appear to mark the crisis of the previous illness.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Now that Liebknecht has got a little paper for which we shall be held responsible, it is very important that he does nothing stupid in respect of his German policy. I am most impatient for a letter from him.

Apropos. From 1 January the Internationale Revue will appear as joint successor to a journal produced by Prutz which is to merge with it. Could put paid to our plans. How do you think we should broach the matter with Hilberg? We shall have to be cunning about it.

Your

F. E.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

295

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 November 1867

DEAR FRED,

Regarding Moses, I shall follow your prescription exactly. At all events, we must make use of the man and, at the same time,
prevent him from misusing us. Regarding Hilberg, it would indeed be a good thing if we could keep a hold on this Revue, being the only one still open to us, but how? is not yet clear to me. This morning I received a copy of Schorlemmer and send him my thanks for it.

If you have read the papers, you will have seen that 1. the International Council sent Memorial for the Fenians to Hardy, 2. the debate on Fenianism (a week ago last Tuesday) was public and The Times carried a report on it. There were also reporters there from the Dublin Irishman and Nation. I did not arrive until very late. (I have been suffering from a fever for about 2 weeks, and have only got over it in the last 2 days) and had not in fact intended to speak, first on account of my uncomfortable physical condition, and second because of the delicacy of the situation. However, the chairman Weston wanted to force me to, so I moved adjournment, which obliged me to speak last Tuesday. What I had in fact prepared for Tuesday last was not a speech but rather the points for a speech. However, the Irish reporters did not come, and by the time we had finished waiting for them it was 9 o'clock, whereas the premises were only available to us until 10½. At my suggestion, Fox had prepared a long speech (because of a quarrel on the Council he had made no appearance for 2 weeks, and furthermore sent in his resignation as member of the Council containing furious outbursts against Jung). When the séance opened I therefore declared that, on account of the related hour, I would yield the floor to Fox. In fact—because the executions in Manchester had intervened—our subject ‘Fenianism’ was bound up with the passions and heated emotions of the moment, which would have compelled me (though not the abstract Fox) to unleash a revolutionary thunderbolt, instead of the intended objective analysis of the situation and the movement. The Irish reporters thus did me a great service by staying away and so delaying the opening of the meeting. I do not enjoy getting embroiled with people like Roberts, Stephens, and the like.

Fox’s speech was good, first because it was delivered by an Englishman, and second insofar as it dealt only with political and international aspects. However, for that very reason he only skated over the surface of things. The resolution he brought forward was

---

silly and pointless.\textsuperscript{544} I opposed it and had it referred back to the Standing Committee.\textsuperscript{21}

What the English do not yet realise, is that since 1846 the economic content and hence the political purpose of English rule in Ireland as well has entered an entirely new phase, and that for that very reason Fenianism is characterised by socialist (in the negative sense, as directed against the appropriation of the soil) leanings and as a lower orders movement. What could be more absurd than to lump together the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to drive out the Irish by means of English colonists (in the Roman sense), and the present system, which wants to drive out the Irish by means of sheep, pigs and oxen! The system of 1801-1846 (evictions in that period were exceptional, particularly in Leinster, where the soil is especially suited to cattle-raising) with its rackrents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846. The Anti-Corn-Law-Repeal, in part a consequence of or, at all events, hastened by the Irish Famine,\textsuperscript{545} took from Ireland its monopoly of supplying England with corn in normal times. Wool and meat became the watchword, hence conversion of tillage into pasture. So from then on, systematic consolidation of farms. The Encumbered Estates Act which made landlords of a mass of former middlemen who had grown rich, hastened the process.\textsuperscript{546} Clearing of the Estates of Ireland! is now the sole meaning of English rule in Ireland. The stupid English government in London naturally knows even nothing of this immense change since 1846. But the Irish do. From Meagher's Proclamation (1848)\textsuperscript{547} down to Hennessy's election address (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866) the Irish have been expressing their awareness of it in the clearest and most forcible manner.

The question now is, what advice should we give the English workers? In my view, they must make repeal of the Union (in short, the farce of 1783, only democratised and adapted to meet present circumstances) an article of their pronunziamento.\textsuperscript{a548} This is the only legal and hence the only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be adopted by an English party in its programme. Experience must later show, whether mere personal union between the 2 countries can continue to exist. I half believe it could if it comes about in due time.

What the Irish need is:
2. Agrarian revolution. With the best will in the world the

\textsuperscript{a} manifesto
English cannot do this for them, but they can give them the legal means to do it for themselves.

3. *Protective tariffs against England*. From 1783-1801 every branch of industry in Ireland flourished. By suppressing the protective tariffs which the Irish parliament had established, the Union destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The little bit of linen industry is in no way a substitute. The Union of 1801 affected Irish industry exactly as did the measures for the suppression of the Irish wool industry, etc., on the part of the English parliament under Anne, George II, and others. As soon as the Irish became independent, necessity would turn them, like Canada, Australia, etc., into protectionists. Before I put forward my views at the CENTRAL COUNCIL (next Tuesday, this time fortunately without REPORTERS being present), I would appreciate it if you would let me know your opinion in a few lines.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

Since Moses\(^a\) is a cousin of *Hirsch*,\(^b\) I am not surprised that he himself has a set of antlers. *He bears it proudly.*\(^c\)

---


Printed according to the original

---

296

MARX TO VICTOR SCHILY

IN PARIS

London, 30 November 1867

Dear Schily,

I wrote to Meissner as soon as I received your letter and asked him to send you a *copy* of the book\(^d\) for Reclus.\(^{111}\) I believe Reclus

\(^a\) Moses Hess - \(^b\) A pun on the name *Hirsch* which also means *stag* - \(^c\) Marx wrote this postscript at the top of the first page. - \(^d\) the first volume of *Capital*
to be just the man to undertake the French translation, with German co-operation. In a translation, I would indicate certain changes to be made in several parts and, at the same time, reserve the right to carry out the final revision myself.539

What should be done, in the first instance, and as quickly as possible, is to bring out passages from the book in the Courrier français. I do not see why Hess should need to involve any third person for this. He would best do it by himself. I also think that the topic he had in mind on English factory legislation is the most suitable as an introduction. However, even that cannot be treated without a few introductory words about the theory of value, as Proudhon has sown total confusion in people's minds on that subject. They believe that a commodity is sold for its value if it is sold for its prix de revient$^a =$ price of the means of production which have been consumed in it, + wages (or price of the labour added to the means of production). They do not see that the unpaid labour which is contained in the commodity constitutes just as fundamental an element of value as the labour which has been paid for, and that this element of value now takes the form of profit, etc. They have no idea what wages are. Without an understanding of the nature of value, arguments about the working day, etc., in short, the factory laws, have no basis. A few words of introduction on this subject are thus called for.

My publisher$^b$ is satisfied with sales in Germany. The liberal and vulgar-economist gang is, of course, seeking to harm it as much as they can by their tried and tested method of conspiration de silence. But this time they will not succeed.

I am here enclosing 1 copy of Liebknecht$^c$ for you. You will see from the back page that he is bringing out a little weekly paper of his own$^d$ in the coming weeks. I am to request contributions from you from Paris. (His address: 11 Braustrasse, Mr Miller.$^e$) I have given him a dressing-down for the phrase about the 'social question' (in the supplement)$^{537}$ and ditto drew his attention to the fact that he should avoid uncritical stand of the South Germans in his polemic against Bismarck. What should already have perplexed him is the fact that Jakobus Venedey has become his admirer.

---

$^a$ prime cost  
$^b$ Otto Meissner  
$^c$ W. Liebknecht, Was ich im Berliner 'Reichstag' sagte.  
$^d$ Demokratisches Wochenblatt  
$^e$ Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym
For all that Liebknecht's bold stand in the Reichstag has done good.

The whole family send you their warmest greetings.

Your

A. Williams

The movement is on the march here!


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 30 November 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Ill-health alone is to blame for my not replying sooner. I have been laid low again for weeks now.

Firstly, my best thanks for your efforts. Engels has written to Liebknecht (or will be doing so). Liebknecht, incidentally, was intending (in conjunction with Götz, and others) to make a demand in the Reichstag for an *Enquiry into the conditions of the workers*. He wrote to me about his intention, and at his request I sent him a few relevant English Acts of Parliament. The plan came to nothing because owing to the procedure there was no time left for it. On one point you are better placed to write to Liebknecht than either Engels or myself. And that is that it really is his duty to draw attention to my book at workers' meetings. If he fails to do so, the Lassalleans will seize upon the thing and misconstrue it.

*Contzen* (lecturer at Leipzig, a pupil and follower of Roscher) has requested a copy of the book from me via Liebknecht and promised a detailed review of it, from his point of view, in return. Meissner thereupon sent him the book. This could be a good

---

a Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - b the first volume of *Capital*.
start.—I was pleased about the misprint 'Taucher' in place of 'Faucher'\(^a\) in your notice.\(^b\) Faucher is one of those 'travelling preachers' of political economy. The fellow has no place among the 'scholarly' German economists such as Roscher, Rau, Mohl, and others. It is doing him too great an honour even to mention him. And I have consequently never allowed him a role as a noun but only as a verb.\(^c\)

Please be so kind as to tell your good wife\(^d\) that the chapters on the 'Working Day', 'Co-operation, Division of Labour and Machinery' and finally on 'Primitive Accumulation'\(^550\) are the most immediately readable. You will have to explain any incomprehensible terminology to her. If there are any other doubtful points, I shall be glad to help.

In France (Paris) there are the best prospects that the book will be discussed in detail (in the *Courrier français*, a Proudhonist paper unfortunately!) and even translated.\(^559\)

As soon as I am better, I will write more. Meanwhile I hope you will write frequently. I always find it has a spurring effect on me.

Your

K. M.

[From Eleanor Marx, in English]

My dear Fränzchen,\(^e\)

As Papa is in a hurry to send off his letter I have only time to send you my best love.

Your affectionate

Eleanor Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

---

\(^a\) Taucher—literally: diver; *Faucher*—name of an economist.  
\(^b\) *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 10 November 1867 (see this volume, p. 473).  
\(^c\) The name *Faucher* originates from the verb *fauchen* meaning 'to spit, snarl, hiss, puff, explode with anger or passion'. In Vol. I of *Capital* Marx makes a pun on the name and derives the words *vorfauchen* and *lügenfauchendsten* from it.  
\(^d\) Gertruda Kugelmann  
\(^e\) Franziska Kugelmann
Manchester, 4 December 1867

Dear Moor,

I have given the Loan Company the reference, I said, from confidential information I am convinced that Mr Marx will be in a position to repay the loan when due.

The letters from Borkheim returned enclosed. I hope the business goes well.

I shall be sending you letters from Kugelmann and Liebknecht tomorrow or the day after. Both have some prospect of getting various things\(^a\) placed in newspapers, though admittedly small ones, I shall be attending to it this and tomorrow evening.

As to Meissner's notice,\(^b\) haste is not very advisable. The stuff must not appear in the papers until after New Year, otherwise it will get lost in the flood of notices for Christmas books.

Your

F. E.

---

\(^a\) concerning the first volume of *Capital* - \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 475 and 476.
brand and Schulze-Delitzsch. Please send back by return the ones from Kugelmann, with the enclosure, and Siebel, the post for Siebel is going off on Monday evening, and I also have to write to Kugelmann. What do you think of the little Swabian paper? Kugelmann certainly does seem to be resorting to desperate means though.

I have written at length to Liebknecht and demanded that he should attack not only the Prussians but their opponents, too, the Austrians, Federalists, Guelphs and other advocates of the smaller states. As I suspected, the fellow has become narrow-minded in exclusively South German fashion. He and Bebel have signed an address to the Viennese City Council, in which Austria is hailed as the newly-arising state of freedom in the South, in contrast to the North's condition of servitude! It's all very well for him to make a few vague speeches in the Reichstag, but a little newspaper is a different matter altogether, we shall be held responsible for it, and we really cannot allow ourselves to be confused with Austrians, Federalists and Guelphs. I have also written to him about his stupidity in suspending social agitation.

This evening I shall be sending Jenny the trial of Adelaide Macdonald, who fired a pistol at the policeman. Her relationship with Allen is not clear. Allen was betrothed to another girl and was to marry on the Monday after the 'outrage'.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

**LOAN ALL RIGHT, I presume?**

Enquiries today about life assurance.

---


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

---

*a* Der Beobachter. *b* 'Adresse an den Wiener Gemeinderat', Neue Preußische Zeitung, 1 December 1867. *c* Demokratisches Wochenblatt
Dear Fred,

Yesterday I presented myself at the Loan Society for bodily examination. This is more than just a formality, for if I were to die before September, the society would not get a farthing back. I was afraid I would have to undress (the fate of an Englishman who was there with me). In the first place, I do not like such inocular speculation, and second precisely at this moment I still have a carbuncle on the left loin not far from the centre of propagation, as well as numerous furuncles. Fortunately, the fellow was so impressed with my chest that he didn’t want to know about anything else. I shall get the money on Monday at 12 o’clock.

You forgot to put in the letter from Siebel. I am sending you back Kugelmann, along with enclosure. Also, a letter he has written to me, together with enclosures. The screed from Bürgers to be put with the documents. That jackass was rightly reminded by the workers in Düsseldorf that 1. in Lassalle’s time he stated he ‘wished to take due account of conditions’, 2. he had ‘lost his illusions about the class struggle’, and 3. he had found in Schulze-Delitzsch the solution to all past and future social mysteries.

As regards the little Swabian paper, it would be an amusing coup if we could hoodwink Vogt’s friend, the Swabian Mayer. It would be easy to contrive the thing as follows. D’abord to begin by saying that whatever one may think of the drift of the book, it is a credit to the ‘German spirit’, for which reason, too, it was written by a Prussian in exile and not in Prussia; Prussia having long ceased to be a country where any scholarly initiative, especially in the political or historical or social field, is possible or is actually to be found, it now being the representative of the Russian and not of the German spirit. In respect of the book itself, a distinction has to be drawn between two things, between positive developments

---

a who voted against Bürgers at the elections to the North German Reichstag - b See this volume, pp. 220-21. - c Der Beobachter - d First - e the first volume of Capital
'solid' would be the second epithet) given by the author, and the 
tendentious conclusions he arrives at. The former are a direct 
addition to the sum of human knowledge, since actual economic 
relations are treated in an entirely new way by a materialistic 
('Mayer' has a liking for this catchword, on account of Vogt) 
method. Example: 1. the development of money, 2. the way in 
which co-operation, division of labour, the machine system and the 
corresponding social combinations and relations develop 'spont-
aneously'. 

Now as regards the tendency of the author, another distinction 
has to be drawn. When he demonstrates that present society, 
economically considered, is pregnant with a new, higher form, he 
is only showing in the social context the same gradual process of 
evolution that Darwin has demonstrated in natural history. The 
liberal doctrine of 'progress' (c'est Mayer tout pur\textsuperscript{a}) embraces this 
idea, and it is to his credit that he himself shows there is hidden 
progress even where modern economic relations are accompanied 
by frightening direct consequences. At the same time, owing to 
this critical approach of his, the author has, perhaps malgré lui,\textsuperscript{b} 
sounded the death-knell to all socialism by the book, i.e. to 
Utopianism, for evermore.

The author's tendency to be subjective, on the other hand—
which he was perhaps bound and obligated to assume in view of 
his party position and his past—I.e. the manner in which he 
represents to himself or to others the ultimate outcome of the 
Present movement, of the present social process, bears absolutely 
no relation to its real development. If space permitted this to be 
more closely examined, it could perhaps be shown that its 
'objective' development refutes his own 'subjective' fancies.

Whereas Mr Lassalle hurled abuse at the capitalists and flattered 
the backwoods Prussian squirearchy, Mr Marx, on the contrary, 
shows the historical 'necessity' of capitalist production and severely 
criticises the landed aristocrat who does nought but con-
sume. Just how little he shares the ideas of his renegade 
disciple Lassalle on Bismarck's vocation for ushering in an 
economic millennium he has not merely shown in his previous 
protests against 'royal Prussian Socialism'\textsuperscript{c} but he openly repeats it 
on pp. 762, 763, where he says that the system prevailing in 
France and Prussia at present will subject the continent of Europe 
to the regime of the Russian knout, if it is not checked in good 
time.\textsuperscript{555}

\textsuperscript{a} that's Mayer to a tee - \textsuperscript{b} despite himself - \textsuperscript{c} K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor 
of the Social-Demokrat."
That is my view on how to hoodwink the Swabian Mayer (who did after all print my preface\textsuperscript{456}), and small though his beastly rag is, it is, nevertheless, the popular oracle of all the Federalists in Germany and is also read abroad.

With regard to Liebknecht, it is indeed a disgrace that with the numerous petty provincial papers he has at his command,\textsuperscript{556} he did not \textit{sontanément}\textsuperscript{a} send in short notices to them—it would not have required of him any of the study which is so contrary to his nature. Mr Schweitzer et Co. understand this better, as you can see from the enclosed \textit{Social-Demokrat}\textsuperscript{557} (Kugelmann sent it me.)

Yesterday I sent Guido Weiss of the \textit{Zukunft} (this just \textit{between ourselves}) some juxtaposed texts,\textsuperscript{b} on one side von Hofstetten's bowdlerised plagiarisms, on the other the original passages from my book. I wrote to him at the same time that this must be printed \textit{not in my name} but as though emanating from the \textit{Zukunft} (or, if that is not feasible, then as though from a \textit{Zukunft}-reader in Berlin). If Weiss takes this (\textit{and I think he will}), then not merely will the attention of the Berlin workers have been drawn to the book through the quotation of passages which are of direct interest to them, but an extremely useful polemic will have been initiated, and Schweitzer's plan to ignore the book and exploit its contents will have been dished. Marvellous how these fellows think they can go on with \textit{Lassalle}'s plan.\textsuperscript{c} What could be more naive than the manner in which von Hofstetten and Citizen Geib have joined together at the general meeting of the General Association of German Workers in savaging the section I wrote on the 'working day'?\textsuperscript{558}?

\textit{Salut.}

\textbf{Your}

K. Marx

\textbf{My compliments to Mrs Burns. I have taken an extraordinary liking to Schorlemmer's compendium.}\textsuperscript{d}

---

\textsuperscript{a} spontaneously - \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, 'Plagiarism'. - \textsuperscript{c} See this volume, pp. 328-29. - \textsuperscript{d} H. E. Roscoe, \textit{Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie... Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer}. 
DEAR FRED,

I see too late that I have forgotten to send you the _Social-Demokrat_. I am now making amends and enclose a copy of _Courrier_ which will interest you on account of the article by the American General Cluseret on Mentana and Garibaldi. You must send the batch of _Courriers_ back to me. I need the set because it is the only one which gives me a continuous report on stocks and shares.

Salut.

Your
Moor

First published in _Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx_, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

Dear Kugelmann,

If there were 6 people of your calibre in Germany, we should already have overcome the resistance of the mass of philistines and the _conspiration de silence_ of the experts and the riff-raff of the press, at least to the extent that serious discussion would have begun. _Mais il faut attendre!_ That phrase contains the entire secret of _Russian policy_.

---

a [G. P.] Cluseret, 'Mentana', _Le Courrier français_, No. 173, 7 December 1867. - b But we shall have to wait and see!
I enclose a letter (which you will be so kind as to return to me) from a German-Russian worker\(^a\) (tanner).\(^b\) Engels rightly observes that the autodidactic philosophy—pursued by workers themselves—has made great progress in this tanner, when compared with the cobbler Jakob Böhme, ditto that none but the ‘German' worker is capable of such cerebral production.\(^c\)

Borkheim asked me yesterday who wrote the article in the *Zukunft*\(^d\) (he subscribes to the paper). He said it must originate from our side as you had sent him a copy. I said *I did not know.* N.B.! One must not let others see through one's game!

Heartiest thanks to your good wife\(^e\) for the trouble she has taken in copying the letters. You should not exploit her so for 'surplus labour'.

As I told you, if I am not mistaken, Bucher has actually asked me himself to become *economic correspondent for the 'Königlich Preußische Staats-Zeitung'*.\(^c\) So you see, if I wished to avail myself of such sources, I *could* do so without the mediation of any third party.\(^f\)

I am suffering from the same illness as before. Nothing dangerous to it, but a nuisance.

With best compliments to your good wife and Fränzchen.\(^f\)

Yours

K. Marx

---

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

303

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Since Sunday I've been having a grand gala performance, with toothache, influenza, sore throat, fever, and all manner of

---

\(^a\) Joseph Dietzgen - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 476. - \(^c\) F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Zukunft*'. - \(^d\) Gertruda Kugelmann - \(^e\) Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger (see this volume, p. 202) - \(^f\) Franziska Kugelmann
unpleasantnesses, only this morning am I fit to work again, and I will get down to the Swabian Mayer this evening, following your recipe, a which—with some excessively rigorous detail discounted which would make the thing 3 times as long—is very nice.

Bürgers has been put ad acta b By one of the ironies of fate, the introduction to the article b sent him by Kugelmann necessarily cut him to the quick as the unsuccessful Reichstag candidate for Düsseldorf. I quite innocently mentioned in it the fact that the social-democratic party could no longer simply be ignored now that it is represented in the Reichstag, and that these gentlemen would make this book their Bible. With his customary tact, Kugelmann sends this to Heinrich. Hinc illae lacrimae c I had quite forgotten the matter, and I was only reminded of it by Heinrich’s anxious letter, which takes all this most seriously.

The Zukunft affair is very good d Write and tell me when it appears, e as I cannot spare the time to consult Zukunft every day at the Schiller Institute f

Kugelmann becomes more simple-minded every day. If Bücher—why not go straight to Bismarck g I do not understand, or else I’ve forgotten, what he says in the letter of 3 December to you about a letter from Meissner enclosed for me.

Enclosed 1. 2 letters from Kugelmann to you, returned,
2. 1 ditto " " " me and 1

from Stumpf to Kugelmann.

3. The letter from Siebel.

Last post now. Kindest regards to the ladies and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

---
Dear Kugelmann,

Your zeal truly deserves my gratitude, but it appears greatly to overestimate my free time. I received your letter of 30 November on 2 December, held counsel with Marx, as there were several things in it to be considered, and would already have sent you various articles, if on Sunday I had not been visited by a toothache-influenza-sore throat with inevitable fever, which prostrated me on the sofa. Fortunately, that kind of thing takes an acute course with me, and so I am fit for work again today and will be setting my nose to the grindstone at once. But you must not imagine that one can just toss off a dozen reviews of one and the same book and not merely say something different in each one but also so compose them that one cannot tell they are all by one author. One often has to pause for thought.

I would advise against writing directly to Miquel. There are some things which can be achieved *verbally* with such people and which are scarcely to be risked in writing. He will surely be coming over to Hanover sometime.

The *United States of Europe* was stillborn. And with Vogt’s brother and minion as editor—pshaw!

The Englishman who called on Brandes was our friend Moore from here, who spent 7 weeks in Eisenach for German-learning purposes; I had no idea he would be passing by, or I should have written him a few lines to give to you. He might perhaps have called on you anyway, except that he had curiously got it fixed in his head that you lived in Hamburg. He will probably undertake the English translation of Marx’ book.

Concerning Liebknecht’s South German outburst, I have written to him that nothing is achieved by it. He would have done better not to publish his speeches, their effect is lost, the nonsense in them obtrudes too much. I also wrote to him about his curious theory on the postponement of the social question. You

---

* the first volume of *Capital* -  
* Les États-Unis d'Europe -  
* Gustav Vogt -  
* W. Liebknecht, *Was ich im Berliner ‘Reichstag’ sagte.* -  
* literally: at full length; figuratively: in print.
will recall, incidentally, that I was already telling you last autumn that he had become too much of an Austrian owing to his hatred of the Prussians.

This brief epistle just to keep you informed. The articles will follow in a few days time, and you can then at all events tell the Lieutenant-Colonel\(^a\) that there will be a few more, and there will then be something for him to do.

In friendship

Yours
F. E.

I have just been ejected from the office, as it was closing time.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

305

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

Manchester, 13 December 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

‘Pursuant to mine humbly of yesterday’—so that you do not forget all the elements of commercial style—you will find enclosed 2 articles, one examining the content of the book, for the Beobachter,\(^b\) and the other merely discussing points of fact, for the Gewerbeblatt or the Staats-Anzeiger.\(^c\)

You will appreciate the difficulties which had to be overcome with the first of these when you consider that the editor of the Beobachter is the tedious talker from Swabia, Karl Mayer, from Herr Vogt, who will certainly never knowingly do us any favours. You realise that these articles must only be submitted in copy, but I

would ask you to keep all the originals, as one never knows what they may be needed for.

I shall also be sending something for the *Merkur,* but I cannot yet do so much work in the evening now as I get too excited by it and last night again e.g. I could scarce sleep for thinking of the articles. The weather, business and the vestiges of the *tic douloureux*\(^b\) from last Sunday are keeping me from riding, and so I cannot get back to normal.

I have not read about the Siebenmark affair\(^{561}\) in the *Zukunft,* I but rarely set eyes on the paper.

Farewell for today. It is 6 o'clock in the evening, closing time, and I am tired and hungry.

Yours

F. E.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

306

MARX TO ENGELS\(^{562}\)

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1867

DEAR FRED,

This latest *Fenian exploit* in Clerkenwell\(^{563}\) is a great folly. The London masses, who have shown much sympathy for Ireland, will be enraged by it and driven into the arms of the government party. One cannot expect the London proletarians to let themselves be blown up for the benefit of *Fenian emissaries.* Secret, melodramatic conspiracies of this kind are, in general, more or less doomed to failure.

I received the money on Monday and paid Borkheim his £45 back together with £1 1s for inquiry fees.

Would you do me a favour and inquire of Ernest Jones the most appropriate way of marrying *civiliter*\(^c\) in London, in DOCTORS’
Commons or where, as Laura is to marry at the beginning of April. As it is not to be a church wedding, it was originally intended that the marriage should take place in Paris. That is, however, complicated. I should have to prove my identity there and, in so doing, might strike the police as being a little too familiar. On the other hand, my wife would like the civil marriage to take place, if in London, as far as possible in secret, as she wants no gossip among her English acquaintances. Please also ask Jones what the position is regarding the consent of Lafargue’s parents? Whether it must previously be countersigned by the envoy (would that be the English one?) in Paris? I know that the formality is not necessary in England. It is, however, indispensable for the marriage to be valid according to French law as well. So, none of the formalities must be neglected in this respect.

What is the position regarding witnesses in England?

Nothing from the Zukunft yet. It is a pity these papers are so small in format, especially at a time when their columns are so full of parliamentary filibustering.

Our friend Stumpf is obviously a great muddle-head.

Siebel returned enclosed. He is mistaken about Lange. The latter must ‘buy’ the book and will surely already have bought it long ago.564

The quid pro quo with Heinrich is indeed most amusing.6

Salut.

Your

K. Moor

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

---

a See this volume, pp. 495 and 498. b the first volume of Capital.

c misunderstanding d Bürgers c See this volume, p. 498.
Dear Moor,

Enclosed a letter from Liebknecht, who is another great muddle-head. Especially over the Austrian business. Because Austria stands on the eve of its 1789, Liebknecht therefore praises it as the state of freedom! I have not answered him yet, but will do so as soon as you send the letter back.

Have sent articles to Kugelmann 1. for the Swabian Mayer,\(^a\), 2. for the Gewerbeblatt.\(^b\) Ditto to Siebel for Mannheim.\(^c\) Further Swabian articles to follow.

The piece\(^d\) has appeared in the Zukunft. I now buy the paper second hand from the Schiller Institute\(^28\) so that I can see it regularly.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

The marriage business is perfectly straightforward. The marriage is performed before the registrar for the district, who also puts up the banns at his office 14 days previously. Two or more witnesses are necessary. You can find out all the details at that office. For England nothing else is required, but as regards validity in France, Jones cannot tell you either, so Lafargue senior will have to ask his lawyer in Bordeaux. I shall, incidentally, check the code civil.

Gumpert was married in this way. Your wife can tell her philistine neighbours that this way was chosen because Laura is protestant and Paul catholic.

---

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

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

Dear Fred,

Wilhelm*a returned enclosed. You must be careful in your reply. The position is difficult. To pursue an entirely correct course would require a much more critical spirit and dialectical skill than our Wilhelm possesses.552 We can only restrain him from committing really grave blunders. In general, hostility to Prussia is the pathos to which alone he owes his VERVE AND SINGleness of PURPOSE. He has rightly sensed that the true bourgeoisie forms the core of the ‘National Liberals’,492 which gives him the opportunity to bestow on his political antipathy the more elevated sanction of economics. Ira facit poetamb and also gives our Wilhelmchen cunning up to a certain point.

The correspondent of The Irishman here is willing to print, if you write it in English, a critique of the bookc about one column in length (Ireland must take the proper role in it, however) in that Dublin paper as a contribution under his own name. I shall send you a few copies of the paper and you will see what needs to be done.

The Zukunft has a talent for misprintsd which is all the odder as Dr Guido Weiss does after all have the original.

I have a small but infinitely irritating carbuncle on my left buttock.

And if the noble fellow has no bum,
On what does he propose to sit?e

Yesterday I gave a 1½ hour lecture on Ireland565 at our German Workers’ Society (though a further 3 German workers’ societies were represented, about 100 people in all), as ‘standing’ is the easiest posture for me just now.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

Manchester, 19 December 1867

Dear Moor,

Of course our correspondence with Wilhelmchen requires caution. As I have already told you, his narrow-minded one-sided singleness of purpose was his good fortune and the secret of his effectiveness in the Reichstag. Unfortunately however that will only work once, and the publication of his speeches—to say nothing of Kugelmann’s letters—shows that it had gone too far. Now we have the little paper to boot, in which his household words are recorded in black and white and are then laid at our door—then the Customs Union parliament, and therewith certainly a disgrace for us unless Wilhelmchen is given some instruction. With his egregious talent for making blunders, much was to be expected there, and may be still. No doubt we can only protect him from the most serious blunders, but his Viennese address and his friendship with the Federalists, i.e. Grünl is already dreadful enough. I can therefore only put 2 chief considerations to him: 1. to regard the events and outcome of 1866 not simplement negatively, i.e. not as a reactionary, but critically (which he will admittedly find difficult), and 2. to attack Bismarck’s enemies just as much as the man himself, as they are equally worthless. You observe how beautifully he has already compromised himself with Grüne et Co.; what a fine triumph that would be for Bismarck if we or our people concluded an alliance with that rabble! Well, we shall just have to wait and see what transpires.

The Clerkenwell folly was obviously the work of a few special fanatics; it is the misfortune of all conspiracies that they lead to such acts of folly because ‘we really must do something, we really must get up to something’. Especially in America there has been a lot of bluster amongst this explosive and incendiary fraternity, and then along come some individual jackasses and instigate this kind of nonsense. At the same time, these man-eaters are for the most

---

a Wilhelm Liebknecht  b See this volume, p. 456.  c W. Liebknecht, Was ich im Berliner ‘Reichstag’ sagte.  d Demokritisches Wochenblatt  e See this volume, pp. 492, 503.
part the greatest of cowards, including that man Allen who already appears to have turned QUEEN'S EVIDENCE. And then the notion that you can free Ireland by setting fire to some London tailor's shop!

Have you read the Russians' warning (Russian Invalid) that the alliance between France and Austria makes peace in Europe impossible because it prevents a solution to the German, Italian and Eastern questions? Very nice. Bismarck and Gorchakov now appear to be about to take the offensive.

Your friend Lippe has been sacrificed to the shades of the dispossessed — his dismissal was the price for which the National Liberals are dropping their opposition to the 25 million for the Guelphs and the house of Nassau.

Best regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

---

a Русский инвалид, No. 336, 5 December 1867, an anonymous item in the 'Unofficial Section' datelined 'St. Petersburg, 4 December'.  
b deposed rulers  
c George V, King of Hanover, and Adolf, Duke of Nassau
DEAR FRED,

Happy New Year!

I have only been ‘sitting up’ again for 3 days after lying all bent for so long. It was a nasty attack. You can judge this by the fact that for 3 weeks—no smoking! My head is still shaky. In a few days I hope to be back in action.

I am absolutely opposed to arsenic.

Enclosed the *Beobachter* (Lessner filched it for me from the Workers’ Society). I have had no more letters from Siebel except the enclosed one to me.

Meissner can always have a try with the *Barmen*. It can do no harm. When you send the cuttings to Meissner, you must refer to them only as something which has come to hand, without explaining to him ‘our’ activity. Also draw his attention to the latest things in the *Zukunft*.

I would like to know from Schorlemmer what is the latest and best book (German) on agricultural chemistry. Furthermore, what is the present state of the argument between the mineral-fertiliser people and the nitrogen-fertiliser people? (Since I last looked into the subject, all sorts of new things have appeared in Germany.) Does he know anything about the most recent Germans who have written against Liebig’s soil-exhaustion theory? Does he know about the alluvion theory of the Munich agronomist Fraas (Professor at Munich University)? For the chapter on ground

---

rent. I shall have to be aware of the latest state of the question, at least to some extent. Since Schorlemmer is an expert on this subject he must be able to give information. Enclosed 2 Urquharts and 1 Courrier (because of Cluseret’s article).

The compliments of the season to Mrs Burns, Moore, and Schorlemmer.

Your

Moor

[From Eleanor Marx, in English]

You bad boy, why haven’t you answered my letters?—I suppose you and the hedgehog have been on the spree again.

Alberich, the grim dwarf

Happy New Year.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

311

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 January 1868

Dear Mrs Marx,

I must apologise for leaving your letter unanswered for so long. But the Christmas period is the only time in the whole year when, apart from business, I am made to feel that I stand with one foot in the bourgeoisie, and here in Manchester this entails a lot of eating and drinking and upset stomach, and the obligatory ill humour and waste of time. This is now fairly well over, and I am beginning to breathe freely again.

I am really sorry that I was unable to lay my hands on a larger crate for the moment, but I had to take just what was available in the warehouse—I shall make up for this soon.

a probably two numbers of The Diplomatic Review - b Eleanor’s jocular nickname. The words “the grim dwarf” are in German.
Enclosed the latest from Siebel. Do please return the letter, together with an earlier one sent to Moor, as soon as possible, I have to write to him on the 8th, the post goes only twice a month, and it is a great pleasure for the poor devil when he sees that people think of him. He does what he can honestly, despite his illness. The thing from the Barmer Zeitung is by him. Moor might let me know what he thinks about the business with the Kölnische Zeitung; if he thinks it better that I should write about this to Meissner, I can do so, and, at the same time, send him the cutting from Barmer.

The pater peccavi\textsuperscript{a} from Hoffstetten is very amusing.\textsuperscript{572} He naturally suspects Liebknecht everywhere and nobody else.\textsuperscript{b} In any case, we have now put paid to the attempt of these gentry to stifle, and at the same time to exploit, the book.\textsuperscript{c}

I shall be writing to Wilhelmchen in the next few days. I have heard nothing more from Kugelmann as to how things have gone with the Swabian articles.\textsuperscript{d}

Meissner could already put together quite a nice advertisement from the articles that have appeared up to now,\textsuperscript{568} which would be quite in place now that the Christmas season is over. In particular, he might include those passages in which the economists are challenged to present their defence.

I hope that Moor has been freed from his carbuncle. But this is all no good, he must do something to get rid of the business once and for all. The 2nd volume\textsuperscript{418} can only gain, also with regard to the time needed for completion, if the fight against the carbuncles is waged with full force for a period. How would it be if he were to take arsenic again?

Best greetings to Moor and the whole family, and a hearty Happy New Year from

Yours

F. E.
Manchester, 6 January 1868

Dear Moor,

If you do not want to take arsenic, then for goodness sake do something else, for things cannot go on like this. Have you consulted Allen or another doctor recently? Gumpert was not at home when I called the other day, but I shall take the first opportunity to speak to him.

You did not send the Beobachter or the 2 Urquharts either.\(^a\) However, today Kugelmann sent me the Beobachter and the Württemberg Staats-Anzeiger\(^b\) (I am sending you the latter and when I get it back will send it to Meissner, if you do not send it to him direct). It’s fine that these two papers have risen to the bait. I shall now also prepare Kugelmann something for the Schwäbischer Merkur.\(^560\)

Schorlemmer will put together the information for you from the latest annual reports. He was not acquainted with the book by Fraas.\(^c\)

A natural scientist has appeared in Paris who calls himself Chmoulevitch (Schmulsohn!). This even beats Ephraim Artful.\(^d\)

The first instalment of the Austrian official general staff report on the war of 66 first proves that Austria’s military organisation was not fit for a simultaneous war with Prussia and Italy, this is followed by the naive passage: Under these circumstances it should really have been the task of state foreign policy to safeguard the state against such a war.\(^e\)

The Prussian 2nd instalment\(^f\) shows quite clearly that on the 28th, and even more on the evening of the 29th,\(^g\) Benedek was in a position to attack the scattered columns of the Crown Prince\(^h\) with superior force and with almost absolute certainty to throw him

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 508.  
\(^b\) F. Engels’ reviews of Volume One of Capital for the Beobachter and for the Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg.  
\(^c\) K. Fraas, Die Natur der Landwirthschaft.  
\(^d\) Ferdinand Lassalle  
\(^e\) Österreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866..., Bd. I, S. 60-61.  
\(^f\) Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland... (appeared in instalments)  
\(^g\) of June  
\(^h\) Frederick William
back into the mountains and take his guns. The jackass did not do it, and lost the campaign.

Salut.

Your

F. E.

Dear Moor,

Herewith returned the Dühring\(^a\) and the Beobachter.\(^b\) The former is highly amusing. The whole article is embarrassment and funk. You can see that the worthy vulgar economist is frappé au vif\(^c\) and can find nothing to say except that it will only be possible to judge the first volume when the 3rd has come out,\(^d\) that determination of value by labour time is not undisputed, and that there are people who have some modest doubts about the determination of the value of labour on the basis of its costs of production. You see that for this genus\(^e\) you are by no means learned enough, for you have not confuted the great Macleod\(^f\) on the decisive point. At the same time, there is the fear in every line that he may be exposed to a treatment à la Roscher.\(^g\) The fellow was happy when he had finished the thing, but I am sure he carried it to the post with a heavy heart.

Kugelmann and Wilhelmchen\(^h\) I shall return tomorrow. If there is anything in the copied letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seubert

---

\(^b\) F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of Capital for the Beobachter'.  
\(^c\) cut to the quick  
\(^d\) sort  
\(^e\) H. D. Macleod, The Theory and Practice of Banking....  
\(^f\) Engels has in mind the critique of Roscher's views in Vol. One of Capital.  
\(^g\) Wilhelm Liebknecht
which could be useful to me for a further Swabian article, please enclose it.

I could do something for Vienna too. Richter could perhaps be asked about the *Internationale Revue*, he is supposed to know the situation there.

Wilhelmchen's paper is just too lovely—everything ready except the security bond, and so it cannot be published. Incidentally, if Wilhelm should go to Vienna then the fuss about the Austrian agent would really get going.

How are things with Beesly, Lewes & Co. and the *Fortnightly Review*?

Best greetings to the ladies and the Doctor amorosus.

Your

F. E.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

314

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1868

Dear Fred,

I have ditto received the *Staats-Anzeiger* and the *Beobachter* from Kugelmann. I am returning you your *Staats-Anzeiger* today. Also the copy Kugelmann sent me of the letter from the colonel who arranged the whole thing. Württemberg is now sufficiently provided. In my opinion,—with special regard to sales,—*Austria* is now the most important. Notabene, if you have the patience to write more prescriptions. Little Jenny, an expert in this respect, claims that you are developing great dramatic talent, or comic talent, in pursuing this action from 'different' viewpoints and in different disguises.

---

*a Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - *b* Paul Lafargue - *c* F. Engels' reviews of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and for the *Beobachter*. - *d* Adolf Friedrich Seubert - *e* reviews of the first volume of *Capital*
In the next few days—I am still a trifle limp, and do not feel much like writing—but as soon as I am quite on my feet I shall give Wilhelmchen a good hiding. This is because of his identification of my views with the specific views of Wilhelm.

Dühring's article (he is lecturer at Berlin University) is very decent, particularly since I handled his master 'Carey' so roughly. Dühring obviously misunderstood various things. But the oddest thing is that he ranks me with Stein, because I pursue the dialectic, and Stein assembles thoughtlessly the greatest trivialities in clumsy hair-splitting, with a few Hegelian category conversions.

Have you already received Borkheim's *Perle*?

It appears that professional poesy is simply a mask for the driest sort of prosiness. Take, for example, the Freiligrath family. Kate travels (on her honeymoon) to Paris with Kröker, the young corn usurer. However, since this noble man has 'business' to do at the same time, he leaves her alone in one of the big Paris hotels for 2-3 days. Kate and the whole family find this quite in order. Kate even writes delightedly that in the hotel they call her 'mademoiselle' (after she had spent the night together with Kröker there), and that all the waiters and even the porter give her friendly 'nods'. But even more: Kröker (after this business trip to the provinces) returns from Paris immediately to London with Kate, and the whole family is delighted that the 'HONEYMOON' is to be postponed for 6 months, since business 'comes first'. After all, for a poet the HONEYMOON is only a flower of speech, and can be 'celebrated' before or after the accouchements, early or late (the facts were related by the Freiligrath boys in my house). Kate even seems to have read Claren, for she described herself—from Paris—as a 'grass widow'.

The Yankees will show John Bull what's what. What do you think of the latest rodontades of the Russians?

Dwarf Alberich was very delighted by your letter. He is just off to the gymnastics school, where he is doing great things.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

\(a\) Liebknecht - \(b\) E. Dühring, *Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867. - \(c\) A reference to L. Stein's *System der Staatswissenschaft* and *Die Verwaltungslehre*. - \(d\) S. Borkheim, *Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève*. - \(e\) Wolfgang and Otto - \(f\) Eleanor Marx
DEAR Fred,

Ad vocem\textsuperscript{a} Dühring.\textsuperscript{b} It is a great deal from this man that he gives almost positive acceptance to the section on 'primitive accumulation'.\textsuperscript{575} He is still young. As a follower of Carey he is in direct opposition to the\textsc{freetraders}. Furthermore, he is a\textit{university lecturer}, and therefore not displeased that\textit{Professor} Roscher, who blocks the way for them all, is receiving some kicks.\textsuperscript{c} One thing in his description struck me very strongly. That is, as long as the determination of value by labour time is itself left 'undetermined', as it is with Ricardo, it does not make people\textsc{shaky}. But as soon as it is brought exactly into connection with the working day and its variations, a very unpleasant new light dawns upon them. I believe one reason that Dühring reviewed the book at all is malice against Roscher. Indeed it is easy to scent his anxiety that he might also be 'Roscher'ed. Curiously, the fellow has not detected the three fundamentally new elements of the book:

1. that in contrast to\textit{all} previous political economy, which\textit{from the outset} treated the particular fragments of surplus value with their fixed forms of rent, profit and interest as already given, I begin by dealing with the general form of surplus value, in which all these elements are still undifferentiated, in solution as it were;

2. that the economists, without exception, have missed the simple fact that, if the commodity has the double character of use value and exchange value, then the labour represented in the commodity must also have a double character; thus the bare analysis of labour\textit{sans phrase},\textsuperscript{d} as in Smith, Ricardo, etc., is bound to come up against the inexplicable everywhere. This is, in fact, the whole secret of the critical conception;

3. that for the first time wages are shown as the irrational outward form of a hidden relationship, and this is demonstrated exactly in both forms of wages: time wages and piece wages. (It was a help to me that similar formulae are often found in higher mathematics.)

\textsuperscript{a} With regard to \textsuperscript{b} E. Dühring, 'Marx,\textit{Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867}'.\textsuperscript{c} See this volume, p. 511.\textsuperscript{d} Without more ado
As for Mr Dühring’s modest objection to the determination of value, he will be astonished when he sees in Volume II how little the determination of value counts for ‘directly’ in bourgeois society. Actually, no form of society can prevent the labour time at the disposal of society from regulating production in one way or another. But so long as this regulation is not effected through the direct and conscious control of society over its labour time—which is only possible under common ownership—but through the movement of commodity prices, then things will remain as you so aptly described them already in the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.

Ad vocem Vienna. I am sending you various Vienna papers (of which you must return to me the Neues Wiener Tagblatt which belongs to Borkheim, and keep the rest), from which you will see two things: firstly how important Vienna is at this moment as a market place, since there is new life there; and secondly the way the matter should be handled there. I cannot find the address of Prof. Richter. Perhaps you have Liebknecht’s letter which gives it. If not, ask him to send it to you, and then dispatch the article direct to Richter, but not via Liebknecht.

It seems to me that Wilhelmchen is by no means altogether bona fide. He (for whom I have had to find so much time to make good his asinity in the Allgemeine Augsburger, etc.) has so far found no time even to mention publicly the title of my book or my name. He overlooks the affair in the Zukunft so as not to be put in the embarrassing position of sacrificing his own independent greatness. And there was also no time available to say a solitary word in the workers’ paper (Deutsche Arbeiterhalle, Mannheim), which appears under the direct control of his friend Bebel. In short, it is certainly no fault of Wilhelmchen that my book has not been totally ignored. First, he has not read it (although to little Jenny he made fun of Richter, who thinks that he needs to understand a book before he can publicise it), and secondly, after he had read it or claimed to have read it, he has had no time, although he has time, since I got him Borkheim’s subvention, to write letters twice weekly to Borkheim; although, instead of sending the shares to Strohn for the money, which was transmitted to him through me and obtained by my good offices, he asks for Strohn’s address, in order to play his tricks with him directly, behind my back,
and swamp him with epistles as he does Borkheim. In short, Wilhelmchen wants to make himself important, and in particular the public should not be distracted from its interest in Wilhelmchen. We must now act half as if we did not notice this, but still treat him with caution. As for his call to Austria, you cannot believe him until it has happened. And secondly if it should come to this, we shall not dissuade him, but if necessary, simply explain to him what I explained to him when he joined Brass’s Norddeutsche,\(^b\)\(^578\) that, if he should compromise himself again, he will be, if necessary, publicly disavowed. I told him this, in the presence of witnesses, when he moved off to Berlin at that time.

I think you can send articles direct to the enclosed Neue Freie Presse (Vienna). The present joint owner, Dr Max Friedländer (Lassalle’s cousin and deadly enemy), was the person for whom I acted as a correspondent for a longish period for the old Vienna Presse and for the Oder-Zeitung.\(^c\)

Finally, with regard to the Internationale Revue, Fox (who was sent to Vienna by an English paper to pay a visit and establish connections) asked me, from Vienna a few days ago, for a letter of introduction to Arnold Hilberg. I sent it to him, and at the same time told the said Hilberg in this letter that circumstances had prevented us writing, that we would do something this year, etc.\(^111\)

Fortnightly Review. Professor Beesly, one of the triumviri who secretly direct this paper, has told his special friend Lafargue (whom he constantly invites to dine at his house) that he is morally certain (it completely depends upon him!) that a review\(^509\) would be accepted. Lafargue would hand it in to him himself.

Ad vocem Pyat. In today’s Times you will see the Address of the French democrats about Fenianism\(^257\) (which appeared 4 weeks ago) and was sent in by Pyat.\(^d\) What has happened is this. The French government has launched an investigation (particularly visites domiciliaires\(^e\) at the homes of our correspondents in Paris) against the International Association as a société illicite.\(^f\) Ditto probably sent to the British government letters about Fenianism written by our Dupont.\(^579\) Mr Pyat, who always ran down our ‘Association’ as non-revolutionary, Bonapartist, etc., is afraid of this turn of things, and is swiftly seeking to give the appearance that he has something to do with the matter and is ‘moving’.

---

\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 512. \(^{b}\) Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung - \(^{c}\) Neue Oder-Zeitung - \(^{d}\) F. Pyat, ‘Adresse des Démocrates Français à leur Frères d’Irlande et d’Angleterre. Paris, 2 décembre 1867’, The Times, No. 26015, 8 January 1868 (The French Democrats and the Fenians). - \(^{e}\) searches - \(^{f}\) illegal society
Ad vocem Benedek*: can I have the journal for a few days? You have now proven yourself twice a prophet, firstly a tactical prophet (in the Sevastopol affair), and secondly a strategic prophet (in the Prussian-Austrian affair). But the sense of sensible men cannot predict the stupidities of which man is capable.

Ad vocem carbuncles. Consulted doctors. Nothing new. Everything which the gentlemen have to say indicates that one has to have private means to live in accordance with their prescriptions, instead of being a poor devil like me, poverty-stricken as a church-mouse. When you see Gumpert, you can tell him that I feel (up to this moment that I write) a stinging prickle in my body, that is my blood. It seems to me that for this year I shall not be quite over the affair.

My compliments to Mrs Burns.

Salut.

Your Moor

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

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

316

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester.] 10 January 1868

Dear Moor,

I wanted to write to you at length today, but the intervention of a Serb and a Wallachian, who held me up for hours, has frustrated my plans. Moreover, yesterday I had a visit from the ex-dictator Amand Goegg, who is travelling for the ridiculous Peace League and who ruined my evening. Luckily, Schorlemmer also happened by, and got the surprise of his life with this fossil of Federal Republic; he had not believed such a thing possible. The stupid oaf has become ten times more stupid through the unthinking repetition of the same phrases, and has lost all points of contact with the world of common sense (not to

---

*a ÖsterreicÁEhls Kämpfe im Jahre 1866..., Bd. 1 (see this volume, pp. 510-11).
mention actual thinking). Apart from Switzerland and the Canton of Baden, there is still nothing else in the world for people of this sort. For all that, he soon convinced himself of the truth of your first reply to his application for support: that the further apart we lived and the less we had to do with one another, the better we would get on. He admitted that in the Vogt affair Blind had behaved like a coward, but said he was after all a worthy fellow, and even threatened to reconcile you and Blind! Vogt—no politician, but a worthy fellow, honest to the backbone, who simply scribbled away in the daytime without considering the content—if we spent an hour together then we would be like brothers; he admitted him to be a Bonapartist, but not a paid one. To which I replied that all Bonapartists were paid, there were no unpaid ones, and if he could show me an unpaid one, then I would accept the possibility that Vogt was not paid; otherwise I would not. This astonished him, but finally he discovered one—Ludwig Bamberger! Incidentally, he said that Vogt had continually had a very hard time, his wife was a peasant girl from the Bernese Oberland, whom he had married out of virtue after he had made her a baby. Vogt, the artful dodger, appears to have pulled the wool well over this jackass’s eyes. But when Schorlemmer and I explained to him that Vogt had not produced anything as a natural scientist either, you should have seen his rage: Had he not popularised? Was not that worth while?

I shall write something for Vienna as soon as it is in any way possible. Additionally for the Fortnightly, but I would need to know first whether it could be made into a longer article, or should only be a short notice like those at the back of the Fortnightly. Beesly should be sounded out about this; a short notice would be almost useless and Beesly himself would learn nothing about the book from it.

I shall call Wilhelmchen to account in a few days time about fulfilling the promises he made me: we shall make this little fellow get a move on. I have Richter’s address.

Herewith returned Liebknecht, Kugelmann and Siebel.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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

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

See this volume, p. 516. - the first volume of Capital - Wilhelm Liebknecht
DEAR FRED,

The 'Fop'\(^a\) was bustling around for a long time in London. He also visited Borkheim, where he produced just the same phrases as he did to you, only with better success, for he knew how to tickle the vanity of our Borkheim. But after he had squeezed out of the latter money for 10 shares, ditto assimilated various of his wines, he was not seen there again. For the understanding of his further activity in London, the following preliminary report. Cremer, as you know, was removed a long time since from his post as Secretary of the International Council, and in his anger at this he long ago resigned as Member of the Council, and was not re-elected as such by the last congress either.\(^b\) Mr Odger was re-elected. On my proposal, however, the post of president (the annual one) was abolished, and replaced by a Chairman, to be elected at each sitting.\(^c\) Odger, annoyed by this, stays away from us on principle. Well! Mr 'Fop' insinuates himself via Le Lubez to Odger (who introduced him to the London Trades Council\(^d\)) and to Cremer. They appointed a London committee,\(^e\) Beales as President, etc. In short, an affair against the International Working Men's Association. (At the founding Meeting Fop also introduced the noble Blind.) The fellows had the impudence to invite me to their 2nd Meeting last week. Eccarius (in a very badly written article in the Bee-Hive last Saturday) denounced Fop and his consorts.\(^d\)

I am writing to you naked and with alcohol compresses. I went out again for the first time the day before yesterday, to the British Museum, of course, because I cannot write yet. Then yesterday there was a new outbreak under my left breast. The alcohol treatment, which Nélaton used in Paris for even the largest carbuncles, is, from my personal experience, by far the speediest and pleasantest for the patient (apart from cutting or lancing, depending on the case). The misfortune is only the constant

---

\(^a\) Amand Goegg. In German 'Geck' means a 'dandy' or 'fop'.

\(^b\) Lausanne Congress of the International

\(^c\) presumably the committee of the London branch of the League of Peace and Freedom

activity, necessitated by the rapid evaporation of the alcohol.

At the museum, where I did nothing but leaf through catalogues, I also noted that Dühring is a great philosopher. For he has written a Natürliche Dialektik against Hegel's 'un-natural' one. Hinc iliae lacrimae.\(^a\) The gentlemen in Germany (with the exception of theological reactionaries) believe Hegel's dialectic to be a 'dead dog'.\(^{581}\) Feuerbach has much on his conscience in this respect.

The French government has started a prosecution against the Paris Committee of the International Workingmen's Association (as société illicite\(^b\)). This is very agreeable for me, since it means that the jackasses have been hindered and interrupted in their discussion of the programme they had already drawn up for the congress of 1868.\(^{582}\) Dupont has apparently written something incautious about the Fenians\(^{579}\) to his Paris correspondents that Bonaparte, who is now creeping dolefully up the arse of the British government, forwarded to Downing Street.\(^c\)

It is characteristic that the disclosures of Prokesch-Osten, Gentz and Count Münster\(^d\) are being printed one after the other — with the direct or indirect collaboration of the Austrian government. Urquhart, with his ignorance now becoming permanent, knows only the first one. It is also very indicative of his 'totality', that he does not know Moltke's Turkish War of 1828, etc.,\(^e\) which would have provided him with excellent material. Incidentally, at the time when I was in Berlin (at Lassalle's)\(^{583}\) Moltke was regarded as a declared Russophobe, inside the Royal Prussian frontiers, naturally.

If you should be writing to Borkheim some time, request him to let you have a look at the two small Russian pamphlets about which I had told you. I would particularly like you to look at the one about the emancipation of the serfs, so that you can let me know the quintessence.

From the enclosed Courrier français you will see that the French government is entering into a direct polemic with General Cluseret.

If you could send little Tussy cotton-yarn ball on the 16th of

---

\(^{a}\) Hence these tears! (Terence, Andria, Act I, Scene 1). - \(^{b}\) illegal society (see this volume, p. 517) - \(^{c}\) seat of the British Cabinet - \(^{d}\) A. Prokesch-Osten, Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom Türkischen Reiche im Jahre 1821 und der Gründung des Hellenischen Königreiches; Fr. von Gentz, Aus dem Nachlasse Friedrichs von Gentz; G. H. Münster, Politische Skizzen über die Lage Europas vom Wiener Congress bis zur Gegenwart (1815-1867). - \(^{e}\) H. K. B. Moltke, Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.
this month I should be very pleased. It is her birthday and THAT LITTLE HUMBUG loves all Chinese formalities.

It gives me much pleasure that the English government is persecuting *The Irishman*. This paper is IN REALITY not Fenian, but simply wants REPEAL. What blockheads these John Bulls are!

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy.

Salut.

Your
Moor

Enclosed a portion of ‘new philology’ from the *Hermann*.

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

Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time
proletarian illness! And if the doctors made no distinctions, the patient like myself who knows both forms of monster could do so, for the subjective impression they make is very different, though as far as I know no doctor has yet managed to distinguish exactly between the two things theoretically. I have only been persecuted by this business for a few years. Earlier quite unknown to me. At the moment of writing to you, I am not yet quite restored, and not yet fit for work again. Once again many weeks lost, and not even pour le roi de Prusse.\textsuperscript{a}

The criticism of Mr Dühring\textsuperscript{b} shows mainly—fear! I would be grateful if you could get Dühring's book Gegen die Verkleinerer Carey's for me, ditto von Thünen's Der isolirte Staat mit Bezug auf die Landwirtschaft (or something like that) (together with a note of the prices). Orders like this take too long from here.

Finally, I must ask you to send me about 12 copies of my photogram (only that fullfaced). About one dozen friends are pestering me for them.

Enclosed for Mrs Kugelmann the photograms of my eldest daughter Jenny and of Eleanor, who sends her best greetings to Fränzchen.

Ad vocem\textsuperscript{c} Liebknecht: let him play le petit grand homme\textsuperscript{d} just a little while. Tout s'arrangera pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.\textsuperscript{e}

I still have all sorts of personal anecdota to relate. But I shall save them for next time when the writing position no longer bothers me.

Salut.

Yours

K. Marx

One of my friends here,\textsuperscript{f} who busies himself a lot with phrenology, stated yesterday about the photogram of your wife: very witty! So you see that phrenology is not the baseless art that Hegel thought it.\textsuperscript{g}

First published abridged in Die Neue Zeit, Bd. 2, No. 4, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

\textsuperscript{a} literally: for the King of Prussia; figuratively: all for nothing. \textsuperscript{b} E. Dühring, 'Marx, Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867'. \textsuperscript{c} With regard to \textsuperscript{d} would-be great man. \textsuperscript{e} Everything will be for the best in the best of all possible worlds (F. M. A. Voltaire, Candide). \textsuperscript{f} presumably Karl Schapper - \textsuperscript{g} G. W. F. Hegel, Werke, Bd. II, Phänomenologie des Geistes, 2. Aufl., Bd. 2, Berlin, 1841, S. 251-71.
Manchester, 16 January 1868

Dear Moor,

I have just discovered that I have left all your letters at home in another coat-pocket (including the last letter from your chief Honourable Secretary for which I express special thanks) and so I shall have to reply from memory.

You received the Courriers français and also the Wiener Tagblatt yesterday.

I am sending you the Prussian report, with special explanations. Or rather it is only necessary to look at the sketch contained therein on the positions on the evening of June 28th in order to see that Benedek had brought together 6 corps (not counting cavalry) in an area of 2 square miles, faced by the Crown Prince with only the 5th Corps and 1 brigade of the 6th Corps. If, on the 29th, Benedek had attacked Steinmetz (5th Corps), the latter would have been thrown back across the mountains on to the 6th Corps, and on the 30th Benedek would have been able to attack the Guards and the 1st Corps at his leisure with at least 4 corps and throw them back, après quoi the cautious Frederick Charles would have taken great care not to act unrestrainedly. Frederick Charles had 5 corps and would have been faced by at least 6; the order for them to retreat was, however, certain as soon as the 3 individual columns of the Crown Prince had been beaten, and thereby the campaign would have acquired a completely different character. That the Austrians would finally have been beaten, if the Prussians had shown some care, is clear from a comparison of the figures. But the Prussian rabble would have been forced to cast aside their lousy system, and it would not have been the reorganisation and Bismarck who triumphed, but the people.

Cluseret (who, of course, played the Fenian in London as well) is even wilder than the Germans with his militia plan. The American war—with militia on both sides—proves nothing except that the militia system demands enormous sacrifices of

\(^a\) Laura Marx (see this volume, p. 583) - \(^b\) Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland... - \(^c\) Frederick William - \(^d\) after which
money and men, since the organisation only exists on paper. What would have happened to the Yankees if they had been faced, not by the Southern militia, but by a standing army of a few 100,000 men? Before the North could have organised itself this army would have been in New York and Boston and would have dictated peace with the help of the Democrats, whereupon the West could have played at secession. The fellow makes a good joke when he suggests that what really counts are good officers and the confidence of the men in the officers—two things that simply cannot be achieved with the militia system: What impresses people everywhere about the militia system is the great mass of men obtained at once, and the relative ease of training them, particularly in the face of the enemy. This last point is nothing new, old Napoleon was able to lead recruits of three months in formation to face the enemy; but this demands good cadres, and for this purpose something different from the Swiss-American militia system. When the war ended, the Yankees still had very imperfect cadres. Following the introduction of the breech-loader, the time of the pure militia is really at an end. This does not mean that [not] every rational military organisation lies somewhere in the middle between the Prussian and the Swiss—but where? This depends on the circumstances in each case. Only a society set up and educated communistically can come very close to the militia system, and even then asymptotically.

With regard to the Viennese papers, I am in some embarrassment; I do, of course, see the Neue Freie Presse from time to time, but the whole area is rather too alien for me. What are your ideas on the subject, also with regard to the Fortnightly? The business is worth the trouble of thorough consideration.

I hope you are sitting again, and have had no further volcanic outbreaks. Gumpert laughs at your antipathy to arsenic, says that it is just the thing to make you sprightly and is convinced there is no better remedy for you. But if you are flatly opposed to it, then you should take acids, and that constantly, so once again he encloses a prescription for the aqua regia prescribed before, and this you really will take.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls, ditto Lafargue.

Your

F. E.

---
a See this volume, pp. 512, 515.
Alberich, the strong dwarf,\(^a\) I hereby greet most humbly on his birthday and empty a glass of beer to his health at this instant. They forgot about the cotton at the factory so I shall only be able to send it tomorrow.

Dear Moor,

From the enclosed scrawl you can see what Wilhelmchen has not done.\(^{586}\) I shall give him a fitting wigging in the next few days. A jolly idea, we should ‘utilise’ the position he has created for himself locally in Saxony, in fact stand up for him bodily. His rag\(^b\) arrived for me today, I have not yet been able to look at it.

I hope you are finally finished with that obstinate carbuncle. But you will at last realise, won’t you, that simply letting this matter slide can no longer be tolerated, and that at the very least you must have daily vigorous exercise in the fresh air, and regular ‘renunciation’ of night work (as soon as the first is possible), in order that you should become at all capable of work again. Like this, the second volume will never eventuate.\(^{418}\)

Enclosed are the shares for Strohn.\(^c\)

I really don’t know what to do about the Vienna articles. Apart from the Neue Freie Presse and Wiener Tagblatt, I do not know by name any paper in which Richter has a hand; owing to almost complete ignorance of the audience I have no idea where to begin, and this is the most important point. Laura writes that to instruct people is All very well, but to pick out the right point is the real

\(^a\) Eleanor Marx (see this volume, pp. 520-21) - \(^b\) Demokratisches Wochenblatt - \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 515-16.
difficulty. I am just going through the whole book\textsuperscript{a} once again to make this clear to myself, and your opinion would be welcome. It is also a good presumption on the part of Wilhelmchen to suggest that I should explain to him and his readers once and for all, on one page of his rag, and from this book, what the difference really is between Marx and Lassalle. This presumption has suggested to me that it might be a good idea to write a popular little pamphlet \textit{Marx and Lassalle} of about 6 sheets for the workers; in \textit{this} space it could be managed and the positive things required for the workers could be developed. It would have to be sold dirt cheap, and the Lassalleans would immediately be forced to take up a position. But for this, time is needed.\textsuperscript{587}

You really cannot ask me to drudge my way through Borkheim’s Russian pamphlets\textsuperscript{b}—at least not at the moment. I have a lot to do in the office and come home late, so that I cannot get down to anything before 8 o’clock and, moreover, I have to live a life of great regularity, since for some time now I have been sleeping badly and as a result am often a wreck in the morning, something which has never happened in my life before. Besides, there are sometimes unavoidable hindrances, and the \textit{absolute} necessity of having physical exercise so as to get my sleep back to normal. Each Russian pamphlet would consume 8-14 days in view of my necessity of working myself in again, and the poor quality of the dictionaries. \textit{Ne vaut pas la peine}.\textsuperscript{c}

About the \textit{Fortnightly}\textsuperscript{509} next time. I am still ruminating about this point. Monetary matters—important as they may be for England—I shall probably only be able to touch upon fleetingly in the first article; otherwise this subject would take up the whole article. If a second could be placed, then it would still be suitable. What do you think?

Best wishes to your wife and the girls as well as Lafargue.

Your

F. E.


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

\textsuperscript{a} the first volume of \textit{Capital}  \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 520.  \textsuperscript{c} It is not worth the trouble.
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1868

DEAR FRED,

I went out again yesterday for the first time, and the scar will be healed in 1-2 days. Naturally I am still weak after this bad attack.

I hope that your indisposition is only the momentary outcome of the week on the spree. In any case, you must not neglect your health for my sake or for any body or thing else.

In last week's Saturday Review there is a note about my book. I have not seen it yet, and also do not know who wrote it. Borkheim has communicated the fact to me.

As regards Liebknecht, one should no longer butter him up. This young man very much likes to play the 'protector', as he already showed once earlier when he was in London. This is also shown by his latest letter to you. He feels very important, and au cas de besoin nous ferons notre petit bonhomme de chemin sans lui et malgré lui. What magnanimity that he has reprinted the preface, which nearly all the papers printed months ago! And in addition he has actually had 2 copies of my book sent to Contzen and the editor of the Volks-Zeitung! To show him the cold shoulder is best. Apart from this, I do not believe that he has yet read 15 pages of the book. He had not read Herr Vogt a whole year after it had appeared, and that was not very heavy reading. His motto is: teach but not learn.

As far as the 'Lassalleans' are concerned, I only deal with the trade unions, cooperative societies, etc. in Volume II. I think therefore that I shall at present only take the initiative with regard to 'Lassalle' if a direct occasion should offer itself.

Regarding the way to deal with the Viennese, I shall write to you shortly, when my head is all right again.

Please return the enclosed letters from Kugelmann and Kertbény. I have not yet replied. Coppel the Great hasn’t turned up yet.

---

b if needs be we shall do our business without him and despite him - c of Capital
It would be beneficial in my present state if you could let me have a shipment of your more full-flavoured claret (also some hock or Moselle).

Card, the Pole, has written from Geneva and offered himself as French translator, he seems to have a book-seller in Geneva. Through my wife I have had this letter sent to Schily, so that he can use it in Paris to further the affair. Card is absolutely unsuitable, except to give Moses a fright.

For 2-3 weeks I shall do absolutely no work (i.e. writing), at the most read; and as soon as the wound is completely healed (in the meantime, I think only for one or two days, the bad part rubs and itches when I walk) then I shall do a lot of walking. It would be dreadful if a 3rd monster were to erupt.

And now, salut, my dear boy.

Your

K. Marx

First published abridged in _Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx_, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in _MEGA_, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

322

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 30 January 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Cut, lanced, etc., in short treated in every respect _secundum legem artis_. Despite this, the business continues to break out again, so that I have been lying quite fallow for 8 weeks, with the exception of two or three days. Last Saturday I went out again for the first time; Monday a relapse. I hope that it will come to an end this week, but who can give me a guarantee against new eruptions? It is extremely vexatious. In addition, my head is very affected by the business. My friend Dr Gumpert in Manchester is urging the use of arsenic. What do you think about this?

---

⁶⁵ Moses Hess - ⁶⁶ according to all the rules of the art
Your Coppel hasn’t turned up yet.

Kertbény is a German-Hungarian, whose real name, entre nous, is Benkert. The German-Hungarians love to Magyarise their names. I don’t know him personally. As he had a row with Vogt about 1860, I approached him for some information but received nothing of any use. (My Hungarian material comes partly from Szemere, partly from my personal experiences in London.) Later he turned to me in connection with a row he was having with Kossuth. Much as I have enquired around, I have learned nothing politically suspicious about him. He appears to be a scribbling BUSYBODY. His heresies quant à Bonaparte may be found amongst many otherwise honest eastern barbarians. In any case, watch him. And I would consider it more diplomatic not to display any mistrust of him (for which reason I am enclosing, through you, the biographical note which he requested). ‘Meanwhile,’ as soon as the writing position no longer troubles me, I shall ‘order’ information about him elsewhere.

You guessed rightly about ‘Plagiarism’. I intentionally wrote rudely and clumsily in order to make Hofstetten suspect Liebknecht, and to conceal the source. This entre nous.

You probably know that Engels and Siebel have also had newspaper articles published about my book in the Barmer Zeitung, Elberfelder Zeitung, Frankfurter Börsenzeitung and—to the distress of Heinrich Bürgers—in the Düsseldorfer Zeitung. Siebel was the man in Barmen to whom I wished to introduce you. He is, however, now in Madeira for his health.

A week ago on Saturday The Saturday Review—the ‘BLOOD AND CULTURE’ paper— included a note about my book in a review of recent German books. I came out of it relatively well, as you will see from the following passage:

* ‘The author’s views may be as pernicious as we conceive them to be, but there can be no question as to the plausibility of his logic, the vigour of his rhetoric, and the charm with which he invests the driest problems of political economy.’

Ouff!

My best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen. You will be receiving other photographs from here, for we have now discov-

---

ered that the watercolours applied which look good on the first day, run into patches immediately afterwards. Write to me as often as time permits. During my indisposition, and many occasions for vexation, letters from friends are welcome. Salut.

Yours
K. M.

[Autobiographical Notes] 590

Karl Marx, Ph. D., born Trier, 5 May 1818.
1842-43, first contributor, then redacteur en chef of the Rheinische Zeitung (Cologne). During his editorship the government subjected the paper to double censorship; after censorship by the proper censor, the superior censor of the Regierungspräsident. Finally suppressed on cabinet orders. Marx leaves Germany, moves to Paris.
1844 publishes in Paris, with A. Ruge, the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, banned in Germany.
Further Die heilige Familie, Kritik der kritischen Kritik, gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten. (Frankfurt a/M. Literarische Anstalt.)
January 1845, expelled from France by Guizot at the instigation of the Prussian Government, Marx proceeds to Brussels, forms the German Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847, gives lectures on political economy there, contributor to the French Réforme (Paris), etc.
1847: Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon.
Ditto: Discours sur le libre échange and other pamphlets.
1848, with F. Engels: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. Arrested and expelled from Belgium, invited back to France on the written invitation of the provisional government. Leaves France April 1848, founds in Cologne:
Neue Rheinische Zeitung (June 1848-May 1849). Marx expelled from Prussia, after the government had vainly prosecuted him through legal channels. Twice acquitted at assizes (once press trial, the other time for incitement to rebellion). Marx's defence speeches published in Zwei politische Prozesse, Cologne.
1849. Final, red issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

---
a editor-in-chief - b District President - c Inaccuracy in the original: December 1844. - d Ditto: 1846
Marx moves to Paris. Expelled from there August\textsuperscript{a} 1849, was to be interned in Brittany (Morbihan), refuses this, expelled from France, moves to London, where he has resided until the present. 1850 published: \textit{Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue} (Hamburg). 

1851-52: contributor to the London Chartist paper: \textit{The People's Paper}, Ernest Jones': \textit{Notes to the People}, etc. 


1853-54: \textit{Flysheets against Lord Palmerston}\textsuperscript{592} 


1860: \textit{Herr Vogt}. 

1851-1862\textsuperscript{b}: regular contributor to the English-language \textit{Tribune} (New York).\textsuperscript{c} Contributions to \textit{Putnam's Review} (New York)\textsuperscript{598} and the new \textit{Cyclopaedia Americana} (New York). 

1861: after the amnesty visited Berlin; Prussian Government refused his renaturalisation.\textsuperscript{583} 

1864\textsuperscript{d}: published by order of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association \textit{Address to the Working Class of Europe}\.\textsuperscript{e} 


First published in \textit{Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu} (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928 Printed according to the original
eruption broke out. It is smaller, and does not prevent me sitting, since it is on the upper side of my left thigh. Walking is harmful, however, because of the friction and the spreading of the inflammation. I believe this monster will die out during this week. After the numerous disappointments, I scarcely dare to hope that no more follow. The devil take this mucky business.

Enclosed a letter from Schily. According to him, things look rotten in Paris, as does everything connected with Moses.\(^a\) Reclus does not seem to me to be the right man either.\(^b\) There can naturally be no question of the Pole\(^b\) in Geneva. As soon as your article for the *Fortnightly*\(^c\) is AT HAND, Lafargue will do it into French for the *Courrier français*.

From the enclosed Viennese cuttings, which Fox sent me from Vienna, you can see how Lassalle and Delitzsch\(^c\) are rampant there. At the same time as the rascal Bernhard Becker turned up there as a great man. He is now a ‘Great-German’\(^d\) in the Bismarck style.

If you still have a copy of your article in the *Frankfurter Börsenzeitung*,\(^e\) send it to me.\(^f\)

Salut.

Your

K. M.

The Freiligrath begging campaign\(^g\) is going ahead; it has already raised over 32,000 talers.

---

\(^a\) Moses Hess - \(^b\) Joseph Card - \(^c\) Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch - \(^d\) i. e., champion of Austria’s annexation to united Germany - \(^e\) *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*
fellow who packs wine for me had an accident, and will be lying sick for at least 14 days, and so I have not been able to manage it yet; possibly I shall pack it myself tomorrow. You will receive very good 1863 claret and 1857 Rhine wine; I only have a few bottles of Moselle left, and they are in Mornington Street, where I cannot have them packed.

Then I was also chasing after The Saturday Review and have with great trouble got hold of the notice. If you have not seen it, I can send you a copy—not much in it, but nevertheless a good sign.a

At the moment, in addition to the tremendous amount of work connected with the annual accounts and that resulting from the revival in business, I must also rush around like mad as chairman of the Schiller Institute,28 since the affair of the building fund must be decided within 14 days, and until then all the work falls on me myself. However, I shall start with the piece for the Fortnightly.509 Important and interesting as the question of money is for England as well, I still think it appropriate to allow it to retreat into the background this time; it would distract attention from the main theme and demand a long explanation so that the English might understand that the subject is simply money as such, which he is accustomed to think of only in its entanglement with credit money, etc. What do you think?

Kertbény’s idea of having your portrait in the Leipzig Illustrierte is quite splendid.588 This sort of advertisement penetrates right into the depths of the philistine’s heart. Give him everything he needs for this. The fellow can be used for other things too, is very willing, and has the need to intervene busily everywhere and in everything. Vain, but not stupid for a Hungarian. His assessment of the German-Austrians at that time was very correct.

Card, the Pole, has sent me an insoluble puzzle with his signature. Cwi...chiewicz, neither my knowledge of handwriting nor my philology suffices for the solution of it. Of course, he would never do as a translator, and what Schily writesb is very fishy. If Reclus alone wants 3,000-4,000 francs, and Mosesc who wants to do the main work, also his share, and you should be paid the droits d’auteur,d where should the publisher come from?589 And these people should be left to do the job of ‘condensing’ and ‘Frenching’ it? Moses, who would rather be capable of watering down into 20 volumes the chapter about absolute surplus value594 than condens-

---

a A reference to the notice on the first volume of Capital published in The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, 18 January 1868.—b See this volume, p. 52. —c Moses Hess —d author’s rights
ing a page of it by one line? It is really your fault; if you write strictly dialectically for German science, then afterwards, when it comes to the translations, particularly the French, you fall into evil hands.

The Frankfurter Börsenzeitung like all the rest I have sent to Meissner, from whom I have heard nothing since. I wrote to him that he should make up an advertisement from the various articles.

Liebknecht's rag displeases me to the highest degree. Nothing but concealed South German federalism. The article on Swiss and Prussian military history has been worked up on the basis of Grün (K.) in Les États-Unis d'Europe, almost every word is wrong. Furthermore there is nothing in the rag, and though he is as thick as thieves with Hanoverian particularists and South German louts, he attacks the Berlin Zukunft people who, the devil take it, are at least as good as that rabble. Incidentally I have only received 3 numbers.

What little trust the Prussians have in the internal peace in the new provinces is shown by the new stationing and organisation of the army. For instance, 3 Hanoverian infantry and 2 cavalry regiments are stationed in Westphalia or rather Wesel, while in Hanover there are only 2 Hanoverian infantry and 3 cavalry regiments but, besides, in Westphalia 4 infantry and 2 cavalry regiments. It is true that in Schleswig-Holstein home regiments are stationed with one exception, but 2 infantry and 2 cavalry regiments from the old provinces as well. In Hesse there are indeed nominally 3 Hessian regiments of infantry, but of these the 82nd (2nd Hessian) consists of Westphalians! And the Nassauers have been sent to Hesse, the Hessians to Nassau, and parts of both with old Prussian regiments sent to Mainz. Finally Frankfurt is kept in order by Pomeranian infantry and Rhineland cavalry.

The great Borchardt seems to be approaching the target of his career. You know that for years he has transferred his priestly leanings from the beautiful Mrs Steinthal to the even more beautiful Mrs Schwabe, and that every year he has taken her to Germany to a spa because of her weakened health, and brought her back again, while her husband has to stay at home out of respect for his wife's health. So, Borchardt even took her, as Schwabe told Knowles and me one day, 'to Königsberg for the coronation'—whereupon I naturally asked: 'Whose coronation?'

---

* Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt  b Demokritisches Wochenblatt
Although I made fun of the cuckolded jackass for a whole half hour over the coronation, and fat Knowles was laughing aloud, the oaf noticed nothing. But now, after the priestly doctor had kept the husband apart from his sick wife for years, it suddenly emerges that the sick wife is pregnant and expects her accouche-ment about April. Remarkably, the high priest must have been guilty of some carelessness or foolishness sufficiently for the cuckolded jackass to suddenly see the light; he leaves his house here and moves to Berlin, sells his hunters although he will still be here for the whole hunting season, resigns his club membership, and is so hostile to the high priest that when the latter manages to launch a collection for the East Prussians here and sends £700 to the Zukunft, the cuckolded jackass throws himself into the arms of the Prussian consul and together with him collects about £350 for the official committee. Now there is a lot of talk about this amongst the philistines, and although the story above is only whispered about in the dark, the position of the high priest has been badly shattered, and many people dare to speak of him with disrespect. He no longer looks so jovial and elegant. I wonder how things will proceed. (Nota bene. The names in this story are between you and me.)

Best greetings to the ladies and Lafargue.

Your

F. E.
I quite agree with you that you should not go into the money theory for the time being, but only indicate that the matter has been treated in a new way.\(^a\)

Enclosures from Vienna from Fox (please send them back to me). You see what effect your essay in the *Börsenzeitung*\(^b\) is having.\(^529\) It is perhaps best to leave Vienna to its own devices. It is enough that attention has been drawn there to my book.\(^c\) The whole business is very immature. When you consider how agriculture still predominates in the Empire *en gros*, then it is comical to watch these somersaults. What prevails in Vienna is finance, and not large industry. However, as a ferment the hubbub cannot hurt.

Kugelmann has sent me *Dühring's Verkleinerer Carey's*. I was right that he only noticed me in order to annoy the others.\(^d\) What is very conspicuous is the very coarse way in which this affected Berliner handles Mill, Roscher, etc., while he treats me with timid care. According to him, apart from Carey, List is the greatest genius of the 19th century. In another pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit* which I saw today at the Museum,\(^e\) he 'abuses' Lassalle. I shall send you his book to look at one of these days.

Perhaps there will be no war this year. The fellows are all anxious about domestic conditions. However, the Russians will not neglect to provide causes of friction. They will lie fallow if they do not manage to bring Germany and France to blows.

Coppel was here on Sunday and will come again on Wednesday.\(^388\) He is here to put the financial affairs of the King of Hanover\(^f\) in order. He is a merry fellow. Kugelmann has forced this cousin of the Rothschilds to study my book.

There is little new for me in Schorlemmer's letter\(^g\). But still my thanks.

Salut.

Your

Moro

I can only send the newspaper cuttings tomorrow because the boxes for book-post were closed.

---

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 526 and 533. - \(^b\) *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - \(^c\) the first volume of *Capital* - \(^d\) E. Dühring, 'Marx, *Das Kapital*, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, 1. Band, Hamburg 1867' (see this volume, p. 514). - \(^e\) the British Museum Library - \(^f\) George V - \(^g\) See this volume, pp. 507-08 and 510.
Manchester, 11 February 1868
7 Southgate

Memorandum from Engels to Mr Moor

I have received your letter and that from your Honourable Secretary and return enclosed the Viennese cuttings and Meyer's letter. What a frightful tragedy at the Weydemeyers. I am of the opinion that an article should be contributed to the Debatte (via Richter), and that one should strike while the iron is hot. It will be sent this week. The 'specialist criticism' in the Frankfurter Börsenzeitung is extremely amusing. It is significant that these Viennese literary gents, all Jews as cunning as foxes, who well know all the tricks, should regard the German press outside Austria as bona fide.

Dühring amuses me very much. The thrusts at Roscher, Mill, etc., were a godsend for him—but what a difference there is between the embarrassed tone of the criticism and the saucy nature of the pamphlet.

I do not believe either there will be war, if only because the Peace League describes it as unavoidable; in any case, Sadowa has made it impossible for Bonaparte to start a war against Germany without great alliances. And since at the best he could only get Austria (England, as always, or more than ever, would not count militarily), and would have Prussia and Russia against him, the whole business is fishy. Italy is no good either, and furthermore he mucked things up for himself there. He is floored. Even the great Karl Schurz, ex-student General Fart, has confided this to Bismarck secretly.

It is nearly 7 o'clock, and I have not had dinner yet. I must go home first, so enough for today.

Your
F. E.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

DEAR FRED,

Forced since yesterday to stay at home again, since the monster under my left shoulder-blade is developing viciously. It appears that this shit will never end.

From Bordeaux I have received all the papers for the marriage. I am very worried about this. It should take place on 1 April, and nothing has been prepared for Laura. She cannot be sent out into the world like a beggar. I have written to Holland, but no answer.

I am writing only these few lines since the writing position is uncomfortable for me today.

Have you received further papers from the important Wilhelmchen? I have heard and seen nothing of it since the first numbers.

Salut

Your
K. M.

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

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

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1868

DEAR FRED,

At the same time as this I am sending you an interesting cutting from a Viennese paper, Demokratisches Wochenblatt edited by Liebknecht, Neues Wiener Tagblatt, received via Fox.
Borkheim gave me a letter to him from Liebknecht, which I had to send back to him by return. From this the following excerpt:

'Tell Marx that Dr Contzen is working on a long review, and in a lecture has already mentioned the work\(^a\) in the most laudatory terms from the *purely scientific* standpoint. And tell Marx, too, that he should get Engels to supply an article about *Capital* for our paper\(^b\) which now circulates 1,300 copies equally-spread throughout Germany. I myself have no time at present for such a job.'

If you think it worth the trouble to supply something for the paper, it would be good to make the article longer this time (with extracts), even if it had to run through several numbers.\(^602\) Borkheim will probably be sending you a reprint—if you do not have the paper—of the 'Russian refugees' which he wrote for it.\(^c\)

Dr Contzen, by the by, himself publishes (or published) an economic periodical *patrone*\(^d\) Roscher.

Regarding health, change from day to day.

*Salut*

Your

K. M.

---

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

329

ENGELS TO MARX\(^{302}\)

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 February 1868

7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

This week you will have to regard me as completely out of action. I have such a frightful lot of work at the firm as a result of the sudden rise in cotton that I do not get out of the office from

---

\(^a\) the first volume of *Capital*  
\(^b\) *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*  
\(^c\) S. B[jorkheim], 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 5 and 6, 1 and 8 February 1868 (the end of the article was published in Nos. 17 and 20, 25 April and 16 May 1868).  
\(^d\) under the patronage of
the morning on until 7 o'clock in the evening, and do not get my dinner until 8 o'clock in the evening. You will understand what one is capable of after that. I hope that the damned carbuncle has got settled. Hearty greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your
F. E.

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

330

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 March 1868

Dear Moor,

The whole of last week I worked like a slave from morning till night in commerce so that I was good for nothing at all. This has now passed, I think, and this week I should get back on to the rails.

Enclosure from Meissner. His draft is naturally absolutely unusable: I shall see whether I cannot knock together something better for him. Now I am sorry that I sent him the articles, I should already have prepared something for him from them.\(^a\)

I shall write something for Wilhelmchen\(^b\); verbatim extracts would be difficult, but I can spin out some main points to some extent for his public.\(^6\) I, too, have seen only 3 numbers of the rag,\(^c\) and these could have been edited by Gustav Struve. Since Wilhelmchen was left to his own devices his South German basic federative republicanism (how earnest\(^d\) the man is) has broken out again in full glory. The fellow even re-prints Karl Grün.\(^5\)

How is your carbuncle faring? Let us hope that this is finally the last.

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 534.  
\(^b\) Wilhelm Liebknecht  
\(^c\) Demokratisches Wochenblatt  
\(^d\) Ernscbt in the original; Engels is punning on the Saxon pronunciation of ernst.
Mr Goegg obstinately sends me the *Les États-Unis d'Europe* (the fellow wants me to get an agency for him, thus the devotion). Since the paper appears simultaneously and with the same contents in German and French, it would not be bad at all to announce your book there and Goegg has promised to insert articles by you or me. What do you think of that?

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue.

Your

F. E.

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


---

Dear Fred,

From the enclosed scrawl you will see that, if I do not pay £7.5.0 by the day after tomorrow, *my chattels shall be distrained*. The carbuncle business is now reduced to a residuum under my left arm, which should soon fade.

That I write you only these few lines today is due to a *horrible* headache.

Make sure that Meissner does not write any nonsense on his own. If the jackass had only sent back the newspaper cuttings. Enclosed scrawl from S. Meyer, which you should please return.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

* a the first volume of *Capital* - b See this volume, pp. 534, 540.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1868

DEAR Fred,

Best thanks for the £10.

The copies of *Social-Demokrat* promised by Meissner have not arrived. This shows that he is not at all precise. Thus for instance the copies for Paris have not been dispatched either. There the worthy Moses⁵ has prevaricated for so long⁶ that the *Courrier français* has now finally announced that as the result of the many *amenes,⁶* etc., it will soon completely quit the stage.

I have not seen Eichhoff's lucubrations and anyway not the *Zukunft* for a very long time.⁷ Since Eichhoff's brother is a bookseller and specialises in political economy (he is the publisher of several opera of Dr Dühring), this is reason enough for Eichhoff to deliver lectures on the same subject.

My head is in a sorry state. But that should 'disappear' by and by, as soon as the last traces of carbuncledom have gone.

I wrote to Holland again yesterday since the matter is becoming *brûlante.* Old Lafargue⁸ has dealt with the necessary marriage banns, etc., in Bordeaux, and has sent all the papers here. He now expects that the wedding will take place here at the beginning of next month, and that the pair will go to Paris, to which he will later move. We, however, have not yet risked taking the necessary steps here for the banns, since my wife has not yet been able to acquire even the most essential things for Laura. For worthy Freiligrath all this went very smoothly, but then he is 'noble'.

As soon as this affair is settled, it will be a great relief for the entire household, since Lafargue is as good as living with us, which perceptibly increases expenses.

As far as the 'reviews' are concerned, I think that after you have supplied Liebknecht you should abandon the German ones and only pursue the English. First, the echo of an English review in Germany is more powerful than vice versa, and secondly this is, after all, the only country where finally money can be made from the business.

---

a Moses Hess  b fines  c Albert Eichhoff  d urgent  e François Lafargue
Mr Macleod has nevertheless achieved a 2nd edition of his lousy and pedantic-scholastic book on banks. He is a very stilted jackass who expresses every banal tautology 1. in algebraic form, and 2. constructs it geometrically. I have already given him a passing kick in the pamphlet published by Duncker. His ‘great’ discovery is: credit is capital.

Salut

Your

K. M.

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

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

333

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 6 March 1868

Dear Friend,

As soon as Coppel vanished, my condition got worse again. Scarcely, I think, because of his departure. Post not propter. (After all he is, in his way, quite a nice man. But that particular way is, in my present state, too healthy for me to harmonise with it very well.) This is therefore the reason for my silence, so that I did not even inform you of the receipt of Thünen. There is something touching about the latter. A Mecklenburg squire (moreover, one with German distinction of thought), who treats his estate of Tellow as the land and Mecklenburg-Schwerin as the town, and who, proceeding from these premises, constructs for himself the Ricardian theory of ground rent, with the help of observation, differential calculus, practical accountancy, etc. This is estimable and at the same time ridiculous.

The curiously embarrassed tone used by Mr Dühring in his review is now clear to me. Usually, you see, he is a very

---

bumptious, insolent lad, who sets himself up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. Firstly (basing himself upon Carey) he published a *Kritische Grundlegung der Nationalökonomie* (about 500 pages), and a new *Natürliche Dialektik* (against Hegelian dialectic). My book has buried him in both respects. He reviewed it out of hatred for Roscher, etc. Incidentally he practises deception, half intentionally and half from lack of insight. He knows full well that my method of exposition is not Hegelian, since I am a materialist, and Hegel an idealist. Hegel's dialectic is the basic form of all dialectic, but only after being stripped of its mystical form, and it is precisely this which distinguishes my method. *Quant à* Ricardo, Mr Dühring has been vexed precisely because in my treatment the weak points do not exist which Carey, and 100 others before him, held up as proof against Ricardo. Consequently, he attempts, with *mauvaise foi*, to burden me with Ricardo's narrow-mindedness. But never mind. I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first expert who has said anything at all.

In volume II 418 (which will probably never appear if my condition does not change) property in land will be one of the subjects analysed, competition only in so far as called for in the treatment of other themes.

During my indisposition (which I hope will soon cease altogether) I have not been able to write, but have gobbled up enormous masses of 'material', statistical and otherwise; this alone would have made sick those whose stomachs are not accustomed to this type of fodder and the rapid digestion of the same.

My circumstances are very harassing, since I was unable to do any additional work which would bring in money, but must always maintain a certain appearance for the children's sake. If I didn't have to produce these 2 damned volumes (and look for an English publisher besides), which can be done only in London, I would move to Geneva where I could live very well with the means at my disposal. My daughter No. IIc is getting married at the end of this month.601

Greetings to Fränzchen.

Yours

K. M.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 6, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

---

a As for - b bad faith - c Laura Marx
Manchester, 10 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Do not forget to return to me the things from Meissner," otherwise I cannot reply to him.

If the Dutch b do not write to you soon, I shall see what I can do. I suppose something can still be managed.

The storm in commerce is beginning to die down, so I can work again in the evening. What you say about the *Fortnightly* is quite right; what is published there can be used again afterwards in Germany. The matter should be undertaken as quickly as possible.509 But you will understand it is not possible to do much in the evening when you only get your midday meal at 7.30 or 8 in the evening.

Eichhöffchen enclosed.—You will see that besides his brother c he also has other 'grounds' to lecture on political economy.604

So, the Russians have again postponed the business in Turkey.605 As long as they have no railways, I really cannot believe that they seriously intend any serious action. Moreover, they have an awful famine in the interior.

The costs of the Bismarckian gloire, etc., are beginning to tell. 1864—population of Prussia 19,250,000. 1867—19,668,000 for the old Provinces. According to the rate hitherto—250,000 per year, it should have been 20 million. The rate has thus been reduced to one half. In the administrative districts of Münster, Minden, and Koblenz (inter alia) the population has actually declined. Biggest increase in Berlin and Düsseldorf administrative district.

Your

F. E.
Dear Moor,

For Meissner I still lack the letter from von Eynern. I wanted to prepare an advertisement today but was disturbed.

Enclosed from Vienna. Have written to Wilhelmchen for information. I think I shall accept in general, but say that the matter must remain secret 'in order not to disturb my other connections in the Viennese press'.

I also sent Wilhelm two articles about your book, completely popular for workers (so that even Wilhelm will understand them). At the same time, I have coached him in his role in order to work over in the Reichstag the new code for crafts and manufactures (which also includes factory legislation). This opportunity is very good in order to ADVERTISE the book, and I am convinced that this will also have a considerable effect, since even the official economists have to draw on it.

Since yesterday I have been fit for work again—on the one hand, I get back earlier in the evening, and, on the other, I have discovered that for 14 days I had been drinking beer poisoned probably with cocculus indicus, which totally narcotised me in the evening. I CHANGED THE TAP YESTERDAY—by chance—noted the difference, and discovered the cause, which I had ascribed to digestive troubles.

HOW ABOUT CARBUNCLES?

Your

F. E.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

a See this volume, pp. 534, 540. - b Wilhelm Liebknecht - c F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of Capital for the Demokratisches Wochenblatt'. - d Indian berries
DEAR FRED,

Since the beginning of the week I have had carbuncles on my right thigh (not yet quite extinct). Despite this—and the consequent difficult gait—I went to the Museum, since this continuous being cooped up and lying down at home (the business has now lasted, with some intervals of course, over 4 months) would drive me mad. For all that, I am convinced that the present blossoms are only the last aftereffects. At the Museum—I by the by—I studied, amongst other things, the latest writings about the Constitution of the German Mark, Villages, etc., by Old Maurer (the old Bavarian Privy Councillor, who already played a role as one of the regents of Greece, and was among the first to denounce the Russians, long before Urquhart). He demonstrates at length that private property in land only arose later, etc. The idiotic Westphalian squirearchical opinion (Möser, etc.) that the Germans settled each by himself, and only afterwards established villages, districts, etc., is completely refuted. It is interesting just now that the Russian manner of re-distributing land at certain intervals (in Germany originally annually) should have persisted in some parts of Germany up to the 18th century and even the 19th. The view I put forward that the Asiatic or Indian property forms everywhere mark the beginning in Europe receives new proof here (although Maurer knows nothing of it). But for the Russians there disappears the last trace of originality, even in this line. What remains to them is that they still maintain forms long abandoned by their neighbours. Old Maurer's books (from 1854 and 1856, etc.) are written with real German erudition, but, at the same time, in the more homely and readable manner which sets the southern Germans apart from the northern Germans (Maurer is from Heidelberg, but this applies even more to the Bavarians and

---

a 14 November in the original - b the British Museum Library - c Presumably a reference to G. L. Maurer's Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt; Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland; Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland; Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland. - d J. Möser, Osnabrückische Geschichte.
Tyroleans, such as Fallmerayer, Fraas, etc.). Here and there a hat is doffed deeply—*re, non verbis*—to Old Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer*, etc.). Besides, I looked at the things by Fraas, etc., on agriculture.

By the by, you must send me back the Dühring, and, at the same time, the page proofs of my book. You will have seen from Dühring what Carey's great discovery is, namely, that in agriculture humanity proceeds from poorer to increasingly better soil. Partly because cultivation descends from the dry hills, etc., to the damp lowlands. But in particular because Mr Carey considers the most fertile soil *marshes* and so on, which first have to be *converted* into soil. And finally because the English colonisation in America began with that lousy New England which is Carey's model country: Massachusetts in particular.

Thanks for your efforts with the damned book. I cannot find Eynern's letter but *suffit* to write to Meissner that you sent it to me. I have received the same letter from Vienna, with a few modifications. I enclose the cuttings about Lassalle sent me by Fox. Apart from the arch-blackguard B. Becker, Reusche is in Vienna; this vagabond is there for Hatzfeldt money (as our J. Ph. Becker writes to Borkheim)—the enclosed Viennese Lassalle-creature article is by him—in order to glorify Izzy as the Son of God, and the beastly old girl as the Mother of God.

From Holland I have still not heard anything, and the wedding should be on April 8th (with difficulty despite LaFargue I have postponed the business that far). In addition, I have on the 17th (next Tuesday) to pay about £5 for water and gas (also last summons). As for the Dutch, it appears to me that I shall not squeeze anything out of them until I once again pounce upon them personally, without previous notice. But just now there can be no question of this.

Have you read about the scandal (Borkheim informed me of it) between Dühring and 'Privy Councillor' Wagener, with the former accusing the latter of pinching his manuscript or something or other about workers' cooperation.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

---

*a* in fact, not words - *b* J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* - *c* Presumably a reference to K. Fraas' *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit; Historisch-encyklopädischer Grundriß der Landwirtschaftslehre; Geschichte der Landwirtschaft; Die Natur der Landwirtschaft; Die Ackerbaukrisen und ihre Heilmittel*. - *d* E. Dühring, *Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie*. - *e* the first volume of *Capital* - *f* it suffices - *g* See previous letter. - *h* i.e. the Philipses
From Maurer I have noted that the change in opinions about the history and development of ‘Germanic’ property, etc., proceeds from the Danes who are apparently tremendously active in all kinds of archaeology in every corner. But, although they thus give the impulse, something is always missing with them somewhere or else. They lack the proper critical instinct, and in particular the sense of proportion. I was extremely struck by the fact that Maurer, though often referring, for instance, to Africa, Mexico, etc., knows absolutely nothing about the Celts, and therefore ascribes the development of common ownership in France solely to the Germanic conquerors. ‘As though,’ Mr Bruno\(^a\) would say, ‘as though’ we did not possess a Celtic (Welsh) book of laws from the 11th century\(^b\) which is entirely communist, and ‘as though’ the French in recent years had not just excavated original settlements in Celtic form here and there. As though! But the matter is quite simple. Besides German and ancient Roman relations, \textit{old} Maurer has only studied oriental (Greek-Turkish!) ones.

\(^{a}\) Bruno Bauer \hspace{1em} \(^{b}\) Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales. \hspace{1em} \(^{c}\) Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 552)
It is strange how Dollfus (Alsace) has won such false renommé. This humbug, who ranks far beneath such Englishmen as Briggs, etc., has drafted his contracts with his workers, contracts that could only be entered into by a degenerate rabble, in such a way that they do in fact become his colony of serfs, and in fact he treats them well 'as serfs', and exploits them as neatly as anybody else. And on this account the brute recently introduced in the Corps législatif the nasty paragraph of the Press Law about the 'vie privée qui doit être murée'. For here and there light had been thrown on his philanthropic juggling.

The way in which the English in Ireland are now treating political prisoners, or just suspects, or those only sentenced to ordinary prison terms (like Pigott of The Irishman and Sullivan of the News) in fact exceeds anything seen on the Continent—except Russia. They are curs!

Salut

Your
K. M.

First published in Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1919
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

338

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Yesterday evening the cashier rushed off before I had asked him for the £5 for your gas, etc., and I could not even borrow a note anywhere; it is now enclosed, and I hope this delay has not caused you any serious unpleasantness. Further money will follow in the next few days, as soon as I can view my own affairs more clearly. Has Lafargue furnished a house, etc., for he cannot take his wife into his lodgings?

a private life which should be surrounded by walls - b Weekly News
The proofs\textsuperscript{a} and the Dühring\textsuperscript{b} I shall send to you; I forgot to take the stuff with me this morning. In haste.

Your
F. E.

Dear Friend,

Your letter\textsuperscript{c} affected me both unpleasantly and pleasantly (you see I always move in a dialectical contradiction).

Unpleasantly, since I know your circumstances, and it would be wretched of me to accept such presents at your family's expense. I therefore regard these £15 as an advance, which I shall repay when I am able.

Pleasantly, not simply as a mark of your great friendship (and in the bustle of the world, friendship is the only personal thing that matters), but also because you have helped me over a great embarrassment in regard to the coming wedding.\textsuperscript{d} In the past 4 months—quite apart from medicine and doctors—I have spent so much money on BLUE BOOKS,\textsuperscript{359} Enquêtes and YANKEE REPORTS, etc., on BANKS that I really had nothing left for my daughter.\textsuperscript{d}

You can imagine that I have often discussed moving from London to Geneva, not only with myself and my family, but also with Engels. Here I have to spend £400-500 annually. In Geneva I could live on £200. But considered all in all this is impossible for the time being. I can only complete my work\textsuperscript{e} in London. And only here can I hope finally to derive a decent or at least adequate

\textsuperscript{a} of the first volume of Capital - \textsuperscript{b} E. Dühring, Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie. - \textsuperscript{c} of 13 March 1868 - \textsuperscript{d} Laura Marx - \textsuperscript{e} Capital
monetary profit from this work. This is why it is necessary that I stay here for the time being. Apart from the fact that, were I to move away from here at this critical period, the whole working-class movement, which I influence behind the scenes, would fall into very bad hands and leave the right track.

For the time being, therefore, fate binds me to London all drawbacks notwithstanding. Quant à Coppel, you do him an injustice. Had I not been indisposed he would have amused me and such a diversion never hurts the family.

Engels and I have hitherto written nothing for Liebknecht's paper. (Engels has now sent him 2 articles about my book.) Eccarius is the regular London correspondent. Borkheim has written an article against Herzen et Co.

Meyer's letter gave me great pleasure. However, he has partly misunderstood my exposition. Otherwise he would have seen that I depict large-scale industry not only as the mother of the antagonism, but also as the producer of material and intellectual conditions for resolving these antagonisms, though this cannot proceed along pleasant lines.

With regard to the factory act—as a first condition, whereby the working class obtains elbow-room for development and movement—I demand it from the state, as a forcible law, directed not only against the manufacturers, but also against the workers themselves. (Page 542, note 52, I indicate the resistance of women workers to a limitation of hours.) By the way, should Mr Meyer develop the same energy as Owen, he can break this resistance. That the individual manufacturer (apart from the extent to which he endeavours to influence legislation) can do little in the matter, I state ditto p. 243: 'But looking at things as a whole, all this does not, indeed, depend on the good or ill will of the individual capitalist, etc.' and ib. note 114. Despite all this, the individual working person can do something, and this has been abundantly shown by such manufacturers as Fielden, Owen, etc. Their main effectiveness must naturally be of a public nature. As for the Dollfuses in Alsace, they are humbugs who have managed, through their conditions of contract, to establish a comfortable and at the same time for them very profitable serfdom-relationship with their workers. They have been duly exposed in the Paris press, and for

---

a As for - b Demokratisches Wochenblatt - c F. Engels, 'Review of Volume One of Capital for the Demokratisches Wochenblatt'. - d S. Borkheim, 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nos. 5 and 6, 1 and 8 February 1868 (the end of the article was published in Nos. 17 and 20, 25 April and 16 May 1868). - e Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 549)
this very reason one of these Dollfuses, in the Corps législatif, recently introduced and carried one of the most infamous paragraphs of the Press Law, namely that ‘vie privée doit être murée’.\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{11}

With heartiest greetings to your dear wife\textsuperscript{b}

Yours

K. M.

Apropos: Did you see that my personal enemy Schweitzer has heaped eulogies on my head in 6 numbers of the Social-Demokrat on account of my book?\textsuperscript{c} Very harrowing for that old harlot Hatzfeldt.

First published abridged in Die Neue Zeit, Bd. 2, No. 6, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in Pisma Markska k Kugelmanu (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

340

MARX TO ENGELS\textsuperscript{6}

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 March 1868

Dear Fred,

The £5 received with many thanks.

Laura and Lafargue will first go to Paris (after the marriage), then rent an apartment here (somewhere on the Heath,\textsuperscript{d} if findable) and after Lafargue’s final exam (he took the others at Bartholomew’s Hospital\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{14}) will go back to France for a time, and then move off to America, where old Lafargue\textsuperscript{e} has house and home.

Whence comes the word\textsuperscript{615} higid, hid, hiwisc (hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturae sufficiens)? And also the German

\textsuperscript{a} private life should be surrounded by walls - \textsuperscript{b} Gertruda Kugelmann - \textsuperscript{c} [J. B. Schweitzer,] 'Das Werk von Carl Marx', Der Social-Demokrat, Nos. 10-12, 14, 15 and 24; 22, 24, 26 and 31 January, 2 and 23 February 1868. - \textsuperscript{d} Hampstead Heath - \textsuperscript{e} François Lafargue - \textsuperscript{f} hida is also the name in English for the land that can be cultivated sufficiently with one plough (see also this volume, pp. 560-61).
word: *wiffa* (*Qui signum, quod propter defensionem terrae*<sup>a</sup> that is to say, to declare the land *INCLOSED*, a sign instead of a real fence *ponitur, quod signum wiffam vocamus*<sup>b</sup>).

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

341

**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 19 March 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed £40 in two twenties, which, it is to be hoped, will suffice at least for the most urgent purposes. I had not expected that Löhrchen<sup>c</sup> would be making a honeymoon trip to America. So the wedding is on 8 April, a Wednesday; had it been Friday, Saturday or Monday I could have got away easily.

The things from *old* Maurer are very nice<sup>d</sup>; it is really remarkable how much material already exists on these subjects, and how little the professors have been able to make of it.

I shall try to discover the Anglo-Saxon word,<sup>e</sup> but, since no Anglo-Saxon dictionary is available to me here, I shall have to make do with other sources, which are very dubious, in view of the large and peculiar stock of words in Anglo-Saxon. First of all, the correct spelling must be determined. With regard to *Wiffa*, a question: where is it found, so we might know whether it has Low German or High German sound shifts. If it is High German you should compare Graff’s *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, the *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* by Schmeller or the Swiss dictionary by Stalder. Does it not occur in Grimm’s *Rechtsalterthümer*?<sup>f</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> Here a sign to declare the land defended -<sup>b</sup> is erected, this sign we call *Wiffa* -<sup>c</sup> Laura Marx -<sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 547-49. -<sup>e</sup> Ibid., pp. 553-54. -<sup>f</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*. 
The accursed business with the ill-fated Schiller Institute here, which Gumpert once pushed me into and then did nothing further, is finally reaching a crisis, and the matter will be decided by Wednesday. During these days I must—étant engagé—a make a great effort; I shall therefore scarcely be left with time in this period to write the English article. From the middle of next week onwards I shall have peace, and will press ahead without pause. Regarding this business here, there is every prospect that I—and everything depends upon me—shall bring everything to a happy conclusion despite Borchardt and various other German cliques. Since I have been involved in the business for 4 years, and victory or defeat fall on my head, I simply must.

Since you say nothing about carbuncles, I assume that everything is fading without further issue.

The most conscientious reader of your book here is Sam Moore; he has really worked his way thoroughly through over 600 pages and is grinding indefatigably on.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

So, Plon-Plon, according to The Times, should inaugurate the Russian-Prussian-French alliance. This Bonaparte seems to get into a worse position every day. The stupid Prussians are continually making arrests and searching houses in the annexed lands. The proofs and the Dühring will be dispatched today or tomorrow.

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

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

---

a since I have promised - b the first volume of Capital - c The Times, No. 26074, 17 March 1868, 'Prussia (From our own Correspondent). Berlin, March 14'. - d of the first volume of Capital - e E. Dühring, Die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie.
Dear Fred,

I thought Laura would notify you about the £40. She claims, however, that I did not ask her to. Thus malentendu. During the whole of last week I had many bleeding shingles; particularly obstinate and hard to obliterate the mess under my left armpit. But generally I feel much better, in fact like a reconvalescent and I am sure that the business is coming to an end.

At the same time, I am sending you the Schweitzer, which please return to me after use. A few lines from Meissner, in which he notifies me of his stupidity in informing Schweitzer that he should not continue with his extracts until I have stated my views. Quelle bêtise! I immediately attempted to redress things. Whatever secondary motives Schweitzer may have (e.g. to annoy old Hatzfeldt, etc.), one thing must be admitted. Although he makes a mistake here and there, he has studied the stuff really hard, and knows where the centres of gravity lie. Such a 'base consciousness' is still preferable to the 'honest consciousness' of a Heinzen or the 'noble consciousness' of a Wilhelmchen. Hegel forgot to list idleness as an essential element of 'noble-minded consciousness'.

More de diversis in the next letter.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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

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

---

a the British Museum Library - b a misunderstanding - c [J. B. Schweitzer,] ‘Das Werk von Carl Marx’, Der Social-Demokrat, Nos. 10-12, 14, 15 and 24; 22, 24, 26 and 31 January, 2 and 23 February 1868. - d What stupidity! - e Wilhelm Liebknecht - f See G. W. F. Hegel, Phänomenologie des Geistes, Abt. ‘Die Bildung und ihr Reich der Wirklichkeit’. - g on various topics
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 25 March 1868

DEAR Fred,

I wanted to write to you yesterday from the Museum, but I suddenly became so very unwell that I had to close the very interesting book I was reading. There was something like a black veil before my eyes. In addition, a frightful headache and chest constriction. So I crept home. The air and the light did me good, and at home I slept for some time. My state is such that I really should give up working and thinking entirely for some time; but that would be hard for me, even if I had the means to loaf.

Ad vocem Maurer: his books are extremely significant. Not only the primitive age but also the entire later development of the free imperial cities, of the estate owners possessing immunity, of public authority, and of the struggle between the free peasantry and serfdom, get an entirely new character.

The history of mankind is like palaeontology. Owing to a certain judicial blindness, even the best minds fail to see, on principle, what lies in front of their noses. Later, when the time has come, we are surprised that there are traces everywhere of what we failed to see. The first reaction to the French Revolution and the Enlightenment bound up with it was naturally to regard everything as mediaeval, romantic, and even people like Grimm are not free from this. The second reaction to it is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of every people—and this corresponds to the socialist tendency, though these learned men have no idea that they are connected with it. And they are then surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest, and even egalitarians to a degree which would have made Proudhon shudder.

And we are all very much in the clutches of this judicial blindness: right in my own neighbourhood, on the Hunsrück, the old Germanic system survived until the last few years. I now remember my father talking about it to me from a lawyer's point of view. Another proof: just as the geologists, even the best like

\[a\] the British Museum Library - \[b\] Regarding - \[c\] See this volume, pp. 547-49, and 554-55. - \[d\] mountains in the Rhine Province, Prussia - \[e\] Heinrich Marx
Cuvier, have expounded certain facts in a completely distorted way, so philologists of the force of a Grimm, mistranslated the simplest Latin sentences because they were under the influence of Möser, etc. (who, I remember, was enchanted that 'freedom' never existed among the Germans, but that 'Luft macht eigen'). E.g. the famous passage in Tacitus: 'arva per annos mutant, et superest ager', which means: they exchange the fields (arva) (by lot, hence also sortes) in all later Leges Barbarorum, and there remains over communal land (ager in distinction to arua as a publicus), Grimm and others translate: they till every year new fields, and there is still (untilled) land left over!

In the same way the passage: 'colunt discreti ac diversi' is taken to prove that the Germans from the earliest times cultivated on individual farms like Westphalian squires. But the very same passage continues: 'Vicos locant non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suum quisque locum spatio circumdat', and such Germanic primitive villages, in the form described, still exist here and there in Denmark. Obviously Scandinavia must become as important for German jurisprudence and economics as for German mythology. Only by starting from there will we be able once again to decipher our past. Incidentally, even Grimm, etc., found in Caesar's writings that the Germans always settled as kinship groups, and not as individuals: 'gentibus cognationibusque, qui uno coierunt'.

But what would Old Hegel say, were he to learn in the hereafter that the general [das Allgemeine] in German and Nordic means only the communal land, and that the particular, the special [das Sundre, Besondere] means only private property divided off from the communal land? Here are the logical categories coming damn well out of 'our intercourse' after all.

Very interesting is the book by Fraas (1847): Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, eine Geschichte beider, namely as proving that climate and flora change in historical times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin, and admits even the species developing in historical

---

\(^{a}\) facts - \(^{b}\) importance - \(^{c}\) J. Möser, "Patriotische Phantasien", Th. 3, S. 329. 'Luft macht eigen'—part of a medieval German saying, 'Stadtluft macht frei, Landluft macht eigen', literally: 'town air brings freedom, country air brings servitude'. In medieval times a serf who moved to a town became free. - \(^{d}\) Tacitus, "Germania", 26. - \(^{e}\) lot - \(^{f}\) communal land - \(^{g}\) Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, Bd. 1, S. 661. - \(^{h}\) they till separately and scattered - \(^{i}\) 'They do not lay out villages in our fashion, with adjacent buildings one next to the other; each surrounds his dwelling with a free space'. - \(^{j}\) 'according to gentes and kinships, which settled together' (Gaius Julius Caesar, "Commentarii de bello Gallico", Lib. VI, 22).
times. But he is at the same time agronomist. He claims that with cultivation—depending on its degree—the ‘moisture’ so beloved by the peasants gets lost (hence also the plants migrate from south to north), and finally steppe formation occurs. The first effect of cultivation is useful, but finally devastating through deforestation, etc. This man is both a thoroughly learned philologist (he has written books in Greek) and a chemist, agronomist, etc. The conclusion is that cultivation—when it proceeds in natural growth and is not consciously controlled (as a bourgeois he naturally does not reach this point)—leaves deserts behind it, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. So once again an unconscious socialist tendency!

This Fraas is also interesting as a German case-study. First Dr. med., then inspector and teacher of chemistry and technology. At present head of Bavarian veterinary services, university professor, head of state agricultural experiments, etc. In his latest writings you see his advanced age, but he is still a dashing fellow. He has been around a lot in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt! His history of agriculture is also important. He calls Fourier this ‘pious and humanist socialist’. On the Albanians, etc. ‘every sort of shameless lechery and rape’.b

We must keep a close watch on the recent and very latest in agriculture. The physical school is pitted against the chemical.

Do not forget to send me back the letter of Kugelmann’s manufacturer.c

Nothing pleases me better than to see you here.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Edgar’sd planter’s hat has been found again, and this time you can take it to Mrs Lizzy.e

---

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

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

---

a C. Fraas, Geschichte der Landwirthschaft, S. 12. - b K. Fraas, Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, S. XVI. - c Gustav Meyer (see this volume, p. 549) - d Edgar von Westphalen - e Lizzy Burns
Dear Moor,

I am afraid I shall not finish the article for the Fortnightly by Tuesday. The damned Schiller Institute business kept me breathless all the week, until I finally got things cleared up yesterday. If I had failed—and several stupidities on the part of my main adjutant put everything doubtful again—I would have been terribly discredited, made ludicrous for the whole of Manchester; to be 'done' in business, to get yourself 'sold' is naturally here the worst thing that can happen to you. Now it is a great triumph and gives me the opportunity I wanted to withdraw with honour from official participation in the affair; anyway now enough people will be pushing themselves forward for it. I am doubly annoyed because this business has made it impossible for me to complete the article; but for this I would have had to rush it, and in this case the quality is very important.

Schorlemmer has made a very fine discovery: the law of the boiling points of the hydrocarbons of the series \( C_nH_{2n+2} \) i.e. for three of the four isomeric series; of the 4th, too few have yet been described.\(^a\)

I shall be arriving at your place on Wednesday evening at 9, possibly earlier.\(^b\)

Where on earth can the enclosed article come from? And a letter of Bismarck's to cheer you up.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

I can find nothing about Wiffa. But in higid, hiwisc, hida you are confusing 2 if not 3 different words.\(^b\)

Anglo-Saxon hiwisce, Old Saxon and Old High German hiwiski, Old Frisian hiskthe, Old Nordic hyski, New North Frisian hiske=familia.

---

\(^a\) C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series \( C_nH_{2n+2} \)', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868.  
\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 553-54.
*Higid* can be the participle of the Anglo-Saxon *hegjan*, this verb means *to fence in*.

Whether *hide*, which is still encountered locally today as a measure of land, is drawn from this, or is connected with *hide cutis*, Anglo-Saxon *hyde*, I cannot determine without an Anglo-Saxon dictionary.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
JENNY MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London, not before 29 November 1864]

My dear Mr Engels,

Poor Moor once again has a large and very painful carbuncle. So, he has to lie down, and he finds writing very difficult. I hope that in a few days we shall be over the first eruption. It is dreadful to have that again. You would not credit how splendidly he had the bit between his teeth with the actual copying up of the book. There is already a sizeable stack ready for printing. The long hours of sitting and writing until far, far into the night, and the excitement this entails, are undoubtedly responsible for the renewed outbreak of the disease. Karl hopes that the interruption will not be long. He even wants to try and write something today. Enclosed is a letter from Wilhelmchen which he is sending you, likewise one to Weydemeyer which I would be glad if you would see to, since we do not have his address. The price of the cards for the 'INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY' is Is.1d. However, Moor thinks no one would try to stop GENTLEMEN giving 5-10s.

A thousand greetings to you, dear Mr Engels, from us all.

Yours

Jenny Marx

Apropos. We have at last had a few lines from our old Uncle Edgar. The Berliners appear to be treating him decently. The BABY says in his letter that they gave him a 'Christmas present' of coats, trousers, waistcoats, gloves, cigars and a 'hymnbook'. The

---

a the first volume of Capital - b presumably Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 24 November 1864 - c See this volume, pp. 43-45. - d Edgar von Westphalen
doctor they consulted declared his illness to be heart-disease. Whenever the doctors do not know what to say, they make do with 'general' heart-disease. I believe his complaint has its seat rather in his lungs and mind.


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

2

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 30 March 1865]

Dear Mr Engels,

Thank you so much for your letter\textsuperscript{151} and the newspaper cutting, which I now return. The worst thing about this dreadful business in which ‘Wilhelmchen’\textsuperscript{a} has once more involved yourself and Moor is that I have no idea where Moor is at present.\textsuperscript{177} I have heard nothing from him and don't know whether he is in Germany or Holland. I have taken pot luck in sending all the filth from the newspapers after him. It is almost impossible to take up the cudgels in the newspapers with a creature like Becker,\textsuperscript{b} but facts must be corrected, on account of the credulous Straubingers.\textsuperscript{618} The most ridiculous and most vexing part of the affair is to have people like Mr Reusche testifying that ‘Lassalle also spoke of Marx with respect’. Lassalle, who copied everything from my husband, even his mistakes, who had been his friend and disciple for 15 years—he is cited as also having spoken of him with respect. And this gracious testimonial is being purveyed by people who only became friends of Lassalle in the last 2 years, at a time when he was already fully committed to that wrong path, which was taking him into Bismarck's camp,\textsuperscript{98} into the ministry, like friend Bücher, or to the ultimate retraite, to Italy. And, of course, Lassalle should be rescued for these ‘freedom-fighters’ who have received their reward in his will! Yet these social riff-raff are after

\textsuperscript{a} Wilhelm Liebknecht  \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{b} Bernhard Becker
all only following their great agitator. Like his lord and master, incidentally, Mr Reusche is constantly misappropriating things of my husband’s, forever reproducing every witticism from Herr Vogt, just as in that last opus he himself borrowed from Karl the ‘grotesque clown, who has nothing behind him but his own shadow’ (a phrase aimed at Karl Blind). The condescending manner in which this triumvirate deigns to allow Moor its protection, is the most vexing thing of all. Incidentally, Lassalle’s respect for the aging Ph. Becker was also of recent date. As far back as August 1862 he believed him to be a paid agent, though in whose hire I do not know, and refused to have anything to do with him. He likewise declared to me in one of his outbursts of shouting, when his voice always went out of tune, that Moses in Paris was a completely useless muddlehead with whom he desired no truck. I defended that Plonplonist as an honest Confusionarius. I live from day to day in the hope that I shall have news of Carel; this uncertainty causes me more bother than all the other troubles.

We are all well here and send you our cordial greetings.

Yours

Jenny Marx

First published in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

3

KARL MARX

CONFESSION

Zalt-Bommel, 1 April 1865

The Quality you like best ...................... Simplicity
In man ......................................... Strength
In woman .......................................... Weakness
Your chief characteristic .................... Singleness of purpose
Your favourite occupation .................... Glancing at Netchen

---

Jenny Marx to J. Ph. Becker. 29 January 1866

My dear Mr Becker,

For the past week my husband has again been laid low with his former dangerous and exceedingly painful complaint. The affliction is all the more distressing for him this time since it further interrupts him in the copying out of his book that he has just...

---

\(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\) In the album this query and the one above remained unanswered. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\) In the album: ‘Martin Tupper, Violet powder’. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\) In the album: ‘Dante, Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Goethe’. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\) In the album: ‘Diderot, Lessing, Hegel, Balsac’. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\) In the album there are three more queries and replies here; ‘Favourite colour ... Red; Colour of eyes & heir ... Black; Names ... Jenny, Laura.’ - \(\text{\textsuperscript{f}}\) In the album the query ‘The character in history you most dislike’ is left unanswered. - \(\text{\textsuperscript{g}}\) Nothing human is alien to me (Terence, \textit{Heautontimorumenos}, I, 1, 25) - \(\text{\textsuperscript{h}}\) Doubt everything - \(\text{\textsuperscript{i}}\) written on a sheet of paper bearing the stamp: ‘International Working Men’s Association / Central Council / London’ - \(\text{\textsuperscript{j}}\) the first volume of \textit{Capital}
A page from the album of Jenny, Marx's daughter, containing Marx's 'Confession'
begun. I think that this new eruption is simply and solely due to overwork and long hours without sleep at night. He is very sorry not to be able to attend the meetings of the ‘International’, since the very existence of The Workman’s Advocate is at stake right now; until now it has had the greatest difficulties to contend with and fonds are now being offered by philistines and parsons. The attempt must now be made to get a hold on the money without making any concessions in point of principle to the ‘MONEY-LENDERS’. The Reform question, which is of such immediate practical concern to the English, is also making great demands on the resources, the time and the interest of the workers and is greatly distracting them from other matters. Karl and I were most taken by your Vorbote. Both its language and its serious approach are manly indeed! I am enclosing Lessner’s letter about it. The agent to whom I entrusted the Manifestos has written to say that he has managed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French police and that he can now send them off to Geneva. However, they cannot be stamped, so I must ask you to write and say what outlay they committed you to. The money can then be sent you together with that for the subscriptions for the Vorbote.

With respect to religion, a great movement is currently developing in stuffy old England. The top men in science, Huxley (Darwin’s disciple) at the head, with Tyndall, Sir Charles Lyell, Bowring, Carpenter, etc., give very enlightened, truly free-thinking and bold lectures for the people in St. Martin’s Hall (of glorious waltzing memory), and, what is more, on Sunday evenings, exactly at the time when the lambs are usually grazing on the Lord’s pastures; the hall has been full to bursting and the people’s enthusiasm so great that, on the first evening, when I went there with the girls, 2,000 could not get into the room, which was crammed full. The clerics let this dreadful thing happen three times.—Yesterday evening the assembly was informed that no more lectures could be held until the court case brought by the clerics against the ‘SUNDAY EVENINGS FOR THE PEOPLE’ had been decided. The gathering emphatically expressed its indignation and more than £100 were immediately collected for fighting the case. How stupid of the clerics to interfere in such a matter. To the annoyance of this band, the evenings even closed with music. Choruses from Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelsohn and Gounod were sung and received enthusiastically by the English,

---

\[a\] See this volume, p. 224. - \[b\] ibid., p. 150. - \[c\] K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.
who had, until now, only been allowed to bawl out the hymn *Jesus, Jesus, meek and mild* or take themselves off to the gin palace.

Karl, who is in great pain today, and my girls send you their warmest greetings, the little one in particular, asking me to convey very best wishes to ‘dear Becker’. And I extend my hand to you from afar.

Yours

Jenny Marx

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

---

5

JENNY MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN BERLIN

[London, beginning of February 1866]

1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

For the past week my husband has again been laid low with his former dangerous and painful complaint; this fresh affliction is all the more distressing for him since it further interrupts him in the copying out of his book that he has just begun. He is very sorry that you did not receive his lengthy letter, as he is at the present moment incapable of writing. He also fears that the letter has been seized, as it should have been returned long ago otherwise. The address was, by the way, perfectly correct, and I took the letter to the post myself along with many others and the newspapers, all of which arrived. With regard to the *Manifesto*, being a historical document, he wishes it to be printed exactly as it originally appeared; the misprints are so obvious that anyone can correct them. He will be sending the ‘International Address’ to you as soon as he can.

---

At the same time, he asks you to let him know your new address for further correspondence, when you have left Berlin. And could not Mr Vogt, in turn, give us another address, as we do not think his present one is quite safe. When you write back, kindly address to A. Williams, Esq., etc.
My husband sends you his warmest greetings.

Yours
Jenny Marx

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

JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London,] 26 February 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

For 4 weeks now my poor husband has been laid low again with his old, very painful and dangerous complaint, and no doubt I need scarcely tell you under what great and fearful anxieties we have all been suffering during that time. Right at the beginning of January he had begun to prepare his whole book for printing, and he was making wonderfully rapid progress with copying, so that the manuscript piled up most impressively. Karl felt in the best of 'spirits' and was happy to be so far on at last, when a carbuncle suddenly erupted, soon to be followed by 2 others. The last one was especially bad and obstinate and furthermore was so awkwardly placed that it prevented him from walking or moving at all. This morning it has been bleeding more strongly, which has brought him some relief. Two days ago we began the arsenic cure, of which Karl expects a good effect. It is really dreadful for him.

---

a August Vogt - b Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - c The date is written in by Kugelmann. - d the first volume of Capital
to be interrupted again in the completion of his book, and in his delirium at night he is forever talking of the various chapters which are going round and round in his mind. This morning I brought him your letter in bed. He was very pleased that you had been kind enough to write, and he asked me to thank you at once for it on his behalf. A further concern is that his presence is sorely needed at this moment, both in the debates about the forthcoming congress of the International Association and in the discussions about the policy and editing of the new workers' paper which is appearing weekly here now under the title of Commonwealth and represents both the newly formed workers' party, with all the Co-operative Societies, and the International Association. His anxiety about all this has naturally done much to worsen the general state of his health. I hope that by the spring he will be sufficiently restored to be able to visit his friends in Germany. He had been very much looking forward to doing so.

Karl sends you his warmest greetings, to which, despite our not being acquainted, I add my respects.

Yours truly

Jenny Marx


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

7

JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London,] 1 April 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

I presume that the registered letter that I received from Hanover late yesterday evening is from you. I cannot send it on to my husband in Margate until tomorrow, unfortunately, as in

a of 23 February 1866 - b the Reform League (see Note 155) - c Probably Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 30 March 1866.
pious England all communications halt on Sundays. Since the
reply may be held up by this delay, I hasten to let you know
immediately today that the letter has arrived safely; but, at the
same time, I would like to take this opportunity to apologise to
you for my total silence. Just how indebted I am to you for the
great sympathy and touching friendship you have shown my
husband was really brought home to me when the young man
from the City called to enquire on your behalf as to my husband's
condition. Immediately after my last letter to you, Karl really
became gravely ill; a fresh carbuncle (not a furuncle) erupted, and
was indeed so obstinate and so inflammatory that for almost 3
weeks my poor husband could scarcely move and was entirely
confined to the sofa. Since we are all only too well aware how
dangerous this complaint is, if it keeps recurring over a period of
years, you can well imagine how melancholy the days and nights
have been for us.

On the advice of Doctor Gumpert in Manchester, he decided to
begin the arsenic cure, as well as to spend a few weeks at the
seaside after the abscess had healed. He has now been in Margate,
a coastal resort quite near here, for nearly 2 weeks, and it seems to
us that his health has been greatly restored there. He will return
next week to pick up with renewed energy the completion of that
work of his which has so often been interrupted.

Yesterday he sent me his photogram, and since you would
perhaps appreciate a sunny picture of the man to whom you have
shown so much friendship, although you do not know him
personally, I am enclosing 1 copy with this note.

With all my respects, despite our not being acquainted

Yours truly
Jenny Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

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

---

* the first volume of *Capital*
JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] Monday 1 o'clock
[24 December 1866]

My dear Mr Engels,

The hamper has just arrived, and the bottles have been put on parade, with the Rhenish to the fore! How can we thank you for all your friendship! The £10 which arrived on Saturday will avert the harshest storms of Christmastide and enable us to celebrate a merry Christmas. The wine was particularly welcome this year, as with the young Frenchman in the house we like to keep up appearances.

If the publisher in Hamburg really can print the book as fast as he says, it is certain to come out by Easter in any case. It is a pleasure to see the manuscript lying there copied out and stacked up so high. It is an enormous weight off my mind; we have enough troubles and worries left without that, especially when the girls fall in love and become engaged, and to Frenchmen and medical students to boot! I wish I could see everything couleur de rose as much as the others do, but the long years with their many anxieties have made me nervous, and the future often looks black to me when it all looks rosy to a more cheerful spirit. Cela entre nous.

Once more, a thousand thanks for the hock and all its train!

Yours

Jenny Marx


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

a Paul Lafargue. b Otto Meissner. c the first volume of Capital. d in rosy colours. e This between ourselves.
JENNY MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, [5 October 1867]
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Mr Becker,

I hope you have received my letter. You will doubtless be surprised at seeing a second one following so close behind the first. My husband would like Bakunin’s address, and I am quite sure that you will be able to get hold of it easily in Geneva, perhaps via Herzen. He would very much like to send him his book\(^a\) and write on other matters. Warmest greetings from us all and especially from

Yours

Jenny Marx

---

\(^a\) the first volume of \textit{Capital}
place of the ‘baby Jesus’ in our household. Our Christmas festivities this year are again very much overshadowed by the fact that my poor husband is once more laid low with his old complaint. There have been 2 further eruptions, one of which is of some size and in a most painful spot, obliging Karl to lie on one side. I hope we shall soon get the better of this illness, and that in the next letter you will no longer be confronted with the temporary private secretary.

Yesterday evening we were all at home together sitting downstairs, which in English houses is the kitchen area from which all ‘CREATURE COMFORTS’ make their way up to the higher regions, and were busy preparing the CHRISTMAS PUDDING with all due thoroughness. We were seeding raisins (a most disagreeable and sticky task), chopping up almonds and orange and lemon peel, minutely shredding suet, and with eggs and flour kneading together the oddest potpourri from the whole mishmash; when all at once there was a ring at the door, a carriage was stopped outside, mysterious footsteps were going up and down, whispering and rustling filled the house; at length a voice sounded from above: ‘A great statue has arrived.’ If it had been ‘Fire, fire, the house is on fire’, the ‘FENIANS’ have come, we could not have dashed upstairs in greater astonishment or confusion, and there it stood in all its colossal splendour, in its ideal purity, old Jupiter tonans* himself, unscathed, undamaged (one small edge of the piédestal is slightly chipped) before our staring, delighted eyes!! Meanwhile, the confusion having somewhat abated, we then read the accompanying kind words you sent via Borkheim, and after pausing in deepest gratitude to you, we at once began debating which would be the worthiest niche for the new ‘dear god who is there in heaven and on Earth’.b We have not yet resolved this great question, and we shall make many trials before that proud head finds its place of honour.

My warmest thanks to you also for your great interest and indefatigable efforts on behalf of Karl’s book.c It would seem that the Germans’ preferred form of applause is utter and complete silence. You have given fresh heart to all the moaners.

Dear Mr Kugelmann, you can believe me when I tell you there can be few books that have been written in more difficult circumstances, and I am sure I could write a secret history of it which would tell of many, extremely many unspoken troubles and anxieties and torments. If the workers had an inkling of the

---

*a Jupiter the Thunderer - b Matthew 6:9, 10 - c the first volume of Capital
sacrifices that were necessary for this work, which was written only for them and for their sakes to be completed they would perhaps show a little more interest. The Lassalleans appear to be the quickest to seize the book, so that they may fittingly bowdlerise it. However, that will do no harm.

But to conclude, I have a bone to pick with you. Why do you address me so formally, even using the title ‘gracious’, for me, who am such an old campaigner, such a hoary head in the movement, such an honest fellow-traveller and fellow-tramp? I would so much have liked to visit you and your dear wife and Fränzchen a this summer, of whom my husband cannot stop saying so many nice and good things, I would so much have liked to see Germany again after 11 years. b I have often been unwell in the past year, and I am sorry to say that of late I have lost much of my ‘faith’, my courage in facing up to life. I often found it hard to keep my spirits up. However, since my girls were embarking on a long journey—they had been invited to stay with Lafargue’s parents in Bordeaux—it was impossible for me to undertake my own excursion at the same time, and it is therefore now my fondest hope for next year.

Karl sends his warmest greetings to your wife and to yourself, to which the girls sincerely add their own, and I extend my hand to you and your dear wife from afar.

Yours

Jenny Marx

not gracious and not by the grace of God.

First published, in Italian, in Movimento Operaio, No. 2, 1955

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

a Franziska Kugelmann  b François and Virginie Lafargue
My dear Mr Becker,

Don’t be cross with me for not replying sooner to your kind last letter. Unfortunately, the reason for my silence was not a happy one. For my poor husband has once again been laid up and fettered hand and foot by his old, serious and painful complaint, which is becoming dangerous through its constant recurrence. Nothing depresses him more than to be constantly condemned to idleness once again, particularly now when there is so much to be done, the 2nd part is demanded and, to put it shortly, when the world begins once again to burn and blaze, though for the time being with ‘Greek fire’, and not with the ‘Red Cock’. The idlers and loafers have cash in their pockets and health in their blood, and the people who belong to the new world, who have devoted their bodies and souls to it, are sick—poor and thus well and trully locked in handcuffs. ‘SHAME, SHAME’ as the English shout at their meetings. You will not believe how often my husband thinks of you, with sincere honour and admiration. He regards your little paper as quite definitely the best and most effective, and every time we receive news of our native kindergarten, or rather Gartenlaube, he exclaims: ‘If only the Germans had more men like old Becker!!’ As temporary secretary, I have just written to Schily and sent him the letter of the man who has offered to make the translation. You see, Moses Hess has also offered himself as translator through Schily and wanted to launch some preliminary ballons d’essais* in the Courrier français. But we have long heard and seen nothing of the two gentlemen, but, to judge by the letter I just mentioned, the matter will be a success. Because of his education in philosophy, and his orientation in the arts of dialectical leaps and balances, Hess would be preferable to many other translators who would be simply literal, but, on the other hand, our mystical Rabbi Rabbuni is often not quite reliable (not

---

\(\text{a of Capital - b symbol of revolutionary action in the Peasant War in Germany - c Der Vorbote - d The title of a German magazine - e sounding balloons}\)
quite kosher), and often careless, so it would be wrong to reject other offers because of him. Schily will now act as chargé d'affaires, and see which is the right man.

Your last article on the Peace dawdlers was excellent, and, by God (the Good Lord always springs nolens volens to the lips and the pen, although he has long left the place of honour in our hearts), was the best that we have seen hitherto.

'Goegg' is still roaming around here on his propaganda merry-go-round. And Borkheim could have been smarter than to give him 100 fr. travelling expenses. If the coins are itching and burning a hole in his pocket like that, he should let them fall and burn elsewhere. I think there are better things to do than supporting these apostles. Amand was dealt with quite differently by Engels in Manchester. For your amusement, here is a passage about it from Engels' letter.

'Moreover, yesterday I had a visit from the ex-dictator Goegg, who is travelling for the ridiculous Peace League and who ruined my evening. Luckily, Schorlemmer (a very important chemist, one of 'our people') also happened by, and got the surprise of his life with this fossil of Federal Republic; he had not believed such a thing possible. The stupid oaf has become ten times more stupid through the unthinking repetition of the same phrases, and has lost all points of contact with the world of common sense (not to mention actual thinking). Apart from Switzerland and the Canton of Baden, there is still nothing else in the world for people of this sort. For all that, he soon convinced himself of the truth of my first reply to his application for support: that the further apart we lived and the less we had to do with one another, the better we would get on.—He admitted that in the Vogt affair Blind has behaved like a coward, but said he was after all a worthy fellow, and even threatened to reconcile you and Blind! Vogt—no politician, but a decent fellow, honest to the backbone, who simply scribbled away in the daytime without considering the content—if we 2 spent an hour together then we would be like brothers. He admitted him to be a Bonapartist, but not a paid one. To which I replied that all Bonapartists were paid, there were no unpaid ones, and if he could show me an unpaid one, then I would accept the possibility that Vogt was not paid; otherwise I would not. This astonished him, but finally he discovered one—Ludwig Bamberger! Incidentally, he said that Vogt had continually had a very hard

---

\(a\) [J. Ph. Becker,] 'Zur Friedens- und Freiheitsliga', Der Vorbote, No. 12, December 1867. - \(b\) willy nilly - \(c\) Amand Goegg - \(d\) See this volume, pp. 517-18.
time, his wife was a peasant girl from the Bernese Oberland, whom he had married out of virtue. Vogt, the artful dodger, appears to have pulled the wool well over this jackass’s eyes. But when Schorlemmer and I explained to him that Vogt had not produced anything as a natural scientist either, you should have seen his rage: Had he not popularised? Was not that worth while? Thus Engels. So Goegg left empty-handed. Now he is trying his luck in other towns. Have you seen or heard anything of Bakunin? My husband sent his book a to him as an old Hegelian,—not a sign near or far. Has he received it? You can’t really trust all those Russians. If they don’t adhere to the ‘Väterchen’ in Russia, then they adhere to, or are kept by, ‘Herzens Väterchen’, b which in the end comes to the same thing. Six of one and half a dozen of the other.

Things look good here, the English are running away from themselves in panic, and, if somebody hears a cork pop, he imagines it is Greek fire, and if John Bull sees an innocent phosphorus match he believes it is impregnated with glycerine, paraffin, nicotine and God knows what, and starts to run, and soon everybody is running, and finally the genuine constables are running ahead of the false bobbies, the so-called specials, who are now keeping order in the streets with their lead batons. Ireland has taken the lead in the entire political programme, the English are already shouting in favour of Ireland at their meetings, and it has almost become respectable to lament the 7-hundred-year suffering of sweet Erin c—to weep over it; and all this has been accomplished by a phosphorus match and a rope. d How easy is it to frighten the gentlemen out of their wits! The short fear of physical means has accomplished more than centuries of moral threats.

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

---

a the first volume of Capital - b A play on words: Väterchen, father, little father, meaning here ‘the Tsar’, and Herzens Väterchen, meaning ‘dear father’, a reference to the name Herzen (Jenny Marx alludes to Bakunin’s connections with Alexander Herzen). - c old name of Ireland - d The manuscript breaks off here.
Laura Marx to Engels. 13 January 1868

LAURA MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 January 1868

Dear Engels,

As Mohr is once more being victimised by his old enemies, the carbuncles, and is, by the arrival of the latest, made to feel very ill at ease in a sitting posture, he has asked me to write you these lines in his stead.

As regards the article for *The Fortnightly Review*, I am to tell you that there is no question of a mere brief notice like the reviews of books generally found at the back of that periodical, but of an article of the length of those usually inserted.

Also I am to beg you to send back, as soon as possible, the earlier numbers of the *Courrier français*.

With best regards from all of us and in the hope that the late frequent Christmas entertainments you have been ‘undergoing’ may not have interfered with your health, I remain, dear Engels,

Affectionately yours,
Laura Marx


Reproduced from the original

---

a See this volume, pp. 508, 520 and 523.
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, On the First International. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—3, 64, 92, 148, 191, 218, 314

2 In his letter to Marx of 28 September 1864, Carl Klings, a former member of the Communist League (see Note 17), wrote about the situation in the General Association of German Workers after the death of its President, Ferdinand Lassalle, and about the forthcoming election of a new president. Bernhard Becker and Moses Hess were nominated candidates, and Klings asked Marx for advice.

The General Association of German Workers, which was founded at the congress of workers' associations in Leipzig on 23 May 1863 and included a number of former members of the Communist League, promoted the development of the German working-class movement and helped its members to overcome the ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, Lassalle and his followers channelled the Association's activity along reformist lines limiting it to the campaign for universal suffrage; their programme contained a utopian demand for the establishment of state-subsidised producers' co-operatives, which they regarded as the basic means for solving social contradictions. The leaders of the Association supported the Prussian government in its drive for the unification of Germany 'from above', through dynastic wars.

The sectarian, nationalistic policy of the Lassallean leaders of the General Association made it difficult to draw the German proletariat into the International Working Men's Association (the First International) (see Note 5). By the beginning of the 1870s, however, the progressive-minded German workers had split away from Lassalleanism thanks to the consistent efforts of Marx, Engels and their associates. At a congress in Gotha in May 1875, the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by August Bebel and Karl Liebknecht. The united party assumed the name of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—3, 15, 58, 65, 75, 78, 103, 125, 135, 141, 150

3 The proposal to accept the presidency of the General Association of German Workers was made to Marx by Wilhelm Liebknecht in his letters, written at the
beginning of September and early October 1864. Liebknecht also wrote that Bernhard Becker and Johann Baptist Schweitzer, its leaders, backed him in this request.—3

4 At the additional elections to the Corps législatif in March 1864 the Parisian workers put up their own candidate, the engraver Henri Tolain, whereas previously they voted for moderate bourgeois republicans. In the 'Manifesto of the Sixty' printed in February 1864 they explained this move by the need of the working class to have its own representatives in legislative bodies.

The Corps législatif was established, alongside the State Council and the Senate, under the Constitution of 4 February 1852, following the Bonaparte coup d'état of 1851. The members of the State Council and the Senate were appointed by the head of state, while the Corps législatif was an elected body, the elections being supervised by state officials and the police, so that a docile majority was always ensured. As its powers were confined to endorsing bills drawn up by the State Council, the Corps législatif was, in effect, a screen for Napoleon III's unlimited rule.—4, 15, 47, 274, 318

5 The inaugural meeting of the International Working Men's Association held in London on 28 September 1864 planned to call an international workers' congress in Belgium in a year's time to solve questions relating to the Rules and leadership of the entire organisation. At its meeting on 1 November 1864, the Central Council of the Association, elected on 28 September (known as the General Council from 1866), approved the Provisional Rules which made it incumbent upon the Council to convene the congress in Belgium. However, taking into account the ideological and organisational weakness of the national sections of the International, Marx proposed to convene a preliminary conference in London in September 1865 to discuss the programme of the future congress. The conference took place in London between 25 and 29 September 1865 (see Note 246).—4

6 This letter was published in English for the first time in The Letters of Karl Marx selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—5, 193, 231, 330, 356, 397, 493, 553

7 On 2 September 1864 Engels wrote to Marx about his intention to travel to Schleswig and Holstein annexed to Prussia (Schleswig) and Austria (Holstein) after the defeat of Denmark in the war of 1864. Engels left Manchester on 8 September and after a short stay with Marx in London (presumably on 9 September) travelled to the Continent. He returned to England in mid-October.—6, 11

8 Wilhelm Wolff (nicknamed Lupus), a friend and associate of Marx and Engels, died on 9 May 1864. In his will he named Marx and his family as principal beneficiaries of his small legacy. The legal procedure for receiving this legacy cost much trouble and energy, and Engels offered Marx his help.—6, 20, 21, 23, 29, 115, 116, 126

9 Engels is referring to the fact that the Bismarck government used the national contradictions between the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and Denmark to promote Germany's unification under the aegis of Prussia. On 13 November 1863 the Danish Parliament adopted a new constitution which proclaimed the annexation of Schleswig to Denmark in violation of the London Protocol of 1852 (the latter stipulated that Denmark and the duchies could be linked only by personal union). This served as a pretext for Bismarck to declare war on
Denmark. Austria joined Prussia for she did not want Prussia, her main rival in Germany, to enjoy the fruits of victory alone. As a result of the Danish war (1 February-16 July 1864), a treaty was concluded in Vienna on 30 October 1864 which declared Schleswig and Holstein to be co-possessions of Austria and Prussia. After the 1866 Austro-Prussian war the two duchies were annexed to Prussia.— 7, 34, 121, 350

10 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.— 9, 61, 418, 451

11 The *Civil War in America* broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, underwent two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for maintaining the Union and the period of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers, farmers and the Negroes. The causes and the nature of war in America were analysed by Marx in the articles published in the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* (see present edition, Vol. 19).

The discontinuance of cotton imports from America as a result of the blockade of the Southern States by the Northern fleet caused a crisis in the cotton industry of several European countries. In England, for two or three years beginning in 1862, over 75 per cent of the spinners and weavers in Lancashire, Cheshire and other counties were fully or partly unemployed. Despite privation and distress, the European proletariat gave all possible support to the American fighters against slavery.— 10, 38, 61, 199, 269, 523

12 Engels has in mind the war against the Kingdom of Italy (formed in March 1861) waged by the counter-revolutionary forces under the former King of Naples, Francis II (he was dethroned in 1860 as a result of the liberation of Sicily and Southern Italy by Garibaldi). The actions of the Naples reactionaries assumed the form of brigandage.— 10, 39

13 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, No. 4, London, 1923.— 11

14 Marx means the death of Ferdinand Lassalle on 31 August 1864 after being fatally wounded in a duel with the Romanian nobleman Janko von Racowita.— 12

15 Lassalle spoke before the Düsseldorf assizes on 27 June 1864. His speech was first published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, Nos. 176-78 for 1864, and appeared separately under the title Prozeß gegen den Schriftsteller Herrn Ferdinand Lassalle, verhandelt zu Düsseldorf vor der korrektionellen Appellkammer am 27. Juni 1864, Düsseldorf, 1864.— 12, 38

16 The congress (general assembly) of the General Association of German Workers met in Düsseldorf on 27 December 1864. It elected Bernhard Becker President of the Association.— 15

17 A reference 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 (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. Though the defeat of the revolution dealt a blow to the League, in 1849-50 it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850, disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group which tried to impose on the League its adventurist tactics of immediately unleashing a revolution without taking into account the actual situation and the practical possibilities. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association.—15

18 Marx is referring to the London Trades Council, first elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. It headed the London trade unions numbering many thousands of members and was influential amongst the British workers. In the first half of the 1860s the Council directed the British workers' campaign against intervention in the USA, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legal status of the trade unions. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a big role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Robert Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (George Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Edwin Coulson and George Howell) and the Amalgamated Engineers (William Allan).

The London Trades Council's representatives took part in establishing the International Working Men's Association (the First International) and were members of its Central (General) Council. But, while maintaining contacts with the International Association and collaborating with it, the London Council, influenced by some reformist trade unionists, refused (finally in January 1867) to officially affiliate to it as an English section.

The Trades' Unionists Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association was founded in September 1864. Odger was its President, Hartwell its Secretary, and Trimlett its Treasurer. Subsequently all of them became members of the Central (General) Council of the International Working Men's Association.—15, 154, 329, 519

19 On 26 March 1863 the London Trades Council held a meeting at St James's Hall to express the British workers' solidarity with the struggle of the North American States to abolish slavery. The participants also protested against Britain's plans for armed intervention in the US Civil War (see Note 11) on the side of the Southern States. The meeting was chaired by the bourgeois radical John Bright.

In early April 1864, Garibaldi visited England with a view to raising funds for an expedition to end Austrian domination in Venetia. The English public at large gave an enthusiastic welcome to Italy's national hero and official honours were therefore heaped on him at the beginning of his visit. However, Garibaldi's meeting with Mazzini, who lived in England as a political emigrant,
and his speeches in support of the Polish insurgents angered the British ruling circles.

Garibaldi left England at the end of April.—15, 33, 44, 45, 47

20 Marx is referring to the *Associazione di Mutuo Progresso* founded at the end of June 1864 by the Italian workers resident in London. Initially the Society numbered about 300 members and was influenced by Mazzini. Garibaldi was elected its Honorary President. In January 1865 the Society became affiliated to the International Association.—16, 110, 140, 150, 170, 250

21 The Sub-Committee or Standing Committee was the executive body of the Central (General) Council of the International. It usually assembled once a week and drafted many of the decisions which were later adopted by the Council. The Sub-Committee evolved from a commission, elected when the International Working Men's Association was set up, to draft its programme documents. The Sub-Committee included the President of the General Council (until this office was abolished in September 1867), its General Secretary and the corresponding secretaries for the different countries. Marx took an active part in the work of the Standing Committee as Corresponding Secretary for Germany.—16, 54, 130, 131, 172, 207, 214, 486

22 The Statutes submitted by Luigi Wolff at a meeting of the Sub-Committee on 8 October 1864 were an English translation of ‘L'Atto di fratellanza delle Società operaie italiane’ (Fraternal Bond Between the Italian Workmen's Associations) published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operarie* on 31 July 1864 and adopted at the eleventh congress of Italian pro-Mazzini working men's associations in Naples on 27 October 1864. Attended by delegates from 57 organisations, the congress set up an association of Italian workers' societies which joined the International Working Men's Association. By submitting to the International these Statutes, written from bourgeois-democratic positions, Mazzini and his followers sought to take over the leadership of the international working-class movement.—16, 44, 47

23 A reference to the following passage in the Provisional Rules of the Association:

‘...This International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it, will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

‘They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights' (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 15).—18, 47

24 In January 1863 an uprising against Tsarist oppression flared up in the Kingdom of Poland, the territory annexed to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. The uprising of 1863-64 was caused by the Poles' striving for national independence and the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom. The National Central Committee, which headed the uprising, put forward a programme of struggle for Poland's independence and a number of democratic agrarian demands. However, the inconsistency and indecision of the insurgent government, in particular its failure to abolish the privileges of the big landowners, drove the majority of the peasants away from the uprising. This was one of the main causes of its defeat.

In addition, serious damage to the uprising was done by the policy of its Right-wing leaders. They pinned great hopes on help from the ruling circles of
Bonapartist France and bourgeois-aristocratic England who were pursuing their own selfish interests in the Polish question.

The national liberation uprising was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government in the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.—19, 38, 73, 164

25 In his articles denouncing the diplomacy of the ruling classes Marx made use of the documents which the conservative writer David Urquhart, who was in opposition to the British government, published in his periodicals The Portfolio and The Free Press. While printing his separate articles in The Free Press, Marx criticised Urquhart and his followers for their anti-democratic views and always emphasised the fundamental difference between his position as a proletarian revolutionary and that of the Urquhartists.—19

26 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—19, 178, 225, 269, 309, 343, 348, 352, 370, 445, 450, 527, 538

27 The original has 'inneren Düppel', an expression first used in the meaning of 'enemy within' in a political survey published in the Bismarckian Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung on 30 September 1864. It became widely current later.

Düppel (Dybøl)—Danish fortification in Schleswig which the Prussians captured by storm on 18 April 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see Note 9).—19, 121, 254, 256, 263

28 The Schiller Institute, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller’s birth, strove to be a German émigré cultural and social centre. Engels was critical of the Institute, noted for its tendency to formalism and pedantry, and he initially kept aloof from it. But when certain changes were introduced into its Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864. Later, as the President of the Institute, Engels devoted much time to it and exercised a considerable influence on its activities.

In September 1868, while Engels was away from Manchester, the Institute invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with the Bonapartists and was slandering the proletarian revolutionaries, to deliver a lecture. Engels felt that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President and so he left the Directorate. In April 1870 he was again elected a member of the Directorate of the Schiller Institute, but did not take an active part in it.—20, 49, 81, 98, 116, 127, 235, 498, 503, 533, 555, 560

29 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, The Civil War in the United States, International Publishers, New York, [1937].—21, 49, 81, 84, 147, 149, 151, 154, 161, 167

30 Engels is referring to the operations of the Northerners at the final stage of the Civil War in America (see Note 11) when, during the general offensive started in May 1864, they besieged Richmond (Virginia), the capital of the Southern Confederacy and its main stronghold. The Southerners entrenched in Richmond resisted until April 1865, when the city was seized by the army of General Grant.—21, 39, 61, 82, 113, 121, 147, 153

31 Engels is referring to the nearly nine-month-long siege of Sevastopol during the Crimean war of 1853-56.—21

32 In April 1863 the British Parliament passed the Public Works Act in view of the reduced production and mass unemployment in the cotton districts of England. This Act provided the municipal authorities of these districts with funds to pay the
unemployed temporarily used for public works, mainly on laying the sewerage system, building roads, etc. The Relief Committees, which guarded the interests of the capitalists, were in charge of organising these works and paying the workers. The unemployed were forced to agree to hard labour for miserable pay.

The _ateliers nationaux_ (national workshops) were instituted by the French Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government sought to discredit Louis Blanc's ideas on 'the organisation of labour' in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground in the national workshops. The government took steps to reduce the number of workers employed in them, to send a large number off to public works in the provinces and finally to liquidate the workshops. This precipitated a proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. After its suppression, the Cavaignac government issued a decree on 3 July, disbanding the national workshops.—21, 117


34 In their letters of 11 November 1864, Schweitzer and Liebknecht invited Marx to contribute to _Der Social-Demokrat_, the prospective newspaper of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 2). In the same month, Schweitzer sent Marx and Engels the prospectus, which did not contain Lassalle's slogans. Since they had no other press organ to influence the workers' movement in Germany, they agreed to collaborate with _Der Social-Demokrat_. They also took into account the fact that Wilhelm Liebknecht was an unofficial member of its editorial board. Marx's 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and 'On Proudhon', and Engels' translation of the old Danish folk song 'Herr Tidmann' were printed in the newspaper. However, fully convinced that Schweitzer, the editor of the newspaper, was continuing the Lassallean policy of flirting with the government and the Junkers and trying to spread the cult of Lassalle, Marx and Engels on 23 February 1865 announced their break with the newspaper (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 80). Wilhelm Liebknecht followed suit and refused to collaborate with the paper.—22, 102, 136

35 Engels' letter to Schweitzer has not been found.

This letter of Engels to Marx and Marx's reply of 18 November 1864 show that Engels wrote to Schweitzer expressing his agreement to contribute to _Der Social-Demokrat_ but asked Schweitzer first to let him know who the proposed contributors were.—24

36 Engels is referring to the Kinkel-inspired campaign in the English press in defence of MacDonald, a British captain arrested in Bonn in September 1860 and brought to trial for disobeying the local authorities; and to the campaign by Kinkel, Hermann Juch and others in defence of a German tailor, Franz Müller, living in London, who was sentenced to death in the autumn of 1864 for assassinating an Englishman. Müller confessed his guilt to the priest Cappell on the gallows.
In mid-November 1864 the newspapers reported that the body of a man, presumably a German, had been found in the Thames, near London. The Dutchman Köhl was suspected.— 25, 48

Marx's letter, like one from Engels, to Schweitzer has not been found. Marx also wrote about collaboration with *Der Social-Demokrat* (see Note 34).— 26

Marx presumably means the leading article, 'Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid' (Modesty—a Festive Garment), published in the Stuttgart *Beobachter* (No. 245) on 21 October 1864. It ridiculed Karl Blind's address to the American people (on the occasion of presidential elections), which was distinguished for his excessive claims to political importance and boasting. The article was probably written by the paper's editor, Karl Mayer.— 27

This refers to the second congress of the *Union of German Workers' Associations* (set up in June 1863) which met in Leipzig on 23-24 October 1864. The Union at this stage was still under the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie (Schulze-Delitzsch and other members of the Party of Progress—see Note 99). The congress developed into a fierce battle between the followers of Schulze-Delitzsch and members of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 2), the latter striving to persuade the workers' educational societies into adopting the Lassallean political programme (the demand for universal suffrage). The young August Bebel was elected, among others, into the Union's leading body. Under his influence the organisation began to shake off the liberals' tutelage and acquire a proletarian class character.

Professor Huber, mentioned by Marx, was a conservative champion of co-operativism and attended the congress as a guest.— 27

The cotton crisis was caused by the stoppage of cotton deliveries from America because of the blockade of the slave-holding Southern States by the Northern fleet during the US Civil War of 1861-65 (see Note 11). The cotton famine in England occurred shortly before the crisis of overproduction.— 27, 53, 116

In a letter to Engels of 19 November 1864, Schweitzer, in reply to Engels' enquiry, named the proposed contributors to *Der Social-Demokrat*. They were: Moses Hess, Georg Herwegh, Bernhard Becker, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow and Johann Karl Heinrich Wuttke.— 29

In her letter to Marx of 21 November 1864, Countess von Hatzfeldt wrote that a pamphlet in commemoration of Lassalle was being prepared and asked Marx's advice about illustrations. The pamphlet *Ferdinand Lassalle. Dokumentarische Darstellung seine letzten Lebenstage. Von Augenzeugen und Freunden* appeared in Berlin in 1865. At first Wilhelm Liebknecht agreed to edit it, but when he learned, at the end of 1864, about Lassalle's direct association with Bismarck, he refused to take part in the work.

The Countess also asked Marx to come out in defence of Lassalle against the attacks on him by the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Blind.— 29, 44

Marx's letter to Liebknecht in which Marx enquired about the contributors to *Der Social-Demokrat* has not been found. In his reply of 2 December 1864, Liebknecht wrote that Lothar Bucher and Johann Rodbertus had gone over to the side of the Prussian government.— 30

In this article Karl Blind, polemising with the Lassalleans, quoted Lassalle's defence speech at the Berlin assizes in March 1864.— 30, 57
In the pamphlet in honour of Lassalle's memory (see Note 42) Countess von Hatzfeldt intended to place, next to a photograph of Lassalle on his death bed, portraits of Janko von Racowija and Helene von Döniges, who were guilty of his death, regarding this as a form of revenge on the 'assassins'. In a letter to Marx on 21 November 1864 she asked Marx for his opinion of her intention.—30, 31

Marx's telegram has not been found.—31, 288, 297

Wilhelm Wolff, to whom Marx dedicated the first volume of *Capital*, died in Manchester on 9 May 1864. Marx delivered a short oration at his funeral (see Marx's letter to Jenny Marx of 13 May 1864, present edition, Vol. 41).—31

In his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (a copy of which Marx sent to Lassalle and Sophie von Hatzfeldt after its publication), Marx exposed Blind's cowardly attempts to deny his authorship of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* (A Warning) (it was published in London in 1859 and reprinted in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*), which revealed Vogt's connections with the Bonapartists. Blind's statements in the press citing false evidence of Fidelio Hollinger, the owner of a print-shop where the flysheet had been printed, and of a compositor, Johann Wiehe, gave Vogt a pretext to attribute the authorship of the flysheet to Marx and his friends.—31

On 15 November 1859 Marx sent Lassalle his reply to Blind's declaration regarding Karl Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 526), asking him to have it published in the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*. In his reply of 20 November 1859 Lassalle recommended Marx to avoid any controversy with Blind in the press. Marx's declaration was published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 325, 21 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 8-9).—32

Lassalle was in London in July 1862.—32, 101

Marx presumably means the members of the *Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit*, an association which was founded in London about 1860 and included, besides Blind, Eduard Bronner, Karl Heinrich Schaible, Ravenstein (secretary) and Wolffsohn (cashier).—32

In view of Garibaldi's forthcoming visit to England, the German refugees in London set up a Garibaldi Committee on 6 April 1864. It included Blind, Juch (publisher of the *Hermann*), Trübner, Freiligrath, Kinkel and others.

Blind met Garibaldi on the Isle of Wight on 9 April. Blind and his associates took advantage of the meeting with Italy's national hero to advertise themselves in the English press.—33

The *Shakespeare Committee* was set up to mark the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birthday which was celebrated from 23 April to 3 May 1864. German men of letters were represented by Freiligrath, who recommended that Karl Blind should also be a member of the committee.—35

In the spring of 1849, during an uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution in Southern and Western Germany, a Provisional Government was formed in Baden headed by the petty-bourgeois democrat Lorenz Peter Brentano. In face of the impending intervention of Prussian troops in Baden and the Palatinate, this government, having in fact sabotaged the actions of the revolutionary masses, applied for help to France. Karl Blind was sent to Paris with this purpose. The Baden government counted on the support of the party of petty-bourgeois democrats headed by Ledru-Rollin, but by that time it had
been pushed into the background by the bourgeois ‘party of Order’ and the Bonapartists. This predetermined the failure of Blind’s mission.—35

55 The Low Church—a trend in the Anglican Church which laid special emphasis on Christian morality; its following originally consisted predominantly of the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy.

Pietism—a trend in the Lutheran Church that emerged in Germany in the seventeenth century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience.—36, 426

56 Blind’s address ‘Ein Freunds Wort an Deutschlands Arbeiter, Bürger und Bauer’ was published in a number of German newspapers and as a leaflet in June 1863. In it, Blind opposed Lassalle’s agitation among the workers saying that the campaign for universal suffrage did not accord with the ‘main principles of German democracy’.—36

57 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans. 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—37, 43, 121

58 Engels’ correspondence with Joseph Weydemeyer was interrupted by the Civil War in America, in which Weydemeyer fought on the side of the North. In a letter written at the end of October 1864, Weydemeyer told Engels about Karl Blind’s attacks on Lassalle in the American press and sent him a cutting from *Die Westliche Post* with Blind’s article ‘Ein Republikanischer Protest’. Engels forwarded Weydemeyer’s letter to Marx who quoted it in his statement ‘To the Editor of the Stuttgart Beobachter’ (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 23).—37, 40

59 The Carlists—a reactionary clerico-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and also making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched in 1833 a civil war which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43).—39

60 The battle at Pittsburgh-Landing also known as the battle of Shiloh, took place on 6-7 April 1862 on the Tennessee River, twenty miles north of Corinth. The Northern army under General Grant inflicted a heavy blow to the Confederate troops commanded by generals Johnston and Beauregard.—40

61 *Sonderburg* (now *Sønderborg*)—the town and fortress on the Alsen Island, one of the strongpoints on the Düppel fortification line captured by Prussian troops on 18 April 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see notes 9 and 27).—40

62 *Der Beobachter*, No. 268, 17 November 1864 carried an anonymous report from Bradford, which was a reply to the criticism of Blind in the newspaper’s leading article ‘Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid’ published on 21 October 1864 (see Note 38). The anonymous writer exaggerated Blind’s role in the political life of the USA. He also attempted to dispute the leader’s author to the description of Blind by Marx in his *Herr Vogt*, and to refute the pamphlet’s revelations concerning Blind’s cowardly attitude towards Vogt’s slanderous campaign against proletarian revolutionaries (see Note 48). All this prompted Marx to write a letter to the editor of *Der Beobachter* on 28 November 1864 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 23-25). At the request of Sophie von Hatzfeldt, a
friend of Ferdinand Lassalle, Marx also came out in this letter against Blind's attacks on Lassalle.—41, 42, 44, 51, 107

68 Marx is referring to the affidavits made by two London composers, Wiehe and Vögele, on Blind's authorship of the flysheet Zur Warnung (see Note 48), which exposed Karl Vogt as a Bonapartist agent. Blind cravenly denied his participation in composing the flysheet, thus making Marx's campaign against Vogt's lies more difficult. Marx described Blind's cowardly behaviour both in Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 128-31 and 318-20) and the statement 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart Beobachter' (Vol. 20).—41, 518

64 The Beobachter editor confined himself to publishing only the covering letter to Marx's statement (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 22) and his own 'comments' on this statement.

Marx foresaw that the Beobachter editor might not publish his statement and sent a copy of it to Sophie von Hatzfeldt for publication in other German papers. Without notifying Marx, the Countess sent the statement to Karl Bruhn, the editor of the Lassallean Nordstern. He published it on 10 December 1864, with the following editorial note: 'We have got the article through second hand, and only because of this particular circumstance is it accepted for publication in the Nordstern.' Marx expressed his indignation at this in a letter to Sophie von Hatzfeldt on 22 December (see this volume, pp. 56-57).—43, 53, 57

65 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Letters to Dr. Kugelman, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—45, 101, 220, 262, 311, 325, 327, 329, 346, 379, 395, 440, 449, 489, 496, 521, 528, 543, 551

66 This refers to Marx's plans for the publication of his main work, Capital. At that time, Wilhelm Strohn, at Marx's request, conducted talks with the Hamburg publishing house of Meissner and Behre. At the end of January 1865, a preliminary agreement was reached on publishing the book in two volumes. The text of the agreement (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 361) was sent to Marx by Meissner in his letter of 21 March 1865. —46, 78

67 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, On America and the Civil War. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—46, 413

68 From 1799 to 1805 and 1814 to 1866 the Venetian Region was part of the Austrian Empire and a centre of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian rule, of which the Bismarck government made use when preparing for a war with Austria for supremacy in Germany.—47, 54

69 The High Church—a trend in the Anglican Church which stressed the latter's derivation from Catholicism, maintained the traditional rituals and originally drew its following mainly from the aristocracy.—48

70 The address 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America' (see present edition, Vol. 20) was written by Marx on the occasion of Lincoln's re-election to the presidency. The text was approved by the Sub-Committee, unanimously confirmed by the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association on 29 November 1864 and sent to President Lincoln through Adams, the American envoy to London.—49
In view of the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Central Council of the International resolved, on Peter Fox’s proposal, at its meeting of 29 November 1864 to issue an address to the Polish people on behalf of the British members of the Council. The latter delegated the drafting of the address to the Sub-Committee, which in its turn instructed Fox accordingly. Fox’s address, however, reflected the view current among the Right-wing Polish émigrés and certain West European bourgeois democrats. It alleged that the foreign policy of the French ruling circles favoured the restoration of Poland's independence. That was why Marx and other members of the Sub-Committee and the Central Council opposed it (see Marx’s letter to Engels of 10 December 1864, and Note 77).—49, 54

The London Amalgamated Union of Building Workers (George Potter, a reformist, was one of its leaders) started a campaign for a nine-hour working day in 1859. At the end of July 1859 they called a strike in response to the employers' refusal to reduce working hours. At a joint meeting on 27 July the employers declared open war on the trade unions. They refused to employ their members and on 6 August locked out over 20,000 workers. The strike ended in February 1860 with a compromise: the employers agreed to take on trade union members, while the workers were compelled to withdraw their demand for a nine-hour working day.—50

Heinrich Heine caustically derided Karl Mayer, a poet of the reactionary-Romantic Swabian school, in his Atta Troll (Chap. 22) and in Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen (Chap. 3).—52

Hermann Becker (nicknamed Red Becker), a former Communist League member (in the 1860s he went over to the liberals), wrote to Marx on 7 December 1864 that the Rheinische Zeitung editors refused to print his statement against Karl Blind (see notes 62 and 64) justifying this on the grounds of their 'unwillingness' to advertise such an 'insignificant' figure as Blind.—52, 53

Marx means the famous 'march to the sea' undertaken by General Sherman's troops on 7 May 1864 through Georgia as part of the Union's new strategic plan for crushing the Confederacy. Despite heavy losses, the offensive was a success: on 2 December Sherman seized Atlanta and on 10 December he reached the sea. By cutting the Confederate territory in two, Sherman's march ensured the rout of the main Confederate forces in Virginia in the spring of 1865 and the final victory of the North in the US Civil War.—53, 61, 113, 121

Boustrapa—nickname for Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist putsches: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d'etat of 2 December 1851).—55, 182, 290, 339

After a preliminary discussion in the Sub-Committee, on 6 December 1864, of the address to the Polish people drawn up by Peter Fox (see Note 71), the debate continued at the Central Council meetings on 13 and 20 December 1864 and 3 January 1865. Marx spoke twice on the subject, on 13 December and 3 January (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 354 and 356). Drawing on the wealth of factual material on Polish-French relations he showed, particularly in his speech on 3 January 1865, that the French ruling circles, both under absolutism and under bourgeois regimes right up to the time of Napoleon III, had always sought to exploit the Polish question in the selfish interests of the ruling classes and that their policy was not favourable to the cause of Poland's
Notes

independence, of which the sole defenders were the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. Marx's arguments made the Central Council adopt a decision to introduce the appropriate amendments in Fox's address.—55

78 At its meeting on 8 November 1864 the Central Council decided on Marx's proposal, seconded by Hermann Jung, that any person not being able to attend the meetings cannot be a member of this Council (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 353). The decision to abolish honorary membership in the International was adopted presumably at that time too.—55

79 This refers to Sophie von Hatzfeldt's intention to republish Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. It was to be printed in Switzerland. Liebknecht informed Marx of this on 2 December 1864 and asked him to send two copies of the book for the purpose. Marx objected because he was obviously afraid that the Lassalleans might use his works to propagate Lassalle's cult.

Subsequently, Liebknecht, independently of Hatzfeldt, attempted to come to terms with the Swiss publisher, but in vain. The second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* appeared only in 1869, in Germany.—57, 139, 165

80 Marx seems to be referring to the advertisement about his and Engels' contribution to *Der Social-Demokrat*, published in the specimen issue of the newspaper (No. 1) on 15 December 1864 (see also notes 34 and 35).—58

81 The reference is presumably to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 20 December 1864. It clearly shows that Marx asked Liebknecht to do his utmost to get the General Association of German Workers to join the International Working Men's Association. In this way Marx hoped to encourage this workers' organisation to abandon its Lassallean reformist programme and tactics and take the path of genuinely proletarian, revolutionary struggle.—58

82 The congress (general assembly) of the General Association of German Workers which opened in Düsseldorf on 27 December 1864 did not discuss the affiliation of this organisation to the International Working Men's Association.—58


84 Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester approximately from 7 to 14 January 1865.—60, 62, 66

85 At its meeting of 29 December 1864, the Central Council decided to invite the bourgeois radicals Beesly, Beales and Harrison to a soirée to be held on 16 January 1865 to celebrate the founding of the International Working Men's Association. This decision was recorded in the Minutes of that meeting. The report of the meeting was not published, and Cremer, when sending the report of the next meeting, of 3 January 1865, to the newspapers, included the above-mentioned decision in it and recorded it for a second time in the Minute Book. Moreover, on his own initiative, Cremer inserted in the decision Grossmith's name who, as a Central Council member, did not have to be specially invited. As is evident from Jung's reply letter to Marx of 11 January, Marx's protest against the inclusion of Grossmith's name was read out at the Central Council meeting of 10 January; Cremer admitted his mistake, and
Grossmith's name was deleted from the Minutes of the meeting of 3 January.—

86 Engels is probably referring to the operations by the Confederate army under General Lee in northern Virginia in the spring and summer of 1863. One of its corps was commanded by Longstreet. Successful counter-attacks on the part of the Confederates led to their victory at Chancellorsville on 2-4 May 1863. Lee's troops began to invade the territory beyond the Potomac and marched to Washington. But in the Battle of Gettysburg on 1-3 July, Lee's army sustained heavy losses and was compelled to retreat beyond the Potomac.

General Hood, who succeeded Johnston as commander of the Confederate troops, undertook two major counter-attacks on 20 and 22 July 1864 against General Sherman's army, concentrated at the time to the north and east of Atlanta (see Note 75). The attempt to throw back Sherman's troops failed and Hood's army retreated, taking cover in Atlanta.—

87 Military operations confirmed Engels' prognosis. The city of Charleston (South Carolina) on the Atlantic coast of the USA was captured by the Northerners on 17 February 1865.—

88 The first three issues of Der Social-Demokrat were specimens. On 4 January 1865, No. 4 appeared, the first regular issue for the subscribers. When it was confiscated by the police, Marx congratulated Schweitzer, the editor, on the occasion and emphasised that an open break with Bismarck's ministry was necessary (see K. Marx, 'Statement Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the Social-Demokrat', present edition, Vol. 20).—

89 Bloomer costume or Bloomer—female costume of short skirt and trousers introduced in the 1850s by the American dress reformer, Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818-1894).

Davenport tricks were practised by the Davenport brothers, two American circus artists, in the 1860s.—

90 Marx is referring to 'Botschaft des Präsidenten', a message by Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, to the delegates of the general assembly of the Association that opened on 27 December 1864 in Düsseldorf (see notes 16 and 82). It was published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 3, 30 December 1864 and contained a hint that the Association could not establish close ties with the International because that would allegedly damage its organisation and did not promise to be of any practical value.—

91 In his report from Paris, dated 10 January 1865 and published in Der Social-Demokrat on 13 January, Moses Hess misrepresented the efforts of the Central Council of the International Association to draw French workers into its ranks. He alleged that the Council was essentially unscrupulous in selecting its representatives in Paris and accused Tolain and certain other French members of the International of having ties with the Bonapartists (see Marx's letter to Engels of 25 January 1865). Hess repeated this accusation in his report from Paris printed in the newspaper on 1 February, following which Marx and Engels wrote a statement to Der Social-Demokrat refuting this false accusation (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36).—

92 The letter was published in English for the first time (without the postscripts) in Karl Marx, On the First International. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—
The name *Plon-Plonists* is derived from Plon-Plon, the nickname of Prince Napoleon Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon III's cousin, whose residence was the Palais Royal while Napoleon III resided in the Tuileries.

Joseph Bonaparte headed a group of Bonapartist allies who sought to divert the people's attention from the struggle against the regime of the Second Empire by means of social demagogy and sham opposition to the government's policy.—66, 76, 208, 300, 567

Marx's letter to Paris, presumably addressed to Victor Schily, has not been found.—66

Marx is referring to the discussion of the conflict in the Paris Section by the Central Council on 24 January 1865.

The Paris Section of the International Association was founded at the end of 1864 by the Proudhonistically-minded workers, Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin who took part in the inaugural meeting of 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall. Besides Tolain's group, a French lawyer and bourgeois republican, Henri Lefort, who also participated in organising the 28 September meeting, likewise claimed to be representative of French workers. Soon it became evident that Lefort was in touch with the Council's Corresponding Secretary for France, Le Lubez, and with the French petty-bourgeois refugees in England who strove to bring their influence on the International Working Men's Association. The bourgeois republicans accused Tolain of being in contact with the Bonapartist allies (in particular with Prince Joseph Bonaparte). The accusation was published by Moses Hess in *Der Social-Demokrat*. In reply to Marx's enquiry sent to Schily and Schweitzer, the former answered on 19 January 1865 that Tolain's libellous accusation had originated with the people close to *L'Association*, the journal of co-operative societies, of which Lefort was an editor. Schily also promised to send additional information.

The conflict in the Paris Section was repeatedly discussed in the Sub-Committee and the Central Council in February and March 1865. Marx sought to protect the section from attacks by bourgeois republicans and, at the same time, to find ways of overcoming the influence of Proudhonist utopian ideas on the French workers.—66, 80, 108, 115, 118, 130

Sections of the International Associations began to be set up in Switzerland immediately after the press reports about the inaugural meeting at St Martin's Hall. On 11 October 1864, a group of Geneva workers headed by François Dupleix, a bookbinder, formed a provisional committee to establish contacts with the workers of other countries. At the Central Council meeting on 24 January 1865 the news about the Geneva workers' intention to affiliate to the International was met with approval. Hermann Jung, the Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, sent Dupleix the Rules of the International Working Men's Association; he also advised the Swiss workers, in the name of the Central Council, to set up a Central Committee for the whole of Switzerland.

The above-mentioned soirée to celebrate the founding of the International Working Men's Association was arranged on 16 January 1865 at Cambridge Hall, London.—66

This reference is to the *British National League for the Independence of Poland* founded in London on 28 July 1863. Its establishment was preceded by a meeting at St James's Hall on 22 July arranged to express solidarity with the participants in the Polish insurrection (see Note 24). The meeting, which was one of the harbingers in the founding of the International, was attended by British trade unionists and representatives of the international democratic
movement, as well as by a French workers' delegation from Paris. The meeting resolved to send a delegation to the Foreign Secretary, John Russell, to hand in a protest against the British government's double-faced policy towards the Polish insurgents. Russell refused to receive the delegation, and a second meeting was called on 28 July 1863, this time at the premises of _The Bee-Hive Newspaper_, at which the League was founded. Radical Edmond Beales was elected president and John R. Taylor—honorary secretary.

By the *Polish society here* Marx means the revolutionary democrats from among the Polish émigrés in London grouped round the representative of the National Central Committee of Poland that stood at the head of the 1863-64 uprising. At the Central Council's meeting on 10 January 1865, also attended by representatives of the National League and the National Central Committee of Poland, a resolution was passed which emphasised that 'this Association pledges itself to assist by all means in its power the commemoration of the glorious, though unsuccessful, Revolution of 1863'.

The 'meeting for the Poles' mentioned by Marx took place on 1 March 1865 (see Note 168).—66, 86, 109

98 Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote to Marx before 20 January 1865 that he had learned of Ferdinand Lassalle's agreement with Bismarck's government: he promised support from the General Association of German Workers over the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia if it introduced universal suffrage. Marx and Engels regarded this political 'bequest' by Lassalle as betrayal of the proletariat's interests. The Lassalle-Bismarck correspondence published in 1928 fully confirmed Liebknecht's information.—66, 69, 71, 75, 102, 124, 566

99 A reference to the members of the _Party of Progress_ formed in June 1861 (the most eminent figures were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Forchenbeck and Hoverbeck). The party's 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 and freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the party split, and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government.—67, 69, 71, 75, 84, 90, 96, 97, 104, 111, 150, 176, 288, 421, 430, 456

100 The _constitutional conflict_ in Prussia arose in February 1860 over the refusal of the bourgeois majority of the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet to confirm the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to 'maintain the army ready for action', which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber refused to endorse military expenses and demanded a Ministry responsible to the Provincial Diet, the government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. The Bismarck Ministry was formed at the end of September 1862. In October it again dissolved the Provincial Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie capitulated to Bismarck.—68, 82, 84

101 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, _Correspondence. 1846-1895_. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London (1934).—68, 72, 77, 79, 94, 135, 159, 172, 227, 266, 289, 297, 299, 359, 362, 381, 383, 407, 423, 458, 519, 557
Engels' letter to the editors of *Der Social-Demokrat* in which he asked them to send him projects for the reorganisation of the Prussian army has not been found.—69

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—70, 281

By Hess' 'expulsion from Brussels' Marx means his departure from Belgium's capital in March 1846 due to the aggravated ideological struggle between the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, headed by Marx and Engels, and the representatives of petty-bourgeois 'true socialism' of which Hess was one of the spokesmen.

By the 'ejection from Cologne' Marx means Hess' forced departure from Rhenish Prussia in the spring of 1848, when Marx and Engels thwarted the attempt of Hess and his followers to take over from the proletarian revolutionaries the initiative in starting a revolutionary democratic newspaper in Cologne.—70

Marx realised this intention in a footnote to the Preface to the first German edition (1867) of Volume One of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).—71, 329

Neither letters nor written statements by Marx to the editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* have been found.—71

A reference to the workers' right to organise trade unions and to go on strike. In January 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet debated the right of association in connection with the workers' opposition to the trade regulations then in force. Two members of the Party of Progress, Schulze-Delitzsch and Faucher, used the occasion to have the articles restraining capitalism repealed. They proposed to revoke Article 181, which forbade employers to resort to lockouts, and also demagogically demanded the cancellation of Article 182 concerning the punishment of workers for incitement to strike. The workers in turn wanted the repeal of Article 183 which made them obtain police permission to form associations, and of Article 184 banning strikes.

On 14 February 1865 the Prussian Provincial Diet annulled Articles 181 and 182 and left the workers' demand for freedom of association unsatisfied.—71

The decree of the Constituent Assembly of 14 June 1791 declared strikes to be a 'crime against freedom and the declaration of the rights of man' and the formation of workers' associations was liable to a fine of 500 livres and deprivation of political rights for a year. Le Chapellier made a report on this subject. The Chapellier Law was in force in France (as regards prohibition of strikes) till 1864, while the freedom of activity for the trade unions was not legalised until 1884.—71

The *Ten Hours' Bill*, the struggle for which had been waged for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847, against a background of sharply intensified contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie, generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In revenge on the industrial bourgeoisie, some Tory MPs supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to women and children. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice.—71

In his letter to Marx of 30 January 1865, Wilhelm Strohn wrote that he had seen the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner who agreed to publish Marx's
Notes

Capital on share principles. Meissner wanted to have the manuscript for study (see also Note 66). Strohn also wrote that Meissner had received, through a certain Siebold, offers from Arnold Ruge and Karl Blind concerning the publication of periodicals, and that Ferdinand Freiligrath had promised to contribute to Blind’s republican newspaper.—72

This letter by Marx has not been found.—73, 75, 101, 107, 108, 118, 149, 194, 246, 343, 370, 391, 447, 448, 464, 487, 516, 538, 542

On 28 January 1865, on Lincoln’s instructions the American Envoy Adams handed over the President’s reply to the address of the Central Council of the International (see Note 70). This reply, in the form of Adams’ letter, was published in The Times No. 25101, on 6 February 1865, under the title ‘Mr. Lincoln and the International Working Men’s Association’.—73, 80, 86, 161

The Emancipation Society was founded in London in November 1862 by English bourgeois radicals. It supported the London Trades Council (see Note 18) in its campaign against Britain’s interference in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the South (see Note 11). Among its leading figures were Edmond Beales, Edward Beesly and John Stuart Mill.—73, 74, 86

The Literary Society of the Friends of Poland was founded in Paris in April 1832 by the aristocratic-monarchist Polish émigrés under Adam Czartoryski. Its London branch was set up in the same year with the help of English aristocrats from among the Whig Party.—73

At the Central Council meeting of 31 January 1865 a letter was read from Léon Fontaine, a member of the Belgian democratic Universal Federation. In his letter dated 29 January, Fontaine wrote that the Federation had decided to join the International Association and intended to translate the Association’s documents into French. As it turned out later, Fontaine had no connections with the workers and did not take any further steps to establish a section of the International. The first section in Belgium was set up on 17 July 1865 with the direct participation of the Belgian socialist César de Paepe.—73

This refers to the participation of Central Council members in a preliminary conference of electoral reform supporters scheduled for 6 February 1865. At this conference, a group of bourgeois radicals set up a provisional committee to convocate a meeting in support of manhood suffrage in London on 23 February. Marx attached great importance to the campaign for the democratisation of Britain’s political system. He therefore thought it possible to co-operate with the bourgeois radicals but on conditions that would ensure a genuinely democratic reform as well as an independent and leading role for the International Working Men’s Association in the reform campaign.

At its meeting on 31 January 1865, the Central Council elected a deputation to the reform conference. Besides Eccarius and Le Lubez, it included Carter, Odger, Whitlock, Cremer, Wheeler and Dell.—74

Marx’s letter to Jones has not been found. As can be seen from Jones’ reply of 10 February 1865, Marx outlined a plan for drawing the masses of English workers into a reform campaign under the leadership of the Central Council of the International, and substantiated its platform (the demand for manhood suffrage, etc.). In his letter Jones expressed his agreement with the platform, emphasising, in particular, the need to oppose the moderate position of the Manchester liberal bourgeoisie on this question.—74, 91
118 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes.* Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—75, 86, 88, 402

119 On 1 February 1865 Carl Siebel wrote to Marx that he had met Carl Klings after the general assembly of the Lassalle General Association of German Workers in Düsseldorf at the end of December 1864. Therefore Marx’s recommendation to Klings, sent through Siebel, that the general assembly should propose the Association’s affiliation to the International, reached him too late (see Note 82).—75, 78

120 The cutting from the *Rheinische Zeitung* enclosed in Siebel’s letter to Marx of 1 February 1865 has not been found. Siebel assumed that the leading article was written by Hermann Becker (Red Becker). Judging by Liebknecht’s letter to Marx of 16 February, the author contrasted the revolutionary position of Marx and Engels who supported the democrats against the government with that of the Lassalleans who supported the government against the democrats.—75, 80

121 Marx’s letter to Schweizer with a proposal that the latter should stand up to Bismarck in *Der Social-Demokrat* has not been found. It is quite possible that Marx wrote about this in the final version of his letter to Schweizer of 16 January 1865. The draft of this undiscovered letter is published on pp. 64-65 of this volume.—75, 95

122 *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 16 for 1 February 1865, published an item ‘Paris, 28. Januar. Internationale Arbeiter-Association.—Geldkrisis’ (signed *H*). It repeated the libel that the French members of the International (Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin) were in contact with the Bonapartists (see Note 91).—75

123 The coup d’état in Prussia in November-December 1848 resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly (convened in Berlin in May 1848 to draw up a constitution). The constitution imposed (‘granted’) by the King introduced a two-chamber system; the First Chamber was transformed by age and property qualifications into a privileged ‘chamber of the nobility’. According to the electoral law of 6 December 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. In April 1849 Frederick William IV dissolved this Chamber and promulgated a new electoral law on 30 May which established a three-class election system based on high property qualifications and unequal representation of the various strata of the population.—76

124 *Road books* (Wanderbücher) were issued in Prussia to journeymen artisans under the law introduced in 1831. They recorded their places of residence and contained an assessment of their trustworthiness.—77

125 Marx attached to this letter his rough copy of a statement to the editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36) with a protest against the publication of the report by Hess, who libellously accused the French members of the International (see Note 91). The criticism by Marx and Engels compelled the editors to change the newspaper’s tone to some extent. Issue No. 21 of 12 February 1865 carried an item by Hess in which he withdrew his accusations. For that reason Marx and Engels did not insist on the publication of their statement. However, they decided to stop contributing to the
newspaper for the time being. Marx and Engels announced their final break with Der Social-Demokrat on 23 February 1865 (see this volume, p. 97).—79, 95

Marx forwarded to Engels Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 4 February 1865 in which Liebknecht treated collaboration on Der Social-Demokrat as a compromise with the Lassalleans. He also described his material hardships and asked Marx to find a place for him as a schoolmaster in northern England or Scotland. Marx's postscript to this letter to Engels (originally written at the end of Liebknecht's letter) was published in previous editions as a separate letter.—80, 81

On 8 February 1865, War Minister Roon spoke in the Chamber of Deputies about his Bill on changes in and addenda to the Prussian law on military service. These changes signified minor concessions to the opposition bourgeois majority in the Chamber and did not resolve the constitutional conflict (see Note 100).—83

Marx supported Lefort's appointment as the International's literary defender in Paris because he had gathered from Schily's letter of 5 February 1865 that the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) had been resolved. He hoped this would help to draw French workers active in the co-operative movement into the International and also to utilise the journal L'Association for propagating the International's ideas.

When translating the Provisional Rules of the Association into French, at the end of 1864, the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris Section distorted the text in some places. In particular, in the third paragraph of the Preamble to the Rules ('That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means'), the words 'as a means' were omitted.—85

On Marx's advice Engels formulated this passage in his pamphlet in such a way that it could not have been interpreted as the author's agreement with Lassalle's slogans. He also incorporated the suggestion Marx made below on changing the description of the position of the German bourgeoisie during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 69 and 57).—87

On 27 March 1849 the Frankfurt National Assembly, elected in April-May 1848 to draw up an all-German Constitution, adopted a law introducing direct universal suffrage. The law was published by the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, in an official government edition on 12 April 1849. Since, however, the King of Prussia and other German princes had rejected the Imperial Constitution drawn by the National Assembly, the law was not put into effect.—87

This letter by Engels has not been found.—88, 99, 174, 445, 448, 467, 475, 481, 513, 534, 566

The Tory Chartists or Tory philanthropists—representatives of a trend among England's conservative politicians and writers in the 1830s-50s, including the Young England group, whose members (Disraeli and Ferrand among them) founded a separate group in the House of Commons in 1841. Voicing the discontent of the landed aristocracy at the growing economic and political power of the bourgeoisie, the Tory philanthropists criticised the capitalist system and supported the half-hearted measures for improving the condition of the workers. However, they adopted a hostile attitude to the independent revolutionary working-class movement.—88
Marx forwarded Engels a letter from Johann Baptist Schweitzer of 11 February 1865. It was written in reply to the statement by Marx and Engels concerning Hess’ insinuations against the French members of the International. In his letter Schweitzer promised to publish immediately an item by Hess admitting his assertions to be erroneous (see Note 125). Below Marx drew Engels’ attention to this item.—89

Neither the original of Marx’s letter to Johann Baptist Schweitzer of 13 February 1865 nor the copy of it which Marx retained has survived. However, a large fragment from it is quoted in Marx’s letter to Engels of 18 February (see this volume, pp. 95-96). In this volume, this fragment is not published separately but within the above-mentioned letter to Engels.—89, 95, 108

On 11 February 1865 the Minister of Commerce, Count Itzenplitz, read out a government statement in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies during the debate on the right of combination (see Note 107). In an attempt to maintain the ban on the formation of workers’ associations, the government demagogically alleged that freedom of association could not improve the workers’ condition and proposed instead to help in setting up workers’ co-operatives.—90

The Rules Governing Servants (Gesindeordnung)—the feudal rules and regulations that existed in Prussian provinces in the 18th and early 19th centuries and sanctioned the big landowners’ arbitrary treatment of servants and agricultural labourers, including corporal punishment.—90, 96, 104

The Order of the Swan, a German mediaeval religious order of knights, was founded in Brandenburg in 1443 and disintegrated during the Reformation. In 1843 Frederick William IV of Prussia made an abortive attempt to restore this Order, hoping that its philanthropic activity would enhance the prestige of the Prussian monarchy which, he claimed, had a social mission.—90

The campaign for the right of combination was launched by the Berlin printers in early 1865 under the influence of Wilhelm Liebknecht’s propaganda. When the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers realised that the campaign was widely supported by the workers, they decided to join it too, despite Lassalle, who held that associations were of no use for the workers. On 1 February 1865, Der Social-Demokrat published Bernhard Becker’s instructions for the General Association’s representatives with a proposal that, at their meetings, the workers should adopt resolution demanding the abolition of articles 183 and 184 of trade regulations (see Note 107) that prohibited associations and strikes.—90

Marx is referring to Eccarius’ articles in Der Social-Demokrat. Eccarius continued to contribute to the paper for some time after Marx had actually ceased co-operating with it (see Note 125). His last article was printed in Der Social-Demokrat on 31 March 1865.—91

At a meeting of the Central Council of the International held on 14 February 1865, Marx read out Ernest Jones’ letter to him of 10 February, which was a reply to Marx’s letter of 1 February (Marx’s letter is not extant) and written with a view to being read at the Council. Jones agreed with Marx’s plan for drawing the broad mass of British workers into the electoral reform movement.—91

Marx forwarded to Engels a letter from a Cologne worker, G. Matzeratt, to Friedrich Lessner dated 8 January 1865. Matzeratt wrote about the disagree-
ments between Bernhard Becker and Carl Klings in the General Association of German Workers. On behalf of a group of the Association's members, he asked Lessner to inquire about Marx's opinion and help them to clarify the matter. As can be seen from Engels' letter to Marx of 7 February 1865, Becker gained the upper hand over Klings (see this volume, p. 82).—94

During the debate on the right of combination in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (see Note 107), Hermann Heinrich Becker, a deputy from Dortmund, moved a proposal, on 11 February 1865, that the right of combination be extended to the agricultural labourers as well. He also proposed to abolish the law of 24 April 1854 on the punishment of servants and day labourers for the violation of their duties.—94

This refers to Liebknecht's withdrawal from the editorial board of Der Social-Demokrat, of which Liebknecht informed Marx in a letter dated 16-17 February 1865.—94, 108

The passage in Schweitzer's letter of 15 February 1865 to Marx, written in reply to Marx's letter of 13 February, reads as follows: 'If you wish to enlighten me, as in your last letter, on theoretical questions, I would gratefully accept such instruction on your part. But as regards the practical questions of immediate tactics I beg you to consider that in order to assess these things one must be in the centre of the movement. You are therefore doing us an injustice if you express your dissatisfaction with our tactics anywhere and anyhow. You should only do this if you were absolutely familiar with conditions.'—95

Marx is referring to the third article in Schweitzer's series Das Ministerium Bismarck. It was published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 23, 17 February 1865, i.e. after Marx's demand for a stop to the flirtation with Bismarck. In these articles Schweitzer supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under the supremacy of Prussia and approved of the Prussian government's demagogical attempts to show that it favoured a solution to the labour question.—95, 104

A reference to the 'liberal' course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became Regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the 'New Era'. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict (see Note 100) that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 put an end to the 'New Era'.—96, 103

Marx refers to the journal of German petty-bourgeois democrats, Der deutsche Eidgenosse, published in London and Hamburg from 1865 to 1867. Among its editors were Karl Blind, Ludwig Büchner, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Ludwig Feuerbach and Ernst Haug.—97

Marx enclosed in this letter to Engels some scraps of paper, in an unknown hand, about the unseemly behaviour of people from the élite of the Second Empire.—99

The full text of the letter has not been found. This excerpt has been preserved in Marx's Notebook for 1865; it is also quoted by Marx in a letter to Engels of 25 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 107-08).—101
At the beginning of February 1865 Marx made a speech at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 360). He criticised the views of the Lassalleans, in particular their dogma about the assistance by the existing state to workers’ co-operative societies. The report on the celebration meeting was drawn up by Eccarius and published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, 19 February 1865. The content of Marx’s speech was presented by Eccarius inaccurately. He ascribed to Marx the idea that joint action by the proletariat and the bourgeoisie against the feudal monarchy was impossible.

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. After the foundation of the Communist League (see Note 17), the latter’s local communities played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in its work, but on 17 September 1850 Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian-adventurist group had increased their influence in the Society. In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society. During the activity of the International Working Men’s Association the Society (Lessner was one of its leaders) was its German Section in London. The Educational Society in London existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.—101, 106, 107, 507

In his letter to Marx of 19 February 1865, Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed a letter from Miquel, a former member of the Communist League, dated 22 December 1864. Miquel alleged in it that Marx’s work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* ‘contains little of what is actually new’ and that its conclusions were not applicable to Germany’s social and political conditions. At the same time, Miquel tried to justify his desertion to the liberal camp.—102, 107, 112

The *National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a centralised state under the supremacy of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural meeting was held in Frankfurt am Main in September 1859. The National Association was dissolved in November 1867, after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the establishment of the North German Confederation.—102, 163, 204, 207, 266, 280, 340, 361, 365, 372

On 20 March 1848, King Frederick William IV of Prussia declared that he was ready, for the salvation of Germany’s unity and freedom, to ‘assume the leadership of the whole nation’. Hence the phrase ‘Prussian leadership’ (‘preußische Spitze’), which won currency as a euphemism for Prussia’s efforts to unite the country under its supremacy.—103

In connection with the enthronement of King William I of Prussia an amnesty was granted in Prussia on 12 January 1861 guaranteeing, in words, all political refugees unimpeded return to the country. In the spring of 1861, during his stay in Berlin, Marx submitted an application to the Prussian government requesting the restoration of his Prussian citizenship. His request was rejected by the Prussian authorities on the grounds that in 1845 Marx had surrendered his status as a Prussian of his ‘own free will’ and ‘therefore’ could be regarded ‘as a foreigner’ (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 339-58).—105, 201

On 23 February 1865 a public meeting was held in St. Martin’s Hall, London. On the initiative and with the direct participation of the Central Council of the International Association, the meeting passed a decision to found a *Reform*
League as a centre of the mass electoral reform movement. The League’s leading bodies—the Council and the Executive Committee—included the Central Council members of the International, mainly British trade union leaders. The programme of the movement was drafted under the influence of Marx who was advocating the independent position of the British working class in the reform campaign. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demand to household suffrage, the Reform League, on Marx’s insistence, advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. The League had branches in all big industrial cities and in provinces. However, the vacillations of the bourgeois radical leaders, who became afraid of the movement’s mass character, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line charted by the Central Council of the International. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement, and a moderate reform was carried out in 1867 which granted franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class.—105, 108, 130, 150, 243, 251, 327, 574

The Combination Law of 11 March 1850 in force in Prussia banned all societies that established contacts with other organisations abroad. Hence, this law prevented the setting up of societies in Germany connected with the International Association and the affiliation to it of those already existing. Therefore, as far back as February 1865 Marx proposed to accept the form of individual membership in Germany that would allow to evade the existing laws, and that proved to be a rather flexible means of drawing the advanced German workers into the ranks of the International.—105

This refers to the leading article in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 25, 22 February 1865, which was reprinted from the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of 19 February 1865.—106

Thanks to Liebknecht and Siebel, Marx and Engels’ statement about their break with Der Social-Demokrat (see this volume, p. 97) was published in many German newspapers, among them Barmer Zeitung and Elberfelder Zeitung (No. 60) on 26 February 1865; Düsseldorfer Zeitung (No. 59) on 28 February; Rheinische Zeitung (No. 60), Berliner Reform (No. 51), Neue Frankfurter Zeitung (No. 60), Breslauer Zeitung (No. 102), Staatsbürger-Zeitung (No. 60) on 1 March, and later in several other papers.

The above-mentioned letters of Marx to Schweitzer and Liebknecht about the said statement have not been found.—108

It is clear from Schily’s letter to Marx of 25 February 1865, and the ‘Private Instruction to Schily’ extant in Marx’s notebook (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 83), that Marx’s instructions were aimed at finding such a way of settling the conflict in the Paris organisation of the International Association that would strengthen the position of the Paris Section’s Administration and help draw into the International those workers who were still under the influence of bourgeois republicans (participants in the co-operative movement, and so on).—108, 127

The ‘Resolutions of the Central Council on the Conflict in the Paris Section’, adopted on 7 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83), acknowledged as erroneous the view typical of the Proudhonists, in particular the Administration of the Paris Section of the International, that only a worker can be an official in a workers’ organisation. This Proudhonist view was ultimately rejected by the Geneva Congress of the International held in September 1866 (see Note 380).—109
Participation in the solidarity meeting with the Polish national liberation movement, called to mark the first anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, was discussed by the Central Council on 21 February 1865. The following resolution was adopted unanimously: 'That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association lend their unreserved support to the commemorative meeting for Poland on March 1st at St Martin's Hall, and they invite the attendance thereat of their friends.'—109

On 24 February 1865, *The Morning Star* printed a notice, 'German Democracy', obviously written by Karl Blind, about the forthcoming publication of the journal *Der deutsche Eidgenosse* (see Note 147).—110

Engels' notice announcing the publication of his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 81) was printed anonymously in a number of German papers with the help of Carl Siebel, Johann Klein and Wilhelm Liebknecht (Engels' letters to Klein and Liebknecht requesting to publish the notice have not been found). The notice was published anonymously in *Berliner Reform* (No. 53), *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (No. 62), *Elberfelder Zeitung* (No. 62) and *Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 62) on 3 March 1865; *Oberrheinische Courier* (No. 56) on 7 March, and others. Moreover, on 9 March the *Rheinische Zeitung* carried a special article 'Für die Arbeiterpartei' about Engels' pamphlet containing long passages from it.—111, 112

Engels is referring to the silence of the German press over his anonymously published pamphlets *Po and Rhine* (1859) and *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (1860) (see present edition, Vol. 16).—111

Since Marx and Engels' statement was published in many German newspapers (see Note 158), Schweitzer was compelled to print it in *Der Social-Demokrat* too (it appeared there only on 3 March 1865 in issue No. 29).—113

This refers to Schweitzer's article published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 29, 3 March 1865, in the section 'Politische Theil'. It said that the German Social-Democrats who were not members of the General Association of German Workers did not belong to the Social-Democratic Party. By this attack on Marx, Engels and their close associates in Germany, the editors of *Der Social-Demokrat* sought to weaken the impression of Marx and Engels' statement on their breach with the newspaper. See also Engels' letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 10 March 1865 (this volume, pp. 124-25).—114, 116, 125

Marx succeeded in having items about Engels' *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* published in the German-language newspapers in London. On 17 March 1865 such an item appeared in the *Londoner Anzeiger*, and on 18 March the *Hermann* published, also anonymously, Marx's review of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 85-86).

Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, mentioned above, concerning the popularisation of Engels' pamphlet has not been found.—114

The meeting to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 was held in St Martin's Hall, London, on 1 March 1865. It was initiated by the British National League for the Independence of Poland (see Note 97), and the Central Council of the International contributed much to preparing and conducting it (see Note 161). The British bourgeois press, the London liberal *Daily News* included, covered the speeches Beales, Leverton and other bourgeois radicals made at the meeting, but passed over in silence a resolution
submitted on behalf of the International and the speeches of Peter Fox and Georg Eccarius, the Central Council members. A full report of the meeting appeared in The Bee-Hive Newspaper (No. 177) on 4 March 1865, and Marx used it when writing his notice entitled 'A Correction' and intended for the Zurich Der weiße Adler, which reproduced a garbled report from the British newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 97-98).—114, 130, 143

169 The reference is to the manuscript of The Great Men of the Exile written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326). At the end of June 1852, Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré Bangya who offered to have it published in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy and had handed over the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by Marx in his article 'Hirsch's Confessions', written in April 1853 and published in American newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 40-43).

Marx also exposed Bangya as a spy and an agent provocateur in Herr Vogt, published in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 219-20).—118, 176, 191

170 The Prussian authorities managed to suppress the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, published by Marx and Engels during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, by means of repressive measures against its editors. On 16 May 1849, its editor-in-chief Marx, who had just returned from his trip to Northern Germany, was ordered to leave Prussia within 24 hours on the pretext that he was a foreigner who had no Prussian citizenship and had violated the rights of hospitality. Ernst Dronke and Georg Weerth, members of the editorial board, were deported for the same reasons, while Engels was prosecuted for participating in an uprising in Elberfeld, Rhine Province. The last issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, printed in red ink, appeared on 19 May 1849.—118

171 The People's Bank (Crédit au travail) was founded in Paris in 1863 by the petty-bourgeois socialist Jean Pierre Béluze to grant credits to producer and consumer co-operative societies and draw workers' savings to promote the co-operative movement. It existed until 1868.—119

172 The first issue of Der deutsche Eidgenosse, of 15 March 1865, published Karl Blind's address to all friends inviting them to contribute to the journal, as well as Gustav Struve's article, 'Die “Teig-Gesichter” in Deutschland', and Gustav Rasch's 'Ein Immortellenkranz auf das Grab eines Märtyrers (Max Dorr)'.

On the title page of the journal an emblem consisting of a hand with dagger was printed with the inscription in Latin: 'Manus haec imimca tyrannies' ('This hand is the Enemy of Tyrants').—119

173 In its issue No. 31 of 8 March 1865, Der Social-Demokrat published the statement by Georg Herwegh and Friedrich Wilhelm Röstow of their refusal, following Marx and Engels, to contribute to this newspaper. Commenting on the statement, Schweitzer distorted Marx's and Engels' attitude to Lassalle and falsified the reasons for their withdrawal from the editorial board of Der Social-Demokrat. To prove that Marx and Engels were allegedly inconsistent and their actions unjustified, Schweitzer quoted Karl Blind's article published in the Neue Frankfurter Zeitung, No. 64, 5 March 1865.—120, 126, 129

174 In a letter to Engels, dated 20 January 1865, Joseph Weydemeyer gave a short description of the preceding events in the Civil War in America (see Note 11),
in particular the Red River expedition by Northern troops in 1864, undertaken with a view to entrenching themselves in Texas. General Banks, who headed the expedition, marched from New Orleans and intended to join forces at Shreveport with General Steele who set out from Arkansas. However, Banks' troops were suddenly attacked by the Southerners in the Texas woods and were forced to retreat.—121

175 Missunde—a Danish stronghold captured by Prussian troops on 2 February 1864, during the Danish war (see Note 9).—121

176 This refers to the military operations between the allied Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese troops under Wellington and those of Napoleonic France on the Peninsula in 1808-14, and to the Crimean war, 1853-56, between Britain, France, Turkey and later Piedmont, on the one hand, and Tsarist Russia, on the other.

The battle of Alma took place during the Crimean war, on 20 September 1854. It was the first battle after the Allies' landing at Eupatoria in the Crimea on 14 September. The defeat and withdrawal of the Russian troops opened up the way to Sevastopol for the Allies.—122

177 Marx stayed with his relatives, the Philipses, at Zalt-Bommel (Holland) from 19 March to 8 April 1865.—128, 133, 139, 566

178 In his comments on the statement of Herwegh and Rüstow, Schweitzer quoted Blind's article (see Note 173) mentioning the following passage from Marx's private letter of condolence to Sophie von Hatzfeldt, written on 12 September 1864 on the occasion of Lassalle's death: 'He died young, at a time of triumph, as an Achilles' (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 563). These words taken from the letter, without Marx's knowledge and consent, were published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 1, 15 December 1864, over his signature and were used to extol Lassalle. In due time Marx lodged a protest against this breach of ethics on Schweitzer's part.—129

179 Marx realised his intention by writing, on 15 March 1865, the 'Statement Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the Social-Demokrat'. It was published in the Berliner Reform (No. 67) on 19 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 87-90).—129

180 Marx enclosed in his letter the text of the Central Council's resolutions on the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) written by him and approved by the Council on 7 March 1865, and the text of the private instruction to Schily who was appointed a special representative of the Central Council in the Paris Administration (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83).—130

181 On 11 March 1865, in Radleys Hotel, London, there was a conference of the workers' delegation elected at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall (see Note 155) and representatives of the radical and liberal bourgeoisie. This conference, sponsored by participants in the electoral reform movement, was a step in founding the Reform League. About 20 trade union delegates, among them members of the Central Council of the International, and as many bourgeois representatives, including four MPs, attended the conference. John Bright, leader of the Free Traders, advocated household suffrage. The demand for manhood suffrage was rejected by the bourgeois delegates, and no agreement on joint action was reached.

Marx's letter to Jones mentioned above has not been found.—130
In its issue No. 299 of 4 March 1865, the *Nordstern*, published by Karl Brunn, carried two leading articles in which the editors came out against any compromise with the government and described people of Schweitzer's type as intriguers.—130

This refers to the resolutions on the conflict in the Paris Section (see Note 95) adopted by the Central Council of the International on 7 March 1865.

No letter from Marx to Cremer has been found, nor has the letter to Schily of 13 March 1865, which he wanted to send.—131

On 12 March 1865 Jung wrote to tell Marx that the Central Council had instructed him to draw up a summary of the conflict in the Paris Section for the information of the International's members in France, and asked Marx to help him in the matter. On 18 March Marx met Jung and handed him his written remarks on the latter's document. (For Marx's comments, entitled 'Memorandum to Hermann Jung about the Conflict in the Paris Section', see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 331-36.)—132

The *Berliner Reform* of 3 March, the *Rheinische Zeitung* of 4 March 1865 and other German papers published a report on Marx's and Engels' break with *Der Social-Demokrat* which Wilhelm Liebknecht made on 28 February in the Berlin Printers' Association that declared its adhesion to the International. The printers approved of Marx and Engels' statement of 23 February and Liebknecht's refusal to contribute to *Der Social-Demokrat*.—134

On 11 March 1865, the *Nordstern* (No. 300) published a protest by Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow and Friedrich Reusche. It was against a report in *Der Social-Demokrat*, of 26 February 1865, which said that Lassalle was flirting with the Prussian monarchy. The authors of the protest asserted that Lassalle did not show any special respect for the King of Prussia and that the report's allegations were unfounded.—134

In early March 1865 Carl Siebel forwarded to Engels a letter he received from the then editor of the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* Dresemann. The latter invited Marx and Engels to contribute to the *Sphinx*, a newspaper which Friedrich Albert Lange intended to found in Duisburg.—136

Marx criticised the Ricardian 'law of population' in the first volume of *Capital* (see the English edition published in 1887 under Engels' editorship: Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 3, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—137

Malthus' plagiarisms in his *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers* are mentioned by Marx in the first volume of *Capital* (see the English edition published in 1887 under Engels' editorship: Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 1, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—137

The words 'Caveant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat' ('Let the consuls beware lest the Republic suffer harm') used to be addressed by the Roman Senate to the consuls in time of danger for the state; the meaning was that they were empowered to appoint a dictator.—137

Schulze-Delitzsch, a German bourgeois economist and a leader of the Party of Progress, supported small savings banks and loan offices, and consumer and producer co-operatives based on the workers' own means, with the aim of diverting workers from the revolutionary struggle against capital. Schulze-Delitzsch advocated harmony of capitalists' and workers' interests, asserting that
co-operatives could help improve workers' conditions under capitalism and save small producers and artisans from ruin.—138

Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, made a speech at a meeting of the Association's Hamburg Section on 22 March 1865 in which he slandered the International Working Men's Association and also Marx, Engels and Liebknecht. Marx rebuffed Becker in an article "The President of Mankind", published in the Rheinische Zeitung, No. 102 (second supplement), 12 April and the Berliner Reform, No. 88 (supplement), 13 April 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 92-96). On 27 March, Becker was denounced by Liebknecht at a meeting of the Association's Berlin Section when he discussed the question of the presidency. On 1 April 1865 the Nordstern (No. 303) printed statements by Rüstow and Herwegh against the attacks made by Becker on Countess Hatzfeldt.

In view of the growing discontent among the rank-and-file members of the General Association with Becker as President, the Berlin Section resolved to expel him. Many other sections followed suit. In June 1865 Becker was compelled provisionally to delegate his presidential powers to his deputy Fritzsche and completely renounced them in November.—139, 140, 566

Lefort's statement about his withdrawal from the International was published in L'Association, No. 6, April 1865.—140

At the Central Council meeting of 28 March 1865 the General Secretary, William Cremer, spoke on behalf of the Council's deputation (Ecarius, Weston, Jung, Fox, and others). He reported on the results of their meeting with the delegates of the National Shoemakers' Union and its adoption of the following resolution: 'That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Association as represented so eloquently by the deputation from that body and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles and endeavour to spread their liberal and glorious ideas among our constituents.'—140

In his letters to Engels, dated 10 January and 1 April 1865, Sigismund Borkheim wrote that Adolph Kolatschek, an Austrian journalist, intended to resume publication of the Stimmen der Zeit and invited Marx and Engels to contribute to it. Kolatschek's intention did not materialise.—141

The notice entitled 'A Correction' was published with slight changes in Der weisse Adler, No. 48, 22 April 1865 over Jung's signature (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 97-98).—143

This letter has reached us as a draft in Marx's notebook for 1865. The notebook also reproduced the text attached to the letter of the Central Council official resolution of 11 April 1865, signed by Odger, the President, and Cremer, the General Secretary of the Council, appointing Marx Corresponding Secretary for Belgium pro tem instead of Le Lubez who abandoned this post. The following postscript was entered in the notebook: 'Letter sent on Monday, 17 April 1865.'—144

In his article 'Falsche Freunde und offene Feinde', published in the Nordstern, No. 304, on 8 April 1865, Friedrich Reusche defended Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker whom Bernhard Becker called 'false friends' for their refusal to co-operate on Der Social-Demokrat (see Note 173). Written in a melodramatic tone, the article refers to the oath given by the above-mentioned men to the dying Lassalle to bring his cause to a finish,
and calls Bernhard Becker, Schweitzer and their followers 'venal mercenaries and tools of reaction'.

By mentioning Willich's apple-tree Engels means the oath which Willich and his volunteer corps gave under an apple-tree during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; better die on German soil than go back into exile. However, as a result of the insurgents' defeat, Willich's corps was compelled to cross the Swiss frontier. Engels described this episode in his letter to Marx of 23 November 1853 which Marx included in his pamphlet *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-93).—147

199 The coopting of Pierre Vinçard, a working-class journalist and veteran of the 1848 revolution, for the Paris Administration (which already included Fribourg, Limousin and Tolain) was meant to make the French members of the International familiar with the revolutionary and socialist traditions of the French working-class movement of the 1840s. However, Vinçard did not accept the appointment for personal reasons, about which he informed Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council for France, in a letter of 30 April 1865.—149

200 On Friedrich Lessner's proposal, the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150) at its meeting on 22 March 1865 broke with the Lassalleans.

At the general meeting of the Society and its branches, Teutonia and Eintracht, called on 5 April 1865 to discuss the behaviour of Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, and the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat*, Louis Weber tried to defend the Lassallian leaders. He wanted to pass a resolution declaring the political position of some Party officials to be their personal affair that should not be discussed by members of the Society. Weber's proposition was turned down by the meeting. The report of this meeting was given in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 50, 21 April 1865, in a distorted way.

*Teutonia*—an educational society of German workers who lived in the southern districts of London, a branch of the German Workers' Educational Society. Together with the latter, it joined the International Working Men's Association in January 1865. The leaders of the Teutonia were A. Klinker and Klinke.—150, 174

201 This refers to the 'Address of Germans to the American Nation' written on the occasion of the assassination of US President, Abraham Lincoln, on 14 April 1865 and published in *The Times*, No. 25171, 28 April 1865.—151

202 Engels is referring to the report from Solingen, published in the *Nordstern*, No. 307, 29 April 1865, on the meeting of the Solingen section of the General Association of German Workers. The section was in opposition to Bernhard Becker, President of the Association. Its members formed a community of their own and dissociated themselves from those sections which continued to recognise Becker's leadership. In opposition to *Der Social-Demokrat* edited by Schweitzer, they declared the *Nordstern* the official organ of the Association. In September 1865 the Solingen community constituted itself as a section of the International in Germany.—152

203 At the battle of *Jena* (14 October 1806) the French army, commanded by Napoleon, routed the Prussian army, thus forcing Prussia to surrender.—153, 256, 277
According to a report from Cologne published in the Nordstern, No. 308, 6 May 1865, the growing opposition to Bernhard Becker, President of the General Association of German Workers, compelled him to raise the question of confidence at the meeting of the Association's local branches in Cologne. The majority of the meeting walked out, and of the remaining 24 members only 15 voted for Becker.—154

The Central Council of the International failed to acquire most of The Bee-Hive Newspaper shares through lack of funds and because at the decisive moment, in May 1865, its members were distracted by the campaign for electoral reform in England. On the eve of the shareholders' general meeting, Council members Odger, Cremer, and Howell left for Manchester to attend a conference of reformers, which allowed Potter to retain the majority of votes in his favour.—155, 169, 173

US President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, an agent of Southern planters and New York bankers. Andrew Johnson became President. On 2 May 1865 the Central Council of the International took a decision to draw up an address to the American people. At the Council meeting of 9 May Marx read out the 'Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson' which he had written. The Address was passed to President Johnson through Adams, the American envoy to England (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 99-100).—155

After Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Herwegh, Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker refused to collaborate with Der Social-Demokrat, Moses Hess continued to work on it, and when the Rheinische Zeitung printed a notice about Hess' refusal to contribute to the newspaper, he denied it.—156, 158

In its issue No. 58 (the literary section) of 10 May 1865, Der Social-Demokrat reprinted from the Allgemeine Zeitung (of 29 April 1865, supplement) a commentary on Wuttke's Städtebuch des Landes Posen. In this book Wuttke tried to prove that the Germans had an inherent right to the Polish lands.—156

In his report from Paris published in the supplement to issue No. 57 of Der Social-Demokrat of 7 May 1865, Moses Hess again slandered the French members of the International (see notes 95 and 122).—157

The national Reform Conference, sponsored by the liberal National Reform Union, was held in Manchester on 15 and 16 May 1865. Most of its delegates were representatives of the bourgeoisie. They refused to include the demand for universal manhood suffrage in the conference's resolutions as proposed by the International's Central Council member Cremer, who was supported by Ernest Jones and some delegates of the Reform League (see Note 155). Edmond Beales, President of the Reform League, and other radicals adopted an indecisive attitude to the nature of the reform. As a result, the conference carried a moderate resolution to extend the franchise to householders and house tenants who paid poor-rates. The report of the Manchester Conference was published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 188, 20 May 1865.—158

Early in May 1865 the House of Commons turned down Baines' moderately liberal Bill which envisaged the reduction of the electoral qualification in the cities from £10 to £6. This reflected the sentiments of the British bourgeoisie which was scared by the scope of the reform movement among the workers. On 2 May 1865 the Executive Committee of the Reform League addressed a
manifesto to the British workers, calling on them to take part in the campaign for manhood suffrage.—158

212 At the elections to the Geneva Cantonal Council in August 1864 the radical James Fazy, who headed the canton’s government in 1846-53 and 1855-61, suffered a crushing defeat because of the exposure of his financial machinations as President of the Banque Générale Suisse. After the elections Fazy’s followers made an armed attack on some of those who voted against him. When Swiss government troops arrived in Geneva, Fazy had to flee to France.—158, 185, 237

213 A reference to the correspondence between Le Lubez, the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council of the International for France, and Henri Lefort, the International’s correspondent in Neuchâtel, during the conflict in the Paris Section of the International (see Note 95). Le Lubez tried to set Lefort against the Central Council and the Paris Administration.—158

214 From May to August 1865 the Central Council of the International discussed economic questions raised by John Weston. Apart from the speech made at the special Council meeting of 20 May 1865 whose minutes have not survived, Marx delivered a report on the subject at the Council meetings on 20 and 27 June, known as ‘Wages, Price and Profit’. This report was not printed in the lifetimes of Marx and Engels. It was first prepared for the press by Marx’s daughter, Eleanor, and published with Edward Aveling’s preface, as a pamphlet in London in 1898 under the title Value, Price and Profit. In the present edition of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels it is printed under this title (see Vol. 20, pp. 101-49).—160, 162

215 A German translation of Marx’s ‘Address from the Working Men’s International Association to President Johnson’ (see Note 206) was published in Chicago, Sonntags-Zeitung, 4 June 1865.—161

216 A reference to the statements made by a number of branches of the General Association of German Workers against Bernhard Becker and published in the Nordstern, No. 313, 24 June 1865 (see Note 192).—161, 176

217 The first Congress of the International Working Men’s Association scheduled for 1865 in Brussels was held between 3 and 8 September 1866 in Geneva. The decision to postpone the Congress was taken by the Central Council on 25 July 1865 on Marx’s insistence. He considered that the local organisations of the International were not yet strong enough in ideological and organisational terms and suggested that a preliminary conference be held in London in September 1865.

Official reasons for postponing the congress were set out in the ‘Report of the Sub-Committee on the Questions of a Congress and Conference’ drawn up by the Central Council’s decision of 13 June 1865 and approved by the Council on 25 July (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 375-77).—163, 171, 174, 179

218 In a letter written at the end of May-early June 1865, Liebknecht asked Marx whether he knew Dr Kugelmann from Hanover and supposed that Kugelmann was a friend of Pieper’s and adhered to ‘communism’.

In the 1850s, while in exile in London, Pieper was a friend of Marx and Engels. From 1859 he lived in Bremen and late in February 1864 he visited Marx in London.—165

219 Liebknecht’s letter to Marx of 13 May 1865 contained a postscript from Paul Stumpf from Mainz who visited Berlin at the time. Stumpf wrote to Marx that
he had sent him a letter ten days ago through Bruhn from Hamburg, in which he asked Marx for his opinion on the disagreements between the Nordstern and Der Social-Demokrat, on the situation in the General Association of German Workers and the position of its President, Bernhard Becker. Stumpf also asked Marx about his latest works and those of Engels and whether he had received the letter.—165

220 Marx here speaks ironically about the assertions in Liebknecht's letters that the International was widely supported in Germany.—165

221 This refers to Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt's lawsuit and to Ferdinand Lassalle's mother who challenged Lassalle's will.—165

222 The Permissive Bill empowered parishes to grant licences for the sale of alcoholic beverages. From 1864 to 1877 it was repeatedly introduced in the British Parliament.—168

223 In the 1850s Windmill Street, Soho, was the seat of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150).—168

224 A banquet of the opposition liberal majority of the Chamber of Deputies, organised by the Rhineland men of Progress (see Note 99) headed by the Town Councillor Classen-Kappelmann, was scheduled for 22-23 July 1865, in Cologne. On 17 July the Bismarck government forbade the banquet. Despite numerous protests on the part of the workers in the various towns of Germany against this arbitrary measure, most opposition members did not dare to show open resistance. Only some 80 delegates out of the 250 invited arrived in Cologne. The banquet's organiser, Classen-Kappelmann, fearing arrest, left for Belgium. Since the hall where the banquet was to take place had been closed by the police, the deputies tried to hold the banquet in the Zoological Gardens, but were driven out of it by soldiers and policemen.—169, 182, 185, 229

225 The reference is to a series of banquets in favour of electoral reform that took place in France from July 1847 to January 1848 and became a prelude to the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848.—169

226 Marx wrote this letter to Léon Fontaine after he had become acquainted with the state of affairs in Belgium from the letter of Charles Limousin, a French member of the International who visited Belgium, to Eugène Dupont, the Central Council's Corresponding Secretary for France, the letter being dated 6 July 1865. In the summer of 1865, a group of Brussels workers discontent with Fontaine's inertness decided to set up a section of the International in Belgium. However, they met with Fontaine's resistance: he demanded that he should be acknowledged as the only representative of the Central Council of the International. On 17 July a Belgian Section was organised with the active participation of César De Paepe. It elected a provisional committee which established direct contacts with Marx and the Central Council.

Marx's letter to Léon Fontaine has been preserved as a draft in Marx's notebook for 1865.

The letter was first published in English in Karl Marx, On the First International. Arranged and edited, with an Introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—170

227 After the publication of Part One of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy in 1859, Marx wrote a voluminous economic manuscript in 1861-63 which is a second, after the manuscript of 1857-58, detailed rough version of his future Capital. By 1863, Marx had finally decided to publish his work in
four books: the first three books—theoretical, and the fourth—historical-literary. Having completed the 1861-63 manuscript, in August 1863 Marx began preparing his *Capital* for the press.

In the course of this work he wrote a third preparatory version of *Capital*—the Economic Manuscript of 1863-65 consisting of three theoretical books (the outline of the fourth book, *Theories of Surplus Value*, was in the 1861-63 manuscript). Subsequently, having finished them, Marx again returned to the first book. On Engels' advice he decided to publish it before the others were ready. Marx gave the finishing touches to it in 1866 and most of 1867. The first German edition of the first book—*Volume One of Capital*—appeared in September 1867. As agreed with Otto Meissner, a Hamburg publisher, the second and third books, devoted to the analysis of the process of circulation of capital and the forms of capitalist production as a whole, were to be published as *Volume Two of Capital*, and the fourth book, on the 'history of economic theories', as the concluding volume, *Volume Three, of Capital*.

However, during his lifetime Marx did not manage to prepare the last books of *Capital* for the press. It was Engels who after Marx's death did this and published his manuscripts of the second and third books, as *Volume Two* (1885) and *Volume Three* (1894) of *Capital*. Engels also intended to publish the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book, as *Volume Four of Capital*, but did not materialise this intention during his lifetime. In the present edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, this book is included in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (vols 30-34), while the first three volumes of *Capital* published in vols 35-37.—173, 227, 312

228 By Jacob Grimm's method Marx means the method Jacob and his brother Wilhelm used in compiling their German Dictionary. It was published in instalments, beginning in 1832; each was prepared independently from one another.—173

229 The English translation of *Volume One of Capital* by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, edited by Engels, was published after Marx's death, in 1887. Eleanor Marx-Aveling took an active part in preparing this edition.—173, 394, 436, 499

230 At the end of July 1865 John Bredford Leno, the proprietor of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* published in London from 1863, proposed placing this weekly at the service of the Central Council of the International. The proposal met with approval by the Council members. They discussed the matter at the meetings of 8 and 15 August 1865, in the absence of Marx who was busy with his *Capital*. However, Eccarius informed him in detail about this in a letter dated 16 August 1865.

On 22 August an inaugural meeting was held of shareholders of the joint-stock company for financing the workers' paper, which was called the Industrial Newspaper Company. The meeting, which Marx attended, approved the address to the working men of Great Britain and Ireland and the Company's Prospectus (both published in the present edition, Vol. 20). On 25 September 1865 the London Conference of the International declared the newspaper, which in September assumed the name of *The Workman's Advocate*, an official organ of the International. At the beginning of November 1865 the paper became the full property of the Industrial Newspaper Company. Marx was a member of the Company's Board and remained on it until June 1866. However, the growing influence of reformist elements in the paper's Editorial Board and the vacillation and conciliatory policy of the trade union leaders on
the Company's Board did not allow Marx and his followers to prevent the transformation of this working-class paper into an organ supporting the bourgeoisie.—173, 201, 206, 571

231 Marx is referring to a campaign of preparations for the Anglo-French industrial exhibition timed for the fiftieth anniversary of the peace treaty between Britain and France (1815) which was to open on 8 August 1865. At its meeting on 30 May 1865 the Central Council of the International censured this attempt to divert the workers from the political struggle and diminish the influence of the International.—173

232 An aliens act was passed in Belgium as early as 1835 and was renewed every three years. Despite widespread protests by the Belgian press and the public, this law was renewed for the tenth time at the end of June 1865.—174

233 The reference is to the terms of the 1865 agreement between Marx and the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner on which Marx's Capital was to be printed. The text of the agreement was sent to Marx by Meissner in his letter of 21 March 1865 (see Note 66). The date of the agreement was not indicated. As preliminarily agreed, the whole of Capital was to be printed simultaneously in two volumes, each not exceeding the agreed number of printed sheets (about 50). In 1867 Meissner agreed to change the terms: to print the entire work in three volumes, publishing them at different time and enlarging the size of each volume (see Marx's letter to Engels of 13 April 1865, this volume, p. 357). Meissner left it to Marx's discretion to decide how the manuscript was to be delivered to him: by instalments or as a whole. Marx could avail himself of the agreement only in two years, when he finished his work on Volume One of Capital.—175, 219, 226, 343, 351

234 Influenced by Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Carl Schilling published the pamphlet Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat' (Berlin, 1865). It was a report of the meeting of the Berlin branch of the General Association of German Workers held on 27 and 30 March 1865. Liebknecht spoke at the meeting in defence of Marx against Becker's slanders. The report contained distortions which Wilhelm Liebknecht and other followers of Marx, Theodor Metzner and August Vogt, refuted in a statement of 22 June 1865 published in the Volks-Zeitung, No. 145, 24 June 1865 and in other newspapers.—176, 180, 191

235 In a letter to Marx, dated 15 July 1865, Liebknecht wrote that the local Printers' Association and the Berlin Journeyman's Association had organised a demonstration in his honour. The latter had invited him as an honorary guest to its annual celebration in the countryside. In connection with this, Liebknecht wrote to Marx that he thought all local worthwhile elements from among the working class were ready to follow him, as well as Marx himself and Engels.—176

236 During their stay in Brussels Marx, Engels and other members of the Communist League were persecuted by the Belgian government. Early in March 1848 Marx received a royal order deporting him from Belgium; he and his wife were immediately arrested by the Brussels police. Engels, too, was detained and evicted across the French frontier in early October 1848 (he had come to Belgium in order to hide from the Prussian authorities).—179, 448
On 18 July 1865 an agreement was concluded between the Bismarck government and the Board of the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company. It granted the Company's Board the right to buy up its shares which until then belonged to the government alone. This deal placed a considerable sum of money at the disposal of the Bismarck government. The agreement was to be ratified by the Prussian Provincial Diet, but on 28 August the shareholders' general meeting unanimously approved it without the Diet's ratification.—179, 182, 211, 285

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, On History and People, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1977.—180, 542

On 4 August 1865 Siebold wrote to tell Marx that there was a Workers' Association in Copenhagen led by an MP, C. V. Rimestad. He advised him to establish ties with the association but warned that Rimestad was a Bonapartist. At the same time Siebold made it clear that he regretted Marx's quarrel with Karl Blind.—180, 182

*Rotten Row*—a broad pathway in Hyde Park, London, fashionable for riding.—181

Engels made a trip to Germany, Switzerland and Italy at the end of August and mid-September 1865.—182, 183, 190, 192

Returning to Siebold's letter to Marx, Engels criticises his proposal to establish contacts with the Copenhagen Workers' Association (see Note 239). This Association was under the influence of the Danish liberal party (Eider-Danes) which advanced the slogan 'Denmark up to the Eider'. The Eider-Danes demanded that the Duchy of Schleswig, populated mainly by Germans and separated from other German regions by the Eider river, should be united with Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein were at the time when the letter was written under the joint rule of Prussia and Austria (see Note 9).—183

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx* selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—183, 321, 452

*Apsides*—the points in the orbit of a planet or comet at which it is nearest to (perihelion) or farthest from (aphelion) the sun.—185

In the third book of *Capital* Marx analysed the parliamentary reports on banking for 1857-58 and criticised the theories of money and capital contained in them.—186

The *London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* was held from 25 to 29 September 1865. It was convened on Marx's insistence, for he considered that the Association's sections were not yet strong enough to succeed in holding a general congress in 1865 as stipulated by the Provisional Rules. The conference was attended by Central Council members and by delegates from the principal branches in France, Switzerland and Belgium. Wilhelm Liebknecht could not come to the conference, and Germany was represented by Karl Marx as the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Council for the country and Johann Philipp Becker who had credentials from the Solingen branch of the General Association of German Workers which was in opposition to the latter's Lassallean leadership.
The conference heard the Central Council's report, its financial statement, and also delegates' reports on the situation in individual sections. The main point discussed was the agenda and the procedure for convening the forthcoming congress. It was decided to hold it in Geneva in May 1866 (later the Central Council postponed it until early September 1866). Though the Proudhonists demanded that the Polish question should be struck off the agenda of the Congress and that the right of any member of the Association to participate in it be recognised, the conference retained in the agenda the point of the restoration of Poland's independence and recognised only elected delegates as competent members of the Congress. Other proposals of the Council concerning the programme of the Congress were also approved.

The London Conference of 1865 which was prepared and conducted under Marx's guidance played an important part in the formation and organisational shaping of the International. — 189, 201, 214

On 15 September 1865 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that he could not go to the London Conference of the International because of urgent matters and the removal of his family to Leipzig, but promised him to send a report on the working-class movement in Germany. This report was sent to Marx on 23 September but Marx did not read it out at the conference because, he believed, it said too much about his personal services (see Marx's letter to Liebknecht of 21 November 1865, this volume, pp. 201-03). — 190

The Nordstern of 19 August 1865 published Moses Hess' article 'Eine Warnung' ('A Warning') in which he opposed the idea of reorganising the General Association of German Workers under the leadership of Johann Philipp Becker. In his Paris correspondence 'Der Kongress der "Internationalen Arbeiter-Association" vertagt' published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 130, of 30 August, Hess described the leaders of the International Association as 'some demagogues sitting at a safe distance from the firing line'. — 190

Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from 20 October to early November 1865. — 193, 196, 201, 208, 214

On 16 July 1865 Marx's aunt Esther Kosel, who lived in Frankfurt am Main, died intestate. Along with other close relatives Marx was entitled to receive part of her legacy. Dr Salomon Fuld, a Frankfurt lawyer, was in charge of this matter. — 194

The enclosed letter, dated 13 November 1865, was from Theodor Metzner, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt, members of the Berlin branch of the General Association of German Workers. During Wilhelm Liebknecht's stay in Berlin all three came into close contact with him which they continued to maintain after his expulsion from Berlin. In their letter the Berlin workers who gravitated towards the International informed Marx about the working-class movement in Germany and the split in the General Association and asked Marx to come to Berlin to lead it. — 196, 197, 198, 201

The mass Negro uprising in Jamaica, the British colony in the West Indies, took place in October 1865. It was caused by the severe exploitation of the Negroes by the colonists, though slavery had been abolished on the island in 1833. The uprising was brutally suppressed by the Governor of Jamaica, General Eyre. The atrocities perpetrated by Eyre caused public outrage in Britain, and the British government was compelled to dismiss him from his post. — 197, 199, 205, 300
Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—198, 204

Marx alludes to the Prussian authorities' refusal to have his Prussian citizenship restored despite the amnesty granted to political refugees on 12 January 1861 (see Note 154).—198

The French delegates' report on the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held in 1865 (see Note 246) was published in *L'Opinion national*, 8 October, *L'Avenir national*, 12 October, *Le Siècle*, 14 October 1865 and in other French newspapers.—199

*The Workman's Advocate*, No. 141, of 18 November 1865 printed Peter Fox's report of the Central Council meeting of 14 November 1865 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, pp. 138-41). At this meeting the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, read out the preface to the French delegates' report of the London Conference published in *Le Siècle* on 14 October 1865. The author of the preface was Henri Martin, a French historian and member of the International. He highly appreciated the activities of the International, its first conference and the programme of the future congress, in particular its Point 9 demanding the 'reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis'. The French Proudhonists Henri Tolain and Ernest Fribourg opposed this point at the conference and after it, for they advocated the proletariat's abstention from political activity.—199, 202

The mass eviction of the Irish from land and their emigration, caused by the transfer from small peasant renting to large-scale pasturing, led to the growing national liberation struggle in Ireland. As a result, the Fenian movement developed there in the 1850s and 1860s.

The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the 'Féne'—a name of the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry (see Marx's letter to Engels of 30 November 1867), came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested a number of Fenian leaders, among them Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and other editors of the banned newspaper *The Irish People*. They were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa for life). The Central Council of the International organised a campaign in defence of the condemned prisoners.—199, 468, 516, 523

The data mentioned in the letter were given by Marx in Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. He specified these data in the second German edition of the volume.—199

Included in this letter, the text of the programme of the Geneva Congress was drawn up by Marx and approved by the London Conference of the International (see Note 246). It was first published in G. Jaek, *Die Internationale*, Leipzig, 1904.
This letter was first published in English in full in Karl Marx, *On the First International* Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—200

260 A detailed report on the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association, entitled 'Great International Conference of Working Men', was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 134, 30 September 1865.—200

261 Marx is referring to Liebknecht's 'Report on the Working-Class Movement in Germany' drawn up for the London Conference of the International (see Note 247). The manuscript of the report preserved among Marx's papers was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, pp. 251-60.—201

262 In a letter to Marx written in mid-November 1865 Liebknecht told him that a certain Quenstedt from Berlin intended to write to Marx and help him publish reviews of *Capital* in scientific journals.—202

263 In a letter to Marx of 8 October 1865 Lothar Bucher invited him to contribute to the official organ of the Prussian government. Marx's reply letter to Bucher has not been discovered. Later, in 1878, Marx wrote a special item, 'Herr Bucher', concerning this offer, and gave a rebuff to this agent of Bismarck's in another article, 'Reply to Bucher's "Declaration"' (see present edition, Vol. 24).—202

264 Kugelmann could not answer Marx's letter of 23 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 101-05) until 20 December (see Marx's reply of 15 January 1866 in this volume, pp. 220-21).—203, 207

265 On 25 November 1865 César De Paepe read a letter from Marx at a meeting of the Brussels Section of the International Association. (The Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have the original of this letter at its disposal.) The Minutes of this meeting recorded only that part of the letter which enumerated the points of the programme of the Geneva Congress drawn up by Marx and approved by the London Conference of the International (see Note 246). The differences from the similar text cited by Marx in his letter to Jung of 20 November (see this volume, p. 200) are possibly due to the inaccuracies in the record of the above-mentioned Minutes.—203

266 On 24 November 1865 Schweitzer was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the political articles in *Der Social-Demokrat* However, in May 1866 he was temporarily released for health reasons and amnestied after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—205

267 The mass meeting was held by the Reform League (see Note 155) in London, in St Martin's Hall, on 12 December 1865.

The committee for preparing the meeting consisted of the following members of the Central Council of the International: George Odger, John B. Leno, John Longmaid, William Dell, William Stainsby, George Howell and Robert Hartwell. The majority of those present at the meeting were workers and trade union members. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding manhood suffrage.—207, 215, 221, 259
268 Der Vorbote—an official monthly of the German sections of the International Working Men's Association—began to appear in Geneva from January 1866 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker. On the whole, this monthly pursued the policy of the Central (General) Council of the International. It published documents of the International, reports on its congresses and information about the activities of its sections in different countries. Der Vorbote was widely circulated in Switzerland and Germany, while in Austria and Hungary it was distributed illegally. Also among its readers were German workers living in London, Paris, New York, Chicago and other cities. The journal ceased publication in December 1871.—207

269 In December 1865 and January 1866 France was the scene of student disorders. They were caused by the decision of the Paris Academy Council to expel students who took part in the International Students' Congress held in Liège (Belgium) at the end of October 1865. The congress was attended by students from many European countries, the most numerous delegation being from France (Paul Lafargue, Charles Longuet, Charles Victor Jaclard, and others). Most speakers at the congress expressed the revolutionary students' protest against the regime of the Second Empire.—208, 211, 215, 304, 308

270 In December 1861 France started an armed intervention in Mexico, jointly with Britain and Spain, to overthrow the progressive government of Benito Juárez and turn the Mexican republic into a colony of European powers. The invaders also intended to use Mexican territory as a spring-board for intervening in the US Civil War on the side of the slaveholding Southern States. In the summer of 1863 the French occupied the city of Mexico (Britain and Spain recalled their troops in April 1862 because of contradictions with France) and declared Mexico an empire with Napoleon III's henchman, the Archduke of Austria Maximilian, at its head. However, the Mexican people put up a stubborn resistance to the French colonialists and inflicted a heavy defeat on them. In March 1867 they were compelled to withdraw.—208, 211, 215, 338, 438

271 This is presumably an extract appended to one of Marx's letters to Engels written at the end of 1865 or beginning of 1866.—208

272 The Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung No. 1, of 1 January 1866 printed Schulze-Delitzsch's announcement about the publication of his new work, Die Abschaffung des geschäftlichen Risico durch Herrn Lassalle. Ein neues Capitel zum Deutschen Arbeiterkatechismus. Written in reply to Lassalle's Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit, it soon after appeared in Berlin.—211

273 The French Section (branch) in London was founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian members like Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and others, it included petty-bourgeois refugees like Victor Le Lubez and, later, Félix Pyat. On 7 July 1868 the General Council of the International adopted a resolution, on Marx's proposal, condemning the provocative behaviour of Félix Pyat (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). After this a split occurred in the section: the proletarian elements left it and it actually lost ties with the International.—213, 214, 216

274 On 16 and 18 December 1865 the Belgian democratic newspaper L'Echo de Verviers Nos. 293 and 294, published an anonymous article which slandered the Central Council's activities and the work of the London Conference of the International held in 1865 (see Note 246). Its author was the French petty-bourgeois republican Pierre Vésinier, a refugee in Belgium and the
spokesman for petty-bourgeois elements in the French Section in London who opposed Marx and the Central Council.

Vésinier's article was discussed in the Central Council on 26 December 1865 and on 2 and 9 January 1866. On the instructions of the Council, Vésinier's slanderous attacks were refuted by Hermann Jung, who with Marx's help wrote a letter to L'Echo de Verviers. By the Council's decision of 6 February 1866 the letter was sent to the editor (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 392-400).—213, 214, 216, 250

The draft of the new statutes drawn up by Le Lubez was published in L'Echo de Verviers, No. 301, on 27 December 1865. This draft expressed the federalist views of some petty-bourgeois democrats, members of the French Section in London, and nullified the leading role of the Central Council by turning it into a mere representative body with purely technical informative and statistical functions.—213, 214

Marx is referring to a series of articles against Poland by Proudhonist Hector Denis published in the Belgian newspaper La Tribune du Peuple in March-June 1864 under the heading La question polonaise et la démocratie.

At Marx's request, between the end of January and early April 1866 Engels wrote a series of articles, entitled What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?, in which he substantiated the International's stand on the nationalities question and criticised the Proudhonists' national nihilism and the Bonapartists' profiteering by the so-called principle of nationalities (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 152-61).—213

Marx refers to Johann Philipp Becker's address, 'Rundschreiben der deutschen Abtheilung des Zentral Komites der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation für die Schweiz an die Arbeiter', issued in Geneva in November 1865. In it Becker urged the workers to join the International and wrote about the forthcoming publication of its German (Der Vorbote) and French (Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs) press organs.

An English translation of some passages from this address was published in The Workman's Advocate, No. 145, 16 December 1865.

A report of the International's activities in Switzerland was printed in issue No. 1 of Der Vorbote in January 1866 under the heading 'Entwicklungsgang unserer Association'.

The note to Becker mentioned by Marx has not been found.—214

From November 1865 the Central Committee of the German sections in Switzerland, headed by Johann Philipp Becker, served as the organising centre for sections uniting the German workers not only in Switzerland but also in Germany, Austria and in other countries where German refugee workers lived.—215, 219

On 27 October 1865 in Port-au-Prince in Martinique (the French colony in the West Indies) three Zouave regiments refused to obey the French command to join the intervention in Mexico.—215

In 1865 the French government attempted to make the British government extend the Franco-British extradition treaty of 1843 (see Note 500) to persons guilty of political crimes.—215

On 2 January 1866, Austrian journalist Arnold Hilberg from Vienna wrote to Marx inviting him to contribute to the planned journal Internationale Revue. Marx's reply to him has not been found, but from Hilberg's next letter to
Marx, of 18 January, it is clear that Marx agreed (see also Marx's letter to Engels of 14 February in this volume, p. 229). However, his work in the International and on *Capital* presumably prevented Marx from materialising his intention.— 216, 229

282 Marx's letter to Sigfrid Meyer of 15 January 1866 has not been found. It was written in reply to one from Theodor Metzner, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt (see Note 251).— 216, 220, 222

283 This refers to Point 9 on the agenda of the London Conference of the International in 1865 which reads as follows: 'The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland' (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p. 305).— 216

284 The meeting to commemorate the third anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 (see Note 24) was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on 22 January 1866 and was presided over by a Polish democrat, Ludwik Oborski. As reported by *Glos Wolny*, the organ of the democratic wing of Polish emigrants, the meeting was sponsored by the International Working Men's Association and the Polish emigrants. It unanimously adopted Fox's resolution, which was supported by Marx, expressing solidarity of the workers and democrats of Britain and other European countries with the Polish national liberation struggle.

The report of the meeting was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 151, 27 January, *Glos Wolny*, No. 93, 31 January, and *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 225, 3 February 1866.— 218

285 Marx presumably refers to *L'Anti-Proudhon*, a book by Denis (de Chateaugiron), that appeared in Rennes in 1860. From the Catholic standpoint Denis polemises over Proudhon's views set forth in his three-volume work *De la Justice dans le Révolution et dans l'Église*, Paris, 1858.— 218

286 The London Conference of the International Association (see Note 246) decided to hold the first congress of the International in Geneva in May 1866. Later, however, the Central Council found it necessary to postpone the congress. All sections of the International agreed with this decision, except for the Paris Section whose Proudhonist leaders wanted to hold the congress as soon as possible because they calculated to impose their programme and principles on it. The congress met on 3-8 September 1866.— 220, 258, 271, 574

287 In his letter to Marx of 20 December 1865 Ludwig Kugelmann asked him to send two membership cards of the International Association for himself and Theodor Heinrich Menke, and enclosed two talers for the purpose.— 220

288 Marx's letter addressed to August Vogt, and presumably also meant for Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner, has not been found.— 222


In the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867), the section 'The Working Day' was part of Chapter III while in the second and subsequent German editions it made up Chapter VIII of Part III. In the English edition of 1887 it is Chapter X in Part III (see present edition, Vol. 35).— 224
The Workman’s Advocate (see Note 230) was renamed The Commonwealth on 10 February 1866. Despite the reorganisation the newspaper remained the official organ of the International Working Men’s Association. It continued to publish reports of the Central Council meetings and other documents of the International. Marx remained on the Board of the Industrial Newspaper Company which owned the paper until 9 June 1866. Thanks to his efforts Eccarius, who became the editor of The Workman’s Advocate not long before, retained his post. However, the reformist leaders of trade unions managed to paralyse the influence of Marx’s supporters. In April 1866 George Odger was appointed its editor-in-chief. In issue No. 183, 8 September 1866, the newspaper declared itself to be the organ of the Reform League (see Note 155) and in fact fell under the influence of the radical bourgeoisie. It ceased publication on 20 July 1867.—224, 249, 252, 262, 283, 290, 574

In his letter of 18 January 1866 to Marx Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote that J. B. von Hofstetten, an editor of Der Social-Demokrat, had made one more attempt to persuade Marx, Engels and himself to contribute to the newspaper and use it for propagating the ideas of the International.—225

On 29 January 1866 the Prussian Supreme Tribunal adopted a decision to institute court proceedings against Karl Twes ten and Frenzel, members of the Chamber of Deputies, for their Chamber speeches delivered in 1865 in which they criticised the government press.

This decision was adopted despite the fact that the courts of first and second instance rejected the prosecutor’s demand to apply this measure to the said deputies. The Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Provincial Diet found the Supreme Tribunal’s decision contradictory to the Prussian Constitution and to the principle of the inviolability of deputies, and turned it down. Nevertheless, Twes ten’s case was referred to the Berlin City Court, but in May 1866 Twes ten was acquitted.—226

Engels refers to the negotiations between the Austrian ruling circles and the Hungarian moderate bourgeois-landlord opposition headed by Ferencz Deák on the reorganisation of the Habsburg Empire’s state structure. In the spring of 1867 an Austro-Hungarian agreement was concluded under which the Austrian Empire turned into the dual state of Austria-Hungary.

This compromise between the ruling classes of the two countries aimed at suppressing the national liberation movement of the other peoples in the Empire, above all the Slavs. The concessions made to the Hungarians were also due to Austria’s defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—226, 297

Marx set forth the theory of ground rent in Chapter VI of the manuscript of Book III of Capital. In the third volume of Capital published by Engels it is given as Part VI: ‘Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground Rent’ (see present edition, Vol. 37).—227

Marx presumably meant H. Mahon’s Aus dem Bericht an den Minister für die landwirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten in Berlin über die japanische Landwirtschaft. This work was published as a supplement to J. Liebig’s Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie, Braunschweig, 1862. Marx’s notebook of excerpts for 1865, which he probably filled in while working on his Economic Manuscript of 1863-65, contains synopses of these two works.

When developing the theory of ground rent Marx used, besides the above-mentioned work by Liebig, the following books: L. de Lavergne, The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland. Translated from the French,
Edinburgh and London, 1855; and L'Mounier, De l'agriculture en France, d'après les documents officiels, avec des remarques par Rubichon, Tomes 1-2, Paris, 1846.—227

296 The shifting system or Relay system was used by the British manufacturers to circumvent the laws limiting the working hours of children and juveniles. Under this system the children and juveniles, after several hours’ work, were moved the same day to another workshop or factory in order to deceive the factory inspectors. As a result, their entire working day was often even longer than before the adoption of the ten hours act (see present edition, Vol. 35).—227

297 The reference is to Section IV of Chapter IV of the first edition of Volume One of Marx's Capital. In the second and subsequent editions it is given as Chapter XIII: 'Machinery and Industry'. In the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels it is Chapter XV in Part IV (see present edition, Vol. 35).—228

298 By decision of the Central Council of the International, The Workman's Advocate (No. 148) of 6 January 1866 reprinted from The Cork Daily Herald an appeal by the wives of the Irish revolutionaries O'Donovan Rossa and Luby to collect funds for the imprisoned Fenians (see Note 257). It was entitled 'The State Prisoners. An Appeal to the Women of Ireland'.

At the Central Council meeting of 16 January 1866 Marx announced that Fox had received a letter from Mrs O'Donovan Rossa thanking him for the reprint of the appeal and for his articles published in The Workman's Advocate on 14, 21 and 28 October 1865: 'The British Coup d'État in Ireland' (No. 136), 'The Influence of Irish National Feeling upon the Relations between Great Britain and the United States' (No. 137), and 'The Irish Difficulty. Continued' (No. 138).—228

299 During the Prussian Provincial Diet's session in January and February 1866, the Party-of-Progress majority in the Chamber of Deputies opposed the Bismarck government on many issues. For instance, the Chamber voted down the decision of the Supreme Tribunal on the prosecution of the deputies Karl Twesten and Frenzel (see Note 292), opposed the annexation of the duchy of Lauenburg by Prussia without the approval of both Chambers and denounced the prohibition of the banquet in Cologne (see Note 224). The Chamber's commissions opposed the increase of the military budget for 1866 and the agreement between the government and the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company (see Note 237).

Following these actions, the Prussian government ordered that the session be closed down ahead of time on 23 February 1866 and on 9 May 1866 it disbanded the Provisional Diet.—229

300 Marx’s letter bears a mark in Lessner’s hand: ‘von Karl Marx F. Lessner London January 1901’.—229

301 Engels stayed at Marx's house in London from 14 to 18 February 1866.—230

302 This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—233, 438, 539

303 A reference to the publication of the findings of the Parliamentary commission investigating the atrocities committed by the British army in suppressing the Negro rebellion in Jamaica (see Note 252). The commission condemned these actions. Initially supporting the colonialists, The Times later on had to heed
public opinion: on 3 and 5 March 1866 (Nos. 25436 and 25437) it published editorials and reports in which the brutalities committed 'by persons wearing the English uniform' were denounced.

The news of Russell's resignation turned to be premature. The Russell government resigned in June 1866, following the failure of Gladstone's Reform Bill (see Note 315).—236

304 The agreement between the Bismarck government and the Board of the Cologne-Minden Railway Joint-Stock Company (see Note 237) was discussed by a Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 21 February 1866 and declared to be 'unconstitutional and invalid'. Due to its dissolution ahead of time (see Note 299), the Chamber was unable to consider the issue. Soon after that a statement appeared allegedly issued by the Board, which cancelled the agreement. On 28 February 1866, however, the Board officially denounced this as a rumour.—236

305 The full text of Engels' letter to Freiligrath cited below has not been found. Like the letter to Marx, it may have been written on about 10 March 1866 as a reply to Freiligrath's letter to Engels of 8 March 1866. In his letter Freiligrath expressed his anxiety about Marx's health, undermined by systematic night work, and wrote that a long rest in the countryside would restore his strength.—237

306 The Central (General) Council's meetings took place in the premises at 18 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, from January 1866 to 25 June 1867.—238

307 From 15 March to approximately 10 April 1866 Marx stayed in Margate where he took treatment and had a rest.—239, 261, 268, 283, 574

308 The reference is to the heated debates, which started on 6 February 1866 at the British Parliament session over the bill on compensation to the cattle-owners in the event of epizootic disease. The debates ended on 20 February with the adoption of the corresponding Act.—242, 245

309 The Italian patriot Felice Orsini was executed in March 1858 for organising an attempt on Napoleon III's life. After Orsini's arrest, the leadership of the Carbonari, a secret revolutionary society, which Louis Bonaparte joined in 1831 when in Italy, sent him letters reminding him of his oath, which he had broken, to struggle for Italy's liberation. After Orsini's execution, it passed an official death sentence on Napoleon III.—242

310 A. Rogeard, Les propos de Labienus—a pamphlet published in 1865; it criticised Napoleon III's empire under the guise of Julius Caesar's dictatorship in Rome.—243

311 At the Central Council meeting of 13 March 1866, Cesare Orsini refuted Luigi Wolff's statement made at the Council meeting of 6 March that there were no Socialists in Italy in the French sense of the word; he also noted Mazzini's reactionary attitude towards science.—243

312 A member of the Dutch Section of the International, Antoinette Philips in her letters gave an extensive account of the events in Holland, which is why Marx jokingly calls her his Dutch secretary.—243

313 Marx and many of his supporters were unable to attend the Central Council meeting of 6 March 1866. Taking advantage of this, Le Lubez and L. Wolff, supported by the English trade unionists Odger, Howell, Cremer and others, had a resolution passed on the response by the Central Council to a slanderous
article by Vésinier published in L'Echo de Verniers (see Note 274). The resolution stated that the Central Council withdrew on everything that had been said with regard to 'an eminent writer of the Latin race', i.e. Mazzini, and his followers. By this the refutation of Vésinier's statement that Mazzini was the author of the International's programme documents, specifically the Rules, was disavowed. As a result of the stand taken by Marx and his supporters, the resolution was withdrawn at the meeting of 13 March. Thus the claims of the petty-bourgeois elements to the leadership in the International were rebuffed. (For details of this episode see Marx's letter to Engels of 24 March 1866, this volume, pp. 249-50).—244, 251, 286

314 A pun on the similarity of the names Grach and Gracchi—the name of the ancient Roman reformers. Marx's wife Jenny deposited 1,300 talers with Grach, a banker in Trier, who went bankrupt and concealed the fact from the depositors. At the request of Grach's wife, who promised to return the money after she had received an inheritance, Jenny Marx refrained from pursuing the matter in the courts (see Marx's letter to Engels of 8 March 1855, present edition, Vol. 39, p. 526). In Marx's subsequent letters, however, there is no indication whether the banker's wife paid the debt or not. Marx may be referring here to reassuring news about this matter.—244

315 From the beginning of 1866, the Electoral Reform Movement in Britain came under the influence of moderate bourgeois elements; the reformist trade union leaders (Odger, Cremer and others) showed themselves increasingly willing to make concessions to them. Thus, at the National Conference held by the Reform League on 28 February-1 March 1866 in St Martin's Hall, London, they opposed the Central Council delegation (Fox, Carter, Jung, Lessner and others), which supported manhood suffrage, and announced that they would be quite satisfied with household suffrage as an immediate aim.

On 12 March 1866 the Russell-Gladstone liberal government submitted to the House of Commons a Reform Bill providing for lower property qualifications for the electors (£10 in the counties and £7 in the towns). This would have meant a certain numerical increase of electors and included the wealthier strata of the working class as well. Under the influence of the bourgeois radicals and conciliatory-minded trade union leaders, the Reform League's Council supported, at its meetings of 16 and 20 March 1866, this extremely moderate bill of Gladstone which, however, was strongly opposed by the Tories and some Liberals and rejected by the Commons.—253, 257, 314

316 In the spring of 1866 the conflict between Prussia and Austria sharpened over their joint possession of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The Bismarck government regarded Austria as its main rival in the struggle for hegemony in Germany and sought for a casus belli. With this aim in view it accused Austria, which ruled Holstein, of encouraging the anti-Prussian movement there. Austria rejected Prussia's accusations and on 16 March 1866 sent a circular dispatch to several member states of the German Confederation (a union of German states founded by the Vienna Congress in 1815) asking for their mediation in the conflict or military assistance against Prussia. Prussia in its turn also sought the support of the German Confederation. In its circular dispatch of 24 March 1866 to the German states, the Prussian government proposed a reform of the political and military institutions of the German Confederation. Bismarck demagogically proposed that this reform be carried out through a German parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage.—254, 257, 258, 263, 264
A meeting between the Prime Minister of Prussia, Manteuffel, and the Austrian Prime Minister, Schwarzenberg, took place in Olmiitz (Olomouc) on 29 November 1850. Under the pressure of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, Prussia had to give up her claims to take part in suppressing the uprising in the Electorate of Hesse in favour of Austria and in general, to abstain from attempts to establish her hegemony in Germany.—254

A reference to Alexander Cuza's abdication in February 1866. Cuza was Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, which united in 1862 into the single Romanian state. The coup d'état was approved of by Russia and France, and was supported by Prussia. The boyar-bourgeois coalition, which was dissatisfied with the progressive reforms introduced by Cuza, invited Prince Charles Hohenzollern-Sigmarinen, a relative of the Prussian King, to the throne in March 1866. The new hospodar soon began to pursue a policy of subjecting Romania to the economic and political interests of Germany.—256, 258

A reference to the pamphlet Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs published by the Paris Section of the International early in 1866. It contained a French translation of the International's Provisional Rules, with some passages distorted by the Proudhonists; an appeal of the Paris Section to the members of the International Association which had first been published in the summer of 1865 and which included the Section's programme for the congress initially intended to be held in Brussels; the French delegation's report about the London Conference of 1865; the programme for the Geneva Congress of 1866, which had been approved by the London Conference, and other material.—259

The Thirty Years' War, 1618-48—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France, rivals of the Habsburgs, supported the Protestant camp.—263

A reference to the circular dispatch of 16 March 1866 sent by the Austrian government (see Note 316).

On 9 April 1866, the Prussian government submitted to the Federal Diet a proposal that an all-German parliament be convened through universal suffrage in order to decide the question of reforming the German Confederation.—264, 266, 285

The Kingdom of Poland—the Polish territory annexed to the Russian Empire in accordance with the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815.—267

The Vienna Treaty, which concluded the war of 1864 waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark (see Note 9), confirmed a number of previous treaties and conventions on Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, in particular the clauses of the London Protocol of May 1852 on the Danish succession. In the Protocol, the Emperor of Russia was named as one of the lawful claimants to the Danish throne (being a descendant of Charles Peter Ulrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who reigned in Russia as Peter III). The claimants waived their rights in favour of Duke Christian of Glücksburg, who was named heir to King Frederick VII. This created a precedent for the claims of the Russian Emperor to the Danish throne in the event of the extinction of the Glücksburg dynasty.—267
In March 1866, London tailors demanded a wage increase. A number of owners of large tailors' shops responded with a lock-out. On 27 March, all London tailors went on strike. The Executive Committee of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Association, which had been formed at the national conference of British tailors held in Manchester on 12-17 March 1866, appealed to all tailors in Britain to support the strike. At its meeting of 27 March 1866, the Central Council of the International decided to instruct the Continental corresponding secretaries to call upon the tailors on the Continent not to go to Britain, where the employers were going to use them as strike-breakers. The Central Council's support of the strike played an important part in the victory of the London tailors in April 1866 and added to the popularity and prestige of the International Working Men's Association among the British working class. On 17 April, the Tailors' Protective Association joined the International.—268

This is a reference to the resistance with which Russell-Gladstone Reform Bill (see Note 315) was met by the Conservatives and some Liberals. Marx calls the Right-wing Liberals, who were once headed by Lord Palmerston, Palmerstonian Whigs. In 1866, they were nicknamed the Adullamites by John Bright as an allusion to the biblical legend about David's persecution by King Saul and his refuge in the cave of Adullam. The nickname became a synonym for dissatisfaction with everything and was used to condemn the Right-wing Liberals for their opposition to the Reform Bill.—269, 270

On 26 March 1866, Edinburgh tailors went on strike. With a view to preventing the importation into Scotland of German and Danish tailors to be used as strike-breakers, German tailors living in London formed a committee headed by Lessner and Haufe, and decided to act jointly with the Central Council of the International. At Marx's request, Lessner and Haufe sent him on 3 May details about the events in Edinburgh for use in a report for the German press. On 4 May, Marx wrote and sent Liebknecht, on behalf of the Central Council, a short article, entitled 'A Warning', which was published in several German papers (see present edition, Vol. 20). At the same time a leaflet written by Lessner and Haufe was issued in London. They appealed to the German workers in London to raise funds and support the strikers. Moreover, the Central Council sent Haufe and Hansen to Edinburgh to wreck the employers' plans. The Central Council's efforts contributed to the success of the strike, and promoted the International's influence in Britain.—270, 272, 275

A reference to the steps taken by Bismarck to find allies in the war with Austria that he was preparing. On 8 April 1866, Prussia and Italy signed a secret treaty under which they were to join in a war against Austria until Italy received Venetia and Prussia equivalent territories in Germany.—270, 282, 288

On the London tailors' strike see Note 325.

On 23 April 1866, the London wire-workers went on strike, demanding a 10 per cent wage increase. The same day, the strike committee sent out letters to all towns in England, Scotland and Ireland requesting the wire-workers there not to take jobs in London during the strike. With the help of the Central Council of the International, similar letters were sent to France and Germany. At the Central Council meeting of 24 April 1866, B. Patis, a member of the
London Association of Wire-Workers, thanked the Council for its help to the strikers and promised that the wire-workers would join the International.—272

On 7 May 1866, Ferdinand Cohen, a student and Karl Blind's stepson, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Bismarck. He was arrested and committed suicide in prison.—273, 275

A reference to Austria's defeat by France and Piedmont in the Austro-Franco-Italian war of 1859.—274

In preparing a war against Austria, Bismarck's government sought for France's benevolent neutrality. On 6 May 1866, the Emperor Napoleon III made a speech at an agricultural festival in Auxerre, in which he said that, like the majority of the French nation, he felt an aversion for the treaties of 1815, which certain parties would like to make the only foundation of France's foreign policy (see *The Times*, No. 25492, 8 May 1866). This statement, which was a response to a critical speech made by Louis Adolphe Thiers in the Corps législatif, implied the demand that the clauses of the Vienna treaties concerning France's eastern borders be revised. In Prussia, it was regarded as an encouragement for Bismarck's intention to reorganise the German Confederation which had been formed on the basis of the decisions of the Vienna Congress of 1815.—274

On Bismarck's intended reform of the German Confederation, see Note 316.

The *Fundamental Rights of the German People* (Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes), approved by the Frankfurt National Assembly late in 1848, formulated, like the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, the basic bourgeois freedoms; they were incorporated into the Imperial Constitution of 1849, which was worked out by the National Assembly, but rejected by the King of Prussia and other German sovereigns (see Note 130). The main points of the Fundamental Rights were included in the constitutions of some German states, but were later on either deleted from them, or revised and curtailed on the basis of the decision of the Federal Diet of 23 August 1851.—276

Engels' series of articles, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?', was never finished. This may have been because of the increasing influence of the radical bourgeois on the editorial board of *The Commonwealth*, where it was being published.—278, 280

At the Central Council meeting of 8 May 1866, Peter Fox announced that, at the next meeting, he would speak against a passage in Engels' third article ('The Doctrine of Nationality Applied to Poland') from the series 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' (present edition, Vol. 20). Judging by this letter of Marx's, Fox made a speech at the Central Council meeting of 15 May 1866; however, there are no records, in the minutes of this meeting, either of Fox's speech or of Marx's reply.—278

Marx uses the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* ('principal and spectacular actions'), which has several meanings. In the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as 'objective historiography'. Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter of history.—280
The Commonwealth, No. 165 of 5 May 1866, carried an editorial statement to the effect that the editors bore no responsibility for the contributions printed below a certain line. The responsibility was to be borne by the authors themselves. The statement was directed primarily against Engels' series of articles 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?', which were printed below the line marked by the editors.—280

The crash of Barnett's bank in Liverpool was one of the first signs of the crisis of 1866 which led to the collapse of the leading houses of Overend, Gurney, and following this of other banks, including the Consolidated Bank.—281

No. 15 of Le Courrier français for 20 May 1866 carried an appeal of the Paris students to the students of Germany and Italy (Aux étudiants des universités d'Allemagne et d'Italie, les étudiants de Paris) in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria. This appeal was strongly influenced by Proudhonists who ignored the historic tasks of the national unification of Germany and Italy. The meeting of the Central Council, which was held on 5 June 1866 in Marx's absence, discussed the appeal of the French Section in London in response to the appeal of the Paris students: 'To the Paris Students, to the Students and Young People of All Countries from the Workers of All Countries' (The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes, Moscow, 1961, pp. 337-39). Marx was dissatisfied with the content of the latter appeal. At the Central Council meeting of 19 June 1866, Marx gave an extensive criticism of the Proudhonist position on the nationalities question (see this volume, pp. 286-87).—281

A reference to the unsuccessful attempt on Alexander II's life made by the Russian revolutionary Dmitri Karakosoff on 4 April 1866.—282

An allusion to Bismarck's well-known expression about the unification of Germany by 'blood and iron'. He said at a sitting of the budget commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in September 1862: 'The great questions of time are decided not by speeches and majority decisions—this was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood'.—282

At a session of the Commons on 4 June 1866, Disraeli criticised Clarendon's activity as Foreign Secretary, in particular, his alleged lack of firmness during the Crimean war and at the Paris peace congress of 1856.—282

Engels is referring to Prussia's defeat in the war with Napoleonic France in 1806.—285

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]. The complete English translation was published in Karl Marx, On the First International. Arranged and edited, with an introduction and new translations by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1973.—286

This is a reference to Engels' intention to write articles for The Manchester Guardian on the Austro-Prussian war, which broke out in June 1866. He wrote a series of five articles, and they were published in the newspaper under the heading 'Notes on the War in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 put an end to the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, which had lasted for many years, and predetermined the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. Several German states (such as Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg) fought on Austria's side.
Prussia formed an alliance with Italy. In June and July, hostilities were conducted on two fronts: in Bohemia and in Italy. After the grave defeat of her army at Sadowa, Austria began peace negotiations and signed a peace treaty in Prague on 23 August.—286, 290, 296, 298

A discussion on the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 took place at the Central Council meetings of 19 and 26 June, and 17 July 1866.

It was Marx's aim in the discussion to explain the necessity for the International to take an independent stand as a working-class organisation. This stand should have nothing to do either with the Proudhonists' nihilist attitude towards the struggle for the national unification of Germany and Italy or with the British trade unionist tendency to embellish the unification policy of the ruling classes in Prussia and Italy, to neglect their expansionist and dynastic motives which played an important part in initiating the war conflict. Marx's critical speech persuaded the Central Council to refuse, on 17 July, to vote for the resolutions submitted earlier by Cremer and Dutton, as well as for Fox's resolution, because they failed to give precise formulations of the tasks of the proletariat. The Council unanimously adopted, with certain amendments, the following resolution which had been proposed by Bobczynski and Carter:

'That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between Governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation' (The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes, Moscow, 1964, p. 213).—287

Mutualists, or supporters of mutual assistance, was the name adopted in the 1860s by the French Proudhonists, adherents of Proudhon's reformist ideas on the emancipation of labour by organising mutual assistance, equitable exchange of services and cheap credit.—287

A reference to the decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian war (see Note 345), which was fought at Königgrätz (Hradec-Králové) not far from the village of Sadowa (Bohemia) on 3 July 1866. The battle of Sadowa resulted in grave defeat for the Austrian forces. It is also known as the battle of Königgrätz.—288, 537

At the end of 1865 and the beginning of 1866, Bismarck conducted negotiations with Napoleon III through the Prussian ambassador to Paris, von der Holtz. In the course of the negotiations, wishing to secure France's neutrality in the war against Austria which was being prepared by him, Bismarck sought to make Napoleon believe that the war would be extremely exhaustive for Prussia and hinted vaguely at the possibility of territorial expansion for France at the expense of Belgium and Luxemburg, as well as certain German territories on the Rhine.—289, 293

As a result of the resignation of the Russell Liberal government and in protest against the impending coming to power of the Conservatives headed by Derby and Disraeli, mass meetings took place in London's Trafalgar Square, on 27 June and 2 July 1866, which again demanded manhood suffrage. In March 1866 the Reform League abandoned this demand under the influence of bourgeois radicals (see Note 315), but in the situation its leadership had to return for some time to its former platform. These meetings, which began a new stage in the struggle for a second electoral reform in Britain, had virtually been organised by members of the Central Council of the International.—290
In referring to Thiers' criticism of the foreign policy of the Second Empire, Marx, apparently, had in mind his speech of 3 May 1866 in the Corps législatif to which Napoleon III responded with a speech in Auxerre on 6 May 1866 (see Note 332). On 6 July 1866 the government of Napoleon III submitted a project of a *senatus-consulte* to the French Senate in accordance with which it was the Senate's exclusive right to discuss any alterations in the Constitution; discussion of any such matters in the press was to be prohibited under the threat of heavy fines; and the clause in the Constitution of 1852 establishing a three-month term for the forthcoming session of the Corps législatif was to be abolished. The *senatus-consulte* was adopted by the Senate on 14 July 1866.

During the debates on the budget for 1867 in the Corps législatif on 14 June 1866, one of the leaders of the bourgeois-republican opposition, Jules Favre, criticised the Mexican expedition (see Note 270) which involved tremendous expenses. At the same session another member of the republican opposition, Deputy Glais-Bizoin, expressed support for the parliamentary system referring to the French as a nation living under a regime of despotism. For this he was called to order by Walewski, Chairman of the Corps législatif.—290

On 4 July 1866, after the defeat of the Austrian army at Sadowa (see Note 348), the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph sent a telegram to Napoleon III in which he informed Napoleon that he was ready to secede to him Venetia provided that Napoleon would then secede this region to Italy, and he asked Napoleon III to act as intermediary between the belligerent states. Italy and Prussia agreed to Napoleon's mediation. In accordance with the peace treaty with Austria signed in Vienna on 3 October 1866 the region was returned to Italy.—291

Marx is referring to the bulbs that his daughter Jenny received from Johann Carl Juta, husband of her aunt Louise, in Cape Town and sent to Engels with detailed instructions on how to grow them.—291, 294

‘Old Bess’ or ‘Brown Bess’ were the names given to the flint-lock smooth-barrelled muzzle-loading gun used in the British army in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.—291

A reference to Prussia's annexation of the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau and other territories as a result of its victory over Austria in the war of 1866.

According to a report published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 7 June 1866, the King of Naples Francis II Bourbon, who had been overthrown by the Garibaldist movement, was presented with an honorary shield at an election meeting of the Prussian conservatives in Berlin which was chaired by Count Stolberg; however, at the same meeting there were calls for Prussia's union with the Italian ‘revolution’.—292, 345

Certain South German states (such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden) took part in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 on the Austrian side.—293, 295

A reference to the projected settlement of the Austro-Prussian conflict that was proposed by the government of Napoleon III on 11 July 1866 in response to Prussia's peace terms. According to the project, an independent South German Confederation was to be formed, consisting of states lying south of the Main, similar to the former Confederation of the Rhine. In this way Napoleon III hoped to prevent the unification of Germany and to subordinate South German states to his protectorate.

The *Confederation of the Rhine* (Rheinbund)—a confederation of states in
Southern and Western Germany that was formed in July 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon I. Napoleon's creation of this military and political stronghold in Germany was made possible by his defeat of Austria in 1805. Initially the Confederation incorporated sixteen states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and others), and later on another five states (Saxony, Westphalia, and others), which virtually became vassals of France. The Confederation fell apart in 1813, after the defeat of Napoleon's army.—294, 297

358 A reference to the war that France fought against the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—295

359 Blue Books—periodically published collections of documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office. They have been appearing since the seventeenth century.

Marx is referring to five reports of the Children's Employment Commission (1863-66) and the Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council (1866) which was supplemented by Dr Hunter's report about the housing conditions of the workers; Dr Hunter's report was extensively used by Marx in Volume One of Capital (see the English edition of 1887, Part III, Chapter XXV and also Vol. 35 of the present edition).—296, 301, 383, 407, 551

360 The plan for Little Germany was a scheme to unite Germany without Austria under Prussia's supremacy.—297

361 In his letters of 30 June to Marx and of 16 July 1866 to Engels Paul Stumpf from Mainz said that Wilhelm Liebknecht held a pro-Austrian stance in the Austro-Prussian war. In these letters, as well as in his letter to Marx of 10 July, Stumpf asked for instructions on the stand to be taken by the International's members in Mainz with regard to the military events.—298, 299

362 On 16 July 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, the free city of Frankfurt am Main, which sided with Austria, was captured by the Prussian army. An indemnity of six million guilders was imposed on it, the city senate was disbanded and the garrison and military organisations disarmed. On 19 July the Prussians raised the indemnity to twenty-five million guilders and demanded from the burgomaster Karl Fellner a list of the wealthiest and most influential citizens, whose property was to be a pledge for the payment of the indemnity. He hanged himself in protest on the night of 23 July.—299, 301, 333

363 Eschenheimer Gasse—the street in Frankfurt am Main where the Federal Diet was in 1816-66.—299

364 A reference to the Slav Congress which met in Prague on 2 June 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav regions of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šaťařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the nationalities question by achieving autonomy for the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy (Austro-Slavism doctrine). The Left, radical wing (including Sabina, Frič and Libelt) wanted joint action with the democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the people's uprising in Prague (12-17 June 1848) and were subjected to severe reprisals. On 16 June the moderately liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned indefinitely.—299

365 On 11 July 1859 Austria and France signed a separate preliminary peace treaty in Villafranca which put an end to the war of France and Piedmont against
Austria. In accordance with the treaty, Lombardy fell to France, but later on Napoleon III ceded it to Piedmont in exchange for Savoy and Nice; Venice was to remain under the Austrian domination and the dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be reinstalled to their thrones. Although some clauses of the preliminary treaty were never implemented (e.g. the clause on the restoration of the dukes of Tuscany and Modena) or were altered, on the whole it formed the basis of the final peace treaty signed in Zurich on 10 November 1859.

The peace treaty between Austria and Prussia was signed in Prague on 23 August 1866. Under its terms Austria ceded its rights on Schleswig and Holstein and recognised Prussia's annexation of Hanover, Electorate of Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), Nassau and Frankfurt am Main; the German Confederation ceased to exist and instead of it the North German Confederation was formed under the hegemony of Prussia which did not incorporate Austria. The peace treaty between Austria and Italy was signed in Vienna on 3 October 1866. In accordance with it the region of Venice was returned to Italy, but its claims to Southern Tyrol and Trieste were rejected because of Prussia's opposition.—300, 345

On 23 July 1866 the Reform League (see Note 155) called a meeting in Hyde Park in support of manhood suffrage. Although banned by the government, the meeting took place; there was a clash between its participants and the police and several dozen workers were arrested. On 24 and 25 July tens of thousands workers, many of them armed, gathered round Hyde Park. The police and army units were sent against the demonstrators and a state of siege was virtually introduced in the capital; a threat arose of a clash of the people with the police and army. In this situation on 25 July a delegation of the League headed by its President Edmond Beales met the Home Secretary Spencer Walpole and promised to persuade the demonstrators to disperse if the army and police were ordered out of the park. Walpole agreed to this and did not object to another meeting in Hyde Park due on 30 July. However, during its preparation, Walpole denied his permission. His words were confirmed by Austin Holyoake, a member of the League Council, in his report about this talks with Walpole published in The Times. Fearing the mounting revolutionary activity of the masses the Council decided not to call any open-air meetings.—300

In May 1849, the republican Armand Marrast, President of the French Constituent Assembly, requested General Changarnier, a monarchist and commander of the Paris garrison, to bring in troops to defend the Assembly against the Bonapartists. Changarnier refused, declaring that he disapproved of 'baionnettes intelligentes', i.e. soldiers meddling in politics.—302

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, On History and People, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1977. The full version of the letter was published in The Letters of Karl Marx, New Jersey, 1979.—303

A reference to a note handed to Bismarck in early August 1866 by the French Ambassador to Berlin Vincent Benedetti; it demanded the restoration of the 1814 frontiers as a compensation for France's neutrality during the Austro-Prussian war. This meant that the Saar Basin, the Palatinate, and the Rhenish part of Hesse-Darmstadt with the fortresses of Landau and Mainz were to be given over to France. The note also suggested that the Prussian garrison should be withdrawn from Luxemburg. The claims of Napoleon III were based on the secret promises made by Bismarck before the Austro-Prussian war not to
impede the annexation of the German territories between the Rhine and Mosel by France in case the latter did not prevent the formation of the Prusso-Italian coalition and defeat of Austria. However, following the victory over Austria, Bismarck, who planned a war with France, changed his stand and rejected the French government's demands on 7 August.—306, 352

This fact was later on cited by Engels in his unfinished work The Role of Violence in History which he wrote in 1887 and 1888 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—307

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, On Education, Women and Children, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—307

Marx was sending Engels a letter to him from Liebknecht of 10 August 1866 along with a few issues of the Leipzig Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung. The newspaper was founded in 1862 by liberals but in August 1866, after it had lost most of its subscribers it was sold to Liebknecht. He tried to turn it into a democratic paper and use it, as he wrote to Marx, to publicise the ideas and documents of the IWMA in Germany. However, on 29 August the publication was stopped by the Prussian military authorities of the city and was never renewed again.—310

This letter was first published in English in K. Marx, On Education, Women and Children, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.—310

Marx is referring to his regular contributions to the New-York Daily Tribune which he made for over ten years, from August 1851 to March 1862.—311

The Geneva Congress—the first congress of the International Working Men's Association—took place between 3 and 8 September 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates from the Central (General) Council, various sections of the International and workers' societies in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was elected chairman. In preparing for the Congress Marx wrote 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions' (see present edition, Vol. 20). This document was read as the official report of the Council.

The Proudhonists who enjoyed one-third of the votes at the Congress countered Marx's 'Instructions' with their own programme on all items of the agenda setting it out in a memorandum. Nevertheless, the Congress adopted a resolution based on six of the nine points formulated by Marx in the 'Instructions': on the international combination of efforts in the struggle between labour and capital, on limitation of the working day, on juvenile and children's labour, on co-operative labour, on trade unions, and on standing armies. A compromise resolution on Poland was moved by Johann Philipp Becker and was adopted.

The Geneva Congress approved the Rules and the Regulations of the International Association and elected its General Council (officially called Central Council before the Congress) mostly in its former composition. The Congress completed the formation of the International as a mass international proletarian organisation.—312, 314, 316, 326, 368

As a result of its victory over Austria in 1866, Prussia was able to embark on the unification of Germany under its aegis. Besides its direct annexation of certain territories (see Note 355), it compelled Austria to agree to the disbandment of the German Confederation, and also succeeded in signing alliance treaties with 17 North German states (north of the Main) which had
fought in the war on its side; later on Saxony and other German states joined alliance treaties. This form of union prepared the ground for the formation of the North German Confederation.—312, 349, 460

377 Judging by this letter, Engels left for Germany on 24 August 1866. Presumably he visited his home town and other places in the Rhine Province of Prussia, and stayed with his relatives. Engels returned to Manchester probably in the latter half of September.—313, 330

378 From the end of August till mid-September 1866, Jenny Marx was on holiday at the seaside.—314

379 At the meeting of the General Council (as the Central Council began to be called after the Geneva Congress) on 25 September 1866 Marx informed it that he had received £5, the annual contribution, from Samuel Moore in Manchester. The receipt issued to Moore by the Treasurer of the Council, William Dell, Marx sent to Engels enclosed with this letter.—317

380 As far back as in March 1865, the Central Council of the International adopted a resolution on the conflict in the Paris Section in which it opposed the Proudhonian thesis that only a worker was admissible as an official in the working men's organisation. During the discussion of the General Rules and the Regulations at the Geneva Congress (see Note 375), the French delegate Tolain declared that only a person directly engaged in manual labour could be a delegate to the congress. Tolain's statement met with stiff opposition. Cremer and Carter emphasised in their speeches the fact that many of the people to whom the International owed its existence were not manual workers. They particularly noted the services of Marx who, as Cremer said, had made fight for the triumph of the working class the cause of his entire life. Tolain's amendment was rejected.—318

381 At the proposal of the French delegates Tolain and Fribourg, the Geneva Congress expelled Le Lubez from the General Council for his slander and intrigues. At the General Council meeting of 16 October 1866 the matter, at Le Lubez's demand, was referred to the Standing Committee, which at the Council meeting of 23 October confirmed the correctness of the report on Le Lubez's unanimous expulsion with the minutes of the Congress (see The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes, Moscow, 1964, p. 51).—318

382 To confirm his theory, Pierre Trémaux referred to the assertion of the Senegal missionary Santamaria that the black people descended from white people.—320

383 The workers' congress in Baltimore was held from 20 to 25 August 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates representing 60,000 American workers organised in trade unions. The Congress discussed such matters as the legal introduction of an eight-hour working day, political activities, co-operative societies, the unification of all workers in trade unions, strikes, and housing conditions. It was decided at the Congress to form the National Labour Union.—326

384 In his letter to Marx of 11 October 1866 Kugelmann said that he had not received any letters from him since April of that year and that he believed that the subsequent letters might have been either lost or intercepted. Later on it turned out that Marx's letter to Kugelmann of 23 August 1866 (see this volume, pp. 311-12) was only received on 27 November 1866.—327

385 In the first chapter of the first edition of Volume One of Capital Marx
summarised his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* which had been published in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29). In the second and subsequent German editions of *Volume One of Capital* and in the English edition of 1887, this chapter ("Commodity and Money") comprises Part I (see present edition, Vol. 35).—328

386 This letter is a reply to Kugelmann's letter of 23 October 1866. Kugelmann advised Marx to ask Engels for his help in arranging the loan; he also suggested that Marx should make the same request to a well-known doctor, A. Jacobi, a former activist in the Communist League, who lived in New York.—330

387 The *Code pénal* was introduced in 1811 in Napoleon's France and in the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by the French. Article 2 of the *Code* says: 'Any attempt to commit an offence that manifested itself in practical acts and was accompanied by the *commencement of the commitment of the offence* and that was interrupted or was not carried out owing solely to circumstances that were beyond the control of the person in question shall be equivalent to an offence proper.'—333

388 Early in September 1866 the Prussian Chamber of Deputies passed an Indemnity Bill submitted by Bismarck. The Bill relieved the government of any responsibility for expenditures which had not been legally approved during the constitutional conflict (see Note 100). Thus the conflict ended with the complete capitulation of the bourgeois opposition to the Bismarck government. Deputies Karl Twesten and Frenzel, who belonged to the opposition and had more than once criticised the government, now voted for the Bill. Nevertheless, early in November 1866 they were once again put on trial on the basis of the Supreme Tribunal's decision of 29 January 1866 (see Note 292) for their former speeches in the Prussian Provincial Diet but were again acquitted.—333

389 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On America and the Civil War*, New York, 1972, and in full in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, New Jersey, 1979.—334

390 Karl Marx's father, Heinrich Marx, owned a small vineyard in the Mosel region.—334

391 A reference to the commercial treaty between Britain and France of 23 January 1860. In accordance with the treaty the duties on British goods exported to France were not to exceed 30 per cent of their price; France had the right to duty-free import of most of her goods to Britain.—334

392 A reference to the defeat of the Democratic Party to which President Johnson belonged in the elections to Congress in November and December 1866. Johnson pursued a policy of compromise with the plantation-owners of the Southern states and opposed the granting of electoral rights to the Negroes. The elections were won by the Republicans who had received two-thirds of the votes in Congress.—334

393 Nos. 52 and 53 of the Berlin satirical weekly *Kladderadatsch* of 18 November 1866 carried a lampoon, *Die Frau in Weiß. Drama in 5 Acten mit freier Benutzung von Wilkie Collins*, which was directed against Marx and his comrades. Its author was Heinrich Bettziech, a German petty-bourgeois democrat, who wrote under the pen-name of Beta.

The *Brimstone Gang* was the name of a students' association at Jena University in the 1770s which was notorious for its members' brawls; subsequently, the expression 'Brimstone Gang' became widespread.
In his pamphlet *Mein Prozeß gegen die 'Allgemeine Zeitung'* which was published in 1859 the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt called Marx and his party comrades 'the Brimstone Gang'. However, this was a jocular name for a group of German émigrés that existed in Geneva in 1849 and 1850 with which Marx and his supporters were not connected. Marx exposed Vogt's slander in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* which was published in 1860 (see present edition, Vol. 17).

Wilhelm Liebknecht was arrested in Berlin on 2 October 1866 after he had made an anti-government speech in the Berlin Printers' Union. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment.—336

394 A reference to the letter to Engels of 6 December 1866 from the refugee Hossfeld who lived in Liverpool. He asked Engels to lend him some money.—337

395 A reference to the seizure by the French authorities of letters written by members of the International, their confiscation of documents of the Geneva Congress and the pressure that the Bonapartist circles brought to bear on the British government in order to prevent the publication of Congress documents in *Le Courrier international*. Early in January 1867 the General Council published a statement entitled ‘The French Government and the International Association of Working Men’ in which it exposed the actions of the ruling circles of the Second Empire towards the International (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 271-76).—338

396 *Head Centre* was the code name of the leader of the Fenian secret organisation (see Note 257). At the General Council meeting of 4 December 1866 it was reported that James Stephens, the leader of the Irish Fenians who had been arrested late in 1865 but escaped from prison and emigrated to the United States, had joined the International.—338

397 On 6 December 1866 Pius IX addressed the officers of the French regular forces before their evacuation from the Papal States on Napoleon III's order. In his speech the Pope virtually expressed his disapproval of this act by the French Emperor and asked for him to be informed that he should act 'as the head of a Christian state and a good Christian', in other words, he should take effective measures to prevent the incorporation of the Papal States into the Italian Kingdom.—338

398 Marx used *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England* by James Thorold Rogers in Chapter VI of Volume One of *Capital* which later became a section (chapters XXIII and XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions respectively, chapters XXV and XXVII in the English edition of 1887; see present edition, Vol. 35).—339

399 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art. Selection from Their Writings*, New York, 1947.—339, 347

400 *Praetorians*—the privileged section of the army in ancient Rome, originally the generals' guards; in a figurative sense, mercenary troops propping up a system of government based on brute force.—340

401 The *substitution system* was for a long time practised in the French army whereby members of the wealthier classes had the privilege of being able to free themselves from military service by hiring substitutes. During the French Revolution this was prohibited; however, Napoleon I introduced it again. Under the law of 1855, substitutes were to be selected by government bodies
and the payment for them was to be made to a special 'army donation' fund. The substitution system was abolished in France in 1872.— 340

402 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the Franco-Swiss border on 30 September 1866 when he was returning to London from Geneva. The police confiscated letters and printed matter which were to be handed to the General Council. The General Council made a public protest against this arbitrary act and other acts hostile to the International committed by the Bonapartist authorities and demanded the return of the seized documents (see Note 395). Receiving no reply from the French Minister of the Interior to its petition that the documents be returned, the General Council appealed to Lord Edward Stanley, the British Foreign Secretary, who through Henry Cowley, the British Ambassador to Paris, succeeded in returning the papers. At its meeting of 1 January 1867 the General Council passed a resolution in which it thanked Lord Stanley for his help.— 341, 346

403 A reference to the black-white-red flag of the North German Confederation which was founded in 1867 under the supremacy of Prussia (at the time the letter was written preparations were being carried on for forming it), and later of the German Empire.— 344

404 Marx used this information given by Engels in Volume One of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 35; English edition of 1887, Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 5, pp. 434-35).— 345

405 Article 4 of the Peace Treaty of Prague between Prussia and Austria recognised the independence of the German states lying south of the Main and their right to form a separate South German Confederation (Napoleon III's aim). At the same time it mentioned the national ties between the North and South German states and envisaged the possibility of their joining the planned North German Confederation under Prussia's supremacy. In August 1866 Bismarck made a secret defence alliance with the South German states which provided that in the event of war their armies would be placed under the Prussian high command.— 345

406 In his letter to Marx of 15 February 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed a notice from the Hanover liberal newspaper Zeitung für Norddeutschland, No. 5522, of the same day which reported Marx's intention to go to the Continent with the alleged aim of preparing a Polish insurrection. Sending the text of his refutation ('A Correction', see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 202) Marx considered its publication all the more necessary since he did plan to visit Germany to take the manuscript of Volume One of Capital to the publisher Otto Meissner in Hamburg and to agree about the terms of its publication.

On 21 February 1867 the Zeitung für Norddeutschland was forced to print a refutation of its fabrication about Marx's intention to take an active part in the preparations for a future insurrection in Poland. On 22 February Kugelmann sent the published refutation to Marx. This was probably what Marx told Engels in his letter of 25 February.— 346, 347, 352

407 The report on the Geneva Congress of the International (see Note 375) was published in English in The International Courier, Nos. 7-15 of 20 February, 13, 20 and 27 March, and 3, 10 and 17 April 1867 and in French in Le Courrier international, Nos. 8-16 of 9, 16, 23 and 30 March and 6, 13, 20 and 27 April 1867.— 346

408 This is a comment on the elections to the constituent North German Reichstag
which took place in Germany in February 1867. Two Saxon constituencies elected August Bebel who became the first ever working-class representative in the German parliament and the lawyer Reinhold Schraps, the candidate of the Saxon People's Party. Wilhelm Liebknecht had been in prison for three months until the middle of January and was therefore unable to organise an election campaign and to win the elections.—348

A reference to the constituent North German Reichstag convoked on the basis of universal suffrage that had been proclaimed by Bismarck. The Reichstag held its sessions from 24 February to 17 April 1867; it approved the creation of the North German Confederation and its constitution, which became valid on 1 July 1867.—349

The weekly Hermann, No. 426, 2 March 1867, reprinted from the Volks-Zeitung Stieber's statement which refuted the report published in the Hermann, No. 424, to the effect that in January 1860 he had attempted to bribe its editorial board in order to prevent the further publication of an article by Wilhelm Eichhoff exposing Stieber's activities as an agent provocateur during the Cologne Communist trial. Under this statement of Stieber's the editors placed a statement by R. Hirschfeld, the owner of the print-shop where at that time the weekly had been printed. Hirschfeld's statement cited facts showing Stieber's attempt to bribe the editorial board in January 1860. On 8 March 1867 the Volks-Zeitung carried a new statement by Stieber, in which he again denied his attempt.—349

A reference to the secret peace negotiations between France and Russia in 1855 during the Crimean war (1853-56) waged by the Anglo-Franco-Turkish coalition and Tsarist Russia. They were conducted through Baron Seebach, Saxony's envoy to Paris, who had important connections at the Russian court.—349

On 10 April 1867 Marx went to Germany to deliver the manuscript of Volume One of Capital to the publisher Otto Meissner. He arrived in Hamburg by boat on 12 April. Having made all the arrangements with Meissner, he came to Hanover on 16 April and stayed with Ludwig Kugelmann till the middle of May. On his way back to Britain Marx once again saw Meissner in Hamburg on 16 and 17 May and returned to London on 19 May 1867.—350, 356, 366, 375, 379

In his note to Marx of 1 April 1867 Sigismund Borkheim told him that 'a continental friend' ('ein Freund vom Kontinent') had written to him about Marx's strained circumstances and his need of the Party's material support.—350, 352

On 25 January 1867, the Paris Bronze-Workers' Credit and Solidarity Society (Société de crédit et de solidarité des ouvriers du bronze) sent a circular to its members calling upon them to prepare for a general strike of solidarity with Barbedienne's bronze-workers who demanded fixed rates. They went on strike in February. In response to this, the owners of 120 enterprises adopted, at their meeting on 14 February, a resolution threatening to impose a lock-out if the society were not dissolved. A general meeting of bronze-workers that was held on 24 February and was attended by nearly 3,000 people resolved to fight the employers. The General Council of the International was immediately informed of this by a delegation of the bronze-workers' society specially sent to London, consisting of Camelinat, Kin, and Valdun who were joined by Tolain and Fribourg. On the initiative of Jung, Dupont and other members of the General Council funds began to be raised to aid the Paris workers. The broad movement of solidarity, which had been organised by the General Council,
served to keep up the strikers' militant spirit and undermined the employers' position. Negotiations between employers and workers began at individual factories, and on 24 March representatives of the employers' association agreed to introduce fixed rates for separate jobs.—351

Early in 1867 a conflict broke out between the ruling circles of Prussia and France, since both sides had claims to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was connected by a personal union with the Netherlands (the King of the Netherlands was also the Grand Duke of Luxemburg) and was also a member of the German Confederation. However, after the latter was disbanded in 1866, Luxemburg refused to enter the North German Confederation which had been formed under Prussia's aegis. The government of Napoleon III and the King of the Netherlands agreed on the sale of Luxemburg to France, but Bismarck prevented it by making use of the Prussian garrison that was stationed in the duchy when the German Confederation still existed.

In May 1867 the Luxemburg question was discussed at an international conference in London which made it a duty of the European powers to guarantee the preservation of Luxemburg's former status and neutrality. Prussia was to withdraw its troops from the duchy. In both states the Luxemburg conflict entailed preparations for war and extensive militaristic propaganda and became a stage in the preparation for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—351, 352, 364, 459

In response to the protest of the Polish deputies to the North German Reichstag against the forcible incorporation of the Principality of Posen and other Polish territories in the North German Confederation, Bismarck made a demagogical speech on 18 March 1867 in the Reichstag in which he said in particular that the Polish peasantry trusted the Prussian and Russian authorities more than their own nobility.—351, 374

In his speech of 11 March 1867 in the North German Reichstag Bismarck said: 'Gentlemen! Let us quickly get down to work! Let us put Germany in the saddle, as it were! She will be able to ride.' On 23 March of the same year a conservative deputy to the Reichstag, Hermann Wagener ended his speech with the words Engels cites in his letter.—355

According to the arrangement with the publisher that Marx mentions in his letter, he planned after the publication of Volume One of Capital (appeared in September 1867) to publish Book Two and Book Three as Volume Two, and Book Four, which contained a critical history of economic theories, as a concluding Volume Three.

After Marx's death, Engels prepared for the press and published manuscripts belonging to Book Two and Book Three as Volumes Two and Three of Capital; he died before he could prepare for the press Book Four, Theories of Surplus Value (Volume Four of Capital) and have it published (see also Note 227).—357, 358, 367, 368, 371, 390, 402, 405, 407, 418, 436, 442, 509, 511, 515, 525, 544


Guelphs (Welfs)—members of a separatist party formed in Hanover following its annexation by Prussia in 1866. It consisted of supporters of the restoration of the independent Hanover monarchy headed by the house of Welfs which was once on the throne there.—361, 492
421 *Head-in-chief* (Haupt-Chef)—the name given by Wilhelm Stieber, one of the organisers of the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, to a police spy, Julian Cherval (real name Joseph Crämmer). Stieber sought to represent Cherval as a dangerous conspirator and leader of the Communist League and make it appear that he was connected with Marx and the defendants (see K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—361

422 A reference to the subscription for Ferdinand Freiligrath that was started in the spring of 1867. The poet's admirers wanted to present him with a 'people's donation' since he had lost his post of manager in the English branch of the Bank of Switzerland after the latter's bankruptcy. With this aim in view, committees were organised in Britain, Germany and the United States through which funds were gathered. Reports about the subscription were regularly published in the London newspaper *Hermann.*—362, 378, 385, 425, 472, 532

423 A reference to the publicity Lassalle managed to achieve for his book about Heraclitus' philosophy, published in 1858. For this purpose he made use of his friends and officially joined the society of German Old Hegelian philosophers.—363

424 The 'nationalities principle' was put forward by the ruling circles of the Second Empire and was extensively used by them as an ideological smoke-screen for their plans of conquest and adventurous foreign policy. Seeking to pass himself off as a 'defender of nationalities', Napoleon III took advantage of the national interests of the oppressed nations with the aim of strengthening the hegemony of France and extending her frontiers. This principle was also used in the diplomacy of Tsarist Russia to spread Russian influence to the Balkans and Central Europe. The demagogical nature of the 'nationalities principle' used by the ruling circles of counter-revolutionary European states was exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17) and by Engels in the article 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' (present edition, Vol. 20).—364

425 A reference to the second Reform Bill which was finally approved by Parliament on 15 August 1867. In accordance with the new law, the property qualifications for electors was lowered for lease-holders in the counties to 12-pound rent a year, and in the towns franchise was granted to all householders, and house tenants, and those tenants who had held their place of residence for not less than a year and paid not less than £10. Although as a result of the 1867 reform the number of electors in Britain doubled, and suffrage was also extended to a section of skilled industrial workers, the bulk of the country's population remained disfranchised as before.—365, 384, 468

426 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, London, 1934. In full the letter was published in English in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—366

427 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, *On the First International*, New York, 1973. In full the letter was published in English in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, New Jersey, 1979.—367

428 Marx was first expelled from France in January 1845 by the Guizot ministry at the demand of the Prussian government. The pretext for this was Marx's part
in editing the newspaper Vorwärts! which violently criticised Prussian reactionary order. Early in February Marx had to emigrate to Belgium.

On 19 July 1849, Marx who was again in Paris—this time after the defeat of the German revolution—received a notice from the French authorities ordering him to leave Paris and move to the Department of Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy part of Brittany. This prompted his departure to London in the second half of August 1849.—368

Marx's attempts to find somebody to translate Capital into French were unsuccessful at the time. On the French translation of Volume One of Capital see Note 539.—368

A reference to a cross given to Jenny on her birthday. Such crosses were worn by participants in the Polish national liberation struggle. Since the end of 1867 Jenny wore it on a green ribbon as a symbol of her mourning over the Irish Fenians executed in November 1867 (green colour was a symbol of struggle for the national liberation of Ireland).—369, 479

The Manichaean were the followers of a religious trend current in the Middle East in the third century of the Christian era, its characteristics being asceticism and celibacy. In German students' slang the word Manichaean stood for a merciless creditor (in consonance with the German 'mahnender Gläubiger', i. e. a creditor demanding the payment of debt).—372, 436

The National-Liberals—a party of the German, above all Prussian, bourgeoisie which was formed in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress (see Note 99). Their policy showed that a considerable section of the liberal bourgeoisie had abandoned its claims to extend its political prerogatives and capitulated to the Bismarck Junker government after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war and the establishment of her supremacy in Germany.—372, 421, 504

In June 1849 the right-wing liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who walked out after the Prussian King Frederick William IV had refused to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a conference which resulted in the formation of the so-called Gotha party. The objective of this party, which reflected the sentiments of the big bourgeoisie and feared the victorious outcome of the revolution, was to achieve the unification of the Germany (with the exception of Austria) under the hegemony of Prussia. There was a certain continuity between the Gotha party and the National-Liberals.—372

In 1846 Marx and Engels negotiated through Joseph Weydemeyer the financing of the publication of their two-volume work criticising the German ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5) with the Westphalian publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel. In July 1846, after a series of subterfuges and delays, Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being the differences of principle between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and the champions of 'true socialism', on the other, whose views both publishers shared.

In the spring of 1845 Hermann Kriege, one of the future exponents of 'true socialism', was recommended by Meyer to Engels and Marx and met the former in Barmen and the latter in Brussels.—373

In his speech in the North German Reichstag on 9 March 1867 Johannes Miquel demanded that a North German Confederation should be formed as a
single centralised state under the hegemony of Prussia and urged the other German states to sacrifice their freedom for Germany's unification.—373

_Cremorne gardens_ existed in the 1850s-1870s in London; they were closed in 1877.—376

Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester from approximately 22 May to 2 June 1867.—377, 379

During his stay in Hanover in April and May 1867, Marx decided to write an appendix on forms of value for Volume One of _Capital_—an idea that was supported by Ludwig Kugelmann. Marx wanted to supplement and specify Chapter I of the main text on commodities and money. He implemented this idea in the first edition of Volume One (1867). In the second German edition of 1872 Marx revised this appendix and incorporated it in the relevant passages of the text. In the subsequent editions of _Capital_, including the English one of 1887 edited by Engels, the text was given in this form.—378, 384, 392, 396, 402, 423

A reference to the 'Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons' by the police magistrate Alexander Knox and the medical officer George Pollock published in London in 1867 on Parliament's decision. The report dealt with the treatment of political prisoners, especially Irish Fenians (see Note 257) in the English prisons.—378, 383, 390, 394

_The Times_ of 3 June 1867 carried a report by its Paris correspondent which stated that during the ceremony of welcome for the Russian Emperor Alexander II in Paris, there had been shouts of 'Long Live Poland' in the crowd. At the meeting of 18 June 1867 the General Council of the First International passed a resolution approving the mass demonstration of solidarity in Paris with the Poles suppressed by Tsarism. The text of the Council's resolution was published in _The Commonwealth_, No. 224 of 22 June 1867 (see _The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes_, Moscow, 1974, pp. 129-30).—379

In Hegel's terminology, 'Knoten' ('nodal points') are certain moments in movement when a sudden qualitative leap takes place as a result of gradual quantitative change (see G. W. F. Hegel, _Wissenschaft der Logik_, Erstes Buch, Dritter Abschnitt, Zweites Kapitel).—382

The Royal Commission to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions was set up in February 1867 because the ruling classes were anxious about the mounting trade unions' activity and hoped that such inquiry would help to outlaw the trade unions or at least restrict the scope of their activity. At the same time an anti-trade union campaign was launched by bourgeois newspapers. The trade unions, supported by the General Council of the International, responded with meetings all over the country and a national conference in London on 5-8 March 1867. After the inquiry the Royal Commission failed to make any serious charges against the trade unions, but it hindered their complete legalisation (the legal protection of their funds, and the recognition of their right to fight strike-breakers and to support strikes organised by other trade unions).—384, 387, 426

The new inquiry into working conditions resulted in the law of 15 August 1867 which extended the validity of the factory acts to new industries. Now the
maximum working-day for women and children below eighteen years of age was restricted to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours, not only at the factories but also at smaller enterprises and in the domestic industry.—384

Marx is referring to Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*; in the second and subsequent editions it corresponds to five chapters (V-IX) of Part III and in the English edition of 1887 to chapters VII-XI (see present edition, Vol. 35).

The note to the text of the first edition that is mentioned here stated that the molecular theory was advanced by Auguste Laurent and Charles Frédéric Gerhardt, and Charles Adolphe Wurtz was the first who scientifically elaborated it. Later on Marx made an additional study of the history of this problem and omitted his reference to Wurtz in the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1872); in the third edition of the volume (1883) Engels also made a more precise assessment of the role that had been played by Laurent and Gerhardt (see the English edition of 1887, Part III, Chapter XI, and the present edition, Vol. 35).—385

Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* appeared in the spring of 1845. The part of the edition that had not been sold out was put on sale later on with a new title page dated 1848.—385

A reference to Chapter II ('The Transformation of Money into Capital') and Chapter III ('Production of Absolute Surplus-Value') of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. They correspond to Parts II and III in the second and subsequent German editions, and to Parts II and III (chapters IV-XI) of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—386

One of the reasons for appointing the Royal Commission to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions (see Note 442) was the excesses committed in 1865-66 in Sheffield, the centre of metal-working industry, by some trade-unionists against strike-breakers. The Commission, however, failed to make any serious charges against the trade unions, since these instances were few and far between.—387

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.—388, 389

Between 5 July and early August 1867 Engels travelled in Sweden, Denmark and Germany and visited Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover. His wife Lizzie Burns accompanied him during some part of the trip.—389, 391, 392, 395, 396, 399, 401, 444, 469

Marx is referring to the last section of Chapter V in the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. It corresponds to Chapter XVII of Part VI in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume and to Chapter XIX of Part VI in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—390

The paras mentioned in the letter, including the criticism of the theory of Nassau William Senior, were in Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*, and correspond to chapters VII and VIII of Part III in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume, and to chapters IX and X of Part III in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—391, 392

A reference to the extremely negative reaction of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (in the articles published on 18 and 26 June 1867) to the statements by the British Foreign Secretary Stanley in the House of Commons on 14 June
and the Prime Minister Derby in the House of Lords on 20 June 1867. Stanley and Derby expressed their approval of the treaty on Luxemburg signed at the international conference in London on 11 May 1867. This treaty which guaranteed the former status and neutrality of Luxemburg put an end to the so-called Luxemburg crisis (see Note 415).—394

In his reply to Marx of 20 July 1867 Freiligrath evaded a direct answer to Marx's question (see M. Häckel, Freiligraths Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels, Th. 1, Berlin, 1968, S. 181).—398

For the second German edition of Volume One of Capital (published by Meissner in Hamburg in 1872) Marx revised and enlarged the text and improved the structure of the book. In doing this he also took into account the suggestions Engels made in this letter. Instead of the original six chapters the second and subsequent German editions of Volume One contained seven parts comprising 25 chapters. Chapter IV, which is being discussed in this letter, became Part IV consisting of four chapters; Chapter XII was divided into five and Chapter XIII into ten sections. The text of this volume in the English edition of 1887, edited by Engels, was divided into even more chapters. Chapter IV of the first edition corresponds to Part IV, chapters XII, XIII, XIV (sections 1-5) and Chapter XV (sections 1-10) (present edition, Vol. 35).—406, 407, 436

The reference is to Chapter VI ("The Process of the Accumulation of Capital") of the first edition of Volume One of Capital which corresponds to Part VII of the second and subsequent German editions, and to chapters XXIII-XXV of Part VII of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—406, 409

Part of the Preface to Volume One of Capital was soon published in a number of German periodicals such as Die Zukunft, No. 206 of 4 September 1867; Der Beobachter, No. 210 of 7 September 1867; Der Vorbote, Nos. 9-11 of September-November 1867; and Demokratisches Wochenblatt of 4 and 11 January 1868. The English translation of part of the Preface done by Georg Eccarius was published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 308 of 7 September 1867; the French translation done by Paul Lafargue and Marx's daughter Laura appeared in Le Courrier français, No. 106 of 1 October 1867 and in the Belgian newspaper La Liberté, No. 15 of 13 October 1867.—407, 423, 428, 448, 450, 495, 527

A reference to Marx's work on Book Two of Capital in which he analysed 'The Process of Circulation of Capital'. By that time Marx had already finished the first rough version of the book, it being written presumably in the first half of 1865. From the latter half of 1865 to August 1867 he wrote another two manuscripts dealing with the subject. Between the end of 1866 and 1870 Marx wrote a second, complete version of this book, which, along with his later manuscripts, was subsequently used by Engels in preparing Volume Two of Capital for publication in 1885.—408

A reference to Marx's letter to Engels of 20 August 1862 and Engels' reply of 9 September 1862 (see present edition, Vol. 41).—408

This letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, Letters on 'Capital', New Park Publications, London, 1983.—410

In the summer of 1866 the Greek population of Crete (Candia) rose against Turkish domination demanding union with Greece. Despite the cruel punitive
measures taken by the Turkish troops against the insurgents and civilians, the
struggle continued, supported by volunteers from many other countries.

The events on Crete brought about a new aggravation of the international
contradictions in the Middle East. In November 1866 the Russian government
proposed that the European powers should demand from the Turkish Empire
the transfer of Crete to Greece. However, the western powers preferred Crete
to remain under the Turkish rule since they were afraid that the position of
Russia in the region might be strengthened and the national liberation
movement of the nations ruled by the Sultan be further stepped up. The
support of the Crete insurgents went no further than a joint statement made
by Russia, France, Italy and Prussia of 29 October 1867 which recommended
that the Turkish government should restrain from bloody excesses on Crete. In
1869 the insurrection was completely suppressed.—414

The International's attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom was
discussed both in the General Council and in local sections. Marx's speech at
the Council meeting of 13 August 1867 and the resolution adopted at his
proposal (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204) formulated the principles of
the International's tactics in such a bourgeois-democratic movement. In
contrast to the unconditional support of the League, which is what the leaders
of the British trade unions inclined towards, the International's tactics
envisaged both the joint participation with the democrats in the struggle against
the threat of war, provided the class independence of the proletarian
organisation was retained, and a revolutionary proletarian approach towards
the questions of war and peace in opposition to bourgeois pacifist illusions.
Marx believed that the International should not take part in the League's
congress on an official basis because that would mean the International's
solidarity with its bourgeois programme. However, it was recommended that
the International's members should attend the congress privately in order to
influence its decisions in a revolutionary-democratic way.—414, 424, 473, 517,
537, 581

461 The League of Peace and Freedom—a pacifist organisation that was set up in
1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and
other democrats. The League owed its origin to the anti-war sentiments of the
masses. However, its leaders held pacifist positions; they failed to see the social
causes of war and often confined its anti-war activity to mere declarations.

The League's constituent congress was originally scheduled for 5 September
1867 in Geneva. Its organising committee, which enjoyed the support of a
number of radical and democratic public figures like John Stuart Mill and the
Reclus brothers, also counted on the participation of the leaders of the
European proletariat. Therefore the committee sent invitations to the sections
of the International and its leaders, Marx included, to attend the congress. It
was also decided to postpone the opening of the congress until 9 September, so
that the delegates of the Lausanne Congress of the International (due on
2-8 September) could take part in it too.

The International's attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom was
462 discussed both in the General Council and in local sections. Marx's speech at
the Council meeting of 13 August 1867 and the resolution adopted at his
proposal (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204) formulated the principles of
the International's tactics in such a bourgeois-democratic movement. In
contrast to the unconditional support of the League, which is what the leaders
of the British trade unions inclined towards, the International's tactics
envisaged both the joint participation with the democrats in the struggle against
the threat of war, provided the class independence of the proletarian
organisation was retained, and a revolutionary proletarian approach towards
the questions of war and peace in opposition to bourgeois pacifist illusions.
Marx believed that the International should not take part in the League's
congress on an official basis because that would mean the International's
solidarity with its bourgeois programme. However, it was recommended that
the International's members should attend the congress privately in order to
influence its decisions in a revolutionary-democratic way.—414, 424, 473, 517,
537, 581
International on the proletariat and the growing strength of its organisations in different countries. The delegates holding Proudhonist views, especially those from France, sought to change the orientation of the International's activity and its programme principles. Having managed, despite the efforts of the General Council's delegates, to impose their agenda on the Congress, they sought to get the Congress to revise the Geneva Congress resolutions in a Proudhonist spirit. They did succeed in carrying through a number of their own resolutions, in particular the one on co-operation and credit, which they regarded as the principal instruments of changing society by means of reform.

However, the Proudhonists failed to achieve their principal aim. The Congress retained as valid the Geneva Congress resolutions on the economic struggle and strikes. The Proudhonist dogma on abstaining from political struggle was countered by the resolution on political freedom passed by the Lausanne Congress which emphasised that the social emancipation of the working class was inseparable from its political liberation. The Proudhonists likewise failed to seize the leadership of the International. The Congress re-elected the General Council in its former composition and retained London as its seat.—416, 418, 420, 425, 427

463 A reference to the printed sheets of Chapter VI, the last one, of Volume One of Capital.

In the second German edition of Volume One (1872) Marx, on Engels' advice, substantially enlarged the section on Ireland and wrote some additional notes (see the English edition of 1887, Part VII, Chapter XXV, Section 5).

The 'resume' on the expropriation of the expropriators' mentioned by Engels is placed at the end of Chapter XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions and at the end of Chapter XXXII (Part VIII) of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—417, 432

464 Der Social-Demokrat, No. 102 of 30 August 1867 carried a report that J. M. Hirsch, publisher of a collection of songs, and two owners of the printing-house where it was printed had been arrested in Erfurt. Hirsch was charged with high treason.—417

465 The Royal Society of Arts—an educational and philanthropic organisation founded in Britain in 1754. It consisted mainly of businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals and enjoyed the patronage of aristocracy. Marx violently criticised the Society's attempts to act as a mediator in the conflicts between workers and employers with the aim of undermining the class struggle. At the same time he thought highly of its extensive library and its research publications of which he made use in his studies, especially in Capital. The Society's scientific material became available to him after he joined it in 1869.—418

466 This is apparently a reference to Emile de Girardin's articles in La Liberté of which he became the owner in June 1866. Girardin treated the situation in France at that time as similar to that during the pre-revolutionary years 1829 and 1847.—418

467 On 27 August 1867 during his visit to the French part of Flanders on the occasion of the anniversary of its annexation to France, Napoleon III made a speech in Lille in which he was rather pessimistic about France's situation at home and abroad.—418

468 When the Civil War ended, the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day intensified in the USA. Leagues of struggle for the
eight-hour day were set up throughout the country; in California alone there were over 50. The National Labour Union, founded at a congress in Baltimore (see Note 383) in August 1866, joined the movement. Attaching great importance to the demand for the eight-hour working day Marx included it in the agenda of the Geneva Congress. In his ‘Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council’ he emphasised the need to raise it ‘to the common platform of the working classes all over the world’ (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 187). This point as formulated by Marx was adopted as a congress resolution.

On 25 June 1868, the US Congress which was forced to reckon with the mass movement, adopted a law on an eight-hour working day for the employees of all governmental and federal bodies.—418, 452

Marx made a number of critical comments on the text of the speech prepared by Borkheim for the constituent congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (see Note 461). Having delivered the speech at the congress, Borkheim then published it in French under the title of ‘Ma perle devant le congrès de Genève’ and also in German.—419, 435, 437, 441, 449

In addition to the ordinary footnotes for the first German edition of Volume One of Capital, Marx wrote nine notes in which he cited the latest facts from different sources. In preparing the second German edition (1872) he made some alterations in these additional notes and inserted them in the corresponding places of the main text.

On the appendix to Chapter I see Note 438.—419

A reference to Marx’s speech on the International’s attitude towards the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461) and the resolution on the issue proposed by him at the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204). Eccarius’ brief report of the Council meeting was published in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 305 of 17 August 1867; it was also cited in Lucien Dubois’ article ‘Les Conditions de la paix’, published in Le Courrier français on 2 September 1867.—420

In his letter to Marx of 5 September 1867 Friedrich Lessner gave him extensive information about the beginning of the International’s Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) and referred to the report published in the Gazette de Lausanne.—422

A reference to the first of Eccarius’ series of articles about the Lausanne Congress of the International published in The Times, No. 25909 of 6 September 1867. The other articles of the series were published in The Times, Nos. 25911-25913 of 9-11 September 1867. In his articles Eccarius made ironical comments on the muddled views of the French Proudhonist delegates and their verbosity.—422, 425, 428, 434

Beginning from 5 September 1867 Vermorel’s newspaper Le Courrier français published Henri Tolain’s articles about the International’s Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) in which he praised the French delegates’ position at the Congress.—422

The activity of the Proudhonists at the International’s Lausanne Congress (see Note 462) and the fact that they had some of their resolutions adopted, gave particular urgency to the struggle for the assertion of the main programme principles of scientific communism. In Marx’s opinion, this task was to be carried out by the next Congress of the International which was to be held in
Brussels in September 1868. Thanks to the energetic preparatory work that was done by Marx and his followers, the decisions of the Brussels Congress, especially the one on the collective ownership of land, paralysed to a considerable extent the influence of the Proudhonists in the International Association.—424, 428

476 The Berlin Workers' Association was founded in January 1863 and was under the influence of the men of Progress (see Note 99), especially of Schulze-Delitzsch, and propagandised bourgeois co-operative societies. When the International Working Men's Association was set up, the advanced members of the Berlin Workers' Association were attracted towards it and sought to get rid of the liberals' protection. In October 1868 there was a split in the Berlin Workers' Association. Its radical members formed the Democratic Workers' Association which recognised the programme approved by the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht) based on the International's principles. The Democratic Workers' Association waged a vigorous struggle against the Lassalleans. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party which came into being at the Eisenach Congress.—424, 477

477 A reference to Lessner's letter of 7 September 1867 in which he informed Marx about the proceedings of the Lausanne Congress of the International (for Lessner's previous letter about the Congress see Note 472).—424, 429

478 Contrary to the position held by Marx and the General Council of the International towards the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461), the Lausanne Congress, largely owing to the efforts of Johann Philipp Becker and other members of the Geneva Section of the International as well as the French Proudhonists, decided by majority vote to send an official delegation from the IWMA to the constituent congress of the League. On 9 July 1867, before the Lausanne Congress, the general meeting of the Geneva Section of the International decided to join the League's programme and expressed their full confidence to its organisers; several members of the Section, including Becker and Dupleix, joined the League's Organising Committee.—425, 428

479 To break the conspiracy of silence with which official bourgeois academics met the publication of Volume One of Marx's Capital, Engels resorted to a kind of stratagem by writing a number of reviews for some bourgeois newspapers which looked as if penned by an unbiased bourgeois scholar. The reviews were published in Die Zukunft, Elberfelder Zeitung, Düsseldorfer Zeitung, Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg and others (see present edition, Vol. 20).—427

480 In his letter to Marx of 9 September 1867 Johann Georg Eccarius informed him that he as well as Johann Philipp Becker, Ludwig Kugelmann, Sigismund Borkheim and others had been invited on 8 September to a preliminary conference of the German participants in the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461). This conference made obvious the disagreements between participants in the workers' movement and the bourgeois democrats. Thus, in the discussion of the candidates to the presiding body of the Congress, the democrats Ludwig Simon and Jakob Venedey opposed the very principle of class representation and objected to Kugelmann, who had suggested that representatives of the proletariat be included in it. Nevertheless, as a result of the debates, Marx's followers Eccarius, Becker and
Borkheim and also Ludwig Büchner and Armand Goegg were elected German vice-presidents of the Congress.—429

481 The June days—the proletarian uprising in Paris on 23-26 June 1848.—429

482 From 13 September 1867, Marx and Paul Lafargue stayed for a few days with Engels in Manchester.—431, 432

483 The reference is to the spot under the railway bridge in Manchester where on 18 September 1867 Fenians made an armed assault on a police van in order to free two arrested Fenian leaders (see Note 497).—431

484 Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag by one of the Saxon constituencies on 31 August 1867; he delivered his first speech in the Reichstag on 30 September 1867.—432

485 This misprint ('C' instead of 'B') also appeared in the second and all the subsequent editions of Volume One of *Capital* that were published during the lifetime of Marx and Engels.—432

486 In his first speech in the North German Reichstag on 30 September 1867 that he made in the discussion on the passports bill, Liebknecht violently criticised the police and bureaucratic order. He proposed a number of amendments to the bill that would restrict the authorities' arbitrary rule. Liebknecht's bold statements about the political system and the government's policy were repeatedly interrupted by Simson, president of the Reichstag, and his proposals were rejected.

Apart from the reports in the newspapers, Liebknecht's speech was also published as a pamphlet, *Was ich in Berliner Reichstag sagte*, Leipzig, 1867.—433, 444, 445, 450

487 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 29 September 1867 which was written on his return to Hanover from the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. In this letter Kugelmann informed Marx that during the election of five German vice-presidents of the Congress (see Note 480) Karl Vogt was also nominated and that he (Kugelmann) objected giving as a reason the exposure of Vogt as a Bonapartist agent by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*. In spite of the efforts of several democrats, in particular, Ludwig Simon, Vogt was not elected vice-president of the Congress.—433, 442

488 Marx quotes from Paul Stumpf's letter to him from Mainz of 29 September 1867. In very vague terms Stumpf asked Marx to explain to him certain factors of the process of pauperisation and proletarisation of the petty bourgeoisie, artisans, etc.—434

489 The decision to abolish the office of the General Council's President was moved on Marx's initiative by John Hales and adopted at the General Council meeting of 24 September 1867. The abolition of this post, which had been permanently held since 1864 by one of the British trade union leaders, George Odger, considerably weakened the positions of the reformist wing of the International. Odger did not get any post when the appointment of officers in the Council took place. Before this William Cremer had been dismissed from the post of General Secretary. The International's Basle Congress (September 1869) approved the General Council's decision.—434, 519

490 The letter to which Marx refers was sent by Peter Fox to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva on 29 August 1867, on the eve of the Lausanne Congress, and was marked as 'personal and confidential'. Fox's reason for suggesting that
the seat of the General Council should be transferred to Geneva was that, in his opinion, guidance of the international labour movement kept the British members of the General Council away from more effective participation in the activities of the International's organisations in Britain.—434

491 The editorial in The Times, No. 25917 of 16 September 1867, dealt with the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 461). It gave an account of the speeches by Garibaldi, Quinet, Dupont, Bakunin and others, and also mentioned speech by Borkheim who, according to the newspaper, suggested 'the abolition of classes'.—435

492 The title of this article which was published in Le Courrier français, No. 113 of 8 October 1867, contains an allusion to La Fontaine's fable Les voleurs et l'âne.—438

493 In his letter to Marx of 8 October 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann offered to publish short notes about Volume One of Capital and asked for the corresponding instructions.

For Engels' efforts to popularise Volume One of Capital see Note 479.—438, 443

494 In February 1860 Marx who had started work on his pamphlet Herr Vogt wrote to Sigismund Borkheim, with whom he was not yet acquainted, asking him for any information that he could give about the so-called Brimstone Gang which existed in Geneva in 1849 and 1850 (see Note 393). Borkheim replied on 12 February and Marx used his letter in his pamphlet to expose Vogt's slanderous fabrications about proletarian revolutionaries. Ever since Marx and Borkheim had been friends.—441

495 The definition of peonage as a concealed form of slavery is given by Marx in Volume One of Capital (see the English edition of 1887, pp. 146-47 and present edition, Vol. 35).—442

496 A reference to Engels' reviews of Volume One of Marx's Capital, of which one was published with Kugelmann's help in Die Zukunft, No. 254 of 20 October 1867, Supplement (unsigned), while the other, meant for the Rheinische Zeitung, remained unpublished (see Note 523).—443, 445, 449

497 On 18 September 1867 in Manchester there was an armed assault on a police van in order to free Thomas Kelly and Michael Deasy, two Fenian leaders (see Note 257) who had been arrested after the suppression of the armed uprising of February and March 1867 organised by Fenians. Kelly and Deasy managed to escape but during a clash a police officer was killed and mass arrests followed. From 1 to 23 November a trial of the arrested Fenians was held in Manchester in the course of which false evidence and other disgraceful methods were used by the prosecution. In spite of all the efforts by the counsels for the defence, primarily by Ernest Jones, five Fenians were sentenced to death. One of them (Thomas Maguire) was subsequently pardoned; the death sentence of another (Condon), an American citizen, was commuted to life imprisonment; the other three (Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien) were hanged on 23 November.

During the investigation of the case and the trial, the General Council of the International organised, on Marx's initiative, a broad campaign of the English workers in support of the Irish national liberation movement (see this volume, pp. 460, 464).—444, 460, 463, 466, 476, 479, 483

498 There is no further evidence about the letter which Engels intended to write to Carl Siebel.—445
The Bill on Freedom of Movement and Settlement was submitted on 3 October 1867 and passed by the North German Reichstag on 22 October. This was one in the series of legislative acts that were passed by the Reichstag from 1867 to 1870 with the aim of eliminating the obstacles to capitalist development in Germany that had been inherited from the period of feudal dismemberment. On 21 October 1867 in the debates on the bill Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed to abolish certain police obstacles to freedom of movement that remained in force.—445

A reference to extradition treaties which were concluded between various states and became especially widespread in the latter half of the 19th century.—446

The German-language weekly in London How Do You Do? published abusive allusions to Marx's family connection with the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Ferdinand von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's stepbrother). On 19 August 1851 Marx went with Ferdinand Freiligrath and Wilhelm Wolff to the editorial office of the paper and demanded satisfaction of the publisher Louis Drucker and the editor Heinrich Bettziech (Beta) (see present edition, Vol. 38, p. 432).—447

A reference to the Illustrierte Familien-Kalender which had been published by A. H. Payne in Leipzig annually, since 1857. The article by Heinrich Bettziech (Beta) 'Die Deutschen in London' was published there.—447

In his letter to Marx of 20 September 1867 a German émigré in New York, A. Nahmer, offered to translate into English Volume One of Capital. Marx asked some of his friends if they knew anything about Nahmer but none of them did, so he did not reply.—447, 450

In his letter of 8 October 1867 Wilhelm Liebknecht informed Marx that he and another Reichstag deputy, Reincke, intended to table the proposal that a commission should be appointed for inquiry into the workers' condition in Prussia. To substantiate this proposal Liebknecht wanted to acquaint himself with the powers of similar commissions in England and asked Marx to send him the relevant legislative acts.

Marx sent him the following acts: An Act for Facilitating in Certain Cases the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to make Inquiry respecting Trades Unions and other Associations of Employers or Workmen which had been passed by the British Parliament on 5 April 1867, and An Act to Extend the 'Trades Union Commission Act, 1867' which had been passed on 12 August 1867.—448, 456, 489

A reference to the letter that Ludwig Kugelmann wanted to send to Sigismund Borkheim. Kugelmann wrote about this to Marx on 13 October 1867 asking for Marx's opinion of his intention to persuade Borkheim to refrain from extensively advertising his published speech at the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom since Marx's opponents claimed that Marx was the virtual author of this speech, which could damage his prestige as a serious researcher and the author of Volume One of Capital.—449

In his letter of 7 October 1867 addressed to Jenny Marx, Johann Philipp Becker told Marx about his strained circumstances, which was why he contemplated giving up his post as Chairman of the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Geneva and leaving the Vorbote editorial board.
With the help of his friends Becker managed to cope with the difficulties and continue his public activity.—450

On 14 October 1867, in the discussion in the North German Reichstag of the bill on the abrogation of the anti-coalition legislation which had been submitted by Schulze-Delitzsch, Schweitzer made a long demagogical speech. Although he did support the bill, he held a Lassallian stance denying the importance of strikes and coalitions in the workers' struggle against capitalist exploitation. He also made an attempt to expound some tenets of Marx's political economy but he did so in a primitive and distorted way. A report on Schweitzer's speech was published in Der Social-Demokrat, Nos. 122 and 123 of 16 and 18 October 1867.—450

The reference is probably to clippings from the Hermann which carried reports of the London committee for raising money for Freiligrath (see Note 422), in particular from the final address of the committee published in No. 459 of 19 October 1867. On this clipping which has been preserved among his papers Marx wrote saying widespread in the Rhineland: 'If that's not champion drivel, I don't know what is.'—454

Engels wrote the review of Volume One of Marx's Capital for The Fortnightly Review much later, in May and June 1868. As can be seen from their subsequent correspondence, Marx and Engels exchanged opinions several times on the content and form of the article.

In spite of Professor Beesly's request, the review was rejected by the editorial board and has only been preserved in manuscript form (see present edition, Vol. 20).—455, 457, 463, 466, 512, 516, 518, 524, 526, 532, 533, 545, 555, 560, 583

In his letter to Marx of 14 October 1867 Eccarius told him that he and his family were hard-up. For his active work for the International he had been black-listed by his employers and was out of work.

For Becker's difficult financial circumstances see Note 506.—455

On 26 May 1849, in the discussion of the drafts for an Appeal to the German people in the Frankfurt National Assembly, W. Wolff made a vivid speech exposing the enemies of the revolution and the indefinite conciliatory stand of the liberals and moderate democrats. He described the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, as the betrayer of the people. The chairman hurriedly called him to order.—456

On 17 October 1867, during a discussion of the conscription bill in the North German Reichstag, Liebknecht, Bebel and others proposed that the standing armies should be abolished and the arming of the people substituted for them. In his speech Liebknecht described the North German Reichstag as 'the fig-leaf of absolutism'.

In the course of a discussion of the coalition bill in the North German Reichstag on 19 October 1867 (see Note 507), Liebknecht, Bebel and others submitted an amendment to Section 2 of the bill which would entitle the employer to hire workers of any trade and in any numbers; the amendment also proposed that Section 2 should not abrogate the laws on the limitation and protection of child labour at factories. The amendment was adopted by the Reichstag.—456

After Venetia was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1866, the unification of the country would be completed if the Papal States were to be incorporated.
Garibaldi was the initiator of the struggle for their annexation. At first Victor Emmanuel's government turned a blind eye to his preparations for a march on Rome, but it suddenly arrested Garibaldi on the eve of the march. However, his volunteers did invade the Papal States and the patriots in Rome began to prepare an uprising against the Pope. On 18 October 1867, the government of Napoleon III promised its assistance to Pius IX and with this aim in view began to prepare an expeditionary corps to be sent to Italy. When Garibaldi (he escaped from under arrest on 14 October) and his men were on the approaches to Rome, the French corps sailed off for Italy and on 30 October marched into Rome. It was only with the help of the French interventionist forces that the Papal army was able to defeat Garibaldi's volunteers at Mentana on 3 November 1867. The Roman question remained unsettled till 1870.— 457, 459, 468, 496

514 The *laws of primogeniture and entail*—feudal inheritance laws that were still in force in Britain in the 19th century. In accordance with them, the title and land were to be inherited by the elder son without the right of alienation.— 458

515 A reference to the letter to Marx from the secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 150) Carl Speyer of 6 October 1867. Speyer thanked Marx, on behalf of the society, for sending Volume One of *Capital*.— 459

516 Atheistic societies of freethinkers became very active in Britain in the 1860s. Considerable influence on this movement was exercised by Charles Bradlaugh and other bourgeois radicals who grouped round *The National Reformer* and disseminated reformist ideas among the workers. In October 1867 a group of freethinkers, who thought the influence of Bradlaugh and those who were close to him burdensome, decided to convoké a conference in order to create a Central Association of Freethinkers for purely atheistic propaganda. Marx was also invited to join the preparatory committee for the conference but he declined the proposal.— 459


518 The Franco-Italian agreement of 15 September 1864 guaranteed the inviolability of the Papal States and envisaged the withdrawal of the French forces brought there during the revolution of 1848-49 in Italy. In the autumn of 1867, when Garibaldi's detachments invaded the Papal States (see Note 513), secret negotiations for a revision of the September 1864 agreement began between the Kingdom of Italy and France, which, however, came to nothing. In connection with these negotiations Bismarck gave instructions in October 1867 to the Prussian ambassador to Florence, Count of Usedom, ordering him to maintain an observer's attitude in the Franco-Italian conflict and mark time.— 460, 466

519 Marx is referring to the meeting between Napoleon III and Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in Salzburg on 18 August 1867. Napoleon III tried to negotiate an agreement with Austria directed against Prussia and Russia. However, due to the mutual distrust of the parties and Austria's unwillingness to get into a new conflict with Prussia, the agreement was not concluded.— 460

520 A reference to the letter which was written by Dupanloup on 15 September 1867, on the anniversary of the Franco-Italian agreement of 15 September
1864, guaranteeing the inviolability of the Papal States to the Italian Prime Minister Rattazzi calling upon him to fight Garibaldi's movement for their annexation to Italy. In a few days the letter was published in *La Gazette de France* and soon afterwards as a separate booklet entitled *Lettre à M. Rattazzi, président du conseil des ministres du roi d'Italie, sur les entreprises de Garibaldi*, Paris, 1867.—460

521 The meeting of the Reform League's Council (see Note 155) on 23 October 1867 discussed a letter of the Chairman of the League, Edmond Beales in which he vigorously condemned the Fenian movement. George Odger and Benjamin Lucyraft, trade union leaders and members of the League's Council, objected to its publication and sympathised with the Irish liberation movement. This was the effect of the internationalist influence exercised by Marx and his close followers in the General Council of the International on trade union leaders. However, at subsequent meetings of the League's Council, those on 30 October and 1 November, Odger and Lucyraft, under pressure from bourgeois radicals, renounced their former stance announcing that they had been misunderstood.—460

522 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—461, 463, 467, 474, 483, 505, 549

523 It is obvious from Kugelmann's correspondence as well as from Engels' letters to Marx of 10 November and 12 December (see this volume, pp. 470, 498) that Kugelmann sent this second review of Volume One of *Capital* to Heinrich Bürgers, a former member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Bürgers refused to publish it saying in his reply to Kugelmann of 4 November 1867 that, in his opinion, this work was purely academic and unfit for practical purposes of agitation. Bürgers believed that the level of the workers' consciousness was quite low and that therefore they were unable to understand *Capital*; he also disputed the idea expressed in the review by Engels that *Capital* would become the 'theoretical Bible' of the Social-Democratic Party.—462, 469, 471

524 On 1 November 1867, Moustier, the Foreign Minister of France, sent the Italian government a Note to the effect that the French government could by no means agree to the Italian intervention in the Papal States. On 4 November the French newspaper *La Presse* carried a report claiming that Napoleon III had given an ultimatum to the Italian government demanding the withdrawal of its troops from the Papal States. However, next day the report was refuted.—462

525 On All Saints' Day, 1 November 1867, a demonstration of supporters of Italy's independence and French republicans took place at Montmartre Cemetery in Paris. Wreaths were laid on the graves of the Italian patriot Daniele Manin and the French republican Godefroy Cavaignac. The police arrested some of the demonstrators.—462

526 A reference to the joint statement which was made by Russia, France, Prussia and Italy and sent to the Turkish government on 29 October 1867. The statement called upon Turkey to put an end to the violence against the population of Crete perpetrated by the Turkish troops who were suppressing the national liberation uprising (see also Note 460).—465

527 This note by Marx and the postscript from his daughter Laura were written on Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 6 November 1867.—470
In looking for ways to publish reviews of Volume One of Marx's *Capital*, Ludwig Kugelmann applied for help to the lawyer Ernst Warnebold who, as it turned out later, was one of Bismarck's informers, and the National-Liberal Johannes Miquel; both of them were prejudiced against proletarian revolutionaries.—471, 482

Engels' review of Volume One of *Capital* which was written for the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* has not been found.

The review for the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, was published unsigned, with Carl Siebel’s assistance, in No. 316 of 16 November 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—471, 529, 532, 534, 536, 537

The *Barmer Zeitung* of 6 December 1867 carried a short review by Carl Siebel of Volume One of *Capital*, signed ‘S’. Engels' review, which he had given to Siebel, was sent by Siebel, judging by his letter to Engels of 13 November 1867, not to the *Barmer Zeitung* but to the *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung* in Duisburg. Its text has not been found.—471

The original of this letter, which was written by Marx on the copy of Volume One of *Capital* that he presented to Carl Siebel, is now not in the possession of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.—472

A reference to the letter to Marx, dated 24 October 1867, from Joseph Dietzgen, a German self-taught philosopher then living in St. Petersburg and working at a tannery. He spoke highly of Marx’s merits both before science and the working class and wrote about the deep impression Volume One of *Capital* had made on him and about his acquaintance with some of the earlier works by Marx, particularly *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. In his letter Dietzgen also outlined the basis of his own materialist world outlook. The letter was the beginning of a friendship between its author and Marx and Engels.

From Solingen Marx received a letter from Karl Klein dated 8 November 1867; he informed Marx about the activities of the local section of the International.—473, 497

On 16 October 1859 John Brown, a fighter for the emancipation of the Negroes in the United States, made an attempt to start a slave uprising. With a small detachment of his supporters he captured the state armoury in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown’s attempt to engage more people in the uprising failed. Almost all the participants in the uprising (22 people, five of whom were Negroes) who put up a stiff resistance to the government forces were killed. Brown and five of his comrades were executed.—474

In 1840, during an abortive attempt to carry out a coup d'état in Boulogne, Louis Bonaparte shot and wounded a government army officer.—474

Enclosed with his letter of 19 November 1867, Otto Meissner sent Marx two clippings (from unidentified newspapers) with new notices on the publication of Volume One of *Capital*. One of the notices enumerated the main points of the volume, the other gave an excerpt from Engels’ review of Volume One that had been published in *Die Zukunft*, No. 254 (Supplement) of 30 October 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—475

The first notice by Otto Meissner on the publication of Volume One of Marx’s *Capital* was published in the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige*, No. 214 of 14 September 1867. Meissner’s notice about Engels’ pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German
Appended to the pamphlet containing Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech in the North German Reichstag on 30 September 1867 (see Note 486) was a report of his speeches before workers in Berlin on 14 and 15 October which had been published in Die Zukunft, No. 242 (Supplement) of 16 October 1867. In these speeches Liebknecht said that to put forward the social question in the given situation was inexpedient because premature attempts to solve it could, in his opinion, only serve to strengthen the absolute monarchy and delay the victory of socialist principles.

In his letter to Marx of 23 November 1867, Ludwig Kugelmann criticised Liebknecht's point of view, emphasising that in practice this would give such people as the Lassallean Schweitzer and the conservative Wagener complete control over the social issue and the possibility of using it for demagogical aims.—477, 479, 488, 492, 499

A reference to the German workers' newspaper Demokratisches Wochenblatt which appeared in Leipzig from January 1868 and was edited by Liebknecht. Initially the newspaper was to some extent influenced by the petty-bourgeois People's Party; however, thanks to the assistance given it by Marx and Engels it soon came to play an active part in the development of the proletarian movement in Germany, spreading the ideas of the International and promoting the preparations for forming the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—477, 479, 484

In his letter to Marx of 27 November 1867, Victor Schily informed him about Moses Hess' favourable opinion of Capital and the latter's intention to write an article about it for Le Courrier français. Schily also wrote about Hess' offer to translate, together with Elysée Reclus, Volume One of Capital into French and to publish it. Marx who attached great importance to the publication of Capital in French and saw this in particular as an important weapon against the influence of Proudhon's delusions (see this volume, p. 368) did not object to Reclus' participation in the French edition. However, the discussion which lasted for almost three years came to nothing. Later on, when it became clear that Reclus was one of the leaders of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy, he could no longer be considered as a suitable translator of Capital. The translation of Capital into French which had been done by Joseph Roy and edited by Marx himself was published in Paris in 1872-75 by instalments.—478, 483, 488, 490, 528, 532, 533, 580

This was written by Marx on Kugelmann's letter to Engels of 25 November 1867.—482

The letter was published in English for the first time in the Labour Monthly, No. 11, London, 1932.—484

A reference to the address entitled 'The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association' which was written by Marx and approved by the special meeting of the General Council on 20 November 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 21). The document which was sent to the Home Secretary Gathorne-Hardy became an important part of the campaign organised by Marx in the autumn of 1867, for solidarity of the English workers with the Irish national liberation movement. The immediate aim of the address was to prevent the execution of the Fenians on whom the Manchester court had passed the death penalty (see Note 497).—485
At the meeting of the International's General Council of 5 November 1867 Peter Fox announced his intention of leaving his post as corresponding secretary for America and take a paid job at The Bee-Hive Newspaper. Hermann Jung, chairman of the meeting, condemned Fox's intention. Fox sent a letter to the next meeting which was held on 12 November reaffirming his resignation and accusing Jung of his alleged wish to remove Englishmen from the Council. All those present at the meeting supported Jung.—485

The draft resolution that had been proposed by Peter Fox read: 'That this meeting desires that a settled peace and amity between the British and the Irish nations should be substituted for the war of seven hundred years between Englishry and Irishry; and with a view to that end this meeting exhorts the friends of Irish nationality to bring their cause before the British people and advises the latter to accord an unprejudiced hearing to the arguments advanced on behalf of Ireland's right to autonomy' (The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 181). The draft was referred to the Standing Committee for consideration and for that reason it had not been adopted by the General Council.—486

The Corn Laws, which imposed high import duties for corn in Great Britain and which had been introduced in order to meet the interests of large landowners, were repealed in 1846.

From 1845 to 1847 a grievous famine blighted Ireland due to the ruin of farms and the pauperisation of the peasants, who were cruelly exploited by the English landlords. This had been caused by the almost total failure of the potato crop (potatoes were the principal diet of the Irish peasants). About a million people starved to death and the new wave of emigration caused by the famine carried away another million. As a result, large districts of Ireland were depopulated and the abandoned land was turned into pastures by the Irish and English landlords.—486

In 1849 Parliament passed the Encumbered Estates Act for Ireland, which was supplemented with a series of other acts in 1852 and 1853. The Act of 1849 provided for the sale of mortgaged estates by auction if their owners were proved to be insolvent. As a result, the estates of many ruined landlords passed into the hands of usurers, middlemen and rich tenants.—486

The reference is probably to the speech by Thomas Francis Meagher at a meeting in Dublin convoked on 15 March 1848 by the Irish Confederation. He said: 'If you do not give us a parliament in which to state our wrongs and grievances, we shall state them by arms and force.'—486

The upsurge of the Irish national movement caused by Britain's defeat in the War of Independence of the American colonies, forced the British Parliament in 1782 to pass an act which abolished the right of the British Parliament to pass laws for Ireland and granted this right to the Irish Parliament. The act was once more confirmed in 1783 in the form of a new 'Renunciation Act', which meant Irish autonomy in legislation. However, after the Irish national liberation rising of 1798 had been suppressed, the British government virtually nullified these concessions to Ireland by imposing on it a union with England. The Act of Union which came into force on 1 January 1801 put an end to the remnants of Irish autonomy and abolished the Irish Parliament. One of its consequences was the abolition of the protective tariffs for the emerging Irish industry which had been introduced by the Irish Parliament in the late 18th century; this led to a total decline of the national industry.—486
Marx apparently did not make a speech on the Irish question in the General Council as planned. In December 1867, the Council met twice, on the 17th and 31st, and from January 1868, illness prevented Marx from attending the Council meetings for several months. His view of the Irish question, which reflected the position of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the General Council, was set forth in the detailed report he made on 16 December in the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see present edition, Vol. 21).—487

A reference to the sections of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*. They are given as chapters VIII, XI, XII, XIII and XXIV in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume, and as chapters X, XIII, XIV, XV and XXVI in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—490

A reference to Ludwig Kugelmann's letters to Marx of 23 November and to Engels of 25 November (with enclosed reprints of Kugelmann's note on Volume One of *Capital* in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*) and of 30 November 1867, and to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 26 November 1867. In seeking to persuade German economists and philosophers to respond to Marx's book, Kugelmann sent reprints of his own and Engels' (from *Die Zukunft*) reviews of it to Faucher, Schulze-Delitzsch, Dühring, Roscher, Hildebrand and Rau, about which he told Marx in his letter of 23 November 1867.—492

Engels' letter to Liebknecht mentioned here has not been found. In his reply to this letter of 11 December 1867, Liebknecht said that he agreed with Engels' remarks on the policy pursued by the working-class representatives in Germany but that he had a different opinion on individual practical questions of agitation. In particular, he explained the reason for the address that he and Bebel had sent to the Vienna City Council by their confidence that Austria was on the eve of a revolution ('She has to experience her own 1789'), which was to have an impact on the whole of Germany.—492, 499, 503, 504

On 4 November 1867 Adelaide Macdonald who supported the Fenians made an attempt on the life of a policeman guarding the house of a witness at the Fenian trial in Manchester (see Note 497) who had given evidence against William Allen. She was arrested, put on trial and sentenced to five years' penal servitude.—492

With his letter to Marx of 3 December 1867 Ludwig Kugelmann enclosed his correspondence with Heinrich Bürgers (see Note 523).—493, 498

Engels fully accepted the draft of a review of Volume One of *Capital* for *Der Beobachter* that is being set out here by Marx and also used this letter in writing the review. The review was then published, with Kugelmann's assistance, in *Der Beobachter*, No. 303 of 27 December 1867, unsigned (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The passage Marx mentions here is in a special additional note to Section 1 of Chapter VI in the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, at the end of the book. Marx deleted this note when preparing the second German edition (1872).—494

In his letter to Marx of 26 November 1867, Wilhelm Liebknecht told him that he had the opportunity to make use of several German newspapers such as *Die Zukunft*, *Volkszeitung* (Hanover), *Oberrheinischer Courier* (Freiburg im Breisgau), *Neue Baseler Zeitung*, *Correspondent* (Leipzig), *Süddeutsche Presse* and *Deutsche Arbeiterhalle* (Mannheim).—495
A reference to No. 139 of *Der Social-Demokrat* of 29 November 1867 with its two supplements which carried a detailed report about the general meeting of the General Association of German Workers on 24 November 1867. Among the speakers was one of the publishers of *Der Social-Demokrat*, the Lassallean J. B. von Hofstetten, who included in his speech passages from *Capital* distorting their meaning and naming neither the work nor its author. Marx responded to this with an article, 'Plagiarism', which was published unsigned in *Die Zukunft*, No. 291 (Supplement) of 12 December 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20).

The mentioned letter of Marx to Guido Weiß, the editor of *Die Zukunft*, has not been found.—495, 496

A reference to Section 4 of Chapter III of the first edition of Volume One of *Capital*. It is given as Chapter VIII of Part III in the second and subsequent German editions and Chapter X of the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—495

In his letter to Marx of 1 December 1867, Kugelmann asked whether Borkheim could make arrangements through his friend Lothar Bucher for the publication of Engels' review of Volume One of *Capital* in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Since the newspaper was a semi-official mouthpiece of the Bismarck government, Kugelmann's offer was unacceptable to Marx and Engels.—497, 498

In his letter to Engels of 30 November 1867, Kugelmann asked him to write several reviews of Volume One of *Capital* by Marx. Kugelmann was going to arrange for their publication with the help of Lieutenant-Colonel Seubert, a writer and an official of the Württemberg War Ministry, to whose daughter he was giving treatment. Seubert promised his assistance in getting the reviews published in such newspapers as *Der Beobachter*, *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg* and *Schwäbischer Merkur*. For the first two Engels wrote reviews.—499, 510, 512

A reference to a legal action of the Schulze & Siebenmark firm against a woman home-worker accused of concealing wool. During the trial which took place in Berlin late in 1867, the employers' shady practices were brought to light: they provided their home-workers with dampened wool that lost weight while being processed, for which the workers were heavily fined by the firm. The case was given great publicity.—501

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the *Labour Monthly*, No. 11, London, 1932.—501, 504

On 13 December 1867 a group of Fenians caused an explosion in Clerkenwell Prison in London, their aim being to free the imprisoned Fenian leaders. The attempt failed, but the blast destroyed several neighbouring houses, a few people were killed and over a hundred wounded. The British bourgeois press took advantage of this to spread slanderous fabrications about the Irish national liberation movement and whip up chauvinistic anti-Irish sentiments among the English population.—501, 505

In his letter to Engels of 10 December 1867, Carl Siebel suggested that Otto Meissner should present Friedrich Albert Lange, a well-known philosopher, sociologist and democrat, with a copy of Volume One of *Capital* by Marx.—502

A reference to Marx's report on the Irish question which he made on 16 December 1867 at a meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in...
London (see Note 150); the meeting was also attended by members of other workers' societies of London as well as some members of the General Council. A detailed outline of the report which was written by Marx and a brief handwritten record of it by Eccarius (see present edition, Vol. 21) have come down to us. — 504

The *Customs Union Parliament* was the guiding body of the Customs Union which was reorganised after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the signing of a treaty between Prussia and South German states on 8 July 1867. The parliament consisted of members of the North German Confederation's Reichstag and specially elected deputies from the South German states— Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. It was to deal exclusively with problems of trade and customs policy; Bismarck's attempts to widen its jurisdiction met with the stubborn resistance of South German representatives.— 505

On 6 December 1867 the Bismarck government submitted to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies draft treaties of compensation to be made to the King of Hanover and the Duke of Nassau whose possessions were annexed by Prussia after the 1866 Austro-Prussian war. In order to gain support from the Chamber, the government dismissed the unpopular Minister of Justice Lippe who had given Bismarck active help in carrying out his anti-constitutional measures, and appointed in his place Gerhardt Leonhardt, the former Minister of Justice for Hanover. Bismarck's calculations proved correct: the Prussian Chamber of Deputies approved the compensation treaties, thus sanctioning annexation of Hanover and Nassau.— 506

A reference to Engels' reviews of *Volume One of Capital*. Engels intended to send them to Meissner so that he could compose and publish an advertisement of Marx's work.— 507, 509

Ground rent is dealt with in *Volume Three of Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).— 508

A reference to Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of 23 December 1867 in which she thanked him for the wine he had sent them for Christmas and informed him about the state of Marx's health. She also told Engels about the popularisation of *Volume One of Capital* in Germany and about his reviews which played an important role in this campaign.— 508

On 13 November 1867 Carl Siebel wrote to Engels that he had sent Engels' review, which had formerly been intended for publication in the *Barmer Zeitung*, to another newspaper, whereas he had sent to the *Barmer Zeitung* a short item on the subject that he had written himself (see Note 530). In another letter to Engels on 20 December 1867 Siebel enclosed a clipping from the *Barmer Zeitung* with his item, published on 6 December 1867.

In both letters Siebel suggested that the publication of a review of *Volume One of Capital* should be arranged in the *Kölische Zeitung* with Meissner's assistance; he also named one of the contributors to the paper as a possible author of the review.— 509

As Jenny Marx told Engels in her letter of 23 December 1867, the Lassallean J. B. von Hofstetten's answer to the article 'Plagiarism' (see Note 557) appeared in *Die Zukunft* on 18 December. Since 'Plagiarism' had been published anonymously, Hofstetten did not suspect that it had been written by Marx himself and ascribed the authorship to Liebknecht.— 509, 529
In a letter addressed to Marx’s daughter Jenny of 3 January 1868, Liebknecht said that he would like to ask Marx what he thought of his possible removal from Leipzig to Vienna.—512

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in the Labour Monthly, Vol. 5, No. 3, London, 1923.—514

A reference to the section ‘The So-Called Primitive Accumulation’ of Chapter VI of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital. This section is given as Chapter XXIV, Part VII of the second and subsequent German editions and Chapter XXVI, Part VIII of the English edition of 1887 (present edition, Vol. 35).—514

A reference to the prospects for the distribution of Volume One of Capital in Austria, where an upsurge of the labour and national movement made itself clear in those years. This had been caused by the crisis of the Austrian absolute monarchy aggravated by the defeat of the Habsburgs in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This situation compelled Austria’s ruling circles to reorganise in 1867 the empire into the dual state of Austria-Hungary and introduce a constitution which guaranteed certain bourgeois freedoms and provided for bourgeois reforms.—515

A reference to the help Marx gave Liebknecht when he was the London correspondent of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, i.e. from 1855 until 1862, when he moved to Berlin.—515

After his return from London to Germany in 1862, Wilhelm Liebknecht was at one time a member of the editorial board of the Berlin Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Initially this was an opposition newspaper but after the formation of Bismarck’s government it began to turn into its mouthpiece. When Liebknecht realised this, he left the newspaper.—516

Among the papers seized by the French police during the searches in the homes of members of the Paris Administration of the sections of the International late in 1867 was a letter to Murat, a member of the Paris Administration, from Eugène Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for France, of 23 November 1867. The letter informed the French members of the International about the campaign in support of the Fenian prisoners (see Note 542). The French authorities tried to use this letter to accuse the International of complicity in a Fenian plot. At a trial of the Paris Administration members which took place in March 1868, they were accused of forming an association without the sanction of the authorities. The court declared the Paris Section of the International disbanded and fined the Paris Administration members.—516, 520

A reference to the numerous articles by Engels in which he analysed the military operations during the siege and defence of Sevastopol and which were amongst his reports on the Crimean war of 1853-56 (present edition, vols 12-14), and to the series of articles he wrote about the progress of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, ‘Notes on the War in Germany’ (see present edition, Vol. 20).—517

The expression ‘treat like a dead dog’ was first used by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing to describe the attitude of some of his contemporaries to Spinoza’s philosophy. Hegel mentioned it in the Foreword to the second edition of his Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.—520
582 Forestalling the General Council one of whose duties was to prepare the annual congresses of the International, the Paris Administration published in Le Courrier français on 11 December 1867 the programme for the next congress to be held in Brussels. This programme which was markedly Proudhonist in character would take away the congress’ attention from urgent issues of the working-class organisation.

At the General Council meeting of 21 January 1868 the agenda of the Brussels Congress was approved. In spite of the efforts of the Proudhonists, this programme outlined the ways of further consolidating the international workers' organisation on the platform of proletarian socialism.—520

583 Marx was in Berlin from 17 March to 12 April 1861; he discussed starting a joint newspaper in Germany with Lassalle; he also made unsuccessful efforts to restore his Prussian citizenship (see Note 154).—520, 531

584 A reference to the moderate liberal interpretation of the popular demand for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 which deprived Ireland of the right to have an autonomous parliament (see Note 548). Some of the leaders of the Association of Repealers (i.e. supporters of the abolition of the Union), which had been founded in 1840, such as D. O'Connell regarded agitation for this demand merely as a means to obtain individual privileges for the Irish propertied classes from the British government; they wanted Ireland to be a country with limited self-government within the United Kingdom. A similar stand was taken by their successors, the liberal wing of the Irish national movement in the 1850s and 1860s, in contrast to the Irish radicals—the Fenians—who sought to establish true independence for their country.—521

585 A reference to a copy of a bust of Zeus from Ogricoli which was presented to Marx by Kugelmann.—521, 578

586 A reference to the letter to Engels from Liebknecht of 20 January 1868, in which Liebknecht told Engels that, while sharing his critical attitude towards the petty-bourgeois South-German People’s Party and the League of Peace and Freedom, he nevertheless did not believe it possible to break with them for tactical reasons. Liebknecht also informed Engels about the steps he had taken for the popularisation of Volume One of Capital.—525, 527

587 Engels’ project was not fulfilled.—526

588 A reference to the letter from Kugelmann to Marx of 17-18 January 1868 with which a letter was enclosed to Marx from a Hungarian writer, Károly Márié Kertbény. In his letter Kugelmann said that Kertbény had seen him in Hanover and showed an interest in the members of the revolutionary movement. Kugelmann asked Marx to tell him what he thought of Kertbény and also to receive a young banker from Hanover, Karl Coppé, who was going to London. Judging by the letter from Kertbény to Marx of 17 January 1868, he wanted to publish in the Leipzig Illustrierte Zeitung a short biographical note about Marx and a portrait of him on the occasion of the release of Volume One of Capital. Kertbény discovered this portrait by chance in the studio of a photographer in Hanover and asked Marx to send biographical details. Kertbény’s project was not fulfilled.—527, 529, 531, 533, 536

589 This quotation from The Saturday Review given in English was partly used by Marx in the afterword to the second German edition of Volume One of Capital which appeared in 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—529
The details from Marx's biography enclosed with this letter are being given according to the copy in Kugelman's hand.—530

A reference to the lectures Marx delivered in the latter half of December 1847 at meetings of the German Workers' Society in Brussels. Early in 1848 he made an attempt to publish in Brussels a work that he had written on the basis of these lectures but was unable to do this because of his expulsion from the country. This work was first published in part as editorials in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung on 5-8 and 11 April 1849 under the general heading of Wage Labour and Capital (see present edition, Vol. 9). The publication of the editorials was first interrupted by Marx's temporary departure from Cologne and later because the newspaper ceased to exist.

The German Workers' Society was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847 in Brussels, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and the spread of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legally sanctioned centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium. Its best activists were members of the Communist League. It ceased to exist soon after the February revolution of 1848 in France when the Belgian police arrested and banished many of its members.—530

Marx's pamphlet Lord Palmerston (see present edition, Vol. 12) was first published as a series of articles in The People's Paper, Nos. 77-81, 84-86 of 22 and 29 October, 5, 12 and 19 November and 10, 17 and 24 December 1853, signed by Dr Marx; in part it was published as editorials in the New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 3902, 3916, 3930 and 3973 of 19 October, 4 and 21 November 1853 and 11 January 1854.

Some articles of this series were published in London in 1853 and 1854 in pamphlet form under the headings: Palmerston and Russia and Palmerston and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessy.—531


For the articles by Marx and Engels that were published in the New American Cyclopaedia in 1857-60 see present edition, Vol. 18.—531

A reference to Chapter III ('The Production of Absolute Surplus-Value') of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital. It is given as Part III in the second and subsequent German editions of Volume One and in the English edition of 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—533

A reference to the article 'Das Preußische und das Schweizer Heersystem' published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 2 of 11 January 1868. It was based on a series of articles by Karl Grün, 'Armées permanentes ou milices', that had been printed in Les États-Unis d'Europe at the beginning of 1868; the fourth article of the series (published in No. 7 of 16 February) dealt with the South German military system.—534, 540

A reference to the territories annexed by Prussia as a result of its victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 365).—534, 555
This letter is written on a form with the letterhead: 'Memorandum from Ermen & Engels to M'. Engels crossed out the words 'Ermen &' and filled in 'Mr Mohr' as the addressee.—537

In his letter to Marx on 26 January 1868 from Saint Louis Hermann Meyer told him about the death of Louise Weydemeyer, Joseph Weydemeyer's widow.—537

It is not known what happened to this article by Engels (the reference is probably to a review of Volume One of *Capital*).—537

A reference to the conversation between Bismarck and Karl Schurz, a German émigré in the United States who had taken part in the Civil War of 1861-65 and the editor of the newspaper *Die Westliche Post*, in January 1868 in Berlin. Schurz assured Bismarck that Napoleon III did not enjoy any popularity in America, and should Germany be drawn into a war with France, the United States would not support him. Marx and Engels satirised the earlier period of Schurz' activity in their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).—537

A reference to the forthcoming marriage between Marx's daughter Laura and Paul Lafargue, whose parents lived in Bordeaux; the wedding was in the early April 1868.—538, 544, 548, 551

At Marx's request, Engels wrote a detailed review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* in the first half of March; it was published in it unsigned, as two articles, in Nos. 12 and 13 of 21 and 28 March 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—539, 540, 542

A reference to an article by Moses Hess about Volume One of *Capital* which he had started as early as November 1867 and intended to publish in the French press (see Note 539). In 1868 for several months, he made attempts to publish it in various papers, including *Le Courrier français* and *Morale indépendante*. Its further fate is unknown.—542

A reference to newspaper reports of lectures 'The Causes of Modern Trade Crises' read by Wilhelm Eichhoff from February to May 1868 in Berlin. These reports were published in *Die Zukunft* and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. In his lectures Eichhoff quoted from Marx's *Capital* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—542, 545

A reference to a report in *The Times* of 3 March 1868 that the Russian government had instructed its representatives in Turkey and in the Balkans to make every effort to refrain from conflicts with Turkey.—545

Engels sent Marx a letter from an Austrian journalist, W. Angerstein, dated 9 March 1868, in which he invited Engels to become a correspondent of a new workers' newspaper. On 11 March 1868, Angerstein sent a similar letter to Marx whom he invited to contribute to the Viennese newspapers *Telegraph* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.—546, 548

Engels' letter to Liebknecht has not been found. From Liebknecht's reply of 29 March 1868 it follows that his friends and he readily took Engels' advice to use *Capital* as a basis for the proletarian stance vis-à-vis a new crafts and manufactures code that was being prepared (the same was recommended in his review of Volume One of *Capital* for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*). When, in the spring of 1869, the North German Reichstag began to discuss the code bill, August Bebel and other working-class deputies, following Engels' advice,
Notes

resolutely criticised the bill and demanded that several amendments should be introduced into it that would meet the interests of the working class such as a ten-hour working day, the abolition of work on Sundays, the introduction of a factory inspectorate and the workers' right to coalitions. Although all these amendments were rejected by the bourgeois and Junker majority of the Reichstag, the speeches of the working-class deputies on this issue played an important part to unite the revolutionary efforts of the German proletariat.—546

608 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Karl Marx, Pre-capitalist Economic Formations, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1964.—547

609 This standpoint was expressed by Marx in 1859 in his A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (see present edition, Vol. 29) and also in Volume One of Capital (Vol. 35).—547

610 On 13 March 1868 Sigismund Borkheim informed Marx about Dühring's new book, Die Schicksale meiner socialen Denkschrift für das preussische Staatsministerium, in which he accused Hermann Wagner of plagiarism.—548

611 A reference to Article 11 of the French law on the press a draft of which was submitted to the Corps législatif by a group of deputies. Jean Dollfus included, on 11 February 1868. It was passed on 6 March 1868 and read as follows: 'Any publication in a periodical that may concern a fact of private life shall be an offence which shall be punished with a fine of 500 francs.'—550, 553

612 The publisher of The Irishman, Richard Pigott, and the owner of The Weekly News, Alexander Sullivan, were sentenced in 1867 and 1868 to various terms of imprisonment for the publication of articles in defence of the Fenians.—550

613 This is a quotation from the first German edition of Volume One of Capital (pp. 255 and 565 in the English edition of 1887).—552

614 A reference to the medical school at St Bartholomew's Hospital in London.—553

615 Marx gives below an excerpt from Lex Baiuvariorum, X, 18—the code of common law of the Germanic tribe of Bavars, dating back to the 8th century.—553

616 Leges barbarorum (laws of the barbarians)—written records of the customary law of various Germanic tribes compiled between the 5th and 9th centuries.—558

617 Engels came to see Marx in London on 1 April 1868 in order to be present at the wedding of Paul Lafargue and Laura Marx; he stayed there till 5 April.—560

618 Straubingers—German travelling journeymen. Marx and Engels applied the name ironically to some participants in the German working-class movement of the time who were connected with guild-based production and displayed petty-bourgeois sectarian tendencies. The reference here is to the members of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.—566

619 In his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of 28 April 1862 Marx entirely denied the slanderous rumours which had been repeated by Lassalle besmirching the reputation of Johann Philipp Becker, and described him as 'one of the noblest German revolutionaries' (see present edition, Vol. 41, p. 356).—567
Confessions—semi-jocular questionnaires that were very popular in England in the 1860s. Filling such questionnaires became a favourite pastime in many families, including Marx's, in which relatives and friends participated. A number of versions of Confessions belonging to Marx came down to us. In this volume an early version is published which dates back to the spring of 1865 when Marx stayed with his uncle Lion Philips in Zalt Bommel (Holland). It is somewhat different from the other two versions: the handwritten one included in the album of his daughter Jenny (a facsimile of it is published in this volume) and the one written in Laura Marx's hand. The latter version partly coincides with the one that is being published here and partly with the one in Jenny's album, except for the answer to the question: 'Your favourite flower—Laurel' (instead of 'Daphne').

Major divergencies between the version published here and the one in Jenny's album are given in the footnotes.—567

A substantial extract from this letter was published by Johann Philipp Becker in Der Vorbote, Jg. 1, No. 2 of February 1866 (present edition, Vol. 20).—568


Jenny Marx is recalling the meeting to celebrate an anniversary of the International that was held on 28 September 1865. Marx was present at it with his daughters. Speeches alternated with musical performances, singing and dancing.—571

A reference to Jenny Marx's last trip to Trier in 1856 when she went to see her dying mother. Then she stayed in Germany from 22 May to approximately 10 September 1856.—579

A reference to the letter to Marx from Card (Jósef Cwierczakiewicz) of 10 January 1868 in which he offered to translate Capital into French (see this volume, p. 528).—580

This is an allusion to the explosion in Clerkenwell Prison in London which was caused by a group of supporters of the Fenian prisoners in order to free them on 13 December 1867 and also to the hanging of three Fenians in Manchester on 23 November 1867 who had been captured in an armed assault on a police van in order to release the arrested Fenian leaders (see Notes 563 and 497).—582
NAME INDEX

A

Abercorn, James Hamilton, Duke of (1811-1885)—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1866-68 and 1874-76).—461, 463, 464

Acland, Sir Thomas—British radical, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League in the 1860s.—464

Adams, Charles Francis (1807-1886)—American diplomat and politician, Republican, US envoy to London (1862-68).—49

Adolf (1817-1905)—Duke of Nassau (1839-66), Grand Duke of Luxembourg (1890-1905).—506

Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—568

Alaux, Jules Émile (1828-1903)—French journalist.—338, 340

Alcott, Louisa May (1832-1888)—American author of popular novels for young people.—370

Alexander I (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—282

Alexander II (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—38, 223, 282, 290, 374, 379

Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great) (356-323 B.C.)—general and statesman.—290

Allen—English physician, doctor of the Marx family.—24, 51, 180, 183, 231, 233, 261, 262, 281, 283, 510

Allen, William Philip (1848-1867)—Irish Fenian, sentenced to death by an English court and executed.—474, 483, 492, 506

Andral, Gabriel (1797-1876)—French physician, professor of pathology and therapy, author of works on medicine.—26

Anne (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—487

Anneke, Carl Friedrich Theodor (1818-1872)—former Prussian artillery officer; member of the Communist League, a founder of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); lieutenant-colonel in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA; fought in the Civil War as colonel of the Northern Army.—40

Anrooiij, Antonie Johannes Wouters van (1816-1893)—husband of Karl Marx's cousin Henriette Sophie Philips, physician in Zalt-Bommel.—48
Anrooij, Henriette Sophia van (Jettchen) (née Henriette Sophie Philips) (1825-1902)—Karl Marx's cousin, daughter of Lion Philips, wife of Antonie van Anrooij.—48

Arago, Dominique François Jean (1786-1853)—French astronomer, physicist and mathematician, republican politician.—27

Arminius (Hermann) the Cheruscan (17 B.C.-A.D. 21)—leader of the resistance of Germanic tribes against Roman rule, annihilated a Roman army in the Teutoburg Woods in A.D. 9.—373

Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus) (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—340

Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St Albans (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist and historian.—388

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National-Liberal after 1866.—549

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German journalist; Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty.—53, 166, 299

Beales, Edmond (1803-1881)—English lawyer, radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; supported the Northerners during the US Civil War; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—60, 92, 93, 109-10, 158, 300, 519

Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant (1818-1893)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); commanded Southern troops during the US Civil War.—21, 123

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turned; President of the Union of German Workers' Associations from 1867; member of the First International, deputy to the Reichstag (from 1867); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—348, 492, 515

Beck, John—English railway worker; witness for the prosecution at the Fenian trial in Manchester in November 1867.—462

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; fol-
lower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65), subsequently sided with the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—3, 15, 30, 33, 36, 51, 57, 58, 65, 68, 75, 82, 90, 104, 114, 135, 139, 140, 152, 154, 158, 161, 165, 170, 174, 175-76, 179, 191, 203, 205, 532, 548, 566

Becker, Hermann Heinrich ('Red Becker') (1820-1885) — German lawyer and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; from 1850 member of the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), sentenced to five years' imprisonment; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National-Liberal; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66), then of the Reichstag (1867-74).—52, 53, 56, 75, 80, 94

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886) — German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement in Germany and Switzerland (1830s-40s) and in the 1848-49 revolution; organizer of the International's sections in Switzerland and Germany, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all congresses of the International; editor of Der Vorbote (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—30, 163, 190, 191, 202, 207, 213-15, 219, 221, 314-15, 358, 425, 428, 434, 450, 456, 548, 567, 568, 571-72, 577, 580-82

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915) — British historian and politician; radical, Positivist; professor at London University; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; took an active part in the movement for the electoral reform (1867); in 1870-71 supported the International and the Paris Commune; was on friendly terms with Marx.—55, 60, 162, 185, 283, 291, 407, 423, 433, 455, 512, 516, 518

Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827) — German composer.—571

Bélude, Jean Pierre (1821-1908) — French petty-bourgeois socialist; cabinet-maker; follower of Cabet; director of the Crédit du Travail bank (1862-68); one of the founders of L'Association, organ of the cooperative movement; member of the International; subsequently left the working-class movement.—118

Bender, H.—bookseller in London, publisher of the Londoner Anzeiger (1864-67), organ of the German refugees.—50, 63, 66, 81, 114, 130, 133-34, 214, 447

Benedek, Ludwig von (1804-1881) — Austrian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—256, 263, 279, 288, 510, 517, 523

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 National-Liberal Party (Right wing).—276, 340, 361

Berghaus, Heinrich (1797-1884) — German geographer and cartographer.—28

Berndes—German democrat, in the 1860s refugee in London.—151

Bernstorff, Albrecht, Count von (1809-1873) — Prussian diplomat, envoy to London (1854-61), Foreign Minister (1861-62), ambassador to London (1862-73).—355

Beta—see Bettziech, Heinrich

Bettziech, Heinrich (pen-name Beta) (1813-1876) — German democratic journalist; a refugee in London; follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—336, 447, 450

Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von (1809-1886) — Saxon and Austrian statesman, adherent of independence of small German states; held several
ministerial posts in the Saxonian Government (1849-66); Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor (1867-71) of Austria-Hungary.—207, 349, 435

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899)—former Prussian army officer; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849), emigrated to Switzerland; member of a section of the International in Zurich; professor of pedagogics; participant in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867).—433

Bille, Carl Steen Andersen (1828-1898)—Danish journalist and politician; liberal; editor and owner of the Dagbladet (1851-72); member of the lower chamber of the Rigsdag.—6

Bisscamp (Biskamp), Elard—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of Das Volk, organ of the German refugees in London published with Marx's collaboration.—135


Blackburn, Colin, Baron (1813-1896)—English judge.—462, 466

Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London.—32, 33, 55, 270, 420, 429

Blank, Emil—Frederick Engels' nephew, son of Karl Emil Blank.—11, 337

Blank, Karl Emil (1817-1893)—German merchant; closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels' sister Marie.—11, 77, 79

Blank, Marie—Frederick Engels' niece, daughter of Karl Emil Blank.—11, 313

Blind, Friederike (née Ettlinger)—Karl Blind's wife.—31, 34, 35, 274

Blind, Johann Adam—Karl Blind's father, owner of a tavern in Mannheim.—33, 41

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); in the 1850s-early 1860s, a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London; later National-Liberal.—27, 30, 31-38, 41-43, 44-46, 50-52, 56-57, 72, 78, 91, 97, 102, 107, 110, 115, 119, 120, 126, 129, 131, 134, 151, 182, 237, 273-74, 275, 278, 286, 380, 447, 518-19, 567, 581

Blind, Mathilde (née Cohen) (1841-1896)—English translator, author and poet; Karl Blind's adopted daughter.—35

Blum, Babette (c. 1791-1865)—Karl Marx's paternal aunt.—194

Bobczyński, Konstanty (b. 1817)—participant in the Polish uprising of
1863; then emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (May-September 1866); took part in the London Conference (1865); left for Birmingham in 1866.—217, 250

Boelling, Friedrich (1816-1884)—German merchant; husband of Frederick Engels' sister Hedwig.—11, 260

Böhme, Jacob (1575-1624)—German handicraftsman; pantheist philosopher.—476, 497

Bolleyer, Heinrich—German refugee in London; owner of a restaurant where workers' meetings took place; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865), took part in the London Conference (1865).—130, 278

Böckig, von—captain of the Prussian Guards regiment.—374, 426

Bonaparte—see Napoleon III

Bonaparte, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph (1856-1879)—Napoleon III's son, got the title of Imperial Prince at his birth.—418

Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; assumed the name of Jérôme after his elder brother's death (1847); known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—76, 108, 208, 555

Borchardt, Louis—German physician, Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—6, 20, 38, 63, 115, 116, 127, 534, 555

Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig (1826-1885)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated after its defeat; London merchant from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—113, 140, 284, 350, 389, 394, 397, 401, 417, 419, 432-33, 435-36, 437, 439-43, 445-46, 447, 448-49, 450, 452-53, 457, 476-77, 478, 484, 491, 497, 501, 513, 515-16, 519, 520, 526, 527, 539, 548, 552, 578, 581

Boustrœpa—see Napoleon III

Bowring, Sir John (1792-1872)—British politician, linguist and man of letters; follower of Bentham; Free Trader, big colonial official in the 1850s.—571

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891)—English journalist and radical politician; editor of The National Reformer.—239, 459, 464

Brass, August (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland; from the 1860s supported Bismarck; publisher of the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung; National-Liberal.—373, 394, 516

Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig (pseudonym L Otto) (1836-1890)—German journalist; member of the Central Council of the International (1864), Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866).—50

Brentano, Lorenz Peter (1813-1891)—Baden lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; head of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising emigrated to Switzerland, then to the USA.—35

Bridges, John Henry (1832-1906)—English positivist philosopher; physician; contributed to The Commonwealth.—283

Briggs, John (1785-1875)—British general; was in the service of the East India Company (1801-35); Free Trader; author and translator of works on India and Persia.—550

Bright, John (1811-1889)—English
manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—15, 18, 44, 47, 71, 74, 130, 212, 253, 374

Bürners, Heinrich (1820-1878)—German journalist; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; member of the Communist League, from 1850 member of its Central Authority; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial; later supported the Party of Progress; National-Liberal; editor of the Rheinische Zeitung in Düsseldorf.—112, 207, 221, 430, 471, 493, 498, 502, 529

Burns, Lizzie (Lizzy, Lydia) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, took part in the Irish national liberation movement; Frederick Engels' second wife.—27, 53, 67, 91, 99, 148, 158, 160, 177, 179, 181, 185, 193, 194, 205, 206, 208, 228, 237, 251, 254, 269, 283, 291, 301, 311, 341, 344, 357, 362, 374, 386, 389, 391, 394, 399, 408, 448, 455, 479, 495, 508, 517, 521, 559

Burns, Robert (1759-1796)—Scottish poet, democrat.—91

Burton—English house owner.—343

Butler, Benjamin Franklin (1818-1893)—American politician and general; a leader of the Left wing of the Republican Party; during the Civil War commanded the expeditionary Northern Army at the capture of New Orleans, military governor of New Orleans (1862).—199

C

Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—185, 558

Card, Josep (Gwierczakiewicz, Józef) (1822-1869)—participant in the 1863 Polish uprising; journalist; émigré in Geneva; member of the International; co-editor of the Journal d'Association Internationale des Travailleurs; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—528, 532, 533, 580

Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—
American economist; advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—513, 514, 536, 544, 548

Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Earl of (1831-1890)—British statesman; Conservative; Minister for Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—459

Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician; member of the Provisional Government (1848); after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—47

Carpenter, William Benjamin (1813-1885)—English naturalist and physiologist.—571

Carrière—French émigré in London; professor of mathematics, physics and chemistry.—304

Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina) (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman patrician, formed a conspiracy against aristocratic republic.—185

Cavaignac, Louis Eugène (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; War Minister of France from May 1848; directed the suppression of the June 1848 uprising; head of the executive (from June to December 1848).—429

Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse (1833-1905)—French military inventor.—426

Chaucer, Geoffrey (1340-1400)—English poet.—246

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator and statesman; philosopher.—136

Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of, Baron Hyde (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52), Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70).—282

Classen-Kappelmann, Johann (c. 1817-1879)—Cologne manufacturer, town councillor in Cologne; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s.—182, 185, 229

Claren, Heinrich (literary pseudonym Carl Heun) (1771-1854)—German writer, author of sentimental novels.—513

Clément, Knut Jungbohn (1809-1873)—German historian and linguist, professor at Kiel University.—8

Clusenet, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician and military figure, took part in the Crimean war (1853-56), Garibaldi's campaigns in Italy (1860) and in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners, became general; member of the International, sided with Bakuninists; military delegate of the Paris Commune (April 1871), after its suppression emigrated to Belgium.—496, 508, 520, 523

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—18, 74

Cohen—banker, first husband of Friederike Etlinger (Blind by second marriage).—31, 35

Cohen, Ferdinand (c. 1842-1866)—German student, Karl Blind's stepson; in 1866 made an unsuccessful attempt on Bismarck's life, committed suicide in prison.—35, 272, 273-74

Colcraft—a man who executed Irish Fenians Allen, Larkin and O'Brien in Manchester in 1867.—474

Collet, Collet Dobson—English radical journalist, editor and publisher of The Free Press (1856-65) and from 1866 of The Diplomatic Review.—54, 370, 434

Colleville de—representative of the League of Peace and Freedom in London.—420
Collins, William Wilky (1824-1889)—English writer.—336
Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist, founder of positivism.—292
Connolly, Thomas—member of the Bricklayers' Society in the 1860s, reformist, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—154
Contzen, Karl Wilhelm—German economist, follower of Roscher; lecturer at Leipzig University in the 1860s.—477, 489, 527, 539
Cotta, Bernhard von (1808-1879)—German geologist.—28
Cowper, William Francis, Baron Mount-Temple (1811-1888)—British statesman, M.P., held several posts in Liberal ministries.—374
Cremer, William Randall (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade-union and pacifist movement, reformist; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864, member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66), took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; later Liberal M.P.—15, 16, 17, 55, 73, 130, 131, 148, 149, 158, 173, 249, 250, 252, 301, 314, 318, 424, 464, 519
Crespelle (or Crespel)—member of the French branch of the International in London where he upheld the Central Council's policy; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—214, 216
Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—486
Cuvier, Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert, baron de (1769-1832)—French naturalist, author of works on comparative anatomy, palaeontology and the classification of animals.—322, 323, 558
Cuza (Cusa), Alexander (1820-1873)—Romanian politician; as Alexander Johann I, Hospodar (1859-66) of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, which formed a united Romanian state in 1862; was removed from power as a result of a reactionary plot (1866) and emigrated.—256
Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—568
Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founded the theory of natural selection.—127, 136, 304, 322, 323, 327, 494, 558, 571
Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889)—American politician, Democrat, big planter; took part in the US war against Mexico (1846-48); Secretary of War (1853-57); an organiser of the Southern slave-holders' revolt; President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—123
Deasy, Michael—a Fenian leader, in 1867 was arrested in Manchester and released by his supporters.—474
Dell, William—participant in the British workers' and democratic movement; interior decorator; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International at St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; member of the General Council of the International
(1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); took part in the London Conference (1865); a leader of the Reform League.—93, 110, 317

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—63, 309, 376

Denis, Hector (1842-1913)—Belgian politician.—213, 223

Dénouai, Jules—French democrat; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International at St. Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—140

De Paepe, César (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist; composer, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London (1865) Conference, Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London (1871) Conference of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—191, 203-04

Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, subsequently a leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68).—369, 374, 394, 474

Descartes (Latin: Cartesius), René (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—435

Dickson—English army officer; a leader of the Reform League in the 1860s.—464

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopedists.—34, 568

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888)—active participant in the German and international working-class movement; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), leather-maker.—473, 476, 497

Diogenes, Laertius (3rd cent.)—Greek historian of philosophy, compiled a large work on the ancient philosophers.—373

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer, Tory leader, later leader of the Conservative Party, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—48, 282, 300, 458, 468

Dollfus—family of Alsace big cotton manufacturers.—552-53

Dollfus, Jean (1800-1887)—Alsace manufacturer; philanthropist; Mayor of Mulhouse.—550, 552

 Döniges, Franz Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm von (1814-1872)—German historian and diplomat; Bavarian envoy to Switzerland (1862-64).—12

 Döniges, Helene von (1845-1911)—daughter of Friedrich Wilhelm Döniges; wife of the Romanian nobleman Racowita.—12, 19, 31, 162, 211

Dresemann—editor of the Düsseldorfer Zeitung in the 1860s.—133

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German journalist; 'true socialist'; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; supporter of Marx and Engels, subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—140, 148, 158, 175, 198, 281, 284, 398, 399, 434, 438, 446

Dubois, L.—French journalist, socialist.—420

Duchinski, Franciszek (1817-1893)—Polish historian and ethnographer;
refugee in Paris after the 1830-31 uprising; author of several works on the history and ethnography of Poland and Eastern Slavs.—163, 164, 305

Duller, Eduard (1809-1853)—German poet and historian, author of historical novels.—27

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888)—Berlin publisher and politician, member of the Party of Progress; founder and editor of the Volks-Zeitung.—328, 382, 384, 395, 543

Duncker, Friedrich Wilhelm August (b. 1797)—Prussian official, Police Superintendent in Berlin in the 1840s.—299

Duncker, Max (1811-1886)—German historian, professor in Halle and then in Tübingen; from 1859 Prussian government official; director of the Prussian state archives (1867-74).—27

Dunning, Thomas J. (1799-1873)—British trade unionist and journalist, reformist; leader of the bookbinders' union; member of the London Trades Council.—159

Dupanloup, Félix Antoine Philibert (1802-1878)—French politician; a leader of the Catholic party; Bishop of Orleans (from 1849).—434, 460

Dupleix, François—French refugee in Switzerland; bookbinder; a founder and president of the French section of the International in Geneva; delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses.—190, 214, 215, 315

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—active participant in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June (1848) uprising in Paris; from 1862 on lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (its Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, London Conference (1871); associate of Marx and Engels; joined the British Federal Council of the International (1872); moved to the USA in 1874.—140, 144, 149, 196, 250, 318, 334, 416, 428, 516, 520

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72) and its General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate of all congresses and conferences of the International; follower of Marx; in the spring of 1872 joined reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—4, 15-17, 50, 74, 84, 90, 91, 101, 106, 107, 108, 114, 134, 150, 152, 163, 215, 219, 224, 249, 252-53, 255, 262, 314, 315, 339, 394, 416, 418, 420, 422, 423, 425, 428, 429, 433, 434, 438, 455, 456, 462, 519, 552

Eckardt, Ludwig (1827-1871)—Austrian democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Austria and Germany, emigrated to Switzerland; in 1865, a leader of the German People's Party and editor of the Deutsches Wochenblatt; opposed Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; returned to Austria in 1867.—198, 204

Egli, Johann Jakob (1825-1896)—Swiss geographer and teacher.—28, 188
Eichhoff, Albert—German publisher, brother of Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff—542, 545

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895)—German socialist, journalist; in 1859 exposed Stieber as a police spy in the press and was brought to trial for this; 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.—152, 175, 178, 284, 349, 542, 545

Einhorn—see Horn, Eduard (Ignác)

Eisenbart, Johann Andreas (1661-1727)—German physician; prototype of the quack ‘Doctor Eisenbart’ in German folklore.—457

Elcho, Francis Wemyss Charteris Douglas, Lord (1818-1914)—British politician, Conservative M.P., opposed electoral reform in the 1860s.—300

Elizabeth I (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603).—486

Enfantin, Barthélémy Prosper (1796-1864)—French utopian socialist, a disciple of Saint-Simon.—218

Engel, Ernst (1821-1896)—German statistician, director of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—157, 361

Engels, Elisabeth Francisca Mauritia (née van Haar) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels’ mother.—11, 192, 248, 261, 481

Engels, Emil (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels’ brother.—312-13

Engels, Emma (née Croon) (b. 1834)—wife of Hermann Engels, Frederick Engels’ brother.—11

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels’ brother.—9-11, 247-48, 480-81

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels’ brother.—11, 61-62

Ermen, Anton Gottfried (1807-1886)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—248, 261, 481

Ermen, Franz Julius (b. 1840)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—168


Ermen, Peter (Pitt) Albertus Ermen (1800-1889)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—260

Eulenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count von (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat, Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—302

Eves, Charles—author of popular school textbooks (mid-19th cent.).—246

Eyern, Ernst von (1838-1906)—German businessman and politician.—546, 548

Eyre, Edward John (1815-1901)—British official, Governor of Jamaica (1864-66), suppressed Negros’ uprising in 1865.—208

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German economist and writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861 when he returned to Germany; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; member of the Party of Progress; National-Liberal from 1866.—104, 444, 467, 473, 490

Faure, Jules Gabriel Claude (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s; deputy to the Corps législatif (1860s); Foreign Minister (1870-71); together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; among
others, inspired the struggle against the First International.—290, 429

Fazy, Jean Jacob (James) (1794-1878)—Swiss statesman and journalist; radical; head of government of the Geneva Canton (1846-53 and 1855-61); founder of the Swiss State Bank; pursued a pro-Bonapartist policy.—63, 158, 185, 237

Fellner, Karl Konstanz Viktor (1807-1866)—German merchant and politician, last burgomaster of the free city of Frankfurt am Main (1866).—299

Ferdinand II (1810-1859)—King of the Two Sicilies (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for his bombardment of Messina in 1848.—292

Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—360, 520

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—453

Fielden, John (1784-1849)—English manufacturer, philanthropist, proponent of factory legislation.—552

Figuier, Guillaume Louis (1819-1894)—French naturalist.—27

Fontaine, Léon—Belgian journalist; participant in the democratic movement; Central Council's Corresponding Secretary pro tem for Belgium (1865), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—144-45, 170-71

Fontana, Giuseppe P. (1840-1876)—took part in the 1848 revolution in Italy, then refugee; a leader of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1865); Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1864-65).—16-18, 110, 115, 140

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—287, 326, 559

Fowler, Thomas (1736-1801)—English pharmacist and physician.—225

Fox, Peter (André Peter Fox) (d. 1869)—journalist; active member of the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; a leader of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866), Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of The Commonwealth (1866), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—22, 23, 49, 54, 55, 131, 148, 149, 173, 199, 218, 224, 228, 230, 252, 269, 271, 278, 290, 291, 318, 434, 437, 464, 485, 516, 532, 536, 538, 548

Fraas, Karl Nikolaus (1810-1875)—German botanist and agronomist, professor in Munich.—507, 510, 548, 559

Francis II (1836-1894)—King of Naples and Sicily (1859-60).—292

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-66), Emperor of Austria-Hungary (1867-1916).—54, 256

Frankenheim, Moritz Ludwig (1801-1869)—German physicist and philosopher.—28

Frederick Charles, Prince of Prussia (1828-1885)—Prussian general, later field marshal-general; during the Danish war (1864) Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian and then Allied armies, commanded First Prussian Army in the Austro-Prussian war (1866).—8, 39, 121, 256, 263, 279, 365, 523

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—293, 374

Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet; an
editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49); member of the Communist League (1848-52); during emigration in London (1851-68) withdrew from revolutionary activity.—32, 33, 63, 72, 97, 151, 164, 185, 202, 208, 229-30, 237, 274, 275, 290, 362, 378, 385, 397, 398, 424, 430, 440, 447, 454, 472, 473, 513, 532, 542

Freiligrath, *Ida* (1817-1899)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife.—164, 378, 386, 472

Freiligrath, *Käthe* (*Kätchen*) (1845-1904)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—164, 290, 425, 430

Frenzel—a representative of opposition in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in the 1860s, member of the Party of Progress.—333

Freitag, *Gustav* (1816-1895)—German dramatist and writer.—28

Fribourg, *Ernest Edouard*—active member in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; a leader of the International's Paris section, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 published the book *L'Association internationale des travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—85, 109, 130, 149, 213, 263, 318

Friedländer, *Max* (1829-1872)—German democrat, member of the editorial boards of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and *Die Presse*, to which Marx contributed in the 1850s-60s; founder and editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* (1864-72); Ferdinand Lassalle's cousin.—516

Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince, King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany under the name of Frederick III (1888); commanded Second Prussian Army in the Austro-Prussian war (1866).—279, 340, 510, 523

Fritzsche, *Friedrich Wilhelm* (1825-1905)—cigar-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers; Lassallean; deputy to the North German Reichstag (1868-71); joined the Eisenachers in 1869.—161

Fuld, *Salomon*—lawyer in Frankfurt am Main.—194

Funke, *Robert*—businessman in Liverpool.—248, 312

Garibaldi, *Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, chief organiser of the defence of the Roman Republic (April-July 1849), headed the Italian people's struggle for national independence and unification of the country (1850s-60s).—15, 16, 33-36, 44, 45, 47, 159, 281, 292, 365, 420, 435, 460, 496

Garnier-Pagès, *Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris; during the Second Empire deputy to the Corps législatif (1864-71).—47

Garrido y Tortosa, *Fernando* (1821-1883)—Spanish republican; utopian socialist; author of works on the history of Spain.—28

Gathorne-Hardy, *Gathorne* (1814-1906)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1867-68).—474, 485
Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich (1830-1896)—German diplomat and lawyer; Hanseatic envoy to London (1866-69).—355

Geib, August (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg, Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869) and a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—495

Genta, Friedrich von (1764-1832)—Austrian statesman and writer; adviser and confidant of Metternich; Secretary at the Vienna Congress (1814-15) and congresses of the Holy Alliance.—478, 520

George II (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60).—487

George V (1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-66).—298, 506, 536

Gerhardt, Charles Frédéric (1816-1856)—French chemist.—385, 387

Giebel, Christoph Gottfried Andreas (1820-1881)—German zoologist and paleontologist.—28

Girardin, Émile de (1802-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of La Presse (1836-66 with intervals) and La Liberté (1866-70); moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist, notorious for lack of principles in politics.—418, 424

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—269, 374

Glais-Bizoin, Alexandre Olivier (1800-1877)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Corps législatif in the 1860s.—290

Gneist, Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von (1816-1895)—German lawyer and politician; professor at Berlin University; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1858); representative of the liberal opposition in the early 1860s; National-Liberal from 1866.—154

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist, member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); after the revolution emigrated; took part in pacifist activities of the League of Peace and Freedom; joined German Social-Democracy in the 1870s.—433, 517, 519, 541, 581, 582

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—25, 355, 356, 455, 504, 568

Goltz, Robert Heinrich Ludwig, Count von (1817-1869)—Prussian diplomat, ambassador to Paris (December 1862 to 1869).—293

Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; ambassador to Vienna (1854-56), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1856-82).—506

Götz (Goetz), Ferdinand (1826-1915)—German physician and politician; in the 1860s member of the Party of Progress and later National-Liberal; deputy to the North German and German Reichstags.—489

Gounod, Charles François (1818-1893)—French composer.—571

Gracchus, Cornelia—mother of Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus.—244

Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius (153-121 B.C.)—tribune (123-122 B.C.) in ancient Rome; stood out for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants; brother of Tiberius Gracchus.—244
Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius (163-133 B.C.)—tribune (133 B.C.) in ancient Rome; stood out for agrarian laws in the interests of the peasants.—244

Grach—wife of Grach, banker in Trier.—244

Graff, Eberhard Gottlieb (1780-1841)—German philologist.—554

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; Republican, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65); from March 1864 Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army, War Minister (1867-68), President of the USA (1869-77).—21, 39, 82, 121-123, 153

Greif—Prussian police officer, a chief of the Prussian secret service in London.—286

Grey, Sir George (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and Secretary for Colonial Affairs (1854-55).—155

Griesheim, Karl Gustav Julius von (1798-1854)—Prussian general and military writer.—303

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor in Göttingen and then in Berlin; liberal.—69, 168, 173, 197, 373, 548, 558

Groote, Alfred (c. 1815-1878)—German politician and lawyer; member of the Party of Progress; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862-66).—176

Grossmith, John—took part in the British democratic and working-class movement, member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865).—60

Grove, Sir William Robert (1811-1896)—English physicist and lawyer.—138

Gruhe, August Wilhelm (1816-1884)—German teacher.—28

Grübel—took part in the German working-class movement, member of the Communist League in Hamburg.—118

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (1817-1887)—German journalist; ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s; during the 1848-49 revolution participant in the democratic movement; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly; in 1850-61 émigré in Brussels; professor in Frankfurt am Main (1862-65), took part in the Geneva congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (1867); left for Vienna (1870).—24, 30, 433, 482, 505, 534, 540

Guhl, Ernst Karl (1819-1862)—German art critic, professor in Berlin.—28

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the financial bourgeoisie.—530

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—12, 27, 30, 56, 63, 72, 78, 107, 117, 157, 177, 178, 194, 225, 227, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 238, 266, 281, 283, 284, 289, 294, 304, 324, 332, 344, 378, 382, 418, 446, 503, 510, 517, 524, 528, 555

H

Habburgs (or Hapsburgs)—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (1804-67) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—258, 263, 300

Hall—notary in Manchester.—313

Hall, Carl Christian (1812-1888)—Danish statesman and politician, lawyer, deputy to the Rigstag, Prime Minister (1857-63).—183
Hancock, Ottilie—Karl Blind's daughter by second marriage.—35
Handel, George Frederick (1685-1759)—German composer.—571
Hansen, N.P.—Danish tailor; member of the General Council of the International (December 1864 to 1867), participant in the London Conference (1865), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1866) and for Denmark and Holland (1867).—274
Hardee, William Joseph (1815-1873)—American general, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—123
Hardy—see Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne
Harkort, Friedrich Wilhelm (1793-1880)—German industrialist and liberal politician; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (till 1867); member of the Party of Progress.—169
Harrig, Harro Paul (1798-1870)—German radical writer; emigrated in 1828, lived in various countries of Europe and America, including the USA.—182
Harrison, Frederic (1831-1923)—British lawyer and historian; radical; Positivist; took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s.—60, 162, 185, 283, 291, 394, 407
Harting, Pieter (1812-1885)—Dutch naturalist.—28
Hatzfeld (Hatzfeld), Sophie, Countess von (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Lassalle.—5, 12, 19, 20, 24, 26, 30, 31-37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 53, 56-57, 58, 71, 75, 78, 80, 82, 102, 103, 124, 126, 139, 140, 165, 175, 180, 181, 190, 191, 202, 336, 349, 415, 548, 553, 556
Heafe, Albert F.—German tailor; lived in London; member of the Central Council of the International (1866).—274
Hebel, Johann Peter (1760-1826)—German writer and poet.—188
Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz (1811-1881)—German democrat; a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—32
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—138, 184, 185, 232, 258, 292, 370, 376, 382, 385, 387, 388, 395, 453, 464, 513, 520, 522, 544, 556, 558, 568
Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—32, 52, 242, 245, 340, 386
Heintzmann, Alexis (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer; liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849), later émigré in London; President of the London group of the National Association (1861).—151, 447
Heinzen, Karl Peter (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—26, 31, 34, 213, 556
Held, Friedrich Wilhelm Alexander (1813-1872)—German radical journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; editor of the Berlin radical Staatsbürger-Zeitung.—211
Hennessy, John Pope (1834-1891)—Irish politician, M.P., Conservative; in the early 1860s submitted to Parliament several moderate reforms for Ireland.—486
Heracleitus (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, a founder of dialectics.—129
Herbert, Auberon Edward William Molyneux (1838-1906)—British philosopher and politician, Liberal M.P. (1870-74); follower of Herbert Spencer.—459
Herwegh, Emma (née Siegmund) (1817-
1904)—Georg Herwegh's wife.—12, 19, 24

Herwegh, Georg Friedrich (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, in the 1860s supported Lassalle.—12, 19, 29, 30, 120, 126, 140, 147

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher, journalist and writer; left Russia in 1847; from 1852 lived in England where he established Free Russian Press and published the periodical Polyarnaya Zvezda (Polar Star) and the newspaper Kolokol (The Bell).—213, 552, 577, 582

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer; one of the chief representatives of 'true socialism' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League, after its split belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; took part in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International.—3, 29, 30, 51, 65, 66, 68, 70, 75, 78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 89, 90, 95, 96, 115, 156, 157, 158, 190, 478, 483, 484, 487, 488, 528, 532, 533, 542, 567, 580

Hess, Sibylle (née Pesch) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—150, 156

Heydt, August, Baron von der (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman; Elberfeld banker; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works (December 1848 to 1862); Finance Minister (1862, June 1866-October 1869).—285

Heywood, Abel (1810-1893)—newspaper- and bookseller, active in the affairs of his native Manchester (Mayor in 1862-63); twice unsuccessful Liberal parliamentary candidate (1859, 1865).—168

Hilberg, Arnold—Austrian journalist, publisher and editor of the Internationale Revue.—216, 229, 464, 484, 516

Hildebrand (real name Beets, Nicolaas) (1814-1903)—Dutch poet and writer.—242

Hildebrand, Bruno (1812-1878)—German economist and statistician; representative of historical school in political economy.—491-92

Hill—employee at the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels in the 1850s-60s.—252

Hirsch—Moses Hess’ relative; contributed to Le Courrier français.—487

Hirsch, J. M.—treasurer in Erfurt; publisher of song-books.—417

Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus (1776-1822)—German writer.—230, 232, 233

Höfling, Eugen—German poet.—113

Hofmann, August Wilhelm von (1818-1892)—German chemist.—382, 385

Hofstetten, Johann Baptist von (d. 1887)—Bavarian army officer; Lassallean; member of the General Association of German Workers (1864-68); publisher and an editor of Der Social-Demokrat (1864-67).—495, 509, 529

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—105, 258, 263, 264, 302

Holloway, Thomas (1800-1883)—English patent-medicine vendor.—120

Holtorp, Emile—Polish refugee in London; member of the Central Council of the International (October 1864 to 1866), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1864-65), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865), in 1866 joined the International Republican Committee set up by Mazzini.—217, 278

Holyoake, George Jacob (1817-1906)—English journalist; prominent figure in the co-operative movement; reformist.—22, 300
Hood, John Bell (1831-1879)—American general, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—21, 39, 61

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—73, 250, 340

Horn, Eduard (Ignác) (real name Einhorn) (1825-1875)—Hungarian economist and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; from 1855 refugee in Paris; in the 1860s worked in L'Association and other French journals; returned to Hungary in 1869.—66, 76, 80, 85

Howell, George (1833-1910)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; bricklayer; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League.—158, 224, 250

Huber, Victor Aimé (1800-1869)—German journalist and historian of literature; Conservative.—27

Hübner, Otto (1818-1877)—German economist and statistician; in 1849 founded the Central Statistical Archives in Berlin and became its director.—421, 422

Hughes, Thomas (1822-1896)—British politician and writer; Liberal M. P. (1865-74); took part in publishing The Workman's Advocate in the 1860s; author of Tom Brown's School-days (1856).—206

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer.—420

Hunter, Henry Julian—English physician, author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—301

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895)—English naturalist, close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teaching.—284, 571

I

Imandl, Peter Joseph (1823-1897)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1852, supporter of Marx and Engels.—431

Isabella II (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—435

Izzy—see Lassalle, Ferdinand

J

Jacobi, Abraham (1830-1919)—German physician; member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted; emigrated to the USA, took part in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners; professor and president of several medical establishments.—330, 377, 452

Jacobi, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician; a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848), in 1862 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, founder of Die Zukunft; sided with Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—374

Jacobs, Friedrich Christian Wilhelm (1764-1847)—German philologist and historian of ancient literature.—28

James, Edward (1807-1867)—British lawyer; Liberal M. P. (1865-67).—168

Janson—notary in Manchester.—313

John (Johann) (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848-December 1849).—87

Johnson, Andrew (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat, Senator (1858-62); supporter of the
North in the Civil War; Vice-President (1864-April 1865) and President of the USA (1865-69), pursued a policy of compromise with the Southern planters.—150, 153, 159, 163, 167, 269, 334, 414

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston (1807-1891)—American general, during the Civil War commanded Southern troops in Virginia (1861-62), then in Tennessee and Mississippi.—153

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement; proletarian poet and journalist; leader of the Left-wing Chartists, took part in the work of the International in the 1860s; an organiser of the Reform movement; friend of Marx and Engels.—15, 30, 49, 62, 69, 74, 91, 93, 108, 112, 127, 130, 148, 149, 150, 155, 157, 168, 199, 365, 442, 466, 502, 503, 531

Jones, Mason—British radical, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League in the 1860s.—158

Juch, Hermann—German democratic journalist, refugee in London, editor of the Hermann (from July 1859).—15, 24, 33, 63, 130, 134, 378, 447

Jung, Georg Gottlob (1814-1886)—German democratic journalist, Young Hegelian, a publisher of the Rheinische Zeitung, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—8

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872), Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72), participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872, later joined the reformists of the British trade unions.—55, 60-61, 131-32, 143, 148-49, 150, 191, 196, 200, 214, 250, 314, 485

Juta, Johann Carl (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town, husband of Karl Marx's sister Luise.—115, 117, 194

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis) (born c. A.D. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—504

K

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—453

Kappell—priest in the German Lutheran Church in London.—24

Kaub (Kolb), Karl—German worker; a refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the Central (General) Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865 and 1870-71), participated in the London Conference (1865).—191, 200, 254, 263

Kekulé von Stradonitz, Friedrich August (1829-1896)—German chemist.—387

Kell—Bradford manufacturer, radical.—283

Kelly, Thomas (born c. 1831)—a Fenian leader, in 1867 was arrested in Manchester and released by his supporters.—474

Kepler, Johannes (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—185, 568

Kertbény, Károly Marie (real name Benkert) (1824-1882)—Hungarian writer, liberal, was in contact with the participants in the 1848-49 revolution.—527, 529, 531, 533

Kiesselbach, Wilhelm—German historian and sociologist.—28

King, P. St.—bookseller in London.—401
Kinkel, Johann Gottfried (1815-1882)—
German poet and democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, sentenced to life imprisonment by the Prussian court, in 1850 escaped and emigrated to London; leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—24, 33, 48, 151, 177, 278, 283, 284, 296, 307, 336, 447

Kirkwood, Daniel (1814-1895)—
American astronomer and mathematician.—184, 186, 187

Kiss, Mihály (1820-1902)—Hungarian army officer, democrat, refugee, Kossuth’s agent in France and Italy.—208

Klapka, György (Georg) (1820-1892)—
general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49), emigrated in 1849; maintained contact with Bonapartist circles in the 1850s.—158

Klein, Johann Jacob (c. 1818 - c. 1896)—
Cologne physician; member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), acquitted; in the early 1860s took part in the German working-class movement.—112, 462

Klings, Karl (c. 1825 - after 1874)—
German metal-worker; member of the Communist League and then of the General Association of German Workers; emigrated to the United States (1865), took an active part in the Chicago section of the International.—3-4, 15, 20, 30, 51, 58, 75, 80, 82, 135, 152, 337

Klinke—German worker, refugee in London; member of the International, a leader of the ‘Teutonia’, a branch of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London.—150

Klinker, A.—member of the International, a leader of the ‘Teutonia’, a branch of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London.—150

Knowles, Alfred—cotton-manufacturer in Manchester; went bankrupt in 1868.—168, 199

Knox, Alexander Andrew (1818-1891)—
English journalist and police magistrate; member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—300, 394

Kolatschek, Adolph (1821-1889)—
Austrian journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), democrat; publisher of the Stimmen der Zeit (1858-62) and founder of the newspaper Der Botschafter (1862).—141, 204

König—owner of a printing shop in Erfurt.—417

Kasel, Esther (c. 1786 - 1865) — Karl Marx’s paternal aunt.—194, 251

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 then to England and the USA.—123, 529

Krieger, Hermann (1820-1850)—German journalist, ‘true socialist’, founder and editor of the New York newspaper Der Volks-Tribun.—373

Kröker, Eduard—German merchant in London, Käthe Freiligrath’s husband.—425

Kugelmann, Franziska (1858-c. 1930)—
Ludwig Kugelmann’s daughter.—360, 381, 395, 396, 450, 490, 497, 521, 522, 529, 544, 579

Kugelmann, Gertruda (b. 1839)—
Ludwig Kugelmann’s wife.—360, 369, 372, 380, 396, 443, 450, 469, 490, 497, 521-22, 529, 579

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)—
German physician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the Social-

L

Lafargue, François (1806-1870)—Paul Lafargue’s father.—304, 310, 334-35, 395, 396, 502, 503, 542, 553, 579


Lafargue, Virginie (b. 1803)—Paul Lafargue’s mother.—395, 396, 579

Lama, Domenico—President of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin’s Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65).—140

Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-1875)—German philosopher, economist, neo-Kantian; member of the Standing Committee of the General Association of German Workers (1864-66), member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—116, 119, 127, 135, 138, 502

Lange, Ludwig (1825-1885)—German philologist and historian of ancient Rome.—27

Langiewicz, Maryan Melchior (1827-1887)—a Right-wing leader during the 1863 uprising in Poland; fled to Austria where he was arrested; in 1865 emigrated to England; was in contact with Mazzini’s circles in London; later refugee in France and Turkey.—278

Lapinski, Theophil (Łapiński, Teofil) (1827-1886)—Polish colonel, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; served in the Turkish army under the name of Tewfik Bey; headed a military expedition to help the Polish insurgents in 1863.—163

Laplace, Pierre Simon (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—184, 187

Larkin, Michael (d. 1867)—an Irish Fenian, executed in Manchester for taking part in freeing Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy in the autumn of 1867.—474, 483

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers and its first President (1863-64); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.—5, 12, 15, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 30-33, 34, 36-38, 41-42, 44, 46, 53, 57-58, 66, 69, 70-71, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 87, 88-90, 96, 101-05, 107, 111, 114, 120, 124-27, 129, 134, 147, 158, 161, 165, 175, 176, 181, 190,
211, 266, 278, 282, 329, 379, 415, 417, 447, 493, 494, 516, 520, 526, 527, 532, 536, 548, 566, 567

Law, Thaddäus (d. 1871)—German historian and teacher.—28

Laurent, Auguste (1807-1853)—French chemist.—385

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—A leading figure in the atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and of the Manchester section of the International (1872).—396

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of La Réforme; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848), where he headed the Montagne Party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of 13 June 1849.—32, 33-34, 278

Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48), during the US Civil War commanded Southern troops in Virginia (1862-65), Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Army (February-April 1865).—21, 39, 82, 113, 122, 123, 147

Lefort, Henry (1835-1917)—French lawyer, journalist, republican; member of L'Association's editorial board; took part in the preparations for the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; dissociated himself from the International in March 1865.—85, 109, 118-19, 131, 140

Le Lubez, Victor (b. 1834)—French refugee in London, was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—15-18, 49, 66, 74, 92, 108, 118, 130, 131, 132, 140, 149, 155, 158, 170, 212, 214, 216-18, 250, 318, 519

Le Prince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie (1711-1780)—French authoress.—242

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—German writer.—568

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—Prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852; emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—94, 118, 229-30, 416, 424, 429, 477, 507, 571

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of The Daily Telegraph.—86

Lewes, George Henry (1817-1878)—English positivist philosopher, journalist, literary critic; editor of The Fortnightly Review (1865-66).—455, 512

Lewis, Leon—American journalist; in 1865, in London, was elected member of the Central Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for America, did not take part in the work of the Council.—162
Liebig, Johann, Baron von (1802-1870)—Austrian manufacturer.—142

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German chemist.—227, 232, 507

Liebknecht, Alice (b. 1857)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's eldest daughter.—202

Liebknecht, Ernestine (d. 1867)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's first wife.—52, 80, 134, 176, 202, 262, 272, 370


Limousin, Charles Mathieu (1840-1909)—French working-class leader; printer, later journalist; follower of Proudhon; Secretary of the Board of L'Association; a leader of the Paris section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865), took part in the co-operative movement; published several journals.—109, 170

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)—American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); under pressure from the masses carried out a number of bourgeois-democratic reforms during the Civil War, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slave-owners' agent in April 1865.—10, 44, 48, 49, 51, 70, 73, 80, 86, 122, 150, 153, 161

Lippe, Leopold, Count zur (1815-1889)—Prussian statesman and lawyer, Public Prosecutor in Berlin (1860); Minister of Justice (1862-67).—427, 432, 506

List, Friedrich (1789-1846)—German economist, supporter of Protectionism.—536

Livy (Titus Livius) (59 B.C.-A.D. 17)—Roman historian.—17, 52, 295

Lizzie—see Burns, Lizzie (Lizzy, Lydia)

Locke, John (1632-1704)—English philosopher and economist.—388

Longstreet, James (1821-1904)—American general, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Southerners.—61

Longuet, Charles Félix César (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and to the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; subsequently joined the opportunist group of Possibilists; married Marx's daughter Jenny.—213, 214, 216, 243, 250, 281

Lormier—acquaintance of Marx's family.—316, 438

Lormier, Marie—acquaintance of Marx's family.—231, 316

Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—274, 334, 368
**Louis XV** (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—55

**Lucraft, Benjamin** (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address The Civil War in France and left the International.—290

**Ludwig III** (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—298, 302

**Lupus**—see Wolff, Wilhelm

**Luther, Martin** (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—334

**Lyell, Charles** (1797-1875)—English chemist and geologist.—73, 571

**M**

**Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron** (1800-1859)—British historian and politician, Whig M.P.—28

**McClellan, George Brinton** (1826-1885)—American general, championed a compromise with the Confederacy; 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).—10

**McCulloch, John Ramsay** (1789-1864)—British economist, vulgarised David Ricardo's theory.—23, 186, 408

**MacDonald**—British army officer; in September 1860 arrested in Bonn and put on trial on the charge of insubordination to the local authorities.—24

**Macdonald, Adelaide** (born c. 1848)—took part in the Fenian movement, sentenced to five years of penal servitude in 1867.—492

**Macleod, Henry Dunning** (1821-1902)—Scottish economist, engaged mainly in elucidating the nature of credit.—511, 543

**Magendie, François** (1783-1855)—French physician, professor of physiology and general therapy in Paris.—304

**Malthus, Thomas Robert** (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist; author of a theory of population.—127, 136, 455

**Mariana** (b. 1818)—Queen of Hanover (1831-66).—345

**Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable** (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; in 1848 Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government, then Minister of Justice in Cavaignac's government.—21

**Markheim, Bertha** (née Levy)—close acquaintance of Marx's family in 1854-65.—45

**Marr, Wilhelm** (1819-1904)—German journalist; a leader of the Young Germany, German refugees' secret society in Switzerland (1840s); publisher of the newspaper *Beobachter an der Elbe* in Hamburg (1865-66); Prussian police agent.—102, 379

**Martin, Bon Louis Henri** (1810-1883)—French historian and politician, republican; joined the International in 1865.—202

**Martin, John** (1812-1875)—Irish politician, participant in the national liberation movement, British M.P. (1871-75).—462
Martin, William (born c. 1832)—an Irish Fenian; official in Manchester; in the autumn of 1867 was convicted for taking part in freeing the Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy.—462

Marx, Edgar (Musch) (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—273

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement.—63, 166-67, 181, 184, 230, 235, 246, 249, 313, 316-17, 318, 370, 375, 376, 381, 395-96, 406, 408, 416, 424, 427, 472, 490, 508, 513, 520, 522, 524, 526, 540, 541, 571, 572

Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838)—Karl Marx's father; lawyer and later Counselor of Justice in Tricht.—557

Marx, Henriette (née Pressburg) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx's mother.—46


Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, took part in the international working-class movement.—62, 64, 149, 151, 181, 184, 186, 196, 197, 198, 240-41, 244, 249, 271, 291, 294, 313, 317, 361, 369-70, 376, 378, 395, 396, 406, 416, 424, 427, 479, 492, 512, 515, 522, 524, 526, 540, 541, 567, 568


Massol, Marie Alexandre (1805-1875)—French journalist; utopian socialist; friend of Proudhon; editor-in-chief of La Morale indépendante (1865-70).—66

Matzler, G.—German worker; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; in the 1850s-early 1860s a refugee in London, member of the German Workers' Educational Society there; later returned to Germany, member of the General Association of German Workers.—98

Maughan—British politician, Owenite; participant in the free-thinkers' movement.—459

Mauver, Georg Ludwig von (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—547-49, 554, 557

Mayer, Karl (1819-1889)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), editor of the Stuttgart newspaper Der Beobachter in the 1860s.—43, 44, 51, 52, 493-95, 498, 500, 503

Mayer, Karl Friedrich Hartmann (1786-1870)—German lawyer and poet, representative of the Swabian school; father of the above.—52

Mayne, Sir Richard (1796-1868)—London Chief of Police from 1850.—300

Mazade, Louis Charles Jean Robert de (1821-1893)—French journalist, worked in Revue des deux Mondes.—257

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the Italian national liberation movement; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the Interna-
tional was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence.—16, 17, 20, 23, 32, 33, 110, 115, 140, 144, 162, 242, 243, 250, 278, 420, 424

Meagher, Thomas Francis (1823-1867)—leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1840s, a founder of the Irish Confederation (1847); in 1848 was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life for taking part in the preparation of an uprising; escaped in 1852, fled to the USA; during the US Civil War (1861-65) commanded the brigade of Irish volunteers that fought on the side of the Northerners.—486


Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jakob Ludwig Felix (1809-1847)—German composer.—571

Menke, Theodor Heinrich—German statistician; member of the International; Ludwig Kugelmann’s friend.—263, 395

Mensdorff-Pouilly, Alexander, Count (1813-1871)—Austrian general and statesman, Minister of the Imperial Court and Foreign Minister (1864-66).—54

Merkel—official in a statistical bureau in Hanover.—361

Metzner, Theodor (1830-1902)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; shoemaker; a leader of the General Association of German Workers; follower of Wilhelm Liebknecht (from the mid-1860s), opposed Lassalleans; member of the International; from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.—180, 202, 215, 220, 261

Meyer, Gustav—a manufacturer in Bielefeld; acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann.—549, 552, 559

Meyer, Hermann (1821-1875)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; merchant, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of the International’s sections in St Louis; friend of Joseph Weydemeyer.—377, 451, 455, 537

Meyer, Julius (1817-1863)—Westphalian businessman and writer; ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s.—373

Meyer, Ludwig (1827-1900)—German psychiatrist.—360

Meyer, Sigfrid (c. 1840-1872)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed Lassalleanism; member of the International; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International’s sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—202, 216, 220, 222, 261, 366-67, 415, 473, 541, 572-73

Miall, Edward (1809-1881)—English writer and radical politician, preacher of non-conformism, flirted with the Chartists in the 1840s; M.P. (1852-57, 1869-74); editor of The Nonconformist (1841-79), a publisher of The Commonwealth.—224, 255, 268, 280, 283

Michaelis, Otto (1826-1890)—German economist and journalist; from 1861 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; National-Liberal (from 1867); deputy to the North German Reichstag.—444, 467
Mignet, François Auguste Marie (1796-1884)—French historian.—28

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—162, 269, 394, 407, 536, 537

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist League up to 1852; a founder of the National Association (1859), chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80), from 1867 a leader of the National-Liberals (Right wing), member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, deputy to the North German Reichstag and later to the German Reichstag.—45, 102, 104, 112, 207, 221, 330, 373, 482, 499

Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riqueti, comte de (1749-1791)—leading figure in the French Revolution; constitutional monarchist.—103, 169, 435

Mohl, Moritz (1802-1888)—German economist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (moderate Left wing).—490

Moilin, Jules Antoine (Tony) (1832-1871)—French physician and journalist, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the Paris Commune, shot by Versaillists.—310, 319, 320, 324, 325, 327, 335, 344

Moleschott, Jakob (1822-1893)—Dutch physiologist and philosopher, vulgar materialist; taught in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—28

Moïre (real name Jean Baptiste Poquelin) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—290, 296

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhardt, Count von (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer; general, from 1871 field marshal-general; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—520

Mommsen, Theodor (1817-1903)—German historian, author of works on the history of ancient Rome.—27

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911)—English lawyer; member of the International; translated into English Volume One of Marx's Capital (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the Manifesto of the Communist Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—157, 168, 169, 182, 186, 317, 378, 386, 394, 409, 419, 453, 456, 459, 480, 499, 508, 555

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League in the 1860s.—74

Möser, Justus (1720-1794)—German historian and politician, a founder of the conservative romantic trend in historiography.—207, 221, 547, 558

Moustier, Léonel Desle Marie François René, marquis de (1817-1869)—French diplomat, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1866-68).—462

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—571

Mozin (c. 1771-1840)—French clergyman, philologist.—28

Müller, Johann Heinrich Jacob (1809-1875)—German physicist.—27

Münster, Georg Herbert (von Dorneburg), Prince (1820-1902)—German diplomat, Hanover envoy to St Peters burg (1856-64); went over to Prussia's side in 1866.—520

Muraviov, Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count (1796-1866)—Russian statesman; appointed plenipotentiary Governor-General of Poland during the 1863 Polish uprising; nicknamed 'hangman' for the cruel suppression of the uprising.—85

Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey (1792-1871)—English geologist, took part in the geological survey of European part of Russia and the Urals in the 1840s.—164
N

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—47, 55, 77, 124, 422, 524


Nebuchadnezzar II (625-562 B.C.)—King of Babylon (604-562 B.C.).—54

Nélaton, Auguste (1807-1873)—French surgeon.—519

Newton, Sir Isaac (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—185

Niemann, Albert (1831-1917)—German opera singer.—379

Nösselt, Friedrich August (1781-1850)—German teacher, author of textbooks on history, geography and German literature.—27

Nothjung, Peter (1821-1866)—German tailor; member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—249

O

Oborski, Ludwik (1787-1873)—Polish colonel; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; later emigrated to London, member of the Fraternal Democrats society; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849); member of the General Council of the International (1865-67); President of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—86

O'Brien, Michael (d. 1867)—Irish Fenian, executed in Manchester for taking part in freeing the Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy in the autumn of 1867.—474, 483

Odger, George (1820-1877)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions, shoemaker; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1862-72), member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71) and its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address The Civil War in France, and left the Council.—15, 16, 148, 149, 155, 158, 173, 250, 252, 314, 315, 318, 329, 424, 434, 519

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—a leader of the Irish Fenians, publisher of The Irish People (1863-65), in 1865 sentenced to life imprisonment, amnestied in 1870 and emigrated to the USA; retired from political life in the 1880s.—394

O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, organised the collection of funds for the families of the Fenian prisoners in 1865-66.—228, 394

Oppenheim—influential banking house established in Cologne since 1798.—285

Orsini, Cesare—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), spread the International's ideas in the USA;
Felice Orsini's brother.—238, 242-43, 246, 250, 255, 259

Orsini, Felice (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, a prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—238, 242

Otto, L.—see Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig

Overbeck, Johannes Adolf (1826-1895)—German archaeologist.—28

Overstone, Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron (from 1860) (1796-1883)—English banker, economist, follower of the 'principle of money circulation' school.—186

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—326, 552

Philips—Dutch maternal relatives of Karl Marx.—538, 542, 545, 548

Philips, Antoinette (Nannette) (c. 1837-1885)—Karl Marx's cousin, Lion Philips' daughter; member of the Dutch section of the International.—241-44, 567

Philips, Friedrich (Fritz)—Karl Marx's cousin; banker in Zalt-Bommel.—48

Philips, Lion Benjamin (1794-1866)—Dutch merchant, maternal uncle of Karl Marx.—46-48, 243, 249, 341

Pieper, Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm (1826-1899)—German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League, refugee in London; was close to Marx and Engels in the 1850s.—165

Pierre l'Ermite (c. 1050-1115)—French monk and preacher, headed peasants' volunteer corps during the First Crusade (1096-99).—452

Pigott, Richard (1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of The Irishman (1865-79); sided with the British government in the 1880s.—550

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—338, 460, 462

Platen-Hallermund, Adolf Ludwig Karl, Count von (1814-1889)—Hanover Minister for Foreign Affairs (1855-66); opposed unification of Germany under Prussia's hegemony.—307

Plan-Plon—see Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul

Pollock, George D.—British army doctor; member of the commission which in 1867 submitted to Parliament a report on the treatment of the political prisoners in the English convict prisons.—394

Polo, Marco (1254-1324)—Italian traveller and writer, made expedition to China (1271-95).—28

Potter, George (1832-1893)—a reformist
leader of the British trade unions, carpenter; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of The Bee-Hive Newspaper.—18, 50, 154, 155, 156, 169, 173, 253, 259, 424

Preller, Ludwig (1809-1861)—German philologist, studied ancient mythology.—27

Prokesch-Osten, Anton, Count von (1795-1876)—Austrian diplomat, general and writer, envoy to Athens (1834-49), envoy (1855-67), then ambassador (1867-71) to Constantinople.—464, 520

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—67, 75, 102, 219, 218, 281, 287, 326, 368, 379, 455, 488, 557

Pruß, Robert Eduard (1816-1872)—German poet and historian of literature, liberal; publisher of the journal Deutsches Museum in Leipzig (1851-67).—484

Purdy, Frederick—English official.—53

Puttkamer, Elisabeth von—daughter of Prussian statesman Robert von Puttkamer, Otto Bismarck's niece.—390

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; from 1849 refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England; opposed Marx and the International's leadership making use of the French section in London; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—474, 516

Q

Quenußtedt—Wilhelm Liebknecht's acquaintance.—202

Quinet, Edgar (1803-1875)—French politician and historian; took part in the 1848 revolution, refugee in 1852-70; anti-Bonapartist; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom Congress in Geneva (1867).—435

R

Racowija, Janko von (d. 1865)—Romanian nobleman; mortally wounded Lassalle in duel (1864).—19, 20, 31, 69, 162, 211, 415

Rasch, Gustav (1825-1878)—German lawyer and journalist, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution in Berlin, later refugee in Switzerland and France.—33, 34, 119, 397

Rattazzi, Urbano (1808-1873)—Italian statesman of liberal-monarchist trend; Minister of the Interior in the Kingdom of Sardinia (1855-58 and 1859-60), headed Italian government (1862 and 1867).—460

Rau, Karl Heinrich (1792-1870)—German economist.—444, 490, 491

Ravenstein—refugee in England; secretary of the Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit society.—32

Réaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de (1683-1757)—French naturalist.—170

Rebour—French inventor.—254

Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theorist of anarchism; member of the International, editor of La Cooperation (1866-68), participant in the Paris Commune (1871).—483, 487, 532, 533

Regnault, Élias Georges Soulange Olive (1801-1868)—French historian and journalist, state official, Bonapartist.—163

Régnier, Mathurin (1573-1613)—French satirical poet.—453, 454

Reinach, Arnold (c. 1820-1870)—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to Switzerland.—63, 158, 164, 185, 208

Reincke, Peter Adolf (1818-1887)—German physician; member of the
General Association of German Workers who was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag in 1867; expelled from the Association; in June 1868 relinquished his deputy powers.—430

Reusche, Friedrich—German journalist; member of the General Association of German Workers, Lassallean, contributed to the Nordstern and Der Social-Demokrat (1864-65).—147, 548, 566-67

Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—267

Reybaud, Marie Roch Louis (1799-1879)—French writer and economist, liberal.—338, 340

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—137, 402, 457, 514, 543

Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de (1585-1642)—French statesman and Centralist during the period of absolutism, Cardinal.—71

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the liberals (Left wing); a founder and leader of the party of free-thinkers.—211, 430

Richter, Heinrich Moriz Karl (b. 1841)—Austrian historian and journalist, liberal; professor at Vienna trade academy; worked in several Austrian newspapers.—512, 515, 518, 525, 537

Rimestad, Christian Vilhelm (1816-1879)—Danish teacher, politician and journalist, liberal; founder and leader of the Workers’ Union (1860-79); editor of the Dags-Telegraphen (1864-75).—183

Ritter, Karl (1779-1859)—German geographer, professor at Berlin University.—28

Rittershaus, Emil (1834-1897)—German poet, democrat, belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s.—427, 433, 440, 471

Roberts, William R.—a leader of the Fenian movement in the USA, inspired an adventurist attempt of Fenians’ invasion into Canada (May 1866) to arouse conflict between Britain and the USA.—485

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—71

Robin, Charles Philippe (1821-1885)—French anatomist.—283

Röckel, August (d. 1876)—German musician, democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Dresden uprising, sentenced to penal servitude for life, amnestied in 1862; from mid-1866 was in the service of the Austrian government.—270

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875)—German economist and politician; leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution; later advocated ‘state socialism’.—30, 54

Rode (Rohde)—German refugee in Liverpool.—152, 203, 281, 337, 338

Roesgen, Charles—employee in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—168, 192, 277, 451

Rogeard, Auguste Louis (1820-1896)—French democratic journalist, a founder and editor of La Rive gauche (1864); in 1865 was persecuted for his anti-Bonapartist pamphlet and emigrated to Belgium and then to Germany; a leader of the Paris Commune (1871).—216, 243

Rogers, James Edwin Thorold (1823-1890)—British historian and economist.—339, 340, 344

Roodhuizen, A.—pastor in Zalt-Bommel, subsequently husband of Karl Marx’s cousin Antoinette Phillips.—242

Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader, War Minister (1859-
706 Name Index

73) and Naval Minister (1861-71), field marshal-general from 1873, reorganised the Prussian army.—83, 154, 157

Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical trend in political economy.—406, 444, 467, 473, 477, 489, 490, 511, 514, 536, 537, 539, 544

Rost, Valentin Christian Friedrich (1790-1862)—German philologist.—28

Rothschilds—dynasty of bankers with branches in many European countries.—536

Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von (1775-1840)—German historian and politician, liberal.—33

Rückert, Friedrich (1788-1866)—German romantic poet and translator of Oriental poetry.—149

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National-Liberal after 1866.—72, 151, 296, 530

Russell, John Russell, Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—236, 269, 374

Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; Chief of Garibaldi's staff in 1860; Lassalle's friend.—12, 107, 120, 126, 129, 139, 140, 147, 365

Schabelitz, Jacob Lukas (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller, member of the Communist League, was connected with Marx and Engels in the late 1840s-early 1850s.—432, 449, 452

Schaible, Karl Heinrich (1824-1899)—German physician and democratic writer; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, later emigrated to England.—32, 33

Schapper, Karl (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a leader of the separatist group during the split in the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856, member of the Central Council of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—294, 300, 522

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—12, 27, 53, 103, 242, 299

Schilling, Carl—German composer; member of the General Association of German Workers, opposed its leaders; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869).—176, 179, 180, 181

Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, emigrated to France; member of the First International, delegate to the London Conference of 1865; Marx's friend.—66, 70, 80, 85, 108, 115, 118, 127, 130, 131, 150, 154, 155, 156, 163, 478, 483, 487, 488, 528, 532, 533, 580, 581

Schimmelpfennig, Alexander (1824-1865)—Prussian army officer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; belonged to the separatist Willich-Schapper
group; later emigrated to the USA, fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—125

Schleiden, Matthias Jakob (1804-1881)—German botanist.—27

Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph (1776-1861)—German historian.—27

Schmalhausen, Caroline—daughter of Marx's sister Sophie.—115, 128

Schmalhausen, Sophie (1816-1883)—Karl Marx's sister.—115

Schmeller, Johann Andreas (1785-1852)—German philologist, professor at Munich University.—554

Schmulewitsch (Chmoulevitch), Jakob S. (b. 1841)—Russian physiologist, student in several German and French universities.—510

Schöler, Caroline (1819-1891)—teacher in Cologne, friend of the Marx family.—181, 385

Schömann, Georg Friedrich (1793-1879)—German philologist and historian of ancient Greece.—27

Schönbein, Christian Friedrich (1799-1868)—German chemist, professor at Basle University.—227, 232

Schortemmer, Carl (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—117, 378, 383, 387, 402, 418, 459, 469, 478, 480, 485, 495, 507, 508, 510, 517, 518, 536, 560, 581, 582

Schrömmel, Rudolf (1813-1882)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, after the revolution emigrated to England; supported Bismarck in the 1860s.—53, 102

Schrap, R.—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the North German Reichstag from Saxony.—348

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist, liberal politician, advocated unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Association (1859) and leader of the Party of Progress, sought to divert workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—15, 104, 211, 221, 424, 435, 492, 493, 532

Schurz, Karl (1829-1906)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to the USA, fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners, later US statesman.—40, 537

Schütz, Jacob Friedrich (1813-1877)—German democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, representative of the Baden Provisional Government in Paris; later a refugee in England, Switzerland and America.—35

Schwabe—merchant in Manchester.—534

Schwabe—wife of the above.—534

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875)—German lawyer, a Lassallean leader; editor of Der Social-Demokrat (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; opposed the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 40, 64-65, 66, 75, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89, 94-95, 99, 102, 104, 106, 107-08, 114, 120, 124, 126, 128-30, 133, 134, 152, 156, 169-70, 205, 349, 417, 426, 430, 450, 495, 553, 556

Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832)—Scottish poet and novelist.—234

Seebach, Albin Leo, Baron von (1811-1884)—Saxon diplomat, envoy to Paris (1852-70).—349

Semmelweis, Ignaz Philipp (1818-1865)—Hungarian gynaecologist, professor in Vienna and Budapest.—360
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior, Nassau William</td>
<td>(1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed the shortening of the working day.—391, 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seubert, Adolf Friedrich</td>
<td>(1819-1890)—official in the War Ministry in Württemberg and writer, acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann, helped him in publishing Engels' reviews of Volume One of Marx's <em>Capital</em>.—500, 511, 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaftsbury, Anthony Ashley</td>
<td>Cooper, Earl of (1801-1885)—British politician, head of parliamentary group of the Tory philanthropists in the 1840s, from 1847 a Whig.—374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare, William</td>
<td>(1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—35, 177, 378, 568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, Robert</td>
<td>(d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement, house-painter, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69), delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherman, William Tecumseh</td>
<td>(1820-1891)—American general and politician, took part in the Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; Commander-in-Chief of the US army (1869-84).—39, 53, 61, 113, 121-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney (or Sydney), Algernon</td>
<td>(1622-1683)—British politician, took part in the Civil War (1642-48) on the side of the Parliament, member of the revolutionary tribunal.—273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siebold, Eduard Kaspar Jakob von</td>
<td>(1801-1861)—German gynaecologist, professor in Göttingen.—360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siebold, P. F.</td>
<td>—German democrat; acquaintance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.—78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigel, Franz</td>
<td>(1824-1902)—Baden army officer; petty-bourgeois democrat; Commander-in-Chief (1849), then deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army; refugee in Switzerland, England and (from 1852) in the USA; fought in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse</td>
<td>(1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Corps législatif, Minister of Public Education in the government of National Defence and in Thiers' Government (1870-73); an instigator of struggle against the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—66, 356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon, Ludwig</td>
<td>(1810-1872)—German lawyer; democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland; participant in the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva in 1867.—365, 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von</td>
<td>(1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; in 1848-49 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); President of the North German and German Reichstags (1867-74), National-Liberal.—444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Adam</td>
<td>(1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—186, 514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Smith, Sir William (1813-1893)—English philologist.—28

Snider, Jacob (d. 1866)—American inventor of a breech-loading rifle.—291, 303

Sonnemann, Leopold (1831-1909)—German politician and journalist, a founder of the National Association (1859); in the 1860s took the stand of South German Federalists; supported the working-class movement.—80

Spartacus (d. 71 B.C.)—Roman gladiator, leader of the slave revolt in Rome (73-71 B.C.).—568

Spruner von Merz, Karl (1803-1892)—German historian and cartographer.—28

Stalder, Franz Josef (1757-1833)—Swiss philologist.—554

Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory; Conservative in the 1860s-70s, then Liberal; Colonial Secretary (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78); son of the Tory leader Edward Derby.—341, 394

Stein, Lorenz von (1815-1890)—German lawyer, historian and economist, author of works on the socialist movement, advocate of 'social monarchy'.—513

Steinmetz, Karl Friedrich von (1796-1877)—Prussian general, field marshal-general from 1871, took part in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—523

Steinthal—owner of a trading firm in Manchester.—127, 128

Steinthal—wife of the above.—534

Stephens, James (1825-1901)—Irish revolutionary, a founder and leader of the Fenian organisation; in 1866 emigrated to the USA.—338, 485

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—active participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—459

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—118, 286, 299, 346, 347, 349, 361

Stieler, Adolf (1775-1836)—German cartographer.—28

Stirner, Max (real name Schmidt, Johann Caspar) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—287, 373

Strohn, Eugen (d. 1868)—Wilhelm Strohn's brother.—357

Strohn, Wilhelm—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford.—72, 78, 85, 107, 177, 179, 193, 357, 431, 438, 446, 515, 525

Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden uprisings in 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England; fought in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—33, 35, 119, 397, 540

Stumpf, Paul (1826-1912)—German mechanic; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels (1847), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867), member of the
Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—165, 198, 202, 214, 290, 298, 299, 433, 443, 445, 498, 502

Sullivan, Alexander Martin (1830-1884)—Irish politician, owner of the Irish newspaper The Weekly News, came out in defence of the Fenians.—550

Sutherland, George Granville William Leveson-Gower, Duke of (1828-1892)—British aristocrat, M.P. (1852-61).—33

Swan, Daniel—English ribbon-weaver; member of the International, delegate from Coventry to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—416

Swift, Jonathan (1667-1745)—Irish satirist, wrote in English.—376

Szemere, 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.—529

T

Tacitus, Publius Cornelius (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—558

Taylor, Peter Alfred (1819-1891)—British politician, radical, M.P.—92, 110

Tenge, Therese (née Bolongaro-Crevenna) (born c. 1833)—wife of Westphalian landowner Tenge-Ritberg, Hanover acquaintance of Kugelmann's family.—369, 375, 396

Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman writer of comedies.—52, 498, 520, 568

Ternaux, Louis Mortimer (1808-1871)—French politician and historian.—27

Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-1863)—English writer.—246

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—274, 290

Thimm, Franz—bookseller in Manchester.—136, 477

Thorbecke, Johann Rudolph (1798-1872)—Netherlandsman statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, head of the government (1849-53, 1862-66 and 1871-72).—243

Thornton, William Thomas (1813-1880)—British economist, follower of John Stuart Mill.—455

Thouvenel, Édouard Antoine (1818-1866)—French statesman and diplomat, Bonapartist; Foreign Minister (1852, 1860-62).—208

Thünen, Johann Heinrich von (1783-1850)—German economist, engaged in agricultural economies.—522, 543

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting held in St Martin's Hall on 28 September 1864; a leader of the Paris section of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly, after 4 September 1870; went over to the side of the Versailles during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International in April 1871; subsequently a senator.—3, 15, 47, 66, 85, 109, 130, 213, 263, 318

Townshend, Marquis—British politician, Tory, an organiser and treasurer of
the British National League for the Independence of Poland.—66, 93, 109

Trémaux, Pierre (b. 1818)—French naturalist.—304, 306, 309, 320, 322-24

Trübner, Nikolaus (1817-1884)—German bookseller and publisher in London.—151

Tschudi, Friedrich von (1820-1886)—Swiss zoologist, agronomist and politician.—28

Tupper, Martin Farquhar (1810-1889)—English poet, author of trivial moralistic poems.—568

Tussy—see Marx, Eleanor

Twesten, Karl (1820-1870)—German politician, lawyer, represented liberal opposition in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (from 1861); a leader of the Party of Progress; a founder of the National-Liberal Party (1866).—333

Tyn dall, John (1820-1893)—English physicist.—67, 91, 117, 212, 571

V

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution, opposed unification of Germany under Prussia’s supremacy.—488

Vermorel, Auguste Jean Marie (1841-1871)—French journalist, Proudhonist, editor of Le Courrier français (1866-67), member of the Paris Commune (1871).—413-14, 420, 422, 425, 428

Véron, Louis Désiré (1798-1867)—French journalist and politician, Orleanist until 1848, then Bonapartist; owner of Le Constitutionnel (1844-52).—445

Vézini er, Pierre (1824-1902)—French journalist, anti-Bonapartist, an organiser of the French section of the International in London, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868); was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it (1866) and in 1868 expelled from the International; member of the Paris Commune (1871).—200, 213, 214, 216, 218, 250, 259

Victor Emmanuel II (Vittorio Emanuele) (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—277, 291-92, 457, 459

Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—458, 475

Vinçard, Pierre Denis (1805-1882)—French engraver, journalist, participant in the 1848 revolution; active in the co-operative movement, wrote several works on the condition of the working class; member of the International.—149

Virchow, Rudolf (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—34, 360
Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—31, 276, 281, 327, 371

Vogt—Karl Vogt's wife.—518, 582

Vogt, August (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and American working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; in the General Association of German Workers opposed its Lassallean leaders; member of the International; in 1867 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the United States; supporter of Marx and Engels.—180, 202, 215, 220, 222, 261, 573

Vogt, Gustav (1829-1901)—Swiss economist; pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom, editor of Les États-Unis d'Europe (1867-70); Karl Vogt's brother.—499

Vogt, Karl (Carl) (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; left Germany in 1849, received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—25, 41, 42, 44, 51, 63, 65, 185, 364, 365, 433, 435, 441, 445, 459, 499, 518, 529, 581

Voltaire (pen-name of François Marie Arrouet) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—342, 522

Völter, Daniel—German geographer.—27

Walpole, Spencer Horatio (Horace) (1806-1898)—British statesman, Tory, Home Secretary (1852, 1858-59, 1866-67).—300, 384, 394

Walton, Alfred Armstrong (b. 1816)—a leader in the British democratic movement; architect; took part in the electoral reform movement, member of the General Council of the International (1867-70), delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—416

Warnebold, Ernst—lawyer in Hanover, member of the Party of Progress, then a National-Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—361, 441, 470

Washington, George (1732-1799)—American statesman, Commander-in-Chief during the war of the North American colonies for independence (1775-83); first President of the United States (1789-97).—414

Watts, John (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later a liberal.—224, 228, 234

Weber, Josef Valentin (1814-1895)—German watchmaker; participant in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848; in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and then to London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—415

Weber, Louis—German watchmaker; after the 1848-49 revolution émigré in Germany, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; in April 1865 was expelled from the Society for the intrigues against Marx and his supporters; Josef Valentin Weber's son.—150, 190, 415

Weber, Wilhelm—German watchmaker; Lassallean; refugee in New York after 1864; President of the General Association of German Workers in New York (1866); Josef Valentin Weber's son.—415

W eerth, Georg (1822-1856)—German
proletarian poet and journalist, member of the Communist League, an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), friend of Marx and Engels.—521

**Wehner, J. G.**—German refugee in Manchester; Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; Engels' acquaintance.—302, 340, 361

**Weiß, Guido** (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of the *Berliner Reform* (1863-66) and *Die Zukunft* (1867-71).—433, 437, 495, 504

**Welker, Karl Theodor** (1790-1869)—German lawyer and journalist, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—33

**Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of** (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; in 1808-14 and 1815 commanded troops in the wars against Napoleonic France; Prime Minister (1828-30), Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—122

**Wermuth**—police director in Hanover, an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852).—394

**Weston, John**—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; Owenite; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67), delegate to the London Conference (1865), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—361, 362

**Wickede, Julius von** (1819-1896)—German army officer and military writer, war correspondent of the *Kölische Zeitung* during the Austro-Prussian war (1866) and Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—264

**Wigand, Hugo** (1822-1873)—German publisher and bookseller; Otto Wigand's son; from 1864 actually headed the firm.—359, 371, 378, 392, 407, 432

**Wigand, Otto** (1795-1870)—German

**Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von** (1799-1876)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58); step-brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife.—50, 180

**Westphalen, Edgar von** (1819-1890)—brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife; member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846); in the 1850s-60s lived in emigration in America.—159, 165, 166, 174, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 187, 195, 369, 559, 565

**Weydemeyer, Joseph** (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA; colonel in the army of the North during the US Civil War; helped to propagate ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—37, 38, 41, 43-45, 47, 52, 65, 73, 97, 106, 107, 121-25, 152, 377, 565

**Weydemeyer, Louise** (née Lütting) (1822-1868)—wife of Joseph Weydemeyer.—40, 43, 125, 377, 451

**Wheeler, George William**—active in the British working-class movement, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67), delegate to the London Conference (1865), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—361, 362

**Wheeler, John F.**—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; Owenite; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, a leader of the Land and Labour League.—16, 17, 159, 162, 168, 224, 464, 485
publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which published works of radical authors.—359, 363, 385

Wilke—Prussian army officer, refugee in London.—291


William I (The Conqueror) (1027-1087)—King of England (1066-87).—299, 338, 365, 374

William, Prince of Orange (1840-1879)—Dutch Crown Prince.—293

Willich, August (1810-1878)—retired Prussian officer; 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; in 1853 emigrated to the USA, took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—40, 147

Wirth, Max (1822-1900)—German economist and journalist, liberal.—467

Wolff, Luigi—Italian major; follower of Mazzini, member of the Association of Mutual Progress (organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865); exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—16, 17, 55, 115, 131, 140, 162, 170, 243, 250

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German teacher; proletarian revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849); emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1849 and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 19, 20, 31, 38, 44, 81, 115, 116, 125, 127, 188, 231, 378, 381, 402, 447, 456, 469

Wolffsohn—refugee in England, treasurer of the Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit society.—32

Wood—lawyer in Manchester.—127, 128

Worsaae, Jens Jacob Asmussen (1821-1885)—Danish archaeologist, moderate liberal.—8

Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von (1784-1877)—Prussian general; one of the chief participants in the counterrevolutionary coup d'état in Prussia (November 1848); Commander-in-Chief of the allied Prussian and Austrian forces during the Danish war (1864).—121

Wurtz, Charles Adolphe (1817-1884)—French organic chemist, adherent of atomic-molecular theory.—385, 388

Wutke, Johann Karl Heinrich (1818-1876)—German historian and politician, professor at Leipzig University; close to the Lassalleans in the 1860s.—348

Y

York—bookseller of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—477

Z

Zamoyski, Ladislas (Władysław), Count (1803-1868)—Polish magnate, took part in the insurrection of 1830-31; after its defeat a leader of the Polish conservative monarchist refugees in Paris.—110

Zange—owner of a printing shop in Erfurt.—417
INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Aaron—the first high priest mentioned in the Bible.—63

Achilles (Gr. Myth.)—the bravest Greek warrior in the Trojan War, hero in Homer's Iliad.—67, 129, 447

Adam (Bib.).—167

D'Arroville, Machault—character in Diderot's Le neveu de Rameau, controller general of finance and treasurer of the seal.—34

Bardolph—character in Shakespeare's comedy The Merry Wives of Windsor and his historical drama King Henry IV.—177

Bouret—character in Diderot's Le neveu de Rameau, a footman's son who became rich as a controller general.—34

Callipso (Gr. Myth.)—a nymph, titan Atlas' daughter in Homer's Odyssey, kept Odysseus (Ulysses) for seven years on the island of Ogygia.—316

Charles V—character in Ferdinand Lasalle's drama Franz von Sickingen, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.—66

Christ, Jesus (Bib.).—467, 578

Dioscuri (Gr. Myth.)—Castor and Pollux, the twin brothers, sons of Zeus and Leda, performed many exploits.—361

Don Quixote—title character in Cervantes' novel.—313

Eve (Bib.).—246

Faust—title character in Goethe's tragedy.—355

Gretchen—heroine in Goethe's Faust.—568

Gulliver—hero in Swift's novel Travels by Gulliver.—376

Isaac (Bib.)—patriarch, was saved by an angel when his father Abraham was about to sacrifice him to Jehovah.—274

Jesus Christ (Bib.)—see Christ, Jesus

Jo—character in Louisa May Alcott's novel Little Women.—370

John Bull—title character of John Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull (1712); his name is used to personify England or Englishmen.—300, 356, 513, 521, 582

Jupiter (Jove)—supreme god of the Romans identified with the Greek Zeus.—290, 296, 578

Mercadet—main character in Balzac's Le faiseur, a man encumbered with debts and persecuted by creditors.—347

Muncheausen—an extravaganantly mendacious story-teller.—118

Oedipus (Gr. Myth.)—the King of Thebes who solved the riddle of the Sphinx and saved Thebes from the monster; hero of Sophocles' tragedy Oedipus Rex.—190

Petrus—character in Hildebrand's novel Camera obscura, a student, shy and unsuccessful suitor.—242

Philipp II—character in Schiller's tragedy Don Carlos, King of Spain, a fanatic and despot.—12, 53, 103

Posa, Marquis—character in Schiller's tragedy Don Carlos, a noble-minded and freethinking courtier who tried to influence the despotic king.—12, 53, 103

Rameau—character in Diderot's Le neveu de Rameau.—34

Sabala (Çabalâ)—in Hindu religious mythology the miraculous cow which can fulfil all wishes of its owner.—242, 245
Scapin—main character in Molière's comedy *Les fourberies de Scapin*, smart servant, mystifier and jester.—290, 296

Sickingen, Franz von—title character in Lassalle's play, leader of the knights' uprising in Germany (1522-23), champion for freedom and unification of the country.—66

Ulysses (or Odysseus) (Gr. Myth.)—character in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; king of Ithaca; a leader of the Greek troops during the Trojan War, noted for his eloquence, sagacity and prudence.—316

Vasishtha—in the ancient Indian epic poem *Ramayana* a priest and hermit, owner of the miraculous cow Sabala, which fulfilled all his wishes; character in Heine's poem from the cycle 'Die Heimkehr' (Buch der Lieder).—242

Wagner—character in Goethe's *Faust*, a pedantic and feeble scholar.—355

Wiswamitra (Vigvamitra)—mythical king in the ancient Indian epic poem *Ramayana* who tried to get hold of the miraculous cow Sabala, which would fulfil all his wishes; character in Heine's poem from the cycle 'Die Heimkehr' (Buch der Lieder).—242, 245

Zeus (Gr. Myth.)—the principal god of the Greeks.—444, 577
INDEX OF QUOTED AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Marx, Karl

[Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson] (present edition, Vol. 20)
— To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 188, May 20, 1865.—155, 159, 160


The Communism of the 'Rheinischer Beobachter' (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Der Kommunismus des Rheinischen Beobachters. In: Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, Nr. 73, 12. September 1847.—97

A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (present edition, Vol. 29)
— Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erstes Heft, Berlin, 1859.—328, 382, 384, 385, 531, 543

[A Correction] (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Berichtigung.—346

A Correction [To the Editor of the Weiße Adler] (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Berichtigung [An den Redakteur des Weißen Adler]. In: Der weiße Adler, Nr. 48, 22. April 1865 (signed: H. Jung).—143

[Draft for a Speech on France's Attitude to Poland (Polémics against Peter Fox)] (present edition, Vol. 20).—55
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (present edition, Vol. 11)

The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men’s Association (present edition, Vol. 21)
— A. M. G. Hardy, secrétaire d’État de Sa Majesté. In: Le Courrier français, No. 163, 24 novembre 1867.—485

The First Trial of the ‘Neue Rheinische Zeitung’ and The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (present edition, Vol. 8)

Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17)

Hirsch’s Confessions (present edition, Vol. 12)

Inaugural Address of the Working Men’s International Association Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin’s Hall, Long Acre, London (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Address. In: The Miner and Workman’s Advocate, No. 93, December 10, 1864.—54
— Address of the Association. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 160, November 5, 1864.—18
— Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europa’s. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 2-3, 21., 30. Dezember 1864.—18, 26, 102
— Manifest an die arbeitende Classe Europas. In: Mainzer Journal, Nr. 2, 3; 3., 4. Januar 1865.—63
— The Address. In: St. Louis Daily Press, No. 22, January 10, 1865.—73

Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions (present edition, Vol. 20)
— In: The International Courier, Nos. 6-7, February 20, 1867; Nos. 8-10, March 13, 1867.—315, 316, 326
— In: Le Courrier International, Nos. 8-10, 9 mars 1867, No. 11, 16 mars 1867.—316
— In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 10, Oktober; Nr. 11, November 1866.—315

Lord Palmerston (present edition, Vol. 12)
— In: The People’s Paper, Nos. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85 and 86; October 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, December 10, 17, 24, 1833
— Palmerston; Palmerston and Russia; A Chapter of Modern History; England and Russia. In: New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 3902, 3916, 3930 and 3973, October 19, November 4, 21, 1853, January 11, 1854.—531
— Palmerston and Russia, London. In: E. Tucker [1853] (Political Fly-Sheets, No. 1).—531
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

---


[Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland] (present edition, Vol. 21).—485


Plagiarism (present edition, Vol. 20)
— (anon.) Plagiarismus. In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 291, Beilage, 12. Dezember 1867.—495, 498, 503, 504, 507, 508-09, 515, 529


— In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 206, 4. September 1867 (in part).—423

— A New Work on Political Economy. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 308, September 7, 1867 (in part).—407, 423

— In: Der Beobachter, Nr. 210, 7. September 1867 (in part).—494


The ‘President of Mankind’ (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Der ‘Präsident der Menschheit’. In: Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 102, zweites Blatt, 12. April 1865; Berliner Reform, Nr. 88, 13. April 1865, Beilage.—140, 152


The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the ‘Philosophy of Poverty’ by M. Proudhon (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon. Paris-Bruxelles, 1847.—530

Provisional Rules of the Association (present edition, Vol. 20)
In: Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men’s International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin’s Hall, Long Acre, London. [London,] 1864.—18, 22, 47, 173, 214

Record of Marx’s Speech on the Attitude of the International Working Men’s Association to the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (present edition, Vol. 20). In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 305, August 17, 1867. In the article ‘International Working Men’s Association’ (in part); Le Courrier français, No. 77, 2 septembre 1867. In the article ‘Les Conditions de la paix’ (in part).—420

Resolutions of the Central Council on the Conflict in the Paris Section (present edition, Vol. 20).—108, 118, 130, 131

Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. 11)
— (anon.) Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln. Basel, 1853.—176, 531
— (anon.) Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln. [Boston,] 1853.—531

[Review of Engels' Pamphlet 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

Speech on the Question of Free Trade (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Discours sur la question du libre échange. Bruxelles, 1848.—530

Statement [Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the 'Social-Demokrat'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

[Synopsis of Engels' Pamphlet 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America (present edition, Vol. 20)
— To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 169, January 7, 1865.—49, 161

To the Editor of the Stuttgart 'Beobachter' (present edition, Vol. 20)

[Value, Price and Profit] (present edition, Vol. 20).—160, 162

A Warning (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Warnung. In: Der Bote vom Niederrhein, Nr. 57, 13. Mai 1866; Oberrheinischer Courier, Nr. 113, 15. Mai 1866; Mitteldeutsche Volks-Zeitung, Nr. 184, 10. August 1866.—272, 275

Engels, Frederick

The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution (present edition, Vol. 10)

The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources (present edition, Vol. 4)

_Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song (present edition, Vol. 20)_

_Notes on the War in Germany, I-V (present edition, Vol. 20). In: The Manchester Guardian, Nos. 6190, 6194, 6197, 6201, 6204; 20, 25, 28 June and 3, 6 July 1866.—286, 296_  

— In: _Rheinische Zeitung_, Nr. 62, 3. März 1865.—84, 111, 112

_Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (present edition, Vol. 3)_

_Po and Rhine (present edition, Vol. 16)_
— Po und Rhein. Berlin, 1859.—365

_The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party (present edition, Vol. 20)_
— In: _Rheinische Zeitung_, Nr. 68, 9. März 1865 (an extract from the pamphlet entitled 'Für die Arbeiterpartei').—126

_[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Zukunft'] (present edition, Vol. 20)_

_[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Rheinische Zeitung'] (present edition, Vol. 20)_

_[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Elberfelder Zeitung'] (present edition, Vol. 20)_

_[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Düsseldorfer Zeitung'] (present edition, Vol. 20)_

_[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Beobachter'] (present edition, Vol. 20)_
[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Neue Badische Landeszeitung'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Demokratisches Wochenblatt'] (present edition, Vol. 20)
— 'Das Kapital' von Marx. I-II. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 12, 13; 21., 28. März 1868.—539, 540, 546, 552

[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for 'The Fortnightly Review'] (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Karl Marx on Capital.—455, 457, 463, 466, 512, 516, 518, 524, 526, 552, 533, 545, 555, 560, 583

What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland? I-III (present edition, Vol. 20)
— In: The Commonwealth, Nos. 159, 160, 165; March 24 and 31, May 5, 1866.—223, 224, 228, 234, 235, 238, 239, 255, 257, 270, 277, 280

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick

The German Ideology. Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Various Prophets (present edition, Vol. 5)
— Die deutsche Ideologie. Kritik der neuesten deutschen Philosophie in ihren Repräsentanten, Feuerbach, B. Bauer und Stirner, und des deutschen Socialismus in seinen verschiedenen Propheten.—373

The Great Men of the Exile (present edition, Vol. 11)
— Die grossen Männer des Exils.—93, 118, 176, 182

The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company (present edition, Vol. 4)

Manifesto of the Communist Party (present edition, Vol. 6)
— Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. London, 1848.—4, 214, 215, 530
— Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.
London, 1865.—571, 572

To the Editor of the 'Social-Demokrat'. Statement (present edition, Vol. 20)
— An die Redaktion des Social-Demokrat. Erklärung.—75-78, 79, 81, 89, 95, 96

To the Editor of the 'Social-Demokrat' (present edition, Vol. 20)
— Erklärung. In: Berliner Reform, Nr. 51, 1. März 1865.—108
— An die Redaktion des Social-Demokrat in Berlin. In: Neue Frankfurter Zeitung, Nr. 60, 1. März 1865.—114

WORKS BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS


Alcott, L. Little Women.—370

Andral, G. Clinique médicale, ou choix d’observations recueillies à l’hôpital de la Charité (clinique de M. Lerminier), t. IV, Paris, 1827.—26


Balzac, Honoré de. Le chef-d’oeuvre inconnu.—348
— Le faiseur.—348
— Melmoth réconcilié.—348

Becker, B. Botschaft des Präsidenten. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 3, 30. Dezember 1864.—65, 104

Becker, H. [Speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1865.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 22, 15. Februar 1865.—94

Becker, J. Ph. (anon.) The International Working Men’s Association. In: The Workman’s Advocate, No. 145, December 16, 1865.—214
— (anon.) Rundschreiben der deutschen Abteilung des Zentral Komitees der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation für die Schweiz an die Arbeiter. Genf, den 1. November 1865.—214
— Zur Friedens- und Freiheitsliga. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 12, Dezember 1867.—581

Beesly, E. S. Catiline as a Party Leader. In: The Fortnightly Review, Vol. I, May 15 to August 1, 1865.—185

Berghaus, H. Physikalischer Schul-Atlas. Gotha, 1850.—28


Bible
The Old Testament
Genesis.—274
The New Testament
Luke.—509
Matthew.—467, 578
Bismarck, O. [Speech in the North German Parliament on 11 March 1867]. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 33, 15. März 1867.—355
— [Speech in the North German Parliament on 18 March 1867]. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 35, 20. März 1867.—351

Blanc, L. Lettres de Londres. In: Le Temps, No. 1815, 23 avril 1866.—270

Blind, K. [Address.] In: Der deutsche Eidgenosse, Nr. 1, 15. März 1865.—119
— Ein Freundeswort an Deutschlands Arbeiter, Bürger und Bauer. In: Hermann, 6. Juni 1863.—36
— (anom.) German Democracy. In: The Morning Star, February 24, 1865.—110
— [Letter to the American People.] In the article 'Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid'. In: Der Beobachter, Nr. 245, 21. Oktober 1864.—27, 44
— (anom.) [Regarding the Causes of Marx's and Engels' Breach with the Social-Demokrat.] In: Neue Frankfurter Zeitung, Nr. 64, 5. März 1865; Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 31, 8. März 1865.—120, 126, 129
— (anom.) [A Republican Protest.] In: Neue Frankfurter Zeitung, Nr. 270, 29. September 1864.—30, 38, 41, 44

— Meine Perle vor dem Genfer Congress. Von einem literarischen Diplomaten. Zürich, 1868.—435, 441, 478, 513

Borkheim], S. Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 5, 6, 17, 20, 1, 8. February, 25. April, 16. Mai 1868.—539, 552

Bright, J. [Speech in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on 19 January 1865.] In: The Times, No. 25087, January 20, 1865.—71, 74
— [Speech on Parliamentary Reform delivered at a meeting in Rochdale on 3 January 1866.] In: The Times, No. 25386, January 4, 1866.—212

Das Buch der Erfindungen, Gewerbe und Industrien. 3 Bände. 3. Auflage. Leipzig, 1858.—188


Burns, R. Is there for honest poverty.—91

Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar). Commentarii de bello Gallico.—558

Cervantes de Saavedra (Miguel de). Don Quixote.—313

Chaucer, G. Canterbury Tales.—246

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero). Oratio pro Sextia.—136

Clement, K. J. Schleswig, das urheimische Land des nicht dänischen Volks der Angeln und Frisen und Englands Mutterland, wie es war und ward. Hamburg, 1862.—8


Comte, A. *Cours de philosophie positive*. T. 1-6. Paris, 1830-1842.—292

Cotta, B. *Geologische Briefe aus den Alpen*. Leipzig, 1850.—28


Darwin, Ch. *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London, 1859.—136, 304, 322, 323, 327, 494


Denis, H. *La question polonaise et la démocratie*. In: *La Tribune du Peuple*, Nos. 41, 42, 43, 45, 46; 5, 26 mars, 17 avril, 29 mai, 30 juin 1864.—213, 223

Derby, E. [Statement on the Luxemburg Treaty, 20 June 1867.] In: *The Times*, No. 25843, June 21, 1867.—394

Diderot, D. *Le neveu de Rameau*.—34

Diogenes Laertius. *De viis philosophorum*.—373

Disraeli, B. *Vivian Grey*.—300

— [Speech made at Oxford on 25 November 1864.] In: *The Times*, No. 25040, November 26, 1864. *Mr. Disraeli at Oxford*.—48

— [Speech in the House of Commons on 4 June 1866.] In: *The Times*, No. 25516, June 5, 1866.—282


Dubois, L. *Les Conditions de la paix*. In: *Le Courrier français*, No. 77, 2 septembre 1867.—420


— *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirtschaftslehre*. Berlin, 1866.—544


— *Natürliche Dialektik. Neue logische Grundlegungen der Wissenschaft und Philosophie*. Berlin, 1865.—520, 544

— *Die Schicksale meiner sozialen Denkschrift für das Preussische Staatsministerium. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Autorrechts und der Gesetzesanwendung*. Berlin, 1868.—548

— *Die Verkleinerer Careys und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie. 16 Briefe*. Breslau,
1867.—522, 536, 537, 548, 551, 555

Duller, E. *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*. Leipzig, 1840.—27


Dunning, T. J. *Trades Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*. London, 1860.—159


Eccarius, J. G. *The Geneva Peace Congress. To the Editor of the 'Bee-Hive'*. In: *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 325, January 4, 1868.—519

— (anon.) *International Working Men's Congress (From a correspondent)*. In: *The Times*, Nos. 25909, 25911, 25912, 25913; September 6, 9, 10, 11, 1867.—422, 425, 428, 434, 437


— *A Working Man's Refutation of Some Points of Political Economy endorsed and advocated by John Stuart Mill*. In: *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 192-95, 198, 200, 203, 204, 206-211; November 10, 17 and 24, December 1 and 25, 1866; January 5 and 26, February 2, 16 and 23, March 2, 9, 16 and 23, 1867.—394


— *Praktische Erdkunde mit Illustrationen*. St. Gallen, 1860.—188

— *Praktische Schweizerkunde für Schule und Haus*. 2. Aufl. St. Gallen, 1861.—188


Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland. Redigirt von der kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Großen Generalstabes. Berlin, 1867.—510, 517, 523


Fox, P. *The British coup d'état in Ireland*. In: *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 136, October 14, 1856.—228

— *The Influence of Irish National Feeling upon the Relations between Great Britain and the United States*. In: *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 137, October 21, 1865.—228


— *The Irish Question*. In: *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 153, 154, February 10 and 17, 1866.—230

— (anon.) [Report about the Central Council meeting of 14 November 1865.] In: *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 141, November 18, 1865, under the title 'The International Working Men's Association'.—199

Fraas, K. *Die Ackerbaukrise und ihre Heilmittel*. Leipzig, 1866.—548

— *Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, oder: Geschichtliche Übersicht der Fortschritte*
landwirthschaftlicher Erkenntnisse in den letzten 100 Jahren. Prag, 1852.—548, 559
— Historisch-encyklopädischer Grundriß der Landwirtschaftslehre. Stuttgart, 1848.—548
— Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte beider. Landshut, 1847.—548, 559
Freiligrath, F. Westphalian Summer Song. From the German. In: The Athenaeum, No. 2019, July 7, 1866.—290
Freytag, G. Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes. Leipzig, 1862.—27
— Soll und Haben. Roman in sechs Büchern. In 1855 and 1856 six editions appeared.—28
Fribourg, E. et Limousin, Ch. [Report on the London Conference of 1865.] In: L’Opinion nationale, No. 277, 8 octobre 1865; L’Avenir national, 12 octobre 1865.—199, 201

Geib, A. [Speech at the General Assembly of the General Association of German Workers on 24 November 1867.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 139, 29. November 1867, erste Beilage.—495
Gerhardt, Ch. et Chancel, G. Précis d'analyse chimique qualitative. Deuxième édition. Paris, 1862.—385, 387

Giebel, C. G. Die Säugethiere in zoologischer, anatomischer und paläontologischer Beziehung. Leipzig, 1855.—28
Gneist, H.-R. [Speech in the Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Landtag on 21 March 1865.] In: Berliner Reform, Nr. 69, 22. März 1865, Beilage.—154, 157
— Der Fischer.—25
— Totalität. Epigrammatisch.—504
Grimm, J. Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer. 2. Ausg. Göttingen, 1854.—548, 554, 558
Grimm, W. Die Deutsche Heldensage. Göttingen, 1829.—168
Grube, A. W. Biographien aus der Naturkunde, in ästhetischer Form und religiösem Sinne. Stuttgart, 1850.—28
Grün, K. Armées permanentes ou milices. IV. Ce que l’Allemagne du Sud a fait et ce qu’elle pourrait faire. In: Les États-Unis d’Europe, No. 7, 16 février 1868.—534, 540-41
Guhl, E. und Koner, W. Das Leben der Griechen und Römer nach antiken Bildwerken. Berlin, 1862.—28
Harrison, F. The Limits of Political Economy. In: The Fortnightly Review. Vol. I, May 15 to August 1, 1865.—185
Harting, P. Die Macht des Kleinen sichtbar in der Bildung der Rinde unseres Erdballs oder Überblick der Gestaltung, der geographischen und geologischen Verbreitung der Polyphen, Foraminiferen und kieselschaligen Bacillarien. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Dr. A. Schwartzkopf, mit einem Vorworte von M. J. Schleiden, Dr. Leipzig, 1851.—28
Hebel, J. P. Der Schwarzwälder im Breisgau.—188
Hegel, G. W. F. Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse, Dritte Ausgabe. Heidelberg, 1830.—382
Heine, H. Atta Troll, Ein Sommernachtstraum.—32, 52
— Den König Wiswamitra... In: Buch der Lieder. Die Heimkehr.—242, 245
— Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen.—52
Herwegh, G. An die Redaktion des ‘Social-Demokrat’—see Rüstow, W., Herwegh, G.
— Zur Beachtung. In: Nordstern, Nr. 303, 1. April 1865.—140
— Paris, 28. Januar. [Internationale Arbeiter-Association.—Geldkrisis.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 16, 1. Februar 1865.—75
— Paris, 7. Febr. [Amerika.—Der Orient.—Italien.—Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 21, 12. Februar 1865.—89, 95

Heß, M. Eine Warnung. In: Nordstern, Nr. 320, 19. August 1865.—190

Hildebrand, Camera obscura. Haarlem, 1839.—242

Hirschfeld, R. [Statement.] In: Hermann, Nr. 426, 2. März 1867.—349


Hoffmann, E. T. A. Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober.—230, 232, 233


Hofstetten, J. B. [Speech at the General Assembly of the General Association of German Workers on 24 November 1867.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 139, 29. November 1867, erste Beilage.—495

Holyake, G. J. The Interview with Mr. Walpole. In: The Times, No. 25561, July 27, 1866.—300

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). Carminum, III.—340
— Carminum, IV.—250
— Satirarum, II, III.—73

Hübner, O. [Address to the electors.] In: Le Courrier français, No. 81, 6 septembre 1867.—421, 422


— Co-operation. What It Is, and What It Ought To Be (present edition, Vol. 11). In: Notes to the People, Vol. 1, No. 21, September 20, 1851.—15
— [Speech at the trial of the Fenians in Manchester on 8 November 1867.] In: The Times, No. 25964, November 9, 1867.—466

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis). Satirarum—504

Kant, I. Kritik der reinen Vernunft. Riga, 1781.—238

Kekulé, A. Lehrbuch der Organischen Chemie oder der Chemie der Kohlenstoffverbindungen. Bände I-II. Erlangen, 1861-1867.—387

Kiesselbach, W. Der Gang des Welthandels und die Entwicklung des europäischen Völkerlebens im Mittelalter. Stuttgart, 1860.—28
Kfugelmann, L. [Notice on Volume One of Capital.] In: Deutsche Volkszeitung, 10. November 1867.—473, 489-90

La Fontaine. Les voleurs et l'ane.—438

Lange, F. A. Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft. Duisburg, 1865.—127, 136-38

Lange, L. Römische Alterthümer. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1856-1862.—27

Lapinski, Th. Die Bergvölker des Kaukasus und ihr Freiheitskampf gegen die Russen. Bände I-II. Hamburg, 1863.—163


Lau, Th. Lucius Cornelius Sulla. Eine Biographie. Hamburg, 1855.—28

Laurent, A. Méthode de Chimie. Paris, 1854.—385

Lefort, H. [Letter to L'Association of 25 March 1865.] In: L'Association, No. 6, avril 1865.—140


Le Prince de Beaumont. La Belle et la Bête.—242

Liebig, J. Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie. 7. Aufl., Th. I-II. Braunschweig, 1862.—227, 292, 507

Liebknecht, W. [Speech at a meeting of the Berlin branch of the General Association of German Workers on 27 March 1865.] In: C. Schilling, Die Ausstoßung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'. Berlin, 1865.—176, 191, 201

— [Speech in the North-German Parliament on 30 September 1867.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 229, 1. Oktober 1867.—433, 444, 445

— [Speech in the North-German Parliament on 17 October 1867.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 245, 19. Oktober 1867.—513

— [Speech in the Berlin Printers' Association on Marx's and Engels' breach with Der Social-Demokrat on 28 February 1865.] In: Rheinische Zeitung, Nr. 63, 4. März 1865 under the heading Der Standpunkt der Arbeiterpartei.—134

— Report on the Working-Class Movement in Germany. Ms. [1865].—190, 201


The Life and Memoirs of Algernon Sidney.—273, 275

— President Lincoln and the International Working Men’s Association (signed: Charles Francis Adams). In: The Express, February 6, 1865.—86

Livy (Titus Livius). Ab urbe condita libri.—17, 52, 295

Longuet, Ch. La question agricole, et le libre échange. In: La Rive gauche, No. 15, 15 avril 1866.—281


McCulloch, J. R. The Principles of Political Economy. The first edition appeared in Edinburgh in 1825.—408


Martin, H. [Preface to the report of the French delegates on the London Conference.] In: Le Siècle, 14 octobre 1865.—202

Maurer, G. L. Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt München, 1854.—547-49, 554, 557
— Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland Bände 1-2. Erlangen, 1865-1866.—547-49, 554, 557
— Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland Bände I-IV. Erlangen, 1862-1863.—547-49, 554, 557
— Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland. Erlangen, 1856.—547-49, 554, 557

Mazade, Ch. La Russie sous l’empereur Alexandre II.—La société et le gouvernement russes depuis l’insurrection polonaise. In: Revue des deux Mondes, T. 62, 15 mars 1866.—257


Mill, J. S. [Speech in the House of Commons on 17 April 1866.] In: The Times, No. 25475, 18 April 1866.—269

Miquel, J. [Speech in the North-German Parliament on 9 April 1867.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 45, 12. April 1867.—373

The Miller of the Dee.—241, 244, 249

Molière. Les fourberies de Scapin.—290, 296

Moltke, H. K. B. Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829. Berlin, 1845.—520

Möser, J. *Osnabrückische Geschichte*. Theil 1. Berlin und Stettin, 1780.—547
— *Patriotische Phantasien*. Theil 3. Berlin, 1820.—558

Mozin-Peschier. *Dictionnaire complet des langues française et allemande...* 4 éd. 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1863.—28


Münster, G. H. *Politische Skizzen über die Lage Europas vom Wiener Congreß bis zur Gegenwart* (1815-1867). Leipzig, 1867.—520


Napoleon III. [Speech in Osere on 6 May 1866.] In: *The Times*, No. 25492, May 8, 1866.—274


Nösselt, F. A. *Abriss der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte bis auf die neuesten Zeiten*. Breslau, 1814.—27

Nouguès, L. *L'Art militaire et le progrès*. In: *Le Courrier français*, Nos. 123, 125; 18, 20 octobre 1867.—455


— *Conference held on August the 27th, 1822, at Constantinople. From the Work of Baron Prokesch*. In: *The Diplomatic Review*, October 2, 1867.—464

Proudhon, R.-J. *Lettres inédites de P.-J. Proudhon sur les générations spontanées*. In: *Le Courier français*, No. 121, 123, 124; 16, 18, 19 octobre 1867.—455

Prozeß gegen den Schriftsteller Herrn Ferdinand Lassalle, verhandelt zu Düsseldorf vor der korrektionellen Appellkammer am 27. Juni 1864 (Separat-Abdruck aus der Düsseldorfer Zeitung, Nr. 176, 177, 178). Düsseldorf, 1864.—12, 38

Ramayana.—242

Rasch, G. Ein Immortellenkranz auf das Grab eines Märtyrers (Max Dortu). In: Der deutsche Eidgenosse [Nr. 1], 15. März 1865.—119
— Zwölf Streiter der Revolution—see Struve, G. und Rasch, G.—397

Régnauld, É. Histoire politique et sociale des principautés danubiennes Paris, 1855.—163
— La question européenne improprement appelée polonaise. Paris, 1863.—163

Régnier, M. Stances—453
— Épigrammes—453-54

Reusche, F. Falsche Freunde und offene Feinde. In: Nordstern, Nr. 304, 8. April 1865.—147


Röckel, A. Sachsens Erhebung und das Zuchthaus zu Waldheim. Frankfurt a. M., 1865.—270

Rogear, A. Les propos de Labienus. Septième édition. Bruxelles, 1865.—243


Roon, A. [Speech in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 8 February 1865.] In: The Times, No. 25104, February 9, 1865.—83


Rost, V. Ch. F. Griechisch-Deutsches Schul-Wörterbuch. 2. Ausgabe. Erfurt und Gotha, 1823.—28


Rückert, F. Die Weisheit des Brahmanen.—149

Rüstow, W. Der Krieg von 1866 in Deutschland und Italien, politisch-militärisch beschreiben. Zürich, 1866.—365
Zur Aufklärung. In: Nordstern, Nr. 303, 1. April 1865.—139, 140


Schiller, J. Ch. F. von. Don Carlos.—12, 53, 103
— Das Eleusische Fest.—242
— Das Lied von der Glocke.—299

Schilling, C. Die Ausstoßung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'. Berlin, 1865.—176, 179, 180, 181, 191

Schleiden, M. J. Studien. Populäre Vorträge. Leipzig, 1855.—27


Schmeller, J. A. Bayerisches Wörterbuch. Theile 1-4. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1827-1837.—554

Schoemann, G. F. Griechische Alterthümer. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1855-1859.—27

Schorlemmer, C. Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series $C_nH_{2n+2}$. In: Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 94, 1867, No. 102. 1868.—560


Schweitzer, J. B. (anon.) [Conclusion to Rüstow's and Herwegh's Statement on their refusal to cooperate on Der Social-Demokrat.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 31, 8. März 1865.—120, 128-29
— (anon.) Die deutsche Social-Demokratie. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 19, 8. Februar 1865.—83
— (anon.) Das Kirchenthum und die moderne Civilisation. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 5, 6. Januar 1865.—78
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck. I. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 14, 27. Januar 1865.—104
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck. II. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 18, 5. Februar 1865.—104
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck. III. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 23, 17. Februar 1865.—104
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck. IV. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 24, 18. Februar 1865.—104
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck, V. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 28, 1. März 1865.—113
— (anon.) Das Ministerium Bismarck und die Regierungen der Mittel- und Kleinstaaten. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 6, 8. Januar 1865.—78
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare, W.</td>
<td><em>King Henry IV.</em></td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Merry Wives of Windsor.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hamburg. Otto Meißner.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon, L.</td>
<td><em>Deutschland und seine beiden Großmächte.</em></td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In: <em>Demokratische Studien.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hamburg.</em></td>
<td>1860.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, W.</td>
<td><em>A Latin-English Dictionary. Based upon the Works of Forcellini and Freund.</em></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>London,</em> 1855.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalder, F. J.</td>
<td><em>Versuch eines Schweizerischen Idiotikon,</em></td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mit etymologischen Bemerkungen untermiscbt. <em>Band I. Basel und Aarau,</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1806; Band II. <em>Aarau,</em> 1812.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley, E.</td>
<td>[Statement on the Luxemburg Treaty made on 14 June 1867.] In: <em>The Times,</em> Nr. 25838, June 15, 1867.</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stein, L.</td>
<td><em>System der Staatswissenschaft,</em> Bd. I-II. <em>Stuttgart und Tübingen,</em></td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1852-1856.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Die Verwaltunglehre.</em></td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stieler, A.</td>
<td><em>Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde und über das Weltgebäude.</em></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gotha,</em> 1859.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struve, G.</td>
<td><em>Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden.</em></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bern, 1849.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Die „Teig-Gesichter“ in Deutschland.</em> In: <em>Der deutsche Eidgenosse</em> [No. 1], 15. März 1865.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struve, G. und Rasch, G.</td>
<td><em>Zwölf Streiter der Revolution.</em></td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Berlin,</em> 1867.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swift, J.</td>
<td><em>Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World,</em> by Lemuel Gulliver,* First a Surgeon,* and then a Captain of Several Ships.*</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus, Publius Cornelius.</td>
<td><em>Germania.</em></td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence (Publius Terentius Afer).</td>
<td><em>Andria.</em></td>
<td>52, 498, 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Haentontimoremens.</em></td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ternaux, M.</td>
<td><em>Histoire de la Terreur 1792-1794 d'après des documents authentiques et inédits.</em></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thornton, W. T.</td>
<td><em>Stray Chapters from a Forthcoming Work on Labour.</em></td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In: <em>The Fortnightly Review,</em> Vol. II. No. 10, October 1, 1867.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thünen, J. H.</td>
<td><em>Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie.</em></td>
<td>522, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Th. 1-III. <em>Rostok,</em> 1842-1863.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolain, H.</td>
<td><em>Congrès de Lausanne.</em></td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In: <em>Le Courrier français,</em> Nos. 80-86, 5-11 septembre 1867.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Paris,</em> 1865.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tyndall, J. Heat considered as a Mode of Motion. London, 1865.—212


— Fall of Austria, and Its Consequences to the World. In: The Diplomatic Review, Vol. XV, Nr. 3, March 6, 1867.—349

Vermorel, A. La prochaine campagne de la Prusse. In: Le Courrier français, No. 84, 9 septembre 1867.—426, 428


— La Vie du nouveau César, Étude historique. 1ère partie. Genève, 1865.—218


Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro). Aeneid.—31, 276, 327, 371

— Georgicon.—281


Voltaire, F.-M. A. Candide.—522


Wagener, H. Denkschrift über die wirthschaftlichen Associationen und socialen Coalitionen. Zweite Auflage. Neuschöpfeld an Leipzig [1866].—548

— [Speech in the North-German Parliament on 23 March 1867.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 38, 27. März 1867.—355

Watts, J. Trade Societies and Strikes: their good and evil Influences on the Members of Trades Unions, and on Society at large. Machinery: its Influences on Work and Wages, and Co-operative Societies, Productive and Distributive, Past, Present, and Future. Manchester, 1865.—224, 228, 234

Weerth, G. Es gibt nichts Schöntes auf der Welt.—521


Wurtz, A. Leçons de philosophie chimique. Paris, 1864.—385, 388

DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN’S ASSOCIATION

L’Association Internationale des Travailleurs. In: Le Siècle, 14 octobre 1865.—199

*Documents written by Marx see in Section ‘Works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; Marx, Karl’.

Congrès de Genève. Société Internationale des Travailleurs. In: Le Courrier international, Nos. 8-16, 9, 16, 23; 30 mars, 6, 13, 20, 27 avril 1867.—346


Great International Conference of Working Men. In: The Workman’s Advocate, No. 134, September 30, 1865.—200

Great Meeting for Poland. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 177, March 4, 1865.—143

International Working Men’s Association. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 305, August 17, 1867.—420

International Working Men’s Association. In: The Miner and Workman’s Advocate, No. 97, 7 January 1865.—60

Meeting of the General Council.—Mr. Beales on Fenianism.—Extraordinary Scene. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 315, October 26, 1867 (in the section ‘The Reform League’).—460

Questions proposées pour le congrès de Bruxelles. 1er lundi de septembre 1868 (signed in the name of the Paris committee by Murat, Camélina, Girardin). In: Le Courrier français, 11 décembre 1867.—520

The State Prisoners. An Appeal to the Women of Ireland. In: The Workman’s Advocate, No. 148, January 6, 1866. Signed by O’Donovan Rossa and Luby.—228

To the Editor of ‘L’Echo de Verviers’. Signed by H. Jung (present edition, Vol. 20). In: L’Echo de Verviers, No. 43, 20 février 1866.—250

To the Workmen of France from the Working Men of England. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 112, December 5, 1863. In the article ‘Address of English to French Workmen’.—15

The Working Men’s International Association. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 169, January 7, 1865.—60

DOCUMENTS

An Act for Facilitating in Certain Cases the Proceedings of the Commissioners Appointed to make Inquiry Respecting Trades Unions and other Associations of Employers or Workmen. 5th April 1867.—448

An Act for Regulating the Hours of Labour for Children, Young Persons, and Women employed in Workshops; and for other Purposes relating thereto [21st August 1867]. In: The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1867, p. 454.—401

An Act to Extend the 'Trades Union Commission Act, 1867'. 12th August 1867.—448, 489

Address of Germans to the American Nation. Signed by Blind, Freiligrath, Heinzmann, Juch, Kinkel, Berndes, Siemens, Trübner, Ravenstein. In: The Times, No. 25171, April 28, 1865.—151

Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. Tables showing the Estimated Average Produce of the Crops for the Year 1866; and the Emigration from the Irish Ports, from 1st January to 31st December, 1866; also the Number of Mills for scutching flax in each Country and Province. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. Dublin, 1867.—461

Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Vols. I-II. 1841.—549

Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Bill. 1866-1868.—401

Aux étudiants des universités d’Allemagne et d’Italie, les étudiants de Paris. Signed by Albert Fermé, Jules Carret, Robert Vaillant, Émile Richard, Robert Levasseur, Gibrale, etc. In: Le Courrier français, No. 15, 20 mai 1866.—281

Children's Employment Commission (1862). Reports (I-V) of the Commissioners.—224, 383
   — Fifth Report... London, 1866.—296

Code civil—see Code Napoléon

Code Napoléon. Paris und Leipzig, 1808.—422, 503

Code pénal, ou code des délits et des peines. Cologne, 1810.—332-33, 438

East India (Bengal and Orissa Famine). Papers and Correspondence relative to the Famine in Bengal and Orissa, including the Report of the Famine Commission and the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Governor General of India. (Presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command.) Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 31 May 1867.—401

East India (Madras and Orissa Famine). Return to an Address of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 4 July 1867. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30 July 1867.—401

Factory Reports—see Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...

Gewerbeordnung für den Norddeutschen Bund. 1869.—546
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


Leges barbarorum.—558
Leges duodecim tabularum.—31
Lex Baiuvariorum.—553

Moustier [L.] [Note of 1 November 1867.] In: Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 5. November 1867.—462

Public Health. Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council.—224
— Eighth Report. With Appendix. London, 1866.—296, 301, 383

Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. London, 1857.—185

Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. London, 1858.—185

Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department [for the 1840s-1860s]. London, 1842-1867.—23, 224
— For the Half Year ending 31st October 1865. London, 1866.—224, 230, 232

Resolutions de Paris. Paris, 1791.—71


ANONYMOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS PUBLISHED IN PERIODICAL EDITIONS

Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 119 (Beilage), 29. April 1865: Städtetebuch des Landes Posen.—156
— Nr. 273, 30. September 1867: [Announcement about the publication of Volume One of Capital by Karl Marx].—437


Der Beobachter, Nr. 245, 21. Oktober 1864: Bescheidenheit—ein Ehrenkleid.—27, 41, 44
— Nr. 268, 17. November 1864: Karl Blind.—52

Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige, Nr. 27, 3. März 1865: [Announcement about the publication of The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party by Frederick Engels].—475
— Nr. 214, 14. September 1867: [Announcement about the publication of Volume One of Capital by Karl Marx].—475
— Nr. 230, 3. Oktober 1867: [Announcement about the publication of Borkheim's speech at the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom].—449, 452

The Commonwealth, No. 165, May 5, 1866: [Statement by the Editor].—280

Le Courrier français, Nos. 85, 86; 10, 11 septembre 1867: [Reports in the Section Nouvelles].—430
— No. 88, 13 septembre 1867: [Reports on the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom].—435
— No. 106, 1 octobre 1867: La Situation au Mexique.—438
— No. 113, 8 octobre 1867: Le Troisième larron.—438

The Daily News, March 2, 1865: The Late Polish Insurrection.—143

The Daily Telegraph, No. 3249, November 17, 1865 (leader).—197

Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 2, 11. Januar 1868: Das Preußische und das Schweizer Heersystem.—534, 540

The Diplomatic Review, October 2, 1867: Events of the Month.—434

The Fortnightly Review, No. 37, December 1866 (leader).—338, 340

Die Gartenlaube, Nr. 10, 1867: [Article on Karl Vogt with his photograph].—365

Hermann, Nr. 426, 2. März 1867: Herr 'Stieber' und der 'Hermann'.—349
— Nr. 453, 7. September 1867: [Report on the course of money subscription for Freiligrath].—424

Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg, No. 140, 23 juin (5 juillet) 1866: Nouvelles de l'extérieur [On the Victory of the Prussian army over the Austrians at the battle of Sadowa on 3 July 1866].—293

Kölnische Zeitung, Nr. 63, 4. März 1865: [Announcement about the publication of The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party by Frederick Engels].—116
— 8. April 1866: Die Loge, Köln, 7. April.—264
— 6. November 1867.—466
Libertà e Giustizia, No. 2, 24 agosto 1867: La Questione romana.—420

The Manchester Guardian, No. 5686, November 8, 1864: Central Executive Relief Committee.—21-23
— No. 6165, May 22, 1866: From our London correspondent. London, Monday.—280

The Morning Advertiser, No. 22726, April 11, 1864: Interview of Karl Blind with Garibaldi.—35
— November 9, 1864.—36

The Morning Star, No. 3596, September 10, 1864 (leader).—424

Mосковския вьдомости, № 210, 28 сентября 1867: [Report on Borkheim's Meine Perle vor dem Genfer Congress].—452


Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 229, 30. September 1864: Politischer Tagesbericht.—49
— 19. Februar 1865.—106
— Nr. 97, 26. April 1867: Politischer Tagesbericht. 25. April 1867.—373
— Nr. 139, 18. Juni 1867: Politischer Tagesbericht. 17. Juni 1867.—394

Nordstern, Nr. 287, 10. Dezember 1864, S. 2: [Footnote].—56
— Nr. 299, 4. März 1865: Aufgeschaut and Die Wölfe im Schafskleid.—130
— Nr. 307, 29. April 1865: [Report in the section Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein, signed: Solingen].—152
— Nr. 308, 6. Mai 1865: [Report in the section Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein, signed: Köln].—154, 156
— Nr. 313, 24. Juni 1865: Offene Erklärungen; Offene Erklärung; Erklärung der Mitglieder des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins; Gemeinde Alainz; Erklärung der Solinger Gemeinde.—161, 165
— Nr. 315, 316, 8., 15. Juli 1865: Das Turnerfest im Paris.—177

North British Daily Mail, March 30, 1863: M. Karl Blind.—35

The Observer, No. 3804, April 10, 1864: Garibaldi. Preliminary Meetings in London.—35
— No. 3805, April 17, 1864: Garibaldi. Address of the Germans in London.—35
— No. 3806, April 24, 1864: Garibaldi. The Crystal Palace.—Mr. Fergusson's Letter.—35


Русский ведомости, № 336, 5 декабря 1867: С.-Петербургъ, 4-го декабря.—506

St.-Petersburger Zeitung, Nr. 10, 14. (26.) Januar 1865: Die Eröffnung der preußischen Landtags-Session.—506

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, January 18, 1868: [Item on Volume One of Capital by Karl Marx].—527, 529, 533

Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 1, Probe-Nummer, 15. Dezember 1864: [Announcement about cooperation of Marx and Engels with the Social-Demokrat].—58, 102, 129
— Nr. 15, 29. Januar 1865: Einsendungen von Arbeitern (Aus Asch in Böhmen).—70
— Nr. 20, 10. Februar 1865.—88
— Nr. 21, 12. Februar 1865.—88
— Nr. 25, 22. Februar 1865: Berlin, 21. Februar.—106
— Nr. 50, 21. April 1865: Vermischtes (Gegen den Allg. deutsch. Arb.-Verein).—150
— Nr. 102, 30. August 1867: [Report from Erfurt].—417
— Nr. 107, 11. September 1867: Unser Sieg im Barmen-Elberfeld.—417
— Nr. 122, 123, 16., 18. Oktober 1867.—450

The Times, April 19, 1864: General Garibaldi.—34
— No. 25021, November 4, 1864: Southern Italy (From our own correspondent). Naples, Oct. 30.—47
— No. 25107, February 13, 1865: Prussia. Berlin, Feb. 11.—90, 95
— No. 25110, February 16, 1865: The Prussian Legislature. Berlin, Feb. 15.—94
— No. 25347, November 20, 1865 (leader).—199
— No. 25367, December 13, 1865: Parliamentary Reform.—215, 221
— No. 25368, December 14, 1865 (leader).—215, 221
— No. 25436, March 3, 1866 (leader).—236
— No. 25436, March 3, 1866: The Outbreak in Jamaica (From Our Special Correspondent). Spanish town, Jamaica, Feb. 9.—236
— No. 25437, March 5, 1866 (leader).—236
— No. 25468, April 10, 1866 (leader).—264
— No. 25469, April 11, 1866: Austria and Prussia. Berlin, April 10.—267
— No. 25827, June 3, 1867: Paris, Saturday, June 1, 6 p.m.—378-79
— No. 25917, September 16, 1867 (leader).—435
— No. 25974, November 21, 1867: London Meetings.—485
— No. 26074, March 17, 1868: Prussia (From Our Own Correspondent), Berlin, March 14.—555


Der weiße Adler, Nr. 30, 11. März 1865; Ein Meeting zu Gunsten Polens in London.—143

Zeitung für Norddeutschland, Nr. 5522, 15. Februar 1867: [Report on Marx’s intention to go to the Continent to take part in preparations for the Polish uprising].—346, 347, 352

Die Zukunft, Nr. 199, 27. August 1867, Beilage: Englische Briefe.—421
— Nr. 208, 6. September 1867, Beilage: [Advertisement about Käthe Freiligrath’s engagement].—425
— Nr. 246, 20. Oktober 1867, Beilage: [Bebel’s and Liebknecht’s amendment to § 2 of the Combination Bill].—456
INDEX OF PERIODICALS

*Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*—a newspaper of the German Officers' and Soldiers' Society published from 1826 to 1902, first in Darmstadt and then in Leipzig; Engels contributed to it from 1860 to 1864.—286

*Allgemeine Zeitung*—a conservative daily founded in 1798, published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—51, 156, 437, 515

*L'Association*—a French journal of the co-operative workers' associations which were under the influence of the bourgeois republicans; published from 1864 to 1866 in Paris and Brussels.—66, 79, 85, 115, 119, 140


*Augsburger Abendzeitung*—a liberal daily published under this title in Augsburg in 1826-1912.—466

*L'Avenir national*—a French democratic daily published in Paris in 1865-73; printed information on the activity of the Paris Administration of the International.—85

*Barmer Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Barmen from 1834 to 1931.—114, 471, 507, 509, 529

*The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a weekly trade unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 it printed documents of the First International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper's editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—18, 50, 60, 109, 143, 154, 159, 169, 173, 407, 420, 423, 519

*Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*—a weekly founded by German petty-bourgeois refugees in New York in 1852 and published under this title from 18 March 1853 to 10 March 1854.—118

*Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben*—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; in the 1860s, organ of the petty-bourgeois democracy.—27, 41-43, 44, 45, 52, 492, 493, 495, 500, 503, 507, 510, 511, 512
Index of Periodicals

Berliner Reform—a daily of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published in Berlin from 1861 to 1868.—63, 108, 134, 154, 160, 180

Bonner Zeitung—a daily of the National-Liberals; published under this title from 1850.—126

Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige—a daily organ of the League of German booksellers published in Leipzig from 1834 to 1926.—449, 452-53

Der Botschafter—an Austrian daily, an official government newspaper published in Vienna in 1862-65.—176

Bromberger Zeitung—a German liberal daily founded in Bromberg (Polish name Bydgoszcz) in 1843.—267

The Chronicle—a Catholic weekly published in London in 1867-68.—464

The Commonwealth—a weekly of the General Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of The Workman's Advocate; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade unionists on the board, the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—224, 228, 230, 234, 235, 238, 243, 249, 252, 253, 255, 257, 262, 268, 270, 271, 275, 277, 280, 283, 290, 327, 330, 339, 346, 574

Le Courrier français—a weekly (from June 1867, a daily) of the Left republicans published in Paris from 1861 to 1868; virtually an organ of the International in France from May 1866.—281, 398, 407, 413, 419, 420, 422, 424, 428, 429, 430, 438, 447, 449, 450, 454, 463, 483, 488, 490, 496, 508, 520, 523, 532, 542, 580, 583

Dagbladet—a Danish newspaper published in Copenhagen from 1851.—6, 21, 183

The Daily News—a liberal newspaper of the English industrial bourgeoisie; appeared under this name in London from 1846 to 1930.—73, 86, 143

The Daily Telegraph—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily; published under this title in London from 1855 to 1937.—197

Debatte—a Viennese daily published from November 1864 to October 1869.—537

Demokratische Studien—a journal published in Hamburg from 1860 by Ludwig Walesrode.—364

Demokratisches Wochenblatt—a German workers' newspaper published in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and renamed Der Volksstaat.—477, 479, 484, 488, 492, 505, 512, 525, 534, 538, 539, 540, 552

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first and second issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844; it carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—515, 550

Deutsche Arbeiterhalle—a monthly of the Union of German Workers' Associations, which was headed by August Bebel; published in Mannheim in 1867-68.—515
Deutsche-Brüsseller-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by the German political refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848; from September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to it and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—97

Der deutsche Eidgenosse—a monthly of the German petty-bourgeois democrats; published in London and Hamburg in 1865-67.—97, 119, 126, 273

Deutsche Volkszeitung—a daily of the Party of the Guelphs published in Hanover from 1867.—473

Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben—a democratic weekly that appeared in Leipzig from 1851 to 1867; in 1852-65 Robert Prutz was its publisher.—484

Deutsches Wochenblatt—a weekly, organ of the German People's Party from the end of 1865, published in Mannheim in 1864-67.—198

The Diplomatic Review—a foreign policy journal published under this title, as the continuation of The Free Press, from June 1866 to 1877 (up to July 1870 as a monthly, then as a quarterly); its publisher was David Urquhart.—349, 398, 419, 422, 427, 434, 464

Düsseldorfer Zeitung—a German daily founded in 1745; published under this title from 1826 to 1926; voiced liberal views in the 1840s-60s.—84, 108, 111, 114, 119, 129, 133, 134, 140, 471, 529

L'Echo de Verviers—a Belgian democratic daily founded in 1864; mouthpiece of petty-bourgeois elements in the French Section in London, who were hostile to Marx and the Central Council of the International.—213, 214, 216, 250

Elberfelder Zeitung—a daily published under this title from 1834 to 1904; in the 1860s voiced liberal views.—114, 461, 463, 529

Les États-Unis d'Europe—an organ of the pacifist international League of Peace and Freedom; founded in Berne in 1867; from 1870, it appeared in Geneva, then again in Berne until 1919; the paper was published in different languages and at different intervals.—482, 499, 534, 541

The Evening Star—see The Morning Star

The Express—an evening liberal paper that appeared in London in 1846-69.—86

The Fortnightly Review—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently became liberal in character; under this title published in London till 1934.—185, 338, 340, 455, 457, 463, 466, 512, 516, 518, 524, 526, 532, 533, 545, 560, 583

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a daily democratic paper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—471, 529, 532, 534, 536, 537

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 The Diplomatic Review; it printed several works by Marx.—52, 154, 178, 212, 332, 418
Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt—a literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903 and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.—365, 447, 580

La Gazette de France—a royalist paper published in Paris from 1631 to 1914 (first once and then twice a week, and from 1792 daily).—424

Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse—a liberal-democratic daily founded in Lausanne in 1798.—422

Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg—a weekly of the commercial and industrial circles, published in Stuttgart from 1849 as a supplement to the Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg.—500, 503

The Glasgow Sentinel—a Scottish weekly, organ of the Tories, published in Glasgow from 1850 to 1877.—34

Guardian—see The Manchester Guardian


How Do You Do?—a humorous German-language weekly, published in London from 1796; in the 1850s it was edited by Beta (Bettziech).—447

Illustrierter Familien-Kalender—an annual magazine published in Leipzig by A. H. Payne from 1857 to 1874.—447

Illustrierte Zeitung—a German weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the middle of the nineteenth century it was of a moderate liberal orientation.—533

L'Indépendance belge. Journal mondial d'informations politiques et littéraires—a liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—215

The International Courier—a weekly published in London from November 1864 to July 1867 in English and French, its French name being Le Courrier international. In 1867, the paper was the organ of the International.—346

Internationale Revue—an Austrian bourgeois-democratic monthly published in Vienna in 1866-68.—464, 466, 484, 512, 516

The Irishman—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885, first in Belfast and then in Dublin; reflected the views of the moderate elements of the national movement; came out in defence of Fenians.—464, 485, 504, 521

Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs—a monthly of the Internationals' sections in Romance Switzerland, published in Geneva from December 1865 to September 1866 with the participation of Johann Philipp Becker.—207, 214, 219, 220

Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg—a newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, published under this title in French from 1825 to 1914.—293

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; during the July monarchy, organ of the government; during the 1848 revolution, it voiced monarchist views; after the 1851 coup d'état, an organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—109
**Kladderadatsch**—an illustrated satirical weekly of liberal trend, published in Berlin from 1848.—336

**Kölnische Zeitung**—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—116, 179, 264, 267, 302, 355, 430, 437, 445, 466, 479, 509

**Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger**—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published in Berlin from 1851 to 1871.—202, 497

**Libertà e Giustizia**—an Italian democratic weekly published in Naples in 1867; organ of the 'Libertà e Giustizia', a society close to the International.—420

**La Liberté**—a Belgian democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; an organ of the International in Belgium from 1867.—447, 449, 454

**La Liberté**—a conservative evening daily published in Paris from 1865 to 1944; in 1866-72 it belonged to Émile Girardin, supported the policy of the Second Empire.—424

**La Liberté de penser**—a French philosophical and literary magazine published in Paris in 1848-51.—66

**Londoner Anzeiger**—a weekly of the German democratic refugees in London, published from 1864 to 1867.—50, 70, 114, 130, 133

**Mainzer Journal**—a Catholic daily published in Mainz from 1848.—63

**The Manchester Daily Examiner and Times**—a liberal newspaper, founded in 1848 by the merger of the *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Examiner*; supported the Free Traders in the 1840s and 1860s; published till 1894 under different titles.—430

**The Manchester Guardian**—a daily founded in 1821; organ of the Free Traders and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—21, 23, 49, 205, 280, 296, 298

**The Miner and Workman's Advocate**—a weekly workers' newspaper, organ of the miners' trade union of Great Britain, published in London from 1863 to 1865.—54, 60, 173, 177

**Missouri Democrat**—a radical daily, organ of the Republican Party of the Missouri State; appeared under this title in 1852-75 in St. Louis.—51

**Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung**—a liberal paper published in Leipzig in 1862-66.—310

**Le Moniteur universel**—a daily published in Paris from 1789 (under this title from 1811) to 1901, official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—290

**The Morning Advertiser**—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s it was a mouthpiece of the radical bourgeoisie.—36

**The Morning Star**—a daily published in London by the Free Traders from 1856 to 1869; had a regular evening edition *The Evening Star*.—26, 73, 110, 151, 424

**Московские Ведомости. (Moskovskiye Vedomosti—Moscow Recorder)**—a paper published from 1756 to 1917; in the 1850s, it became reactionary in character.—452
The Nation—an Irish weekly, originally radical and, from the 1850s, liberal; published in Dublin from 1842 to the end of the 1880s; came out in defence of the Fenians.—485

The National Reformer—a weekly organ of the radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—22

Neue Frankfurter Zeitung—a democratic paper published under this title from 1859 to 1866 in Frankfurt am Main.—41, 114, 120, 126, 129, 298

Neue Freie Presse—an Austrian liberal newspaper published in Vienna in 1864-1939.—516, 524, 525

Neue Oder-Zeitung—a German democratic daily published in Breslau (Wroclaw) from 1849 to 1855; in the 1850s it was the most radical newspaper in Germany; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—516

Neue Preussische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1899; mouthpiece of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also called Kreuz-Zeitung because the heading contained a cross and the slogan 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland'.—103, 124, 277, 280, 292

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—111, 115, 118, 363, 530

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published till November 1850.—428, 530

Neue Zürcher-Zeitung—a Swiss liberal newspaper published in German under this title from 1 July 1821; in the 1850s-60s, it expressed Bonapartist views.—441

Neues Wiener Tagblatt—an Austrian liberal newspaper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945.—515, 523, 525, 538

New-York Daily Tribune—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; in the 1840s and 1850s it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—531

The Nonconformist—a weekly of the English radical bourgeoisie, published under this title in London from 1841 to 1879.—224, 253, 255

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a conservative daily; in the 1860s-80s, semi-official newspaper of the Bismarck government; published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918.—106, 373, 394, 516

Nordstern—a weekly published in Hamburg from 1860 to 1866; from 1863, a Lassallean mouthpiece.—14, 34, 56, 102, 108, 130, 134, 140, 147, 150, 152, 154, 156, 161, 165, 174, 177, 190, 207

North British Daily Mail—a newspaper founded in Glasgow in 1847, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie.—34, 35

Notes to the People—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernst Jones and published in
London in 1851 and 1852. Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—15, 531

*The Observer*—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—35

*Ostsee-Zeitung*—a German daily published in Stettin (Polish name Szczecin) from 1835.—267

*The Owl*—a weekly published in London in 1864-69.—355

*The People's Paper*—a Chartist weekly published by Ernst Jones in London from 1852 to 1858. Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856 and helped with its editing.—531

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from 1848 to 1896; in 1861-62, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, Marx was its London correspondent.—516

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*


*La Réforme*—a daily published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists; from October 1847 to March 1848 the newspaper published reports and statements by Marx and Engels.—530

*Republikanisches Regierungs-Blatt*—a newspaper of the petty-bourgeois democrats, founded by Gustav Struve and Karl Blind in Lörrach during the second Baden uprising in September 1848; only one issue appeared.—33

*Revue contemporaine*—a fortnightly published in Paris from 1851 to 1870; during the Second Republic represented the Party of Order; after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 took a Bonapartist stand.—338, 340

*Revue des deux Mondes*—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris since 1829.—257, 338, 340

*Rheinischer Beobachter*—a conservative daily published in Cologne from 1844 to the beginning of 1848.—97

*Rheinische Zeitung*—a liberal daily published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1863 to 1866, and in Cologne from 1867 to 1874.—52, 75, 84, 108, 111, 112, 114, 126, 134, 140, 148, 160, 207, 462, 469

*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. In April 1842 Marx became one of its contributors. In October of the same year, he became one of its editors, which gave the newspaper a revolutionary-democratic character.—530

*La Rive gauche*—a democratic weekly published from October 1864 to August 1866, first in Paris, and then in Brussels by a group of French Left republicans; it printed documents of the International. Its editor was Charles Longuet.—213, 219, 243
PyccKiü uH8Wiudi> (Russky Invalid—Russian Invalid)—a daily of the War Ministry of Tsarist Russia published in St. Petersburg from 1813 to 1917.—506

St. Louis Daily Press—an American workers' paper published from 1864.—73

St.-Petersburger Zeitung—a Russian daily published in German from 1727 to 1914.—85

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art—a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938.—527, 529, 533

Schwäbischer Merkur—a liberal daily published in Stuttgart from 1785 to 1885.—501, 510

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1860s a moderate republican newspaper.—202, 424

Der Social-Demokrat—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to 1871, in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time, ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—22, 24, 26, 58, 63, 64-69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 95, 96, 97, 102, 103, 104, 106, 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 124, 125, 134, 135, 136, 141, 147, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158, 165, 170, 174, 175, 190, 198, 204, 207, 211, 225, 494, 496, 542, 553

Staats Anzeiger für Württemberg—a government daily newspaper published in Stuttgart from 1849 with a weekly supplement, Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg.—500, 510, 512

Stimmen der Zeit, Wochenschrift für Politik und Literatur—a German petty-bourgeois monthly and later weekly published in 1858-62 by Adolph Kolatschek. It appeared first in Gotha and then in Weimar, Leipzig, Heidelberg and Vienna simultaneously.—141

Le Temps—a daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—270

The Times—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—34, 47, 50, 73, 80, 86, 90, 94, 95, 151, 199, 215, 221, 236, 264, 267, 286, 300, 378, 416, 422, 425, 428, 434, 435, 485, 516, 555

La Tribune du Peuple—a Belgian newspaper of the socialist and atheist society 'People', published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869; from August 1865 de facto and from January 1866 official newspaper of the Belgian sections of the International.—213, 216, 219, 220, 223

La Tribune ouvrière—a workers' weekly published in June-July 1865 by members of the Paris section of the International; the first four issues appeared in Paris. When the newspaper was banned in France its publication was transferred to Brussels where one more issue appeared, after which its publication was stopped.—170

Unsere Zeit—a liberal literary and political monthly, appeared in Leipzig from 1857 to 1891.—365
Das Volk—a German-language communist weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor and manager.—50

Volks-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853.—180

Der Vorbote—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—207, 214, 219, 220, 359, 571, 580

The Weekly News—an Irish radical newspaper published in Dublin from 1858.—550

Der weiße Adler—a German-language liberal paper published in Zurich from 1864 three times a week.—143

Weser-Zeitung—a German liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—471

Die Westliche Post—a German newspaper published in St. Louis (USA) from 1858; in the 1860s, organ of the émigré petty-bourgeois democrats.—41, 57

The Working Man—a weekly published in London from 1861 to 1867 with an interval; the paper was notable for its reformist tendencies.—327

The Workman's Advocate—a weekly workers' paper published in London after the reorganisation of The Miner and Workman's Advocate in September 1865; official organ of the Central Council of the International; Marx was a member of its board. In February 1866, because of the growing influence of the reformist elements on the editorial board, it was reorganised once again and renamed The Commonwealth.—190, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 212-14, 215, 216, 219-20, 224, 228, 243, 262, 571

Zeitung für Norddeutschland—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—346

SUBJECT INDEX

A
Abstraction—137, 382, 387, 407, 409
Abstract labour—392, 407, 514
Accumulation of capital—408-09, 514
   See also Banks; Capital; Shares, joint-stock companies
Agricultural chemistry—227, 232, 507, 510, 559
Agricultural proletariat—366
Agriculture—137, 227, 461, 486, 507, 547-48, 559
Anarchy of capitalist production—137-38, 514-15
Anthropology—24
Armaments, weapons—40, 124, 291, 293-94, 303, 524
Army—200, 203
   — its transformation after the victory
   of the proletariat—523-24
   — conscription—339-40
   See also Armaments, weapons; Military art; Military science; War(s)
Army, Austrian—255
Army, British—124
Army, French—124, 208, 215, 307, 339-40, 524
Army, Prussian—8-9, 40, 124, 256, 292-93, 307
Astronomy—184-87
Atheism—22, 54
Atom—212, 382
Australia—387, 487
Austria—299-300, 503, 512
   — foreign policy and diplomacy—274
   — prospects of revolution—503
   — and Britain—274
   — and France—291, 460, 506, 537
   — and Hungary—226, 297
   — and Poland—38
   — and Prussia—84-85, 182
   — and Russia—282, 293, 299-300, 374
   — and Slav peoples—297, 298
See also Austria-Hungary; Austro-Italo-French war, 1859; Austro-Prussian war, 1866
Austria-Hungary (from 1867)—374, 536
Austro-Italo-French war, 1859—344-45, 374
   — forces of the belligerents—255-56, 276-77, 279, 285
   — course of military operations—255-56, 276-77, 288, 294-95, 333
   — battle of Sadowa (Königgrätz)—288
   — Peace of Prague—345
   — and Austria—264-65, 299-300
   — and Britain—45, 264, 267, 296, 374
   — and France—45, 256, 258, 263,
Subject Index 753

— and Italy—258, 263, 276, 278, 282, 288, 290, 291
— and Russia—256-57, 258, 263, 264, 267, 274, 276, 282, 290, 293, 299, 352
— and the international working-class movement—45, 300
See also International Working Men's Association (First International)—struggle for an independent stand to be taken by the proletariat in foreign policy, against wars of conquest

B

Banks—63, 141, 185-86, 200, 203, 208, 281, 284, 285, 472
Bonapartism—266, 277, 334, 339-40, 425-26
See also Prussia—Bonapartism of the ruling élite; Second Empire in France
Book-keeping—247, 248, 260, 277, 388-89, 409-13, 533
Bourgeoisie—71, 103, 108, 110, 144, 266-67, 300, 334, 339-40
Bourgeoisie, Austrian—536
Bourgeoisie, British—21, 55, 71, 92-93, 109-10, 114, 150, 154, 158, 364
Bourgeoisie, French—71, 302, 340
Bourgeoisie, German—32, 103, 266-67, 348-49, 372
Bourgeoisie, Prussian—96, 292-93, 297-98
Bourgeois political economy—138, 185-86, 384, 388-89, 514
See also Classical bourgeois political economy; Malthusianism; Ricardo, Ricardianism; Vulgar bourgeois political economy
Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association (1868) (preparations for it)—423-24, 425, 428

C

Capital
— analysis of the process of its production—328, 358, 366-67
— bourgeois definitions of—483, 543
— confusion of money and capital in bourgeois political economy—185-86, 543
See also Accumulation of capital; Banks; 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Capitalist mode of production; Classical bourgeois political economy; Depreciation of fixed capital; Money; Profit; Shares, joint-stock companies; Surplus-value; Vulgar bourgeois political economy; Wage labour

'Capital' by Karl Marx
— its significance for the international working-class movement—4, 312, 358, 366-67, 451, 489
— A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy—328, 382
— third version of the manuscript of Capital (Economic Manuscript of 1863-65)—4, 46, 159, 162-63, 168, 173, 174-75, 178, 227-28
— plans of the publication of Capital—46, 219, 312, 328, 358, 366-67, 368, 371, 390-91
— contract on the publication of Capital—175, 219, 339, 343, 357, 362, 371
— Marx on Engels' assistance in the
preparation of Capital—402, 405
— Engels on the contents and significance of Volume One—381, 386-89, 399, 402, 405-06, 417, 423
— comments on it in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata—467-68, 488, 490, 497, 511, 512, 527, 536, 537
— preparation of the French edition—368, 483, 488, 532, 533
— preparation of the English edition—173, 386-87, 394, 406, 436, 455
— Marx and Engels on the subsequent volumes of Capital—348, 357, 368, 371, 390, 402, 408, 418, 436, 442, 514-15, 544
— Marx on the Theories of Surplus-Value as an historical part of Capital—173, 328, 357, 367, 368
See also Dialectics; Engels, Frederick; Marx, Karl
Capitalist—384-85, 388, 391
See also Bourgeoisie; Capital; Exploitation of labour power by capital
Capitalist mode of production—136-38, 494
See also Banks; Capital; Capitalist; Crisis—economic; Foreign (world) trade; Money; Profit; Surplus-value; Unemployment; Wage labour
Cause and effect—138
Chartism—15, 16, 253
Chauvinism—281
Chemistry—254, 382-83, 387-88, 495, 560
See also Agricultural chemistry
Child labour—200, 203, 224, 296, 383-84
China—10, 345, 349
Church—48, 338, 458, 484
Classes—54-55, 137, 334
See also Aristocracy, nobility; Bourgeoisie; Working class
Classical bourgeois political economy—136-38, 402, 407
— analysis of the commodity and its value—384, 514-15
— fundamental difference of Marx's theory from the theories of his predecessors—386-88, 402, 406-07, 457, 514-15
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Ricardo, Ricardianism; Vulgar bourgeois political economy
Class struggle—95-97, 326, 327
Coalitions—71, 89-90, 93-94, 95, 103-05
See also Trade unions; Trade unions in Britain
Commodity
— its analysis in Volume One of Capital—328-29, 381-82, 384, 387, 390-93, 396, 488, 514
— dual character of the labour embodied in it—407, 514
— critique of the views of Proudhon and Proudhonists—488
See also Money; Price, formation of prices; Production costs; Value; Wages
Common ownership—515
Commune, community—547, 549, 557-58
See also Land ownership; Society; Tribal system
Communism (socio-economic formation)—137, 417, 494
Communists, communist movement—112, 126, 221, 445, 515, 524
Compromise—81, 82, 83, 103, 108, 171
Concrete labour—392, 407, 514
Consumption—136-58, 494
Co-operation (capitalist)—27, 127-28
— as a subject of research in Volume One of Marx's Capital—406, 490, 494
Co-operation, the co-operative movement—15, 459, 494
— question of co-operative labour and co-operative production in the International Working Men’s Association—200, 203
— criticism of Lassalle’s views on workers’ co-operative associations—90, 95-96, 124, 527
— criticism of bourgeois theories on co-operatives—15
Corn Laws (England)—486
Cosmogony—184-85, 186-87
Cotton, cotton-growing—9-11, 62, 481
— cotton famine (1861-64) in Britain—10, 11, 27, 53-54, 62, 113, 115, 117, 140-42, 279
— movement in the prices of cotton in Britain—9-11, 62, 141-42, 199, 278, 481
Cotton (textile) industry—9-11, 62, 142, 199, 345, 349, 431
Credit—82, 141, 200, 203, 533, 543
Crimean war, 1853-56—21, 122, 124, 349, 352
Crisis—19, 215, 228
— economic—6, 228, 278-79, 281, 345, 349, 460
— commercial—9, 11, 47, 137, 215, 345
— monetary—10, 278, 279
— political—47, 226, 460
See also Prevision, forecasting

D

Danish war, 1864—7-8, 121, 267
See also Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig-Holstein question
Darwinism—127, 304-05, 322-23, 494, 558-59
Denmark—7-8
Depreciation of fixed capital—388, 408-13
See also Fixed capital; Machines
Dialectics
— in Marx’s Capital—173, 382, 385, 390, 464, 495, 513, 533-34
— dialectical structure of Marx’s Capital—173, 232
— dialectical method—390, 464
— laws of dialectics—385
— dialectics of nature and natural science—138, 382, 385
See also Hegel, Hegelianism
Differential and integral calculus—159, 209-10
Discoveries—185, 232, 385, 560
Division of labour—494

E

Economic crises—see Crises—economic
Economic laws—136-38, 514-15
Economic theory of Marxism—see ‘Capital’ by Karl Marx; Marxist political economy
Emigration—110, 372
Emigration, political
— petty-bourgeois—120
— French—287
— German in Britain—27, 31-38, 41-42, 44-45, 151, 163, 164, 229-30
— German in Switzerland—190, 215, 283, 284
— German in USA—37, 40, 45, 57
— Italian—16, 110, 140, 150, 162, 238-39, 242-44
— Polish—18, 73, 216-18
See also German Workers’ Educational Society in London; Schiller Institute
Engels, Frederick
— Marx on Engels—90, 361, 371, 383-84, 395, 405
— on himself—88, 125, 126, 138, 265, 383-64, 399, 444, 469, 480, 499, 501, 508, 539-40
— and the International Working Men’s Association—20, 125, 141, 152-53, 156-57, 179, 212-13, 265, 270, 425, 430, 487
— contributions to bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic publications—296, 298, 463-64, 484, 500, 518, 525-26, 533, 560
— and the working-class and socialist movement in Britain—136, 168, 257, 426, 458, 468
— and the working-class and democratic movement in Germany—120, 124-25, 126, 133, 152, 178-79, 191, 197, 204-05, 270, 284-86, 298, 348, 430, 444-45, 456, 462, 480, 491-92, 499, 505, 546
— and the working-class and socialist movement in the USA—418, 451-52, 456
— his studies in natural sciences—320, 323-25, 382-83, 387-88, 480, 510, 560
— his studies in philology—7-8, 168-69, 526, 554, 560-61
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Marx, Karl; Schiller Institute

England (Great Britain)—7, 219, 383-84, 468
— repeal of the Corn Laws (1846)—486
— home policy, internal situation—219, 345, 349, 383-84, 458, 468
— foreign trade—345, 349
— working class—54-55, 468
— election system, its class character—168
— Parliament—212, 242, 269-71, 282, 300
— electoral reform movement in the 1860s—74, 155, 158, 206, 253, 257, 259, 269, 270, 300, 349, 468
— electoral reform of 1867—468
— factory legislation—21
— political parties of the ruling classes—212, 269, 270, 468, 474
— colonial policy—197, 199, 205
— policy in Ireland—460, 486, 487, 550
— prospects of revolution—300, 468
— foreign policy and diplomacy—370, 374, 394
— and Bonapartism—473-75
— and the US Civil War—10, 35, 62, 113, 117, 140, 141
See also Corn Laws; Cotton, cotton-growing; Crises; International Working Men's Association in Britain; Working-class and socialist movement in Britain

Enlightenment, philosophers of the Enlightenment—557

Essence and appearance—160, 390, 392, 514
See also Inner and outer

Europe—19, 38, 215, 274, 292, 312, 339-40, 494-95
— prospects of European revolution—226, 270, 463, 468
See also War(s)

Exchange value—384-85, 388-89, 393, 407, 514
See also Value

Exploitation of labour power by capital—296, 550
See also Child labour; Factory, factory system; Factory legislation; Female labour; Labour conditions of the workers under capitalism; Living conditions of the workers under capitalism; Surplus-value; Wage labour; Wages; Working day

Expropriation of the expropriators—417

F

Factory, factory system—141-42, 227, 345, 349, 388, 391, 392, 408-13, 552
See also Machines

Factory legislation—383, 488, 546, 552
— limitation of the working day—200, 203, 488
— on child labour—224, 296, 383, 456
— on female labour—296
— and health protection—224, 296, 301
— in Britain—224, 296, 383
— in Germany—546

Farmers—461, 486
See also Agriculture

Female labour—200, 296

Fenians, Fenianism—378, 390, 394, 444, 460, 464, 468, 474, 483, 485-86, 501, 506, 516
— conspiratorial character of the organisation—501, 506
— persecution of the Fenians by the British government—394, 460, 474, 483, 550
See also International Working Men’s Association (First International)—and the struggle for the independence of Ireland; Ireland

Fertility of soil—137, 558-59

Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism—360, 520

Fixed capital—408-13
See also Capital; Depreciation fund of fixed capital; Machines

Foreign (world) trade—137, 345, 349, 487

Form of value—381, 384-85, 387, 392-93
See also Money; Price, formation of prices; Use-value; Value

Fourier, Fourierism—287, 326

France—71, 295, 334
See also Army, French; Bonapartism; Bourgeoisie, French; International Working Men’s Association in France; Second Empire in France; Working-class and socialist movement in France

French Revolution—71, 557

Friendship—57, 102, 221, 231-32, 330, 551

G

General Association of German Workers—15, 58, 65, 69, 75, 125, 140, 141, 150-52, 154, 165
— its sectarian character—58, 125, 175
— attitude of its leaders towards the Bismarck government and feudal reaction—69, 75-76, 78-79, 81-83, 87-91, 95-96, 102-05, 112, 124, 125, 150-51, 161, 170, 566-67
— revolutionary opposition in the Association—3-4, 58, 103, 140, 141, 152, 154, 161, 174, 175, 176, 180, 197
— and the International Working Men’s Association—58, 64-65, 91, 103-05, 125, 423-24
— general meeting in Düsseldorf—15, 58
— participation in the elections and parliamentary activity—348-49, 430
See also Lassalleanism, Lassalleans


Geographical environment—305, 320, 322-24

Geology—164, 305, 320, 322-24

German philosophy—476, 497
See also Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism; Hegel, Hegelianism

German Workers’ Educational Society in London (1840-1918)—106, 150, 230, 415, 504

Germany—105
— industry—372-73
— railways—179, 182, 285
— home policy, internal situation—258-59, 289-90, 345, 348, 456-57
— bourgeoisie—32, 103, 182, 349, 372
— working class—32, 103-04, 125, 126, 150, 376
— feudal aristocracy—32, 77, 96
— bureaucracy, officialdom—95, 348
— suffrage—348-49
— political parties of the ruling classes—298, 421
— cultural development—292, 493
— ways of the country’s unification—258-59, 263, 275-76, 285,
288, 293, 297-98, 302, 306, 348, 352, 460
— prospects of revolution—258, 462
— foreign policy—350, 352
— and France—351
— and Russia—351, 352
See also Bourgeoisie, German; International Working Men’s Association in Germany; National Association; National-Liberals Party of Progress; Prussia; Working-class and socialist movement in Germany
Ground rent—227, 371, 407, 507-08, 514, 543, 548

H
— Hegelian dialectics—138, 382, 385, 513, 520
— Hegelian logic—138, 558
— Hegelian categories—232, 513, 520
— philosophy of nature—138, 184-85
— and natural science—138, 184-85, 292, 382, 385
— and Marxism—138, 382, 387, 464, 513
Historical and logical, the—172-73, 381-82
Historical materialism, materialist conception of history—291-92, 295, 305, 494
See also Class(es); Class struggle
Historicism—136-38, 322, 494
Historiography—8, 202, 364-65, 547-49, 557-58
Housing question—296, 401
Human race—24

I
India—10, 141, 279, 345, 349, 547
Individual, particular and universal, the—407, 514, 558
Industrial reserve army—137
— ‘state assistance’ to the unemployed in capitalist society—21, 117
See also Unemployment
Inner and outer, the—159-60, 390
See also Essence and appearance
Interest—9, 248, 279, 391, 514
See also Banks; Credit; Profit; Shares, joint-stock companies
International solidarity of workers—200, 203
— in strike struggle—265, 268, 270, 271-72, 274-75, 351
International Working Men’s Association (First International)—15-18, 44, 424
— foundation of—3-4, 15-17, 47, 109-10
— programme documents; their character (Inaugural Address and Rules)—16-18, 20, 22-23, 26, 44, 47, 63
— struggle for the class, proletarian character of the Association—16-17, 49, 54-55, 60, 73-74, 92-93, 108-10, 114, 118-19, 130, 131-32, 144, 206-07, 212-13, 215, 216-18, 243-44, 250-51, 268
— struggle for the unity of the international proletariat—200, 326
— and political struggle of the working class—104-05, 150, 265, 326, 424
— inseparable connection of the proletariat’s economic and political struggle—326-27
— and trade unions—15, 44, 45, 74, 109, 159, 200, 202, 221, 268, 274-75, 351
— and strikes—159, 265, 268, 270, 271-72, 274, 351
— struggle for a shorter working day and higher wages—162, 200, 203, 326-27
— questions of female and child labour, education and upbringing—200, 203
— and factory legislation—326
— and the co-operative movement—200, 203
— and the nationalities question—55, 66, 110, 114, 200, 204, 281, 287, 442, 460-61, 485-86
— and the Polish question—49, 54-55, 66, 73, 109-10, 114, 200, 204,
— and the struggle for the independence of Ireland—460, 464, 485-87, 504
— struggle against Bonapartism—55, 89, 95, 108-09
— struggle for an independent stand to be taken by the proletariat in foreign policy, against wars of conquest—49, 73, 85, 110, 161, 200, 204, 420
— struggle against the Mazzinists and Mazzinism—16-17, 110, 140, 144, 242-44, 250, 278
— struggle against the Proudhonists and Proudhonism—216, 281, 287, 318, 326, 368, 423-24, 425, 428
— struggle against the Lassalleans and Lassalleanism—57, 58, 64-65, 89-91, 95-96, 104, 107-08, 111, 114, 124-25, 130, 150-51
— struggle against reformism—49, 52, 259, 314, 424
— and the struggle for an electoral reform in Britain—91, 108, 150, 206-07, 215, 221, 314, 327
— and the League of Peace and Freedom—420
— Sub-Committee, Standing Committee—16-17, 54, 55, 130, 172, 214, 485-86
— membership—55, 91-92, 105, 202, 219, 318
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany—105, 201-02, 219, 449-50
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Belgium—144-47, 170-71
— its funds—338
— and the ruling classes and police persecution—338, 341, 516, 520
See also Brussels Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1868); Geneva Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1866); International Working Men’s Association (in different countries); Lausanne Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1867); London Conference of the International Working Men’s Association (1865)
International Working Men’s Association in Belgium—73, 105, 170-71, 189, 219, 220, 259
International Working Men’s Association in Britain—54-55, 66-67, 74, 91-92, 105, 109-10, 125, 144, 150, 206-07, 220-21, 271-72, 290, 327, 329, 424
— refugee sections in London—110, 141, 150, 212-13, 214-15, 216-18, 250-51, 286-87
International Working Men’s Association in Germany—58, 90, 105, 125, 202, 215, 219-20, 259, 283, 424, 430
International Working Men’s Association in Italy—47, 271, 420
International Working Men’s Association in Switzerland—66, 105, 125, 189, 207, 214, 215, 219-21, 571
International Working Men’s Association in the USA—259, 367
Intervention—394, 426
Ireland—504
— as a British colony and citadel of British landlordism—460-61, 486-87, 550
— Anglo-Irish Union, 1801—486
— land question as a form of the nationalities question—441-42
— agrarian revolution in the mid-19th century, clearing of the estates—461, 463, 464, 486
— national liberation movement in
the late 18th century—486
— national liberation movement in 1848—486
See also Fenians and Fenianism; International Working Men’s Association (First International)—and the struggle for the independence of Ireland
Irony, historical—285, 292
Italy—278, 282, 374
— ways of completing its unification—460, 468
See also Austro-Italo-French war, 1859; International Working Men’s Association in Italy
Jamaica—168, 197, 199, 205
Labour
— its dual character—392, 407, 514
— manual—334
Labour conditions of the workers under capitalism—550, 552
Labour time—391, 515
Land ownership
— common, communal—548-49, 558-59
— emergence of private land ownership—548, 558-59
— private large-scale land ownership—442, 461, 486
— eviction of peasants and tenants—461, 464, 486
— its concentration—486
— as a subject of research in Volume Three of Marx’s Capital—227, 371
Lassalleanism, Lassalleans—25, 84, 90, 96, 101-05, 134, 161, 165, 175-76, 494, 532, 548, 566-67
— Lassalle and his role in the working-class movement—5, 12, 32, 36-37, 38, 41, 45, 57, 66, 69, 87, 88, 90, 101-05, 129, 134, 526, 527, 566
— criticism of Lassalle’s theoretical views—25, 96, 97, 101, 329, 526, 527, 566-67
— dogmatic and sectarian character of Lassalleanism—58, 89-90, 125, 174-75
— demand for universal suffrage—12, 87, 102-03, 123
— demand for state assistance to workers’ co-operatives—87, 95-97, 124
— attitude towards the Prussian state and feudal reaction—12, 30, 38, 53, 68-69, 71, 75, 78, 81-82, 83, 87-91, 94-96, 101-05, 124-26, 150, 161, 278, 494, 566
— attitude towards the bourgeoisie—78-79, 169, 175-76, 494
— criticism of Lassalle’s cult—24, 26, 58, 66, 71, 75-76, 78, 80, 90, 101-04, 124, 125, 141, 161, 165, 175-76, 181, 190, 548
See also General Association of German Workers
Lausanne Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1867)—367, 416-17, 422, 425, 427-28, 519
Law of transformation of quantity into quality—382, 385
Law of unity and conflict of opposites—392-93, 405-07
Law of value—514-15
Laws
— of history—385
— of society—136
— economic—136
— of mechanics (and astronomy)—184, 186, 187
League of Peace and Freedom (1867)—414, 420, 433
Light—67, 91, 117
Literature
— American—370
— English—177, 234, 246, 249, 336, 376, 568
— French—34, 242, 290, 348, 453, 454, 522
— classical Greek—316, 568
— Italian—568
— Norwegian—168
— Roman—53, 340, 498, 504
— Spanish—313
— folklore—32, 168, 242
Living conditions of the workers under capitalism—27, 53, 137

Logic
— logic categories—557-58
— logic of things and events—96, 97
See also Abstraction; Dialectics; Hegel, Hegelianism

London Conference of the International Working Men's Association (1865)—163, 171, 174, 190, 200, 201, 203-04, 214-15

Luxemburg—293, 306-07, 351, 355, 394, 459

M

Machines—137, 373, 409-13
— their analysis in Marx's Capital—228, 490, 494, 549

Malthusianism—127, 137, 138, 408, 455

Man, humanity—24, 136-37, 304-05, 366, 431, 557-58

Market—137, 345, 349
See also China, Foreign (world) trade; India; Trade


Marx, Karl
— Engels on Marx and his role in the international working-class movement—233-34
— on his family—46, 63-64, 193, 198, 223, 310-11, 315-16, 347, 351, 396-97, 477, 502, 542-43, 544, 548
— before 1844—530
— 1845-February 1848—530
— in the 1848-49 revolution—368, 530
— contributions to bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic publications—42-43, 63, 116, 160-61, 202, 515-16
— and the working-class and socialist movement in France—46, 66, 80, 85, 108-09, 115, 118-19, 130, 212-13, 281, 287, 318, 326, 351, 368, 428
— and the working-class and socialist movement in the USA—44, 49-50, 326, 367
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Engels, Frederick

Mathematics—138, 159, 187, 208-10, 543
See also Differential and integral calculus

Mazzinism, Mazzinists—16, 17, 20, 23, 32, 33, 110, 140, 144, 162-63, 243-44, 250, 278, 420, 424

Means of production—137, 291
See also Machines; Productive forces

Means of subsistence—136-37

Medicine—304, 324-25, 327, 360, 469, 517

Method—173
—dialectical—390, 464
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx—its method

Military art—293-94, 302-03
— and technical progress and weapons—288, 291-94, 302-03
—strategy—121-22
—tactics—293, 302-03

Military science—291, 293
— study by Marx and Engels of war history and theoretical problems of warfare—38-39, 68-69, 70, 77, 82-83, 123-25, 279, 302-03, 510, 516, 523, 524, 534

Mode of production—322, 494

Monetary (financial) crisis—9-10, 278-79

Money—382, 384, 393, 533
—as a form of value—382, 384, 387, 393
—as the universal equivalent—393
—credit money—533
—its conversion into capital—386
—analysis in A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy by Marx—328, 384
—analysis in Marx's Capital—328, 381-82, 384, 386, 393, 494, 533, 536
—bourgeois theories of money and money circulation—185-86

See also Banks; Credit; Crises

N

National Association (Germany, 1859-67)—102, 266, 372

Nationalities question—200, 204, 287
See also International Working Men's Association (First International)—and the nationalities question

Nationality—7, 18, 281, 287

National-Liberals—372, 421, 504

Natural science—24, 28, 254, 327, 464, 571
— and philosophy—138, 242, 327, 385
— and dialectics—138, 382, 385
— and scientific communism—493-94
— studies by Marx and Engels—138, 283-84, 327

Necessity and chance—304-05, 494

O

Owenism, Owenites—16, 159, 162, 326, 459, 552

P

Pacifism—414, 420

Palaeontology—304, 557

Parliament—212, 242, 269, 270
—its utilisation in working-class interests—297-98, 431-32, 433, 444, 445, 450, 456, 546

Party of Progress (Germany, 1861-84)—67, 71, 76, 84, 85, 90, 96, 97, 104, 112, 150, 288, 421, 430, 456

Party, proletarian—34, 57, 77, 83, 96, 101, 104, 112, 126, 290, 443, 452, 455, 498

Peonage—442

Personality cult (criticism of it)—75, 79, 101-03, 165, 201
See also Lassalleanism, Lassalleans

Philosophy—138, 200, 204, 388
See also Dialectics; Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism; German philosophy; Hegel, Hegelianism; Historical materialism, materialist conception of history; Logic; Method; Positivism (Comtism)

Polish national liberation uprising of 1863-64—18, 38, 66
—and the Polish refugees—18, 73, 216-18

Polish question—213, 264, 274
—and the working class—38, 110, 200, 204, 277-78
—and the European bourgeoisie—93, 110, 114
—and the stance taken by the European powers—55, 110, 264, 274
See also International Working Men's Association (First International)—and the Polish question
Political economy—136-37, 384, 464, 494, 543
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Classical bourgeois political economy; Dialectics; Marxist political economy; Method; Vulgar bourgeois political economy
Political struggle—326-27
Positivism (Comtism)—292, 455
Press, the—102, 120, 268, 271-72, 451, 452
— utilisation of the bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic press in the interests of the working class and its party—286, 425, 427, 428, 430, 443-45, 455, 461-62, 463-64, 466, 467, 469, 471, 497, 500-01, 504, 510, 515-16, 539, 541
Prevision, forecasting—224, 279, 285, 297, 300, 339-40, 418
— forecasting of economic crises and their consequences—47, 215, 228, 279, 349
— forecasting of revolution—258, 265, 270, 285-86, 290, 300, 337, 458, 460
Price, formation of prices—248, 388-89, 390-91, 480-81
— effect of the law of value—514-15
— price of production—390
— and production costs—390
— price of labour (labour power)—388, 390, 488
— and demand and supply—10-11
— views of bourgeois economists—515
— in Proudhon's theory—488
See also Commodity; Money; Production costs; Value
Private property—417, 547, 558
Production costs—390, 488
Productive forces—137, 291, 494
Profit
— as the transformation of surplus-value—390, 407, 514
— formation of the average rate of profit—390
— and wages—138
— and the capitalist employment of wage labour—138
— and the regeneration of fixed capital—410-11
— in classical bourgeois political economy—402, 407
— in vulgar bourgeois political economy—388-91
— in Proudhon's theory—488
See also Banks; Ground rent; Interest; Surplus-value
Progress and regress—334, 494
Protectionism—487
Proudhonism, Proudhonists—218, 281, 287, 318, 326, 368, 379, 423-24, 425-26, 488
— as an ideology of the petty bourgeoisie—326, 368
— unscientific, doctrinaire, dogmatic character of—218, 326, 379
— criticism of Proudhon's economic views—488
— and bourgeois society—326
— on classes and the class struggle—326
— and politics, the state, anarchy—287, 326
— on war and peace—281
— and the nationalities question—216-18, 281, 287, 379
— attitude towards the political and economic struggle of the working class—326
— and various socialist and communist theories and trends—218, 326
See also International Working Men's Association (First International)—struggle against the Proudhonists and Proudhonism
Prussia—77-78, 95-96, 103, 281-82,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>— domination of the military, militarism — 345-46, 372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>456-57</td>
<td>— Bonapartism of the ruling élite — 266, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493-94</td>
<td>— economic, industrial development — 77, 372-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— railways — 182, 238, 285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— agriculture, agrarian relations — 77, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— finances, budget, taxation — 77, 82, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Junkerdom — 77, 90, 96, 292, 494</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bourgeoisie — 38, 95-96, 182, 236, 266-67, 292-93, 349, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— working class — 76, 90, 95-96, 104-05, 169, 174, 176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— peasantry, rural proletariat — 77, 84-85, 345, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bureaucracy, officialdom — 90, 95, 104, 302, 466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— political system, police régime — 90, 95-96, 270, 302, 417, 421, 555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— military reforms, the army — 67, 292-94, 297, 302, 306, 426, 446</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— political parties of the ruling classes — 67, 76, 95-96, 103-04, 111, 288, 297-98, 372, 421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— constitution, the constitutional conflict of the 1860s — 67-68, 82, 84-85, 226, 229, 236, 266, 285, 302, 349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— suffrage — 76, 77, 105, 266, 348-49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— press, press legislation, censorship — 63, 70, 76, 83, 104-05, 417</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— foreign policy and diplomacy — 182, 255-57, 265, 267, 270, 281-82, 288-89, 293, 352, 374, 460</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— prospects of revolution — 265, 270, 285-86, 290, 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Luxemburg crisis of 1866-67 — 122, 351, 352-55, 459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and Austria — 85, 182, 264-65, 267, 282, 285, 293, 298, 299</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and France — 265, 345, 460, 555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and Germany — 298, 306-07, 345, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and Poland — 38, 374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and Russia — 38, 85, 256-57, 258, 264-65, 267, 276, 281-82, 293, 312, 352, 374, 460, 555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also Army, Prussian; Austro-Prussian war, 1866; Bourgeoisie, Prussian; Luxemburg

**R**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>137, 179, 182, 285, 352, 545</td>
<td>Railways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253, 314</td>
<td>Reformism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Lassalleanism, Lassalleans; Proudhonism, Proudhonists; Trade unions in Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform League (Britain) — 108, 109, 150, 158, 206, 214-15, 220, 243, 253, 314, 460</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion — 48, 100, 200, 204, 483-84, 503, 571-72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican movement, republicanism — 141, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 'German republicanism' — 32-33, 35, 302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany — 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution, proletarian — 137, 462</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Expropriation of the expropriators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution, social — 269, 287, 458, 462, 468</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardo, Ricardianism — 137, 457, 543</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia — 163-64, 550</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— reform of 1861 — 222-23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— post-reform economy, development of capitalism — 352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— railways — 352, 545</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— finances — 352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— commune and artels — 547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— contacts of Marx and Engels with Russian revolutionaries — 18-19, 141, 577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— foreign policy and diplomacy — 258, 264, 267, 269, 274, 281-82, 351, 352, 459, 496, 506, 513, 536, 537</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Index</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% — and Austria</td>
<td>281-82, 293, 299-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% — and Britain</td>
<td>370, 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% — and Germany</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% — and Prussia</td>
<td>256-57, 258, 264, 352, 460-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% — and Turkey</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Crimean war, 1853-56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schiller Institute</td>
<td>(in Manchester)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig-Holstein question</td>
<td>7-9, 34, 38, 267, 374, 430, 534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Danish war, 1864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>137, 322, 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Empire in France</td>
<td>108, 334, 348, 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— economy</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— internal situation, home policy</td>
<td>207-08, 211, 290, 339-40, 418, 473-75, 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bourgeoisie</td>
<td>302, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— working class</td>
<td>211, 302, 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— peasantry</td>
<td>302, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— army</td>
<td>207-08, 215, 306, 339-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— aggravation of class contradictions</td>
<td>207-08, 211, 215, 302, 340, 418, 473-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— opposition movement</td>
<td>211, 215, 306-07, 418, 459-60, 462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— student movement</td>
<td>207-08, 211, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— prospects of revolution</td>
<td>211, 215, 302, 374, 418, 459-60, 462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— foreign policy</td>
<td>207-08, 211, 215, 256, 258, 280, 290, 294, 307, 364, 418, 459-60, 462, 537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Mexican expedition, 1861-67</td>
<td>208, 211, 215, 338, 438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Bonapartism; Bourgeoisie, French; International Working Men's Association in France; Working-class and socialist movement in France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shares, joint-stock companies</td>
<td>178, 179, 182, 279, 284, 372-73, 399, 472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>39, 86, 87, 137, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also United States of America, the; US Civil War, 1861-65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism (theories and trends)</td>
<td>17-18, 326, 493-94, 557, 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism, Utopian</td>
<td>326, 494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Fourier, Fourierism; Owenism, Owenites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and productive forces</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>136-38, 494, 515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Communism (socio-economic formation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Species (in biology)</td>
<td>303-04, 322-24, 558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speculation (in industry and trade)</td>
<td>9-10, 62, 167, 248, 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous generation</td>
<td>284, 455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State, the</td>
<td>90, 266, 287, 557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>23, 224, 296, 383, 407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks (of commodities)</td>
<td>113, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective and objective</td>
<td>in politics, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffrage</td>
<td>76, 77, 87, 105, 348-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus-labour</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus-value</td>
<td>Marx's elaboration of the theory of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— its component parts or specific forms</td>
<td>390, 407, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— its rate</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and the formation of average profit</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and working hours</td>
<td>388-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and wages</td>
<td>388-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— in classical bourgeois political economy</td>
<td>390, 407, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— views of the vulgar bourgeois economists</td>
<td>388-91, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Capital; 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Ground rent; Interest; Profit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent</td>
<td>48, 218, 221, 505, 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>21, 48, 78, 116, 135, 183, 199, 200, 203, 372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminology</td>
<td>in Volume One of Marx's Capital and its translations, 386-88, 406, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terror</td>
<td>150, 153, 272-73, 275, 287, 463, 474, 501, 505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— counter-revolutionary</td>
<td>150, 153, 287, 474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| — as a form of protest against des-
potism—272-73, 275, 387, 463
— as a form of struggle of the Irish against oppression—474, 501, 505
Thinking—381, 517
Trade—9-11, 62, 76, 142, 178, 334, 349
See also Commodity; Foreign (world) trade; Market; Money; Speculation
Trade unions—95-96, 527
See also Coalitions; Trade unions in Britain
Trade unions in Britain
— and the political struggle of the proletariat—15-16, 44, 426, 448
— and the electoral reform movement—15, 18, 74, 158, 221, 346
— London Trades Council—15, 329
— reformism and conciliation of trade union leaders—314
— encroachments of the ruling classes on the rights of the trade unions—384, 387
See also England (Great Britain); International Working Men's Association (First International)—and the trade unions

Tribal system—558
See also Commune, community

U
Unemployment—21, 137
* See also Industrial reserve army

United States of America, the—39, 372, 414
— immigration—372
— internal situation, home policy—150-51, 153, 163, 167-68, 334, 414
— slavery, the struggle against it—39, 48, 334
See also International Working Men's Association in the USA; US Civil War, 1861-65; Working-class and socialist movement in the USA

US Civil War, 1861-65
— its significance and results—10, 38, 48, 269
— causes of—38-39
— military strength of the adversaries—38-40, 61, 82, 122
— course of hostilities—10, 21, 38-40, 48, 61-62, 82, 113, 121-24, 153
— and revolutionary émigrés—40, 47
— policy of the Union Government (North), its aims and tasks—153
— slavery issue—39, 48, 61-62
— assassination of Lincoln—150, 153
— and Britain—44, 45, 117, 152-53, 199
— and the British working class—15, 27, 43, 45, 47
— and the International Working Men's Association—50, 73, 85, 160

Use-value—384-85, 388-89, 393, 407, 514

V
Value—514-15
— its analysis—384
— its form—381, 384, 392, 393, 396, 406, 419, 423
— qualitative identity and quantitative distinction of commodities as values—393
— and the price of labour power or labour—388-89, 390, 488
— and the price of production—390
— in classical bourgeois political economy—384, 514
— in vulgar bourgeois political economy—384, 388-91
— in Proudhon's theory—488
See also Commodity; Exchange value; Money; Price, formation of prices; Production costs; Surplus-value; Use-value; Wages

Vulgar bourgeois political economy
— its class and apologetic character—
136-38, 388-89, 390-91
— individual features of its method—388-89, 390-91
— theories of the origin of profit—388-89, 390-91
— interpretation of capital—136-38, 185-86, 543
— theories of money and money circulation—185-86
— theories of wages—388-89, 390-91
— interpretation of ground rent—548
— and banks—185-86, 543
— and economic laws—136-38
— attitude towards the classical bourgeois political economy—136, 514
— and Volume One of Marx's Capital—386-87, 391, 399, 405, 443, 458, 466, 468, 487, 510-12, 514
See also Malthusianism

W

Wage labour—137-38, 450
See also Capital; Class(es); Class struggle; Exploitation of labour power by capital; Factory legislation; Industrial reserve army; Unemployment; Wages; Working class

Wages
— analysis of in Marx's Capital—160, 162, 345, 390, 511-12
— as a form of value (price) of labour power—388-89, 390, 488, 511
— as a component part of production costs—388-89, 390
— irrationality of the 'labour-wages' formula—388-89, 390, 514
— and the working day—345, 388-89, 390, 392, 488, 514
— general rise in the level of—159, 162
— cases of their reduction—345
— workers' struggle to retain or raise the level of—159, 345
— and tactics of the capitalists—345, 388-89
— and crises of overproduction—137-38
— and necessary labour—488
— and the capitalists' profit—138, 388-89, 390, 488
— and surplus-value—388-89, 390, 488
— and the value or the price of commodities—160, 199, 388-89, 488
— critique of bourgeois views—388, 390, 511, 514-15
— critique of Proudhon's views—488

War(s)
— and revolution, revolutionary movement—45, 255, 270
— and the working-class movement—45, 255, 287-88
— people's wars—39
— threat of war in Europe in the 1860s—226, 265, 460, 536, 537
See also Army; Austro-Italian-French war, 1859; Austro-Prussian war, 1866; Crimean war, 1853-56; Danish war, 1864; International Working Men's Association (First International)—struggle for an independent stand to be taken by the proletariat in foreign policy, against wars of conquest; US Civil War, 1861-65

War industry (and armaments)—200, 203, 291, 295, 302-03

Working class—95-96, 103, 110, 287, 300, 326, 334, 445
See also Class struggle; Party, proletarian; Trade unions; Working-class movement

Working-class and socialist movement in Belgium—144, 170, 171
See also International Working Men's Association in Belgium

Working-class and socialist movement in Britain—15, 18, 44, 45-46, 47, 74, 105, 108, 150, 157-58, 206-07, 221, 258-59, 300, 349, 468, 571
— electoral reform movement in the 1860s—15, 18, 73-74, 105, 150, 158, 206, 221, 243, 251, 253, 258-59, 270, 300, 314, 346, 349, 464, 468, 571
— and the Irish question—460, 464, 468
— struggle against intervention during the US Civil War—15, 44, 45, 47
— strikes and the strike movement—50, 349
See also Chartism; International Working Men's Association in Britain; Owenism, Owenites; Reform League; Trade unions in Britain

Working-class and socialist movement in France—226, 326, 368
See also International Working Men's Association in France; Proudhonism, Proudhonists

Working-class and socialist movement in Germany—15, 90, 103-05, 152, 169-70, 174, 207, 219, 290, 298, 376, 441
See also Coalitions; General Association of German Workers, International Working Men's Association in Germany; Trade unions

Working-class and socialist movement in Italy—see International Working Men's Association in Italy

Working-class and socialist movement in Switzerland—see International Working Men's Association in Switzerland

Working-class and socialist movement in the USA—418
— and the Negro question—39, 334
See also International Working Men's Association in the USA

Working-class movement—18, 157, 300
— significance of its unity—326
— combination of the economic and political struggle—326-27
— and revolutionary theory—18
— necessity of a single theoretical programme—4
— significance of the struggle for suffrage and of the parliamentary activity of working-class representatives—74, 105, 150, 221, 326
— actions against wars, militarism and annexations—47, 255-56, 287, 300
— and the nationalities question—287
See also Chartism; Class struggle; Coalitions; International solidarity of workers; International Working Men's Association (First International); Party, proletarian; Trade unions; Trade unions in Britain; Working class

Working day—488
— and wages—345, 388-89, 390-91, 488, 514
— and surplus-value—388, 391
— struggle of the working class for its reduction—200, 203
— struggle of the workers for the introduction of an eight-hour working day—418, 451-52
— capitalists' resistance to its reduction—71, 418
— introduction by capitalists of a reduced working day or a reduced working week—345, 349
— Marx and Engels on the analysis of the working day in Capital—224, 388-89, 391, 392, 451-52, 457, 488, 490