MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER
Hanover, 30 September 1869

DEAR FRED,

Your letter arrived yesterday evening.

Better news today from London on Schnappy’s health. Laura and Lafargue intend to leave London as soon as the little one’s condition makes it possible. Under these circumstances, Tussy’s immediate return to London appears necessary. Laura will hold it against her very much if she should leave for Paris without Tussy attempting to see the Lafargue family first.

I have just gossiped away an hour with a delegation of 4 Lassalleans sent to me by the local branch of the German General Workers’ Association. I naturally conducted myself with great reserve and diplomacy, but sub rosa I informed the people of the necessary. We parted good friends. I naturally rejected their invitation—extended in the name of the Association—to lecture to them.

On Sunday another delegation arrives from Brunswick: Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier. This is less agreeable to me.

Liebknecht writes that he can’t come because of the Prussians.

But: 1. In this way, to Hamburg 2 days instead of 4 hours.
2. Simply for travelling expenses—extra expenditure of about 40 thaler. I neither like nor am able to afford.

I must close, since the mail is only open until 1.15 (the first) and now it is 10 minutes past one.

Shall speak to Meissner about your book.

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 See this volume, pp. 353 and 356. b confidentially. c See this volume, pp. 355-56.
252

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

In all haste, as Tussycchen and Engels have just arrived. You will see from these lines that we arrived safely in England during yesterday. We had several marine and other adventures, about which Jennychen will write you more.

In the meantime, our heartiest greetings to the whole family.

Your

K. M.

Special greetings to Madame la comtesse and Käuzchen! Ditto greetings from Engels, Lafargue, Mrs Marx, etc. The little one is well again.

First published in Pisma Markska k Kugel-manu (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

253

MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 18 October 1869

My dear Paul and Laura,

I send you to-day the manuscript of Mr Keller. I cannot find his address. So you must through the aid of Schily get it out from M. Hess.

Tell Mr Keller that he shall go on. On the whole, I am satisfied with his translation, although it lacks elegance and is done in too negligent a way.

a Gertrud Kugelmann - b Franziska Kugelmann - c Charles Étienne Lafargue
He will do best to send me every chapter through you. As to chapter IV I shall subdivide it.\textsuperscript{442}

The changes I have made in this chapter II need not be maintained, but they show the direction in which I want the corrections to be made.

As to the word ‘Verwertung’\textsuperscript{a} see my note p. 12 of his manuscript. He must make a note on it for the French reader.

I doubt whether the frequent large printing of words will do for French printers.

In German we use the word ‘Process’ (procès) for economical movements, as you say chemical procès, si je ne me trompe pas.\textsuperscript{b} He translates by ‘phenomena’ which is nonsense. If he can find no other word, he must always translate by ‘mouvement’ or something analogous.

Kiss dear Schnappy on my behalf.

Yours

Old Nick

I have received a letter from St. Petersbourg. A Russian sends me his work (in German\textsuperscript{c}) on the situation of the peasantry and the working class generally in that benighted country.\textsuperscript{443}

[In Lafargue’s handwriting]

Faire remarquer à Keller que les mots pointillés sont maintenus dans le texte.\textsuperscript{d}

---

\textsuperscript{a} increase of value \textsuperscript{b} if I am not mistaken \textsuperscript{c} should be ‘in Russian’ \textsuperscript{d} Let Keller retain the words underlined by dots.
ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Friday, 22 October 1869

Dear Moor,

In all haste have enclosed the photographs, of which Jenny should select one. I have a bad grippe because of the great change in temperature, but it is starting to get better.

The book by Wakefield\textsuperscript{a} is cited by Butt\textsuperscript{b} as \textit{A View of Ireland} and also \textit{An Account of Ireland}, 2 volumes, 1812 or 1813.

Young's book is called: \textit{A Tour in Ireland}, 2 volumes, date not given.

Ranc's novel\textsuperscript{c} is very nice.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 October 1869

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for the photograms.

I am also suffering from a bad grippe.

I have already ordered the A. Young, and will write to the same man (Adams) about the Wakefield.\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{a} E. Wakefield, \textit{An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political}. - \textsuperscript{b} I. Butt, \textit{The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford}. - \textsuperscript{c} A. Ranc, \textit{Le Roman d'une conspiration}. - \textsuperscript{d} See the previous letter.

I have been sent from St. Petersburg a thick 500-page Flerovsky volume on the condition of the Russian peasants and workers. Unfortunately in Russian. The fellow worked on the book for 15 years.

The great Bakunin is now off to Naples, as delegate to an atheists' congress being held there in opposition to the oecumenical consilium. 

*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

256

**ENGELS TO MARX**

**33**

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 24 October 1869

Dear Moor,

My grippe has happily—in the main—been conquered by limiting beer consumption, staying at home in the evening and consuming linseed tea with lemon and honey.

I was happy to discover the Wakefield here in my subscription library—that is to say, in the catalogue, for in reality it was not to be found. They are trying to track it down; I shall write to you about it again. It consists of 2 fat quarto volumes. In fact, I find that quite a number of the things I have here are very useful, particularly for the 1500-1800 period, and some very important, so if Wakefield comes to light and Young can be flushed out, I would need virtually only quite modern things. Sadler is here too.

About the Flerovsky—the name is non-Slav and, in particular,

---

* E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.*
* A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland...*, Vols. I-II.
* M. Th. Sadler, *Ireland; Its Evils and Their Remedies.*
* The reference is to Н. Флеровский, *Положение рабочего класса в России.*
un-Russian, not a single Russian word starts with fl, apart from flangovy, flot, flankirovat, etc.—you will probably need Gaudissart; for although one can learn enough Russian in 3 months to read such a book, you have no time for this at the moment. Let Gaudissart look at it, and if it is worth something, I may be able to read myself to some extent into Russian again with it, as soon as I am finished with Ireland. From Ireland to Russia il n'y a qu'un pas.

Enclosed envelope of your 2nd letter from Hanover, which shows signs of Prussian attention, though I fail to grasp how the people found the time, since you only posted the letter 10 minutes before the close of post. Between then and the time when the train left, however, they may have found the time for a tête-à-tête.

Irish history shows what a misfortune it is for one nation to subjugate another. All English abominations have their origin in the Irish P.A.L.E. I still have to bone up on the Cromwellian period, but it appears clear to me that things in England would have taken another turn but for the necessity of military rule in Ireland and creating a new aristocracy.

Your

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

257

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 October 1869

DEAR Fred,

Please return to me after reading the enclosed letters from Bonhorst and the Goeggiana.

That Serno should have expedited himself from life into death is only natural, but that Bakunin, with whom he stood on bad

a flank man, fleet, flank - b Sigismund Borkheim - c it is only one step - d See this volume, p. 358.
terms right to the end, should immediately have seized his papers, is an unnatural discovery.  

Apropos. The secretary of our French Genevan committee is utterly fed up with being saddled with Bakunin, and complains that he disorganises everything with his 'tyranny'. In the Égalité, Monsieur Bakunin indicates that the German and English workers have no desire for individuality, so accept our communisme autoritaire. In opposition to this, Bakunin represents le collectivisme anarchique. The anarchism is, however, in his head, which contains only one clear idea—that Bakunin should play first fiddle.

For a complete understanding of Goegg's and Bonhorst's letters, you should know that the bumpkins' (or rather their representatives') party in Switzerland, Austria and Germany, are screaming blue murder about the resolution of the Basle Congress on propriété foncière.

The foolishness and weakness (exploited by the cleverer Schweitzer) with which Wilhelm and his consorts reply to the howls by Schwabenmayer and the rest of their anti-People's Party supporters, make one's hair stand on end. It has not even occurred to one of these jackasses to ask the liberal howlers if there does not, perhaps, exist in Germany, side by side with small peasant property, also large landed property, which forms the basis of the surviving feudal economy; whether it will not be necessary to put an end to this in the course of a revolution, if only to put an end to the present economy of the state; and whether this can be done in the antiquated manner of 1789? 

Quod non. The jackasses believe Schwabenmayer's statement that the land question is only of direct practical interest for England!

The creation of the Land and Labour League (incidentally, directly inspired by the General Council) should be regarded as an outcome of the Basle Congress; here, the workers' party makes a clean break with the bourgeoisie, Nationalisation of Land [being] the starting point. Eccarius has been appointed active secretary (in addition to Boon as honorary one), and is being paid for it.

I have been instructed by the General Council to write a few words to the English working class about the Irish Prisoners' Demonstration last Sunday. Being so busy, I have no inclination to do it, but

---

MUST BE DONE. The demonstration was quite incorrectly reported in the London papers. It was capital.\textsuperscript{452}

Best greetings to Mrs Lizzie and the Sunday guests.

Your

K. M.

The Prussians closed my letter to you from Hanover\textsuperscript{a} so badly partly out of shortage of time, and partly out of anger at finding nothing in it.

First published in \textit{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

258

ENGELS TO MARX\textsuperscript{446}

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 November 1869

Dear Moor,

The resolution on landed property\textsuperscript{b} has worked real wonders. It forces the fellows in Germany to think, for the first time since Lassalle started his agitation, something hitherto regarded as completely superfluous. This can be seen plainly in the letter from Bonhorst.\textsuperscript{453} In other respects, too, I find the letter not bad; despite the affectation and semi-education, it contains a certain healthy popular humour and, with the mortgage, he has hit the nail on the head. Incidentally, the people forget that, apart from the main business with big landed property, there are also various sorts of peasant: (1) the tenant farmer to whom it is immaterial whether the land belongs to the state or to the big landowner; (2) the owner, first the big peasant, against whose reactionary existence the day-labourers and farm-hands should be incited; second the middle peasant, also reactionary and not very numerous; and third, the debt-laden small peasant, who can be got at through his mortgage. In addition it may be said that, for

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 358. \textsuperscript{b} Ibid., p. 364.
the time being, the proletariat has no interest in raising the question of small land-holding.

It is delightful that that simple soul Goegg has now been sacked by his own people for being too communist! The worthy Ladendorff is behind this. Beust\(^a\) may be a communist on paper, but can easily be caught if he is told that the money was not given for that reason, but only to revolutionise Germany in general. Now we are supposed even to keep alive the unhappy Felleisen, though all that can be said is that, the sooner it goes to the devil, the better.

You could send me some characteristic specimens of the German stuff so that I might remain a little \textit{au courant}.\(^b\)

The Prussians have once again produced a wonderful Prussian trick by destroying the Langensalza memorial in Celle. Never has anything been more grovelling than Mr Miquel's interpellation on this point. Roon took the opportunity to conclude that, in Prussia, an official order from above is sufficient for the military to trample on any court decision.\(^454\)

I am sorry about Serno\(^c\); he seems, for a change, to have been a decent Russian.\(^448\) But I am still sorrier for Goegg with his opinion about Serno's classical French,\(^d\) of which we have also seen samples.

It is a real stroke of luck that the \textit{Bee-Hive} is now flaunting the bourgeois colours both insolently and stupidly. I have never seen such a filthy issue as that of yesterday.\(^455\) This cringing to Gladstone and the whole bourgeois-patronising-philanthropic tone must break the back of the sheet, and make the need felt for a real workers' paper. It is a very good thing that, just at the moment when the workers sober up from their liberal intoxication, their only paper should become more and more bourgeois. But Sam Morley should not be so stupid as to put such stupid chaps there, and to allow them to spread the bourgeois varnish so thickly and so obviously.

The Fenian demonstration in London\(^e\) simply proves once again the value the press attaches to public opinion. About 100,000 assembled in the most imposing demonstration seen in London for years and, since it is in the interests of respectability, the entire London press, with no exception, manages to depict this as a shabby failure.

In connection with the present strike by the spinners in

---

\(^a\) Friedrich von Beust - \(^b\) in the know - \(^c\) Serno-Solovyevich - \(^d\) See this volume p. 186. - \(^e\) Ibid., pp. 364-65.
Bolton, a master spinner told Sam Moore quite frankly: We don't care at all about the 5% reduction of wages, what we want and intend to have is a reduced production (that is to say a strike).

The Wakefield\textsuperscript{a} has still not been found here. But before I need it, I must check the basis more thoroughly, that's to say, the history of 1600-1700.

So that my Irish sources should not lack a comic side, I have found here in the Foreign Library *Irland* by Jacobus Venedey!

Best greetings. Lousy weather here.

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

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 6 November 1869

Dear Fred,

I send you 1 *Pionier*, 1 *Volksstaat*, and various copies of *Social-Demokrat*.

You will see from the *Pionier* that Heinzen believes I only wrote *Capital* so that he should not understand it.\textsuperscript{457} Schweitzer — utilising Liebknecht's anxiety with regard to his democratic friends\textsuperscript{b} — is behaving as though polemics against landed property were the first word in the Lassallean creed! *Quelle impudence!* Incidentally, Bonhorst did him good service in an issue of the *Volksstaat* that I cannot find.\textsuperscript{458} I don't know whether you receive the *Volksstaat*.

Bonhorst's arrest is good.\textsuperscript{459}

There could be nothing more ridiculous than the respectable people's fear concerning the Queen's procession today.\textsuperscript{460} Every-

\textsuperscript{a} E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 364.
where overrun by police as in France. The whole alarm was produced by a hoax. A few agitators have had their fun in the past few weeks, circulating handbills calling on the starving workers of the East End to present themselves en masse to the Queen, and de ne pas laisser passer la reine. a

My family has just returned from the spectacle. Icy coldness amongst the public. Madame is said to have stared fuming-mad and ultra-crabby.

I shall send you, in the next few days, a volume I happened to pick up, which contains all sorts of pamphlets on Ireland. Those by Ensor (whom I also quoted in Capital) contain many piquant points. b Ensor was a political economist of English origin (his father still lived in England when Ensor was born), Protestant and, despite all this, one of the most resolute repealers 461 before 1830. Being himself indifferent to religious things, he can defend Catholicism with wit against the Protestants. The first pamphlet in the book is by Arthur O'Connor. I had expected rather more of it, since this O'Connor played an important role in 1798,462 and I have found good articles by him about Castlereagh's administration in Cobbett's Political Register. Tussy should sometime look through Cobbett, for something there about Ireland.

This week Tussy and I lost 3 days putting my workroom in order. It had become jumbled to the frontiers of possibility.

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 not let the Queen pass  · b G. Ensor, An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations: Containing a Refutation of Mr. Malthus's Essay on Population and Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be.
Dear Moor,

That is quite a bit of impudence with the vaudeville about the \textit{Régence}.\footnote{La Régence de Decembrostein, Paris, 1869.} I would scarcely have expected the \textit{Empire} to put up with something like this. But we see what can be done with pluck, though of course, our Guidos and Wilhelms\footnote{Reference to Guido Weiss and Wilhelm Liebknecht} will not take this as their example.

The \textit{Réforme}, just like \textit{Réveil} and \textit{Rappel}, is rather weak, though a certain amount of declamation can be excused at the moment. The fellows are confused, however. Among them, particularly Raspail. The idea of selecting a provisional government at this very date is as good as a joke against Bonaparte, but otherwise, naturally, nonsense. Bonaparte is supposed to be ill again; things appear to be drawing to an end for him physically, too.

Schweitzer's turnabout immediately to adopt the Basle decision on landed property and to behave as though he and Lassalle had always preached this, is extraordinarily bare-faced,\footnote{H. Ch. Carey, \textit{ Principles of Social Science}. First edition was published in 1858-59. Engels used the 1868-69 edition.} but very ingenious vis-à-vis the simple souls \textit{à la} Wilhelm. But what should they do when confronted by this blackguard, who has enough brains always to behave correctly as far as theory is concerned, and who knows that they are completely at a loss as soon as a theoretical point comes up. Incidentally, I did not see the \textit{Volksstaat} here.

I did not expect Monsieur Carey\footnote{H. Ch. Carey, \textit{ Principles of Social Science}. First edition was published in 1858-59. Engels used the 1868-69 edition.} to be such an amusing bit of reading. I find his cock-and-bull stories of natural sciences read very well and provide plenty of occasions for laughter. I would not have dared consider the man so stupid and uninformed. For instance, he has disintegrated carbon, and it consists of carbonic acid and \textit{cinders}! Ditto, water disintegrates into vapour. Geology proves that plants and even ferns were in existence long before any animal! The disintegration of metals is a mere trifle for him—in voltaic batteries the tin and copper of which they consist are disintegrated! And a hundred other things. Ditto, his historical
fables. The fellow imagines that, in South Lancashire, among other places the Forest of Rossendale (a dense industrial district), the rental is so high only because the ground here is extremely productive of corn! I am making you a whole pile of marginal notes, etc., and as soon as I have read the rent theory I shall write my opinion of it and return the book to you. He naturally explains the origin of rent with just such a nonsensical cut-throat theory as Ricardo, and also his idea of how it took place is as absurd as the way all economists imagine such things. Yet this does not affect the theory of rent itself. What Carey means by the 'best land' can be seen from the fact that, according to him, even today in the Northern States it is only profitable in exceptional cases to cultivate the so-called best land!

Post closing. Best greetings to all.

Your

F. E.

Vaudeville to be returned 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 in full for the first time

261

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 November 1869

DEAR FRED,

This week something suspicious has displayed itself in my left arm-pit (as in Manchester\textsuperscript{353}), and on my leg. Arsenic again immediately. Additionally, Tussy forces me to take long walks with her after 1 or 2 o'clock every day. Finally, today introduced surreptitiously for the first time a flannel vest, since a cold in this state is not pleasant.
You are surprised by the pluck of the French,\(^a\) and speak somewhat sneeringly of us upright Germans. What risks we take you will see from the enclosed extravaganza.

In Stuttgart, in accordance with his habit, Freiligrath once again had himself photographed in several dozen poses, decked out as a statue, etc. The most successful holy picture of this Classen-Kappelmann-hero\(^463\) is—\textit{verbotenus}\(^b\)—a scene in which he as a lion rides on a camel. This is probably a back-hander for Heine's camel who defeats the lion.\(^c\)

Liebknecht will be taking off next week for 3 months in prison, and has sent Borkheim a desperate plea for money.

What scares me about the French is the terrible confusion in their heads. Ledru-Rollin's circular letter is quite that of a pretender.\(^464\) He really appears to take \textit{au sérieux}\(^d\) the dictatorship over France offered him by Heinzen. On the other hand, \textit{Zukunft} has been good enough to offer Mr Acollas, whom nobody in Paris knows, a post in the provisional government, because he had called the French to accept Dr J. Jacoby's programme instead of the antiquated human and \textit{citoyen}\(^e\) rights of 1793. One good turn deserves another. I find that \textit{old} Jacoby himself is not playing properly the role he dictated for himself. Grasping the opportunity of the Hanoverian event,\(^454\) should he not call on the Prussian sergeant-major-government—since Prussia is, after all, a 'military state'—also to lay aside those useless and, at the same time, expensive decorations, such as chambers, civil courts and the like? Wrapping oneself up silently in the depths of one's own moral indignation does not lure a soul from his hearth.

A while ago, the Russian gentlemen bombarded an island near Korea just for amusement, as Borkheim discovered in a Moscow newspaper.\(^f\) Not a word about it in the English papers. If things go on like this, these fine fellows will soon be in possession of Japan.

The latest meetings in Ireland were very nice; the clerics were seized by their collars and removed from the speaker's stand. Instead of the programme on Ireland,\(^8\) for which there is no proper motive, I have had (in order to adopt resolutions) the following placed on the agenda for next Tuesday.\(^h\)

1. Proceedings of the English ministry on the Irish amnesty question!

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 369. \(^b\) literally - \(^c\) See H. Heine, \textit{Atta Troll}. \(^d\) seriously - \(^e\) \textit{citizen} - \(^f\) "Бомбардирование корейской крепости винтовой лодкой Соболь", \textit{Московские ведомости}, No. 207, 23 September 1869. \(^8\) See this volume, p. 364. \(^h\) 16 November
2. The attitude of the English working class to the Irish question.

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

MARX TO SAMUEL DAVENPORT

London, 12 November 1869
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a post office order for 2 guineas as my yearly subscription for the Society of Arts.

Yours obediently

Karl Marx

First published in Russian in *Kommunist*, No. 3, Moscow, 1983

Printed according to the photocopy of the original

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1869

Dear Moor,

I hope the arsenic and the exercise will have thundered a rapid retreat to that certain 'suspicious' matter. But I also hope that
these constant relapses will finally lead you to the conclusion that you must commence a more rational way of life. You poison your blood yourself by making regular digestion impossible. And you certainly don’t then produce the same quantum (and quale\textsuperscript{a}) of work as you would under normal circumstances.

The idyllic drama Familien­glück coram Philistaco is really enchanting.\textsuperscript{b} One does not know what to admire more, the fadaise\textsuperscript{c} of the speeches and the poets (only interrupted by the nasty-sounding nonsense of boozy Karl Beck), or the importunity of the family, which has something like this printed as ‘manuscript for friends’ (that is public for non-friends). But it is not quite clear to me how the noble Freiligrath can have printed the intrepid words of the tender-hearted Walesrode: that the poet Freiligrath has also achieved something in the way of worldly possessions (by begging\textsuperscript{d}). I would like to have seen the faces in his family when these words were uttered.

Monsieur Ledru-Rollin is certainly reckoning on nothing other than a dictatorship. The little fellow Louis Blanc also re-emerged as though nothing had happened—why not the others? At a moment like this, the bourgeois press does not tell us anything about what is really happening, and even the revolutionary press does not suffice to enlighten one. The confusion is certainly great, but it is equally certain that the crisis is not yet really close. But a general in Paris has said: Nous avons encore un Empereur, mais l’empire n’existe plus.\textsuperscript{d}

The Russians are having a rare old time of it in Asia. They are now happily waging war with the Khan of Kashgar,\textsuperscript{c} formerly subject to the Chinese, but who has now made himself independent. If they subdue him, they will run directly up against countries already under English dominion (Ladakh, Kashmir), about 200 miles from the English frontier. You will have seen Vámbéry’s news (taken over by English papers from the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung\textsuperscript{f}) about the trickery in Bukhara (where, under treaty, Russian goods pay 3% customs, English 40%!), Afghanistan, etc. John Bull’s stupidity is becoming ever greater, as a result of his bumptiousness.

Isn’t it the best joke of the Irish to propose O’Donovan Rossa as candidate for Tipperary? If this succeeds, Gladstone will find himself in a fine fix. And now, again, an amnesty in Italy.\textsuperscript{466}

\textsuperscript{a} quality - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 371. - \textsuperscript{c} rubbish - \textsuperscript{d} We still have an Emperor, but the Empire no longer exists. - \textsuperscript{e} Mohammed Jakub Beg - \textsuperscript{f} H. Vámbéry, ‘Eine neue Wendung in der central-asiatischen Frage’, Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 308, 4 November 1869. See also The Times, 8 November 1869.
I hope to read at length about the debates, etc., in the International\textsuperscript{a} next Sunday in the Bee-Hive. Be sure to send me any documents there may be. Last Sunday the Bee-Hive had nothing about the International but, instead, something about the wedding of the Duke of Abercorn's daughters.

Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement* is \textit{OUT OF PRINT}. You would, therefore, oblige me greatly if you order it second-hand immediately. Butt's *Irish People*: none in London. Other Irish pamphlets, e.g., those of Lords Rosse and Lifford: cannot find. These are the answers my bookseller received from his London agent, and he told me the English book trade could not, in any case, occupy itself with obtaining publications appearing in Ireland, since it is not usual to have a correspondent in Dublin, but only in London. Now I shall write direct to Duffy in Dublin.

I have found here a number of very useful things about Ireland. Wolfe Tone's *Memoirs* etc., that is, in the \textit{catalogue}. As soon as I ask for these things in the library, they cannot be found, like, for instance, Wakefield.\textsuperscript{b} Some old fellow must have had all the stuff out together and returned it \textit{en masse}, so the whole pile is lying hidden somewhere. In any case, these things must be found.

Goldwin Smith in *Irish History and Irish Character* is quite the wise bourgeois thinker. Ireland was intended by providence to be \textit{GRAZING LAND}, the prophet Léonce de Lavergne\textsuperscript{c} foretold it, \textit{ergo pereat}\textsuperscript{d} the Irish people!

I wanted to write about Carey\textsuperscript{e} today, but was interrupted. Soonest.

Best greetings to all the \textit{LADIES}.

\textit{Your}

\textit{F. E.}

---

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 371-72, 375-76, 386-87, 392-93. \hfill \textsuperscript{b} E. Wakefield, \textit{An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political}. \hfill \textsuperscript{c} L. de Lavergne, \textit{The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland}. \hfill \textsuperscript{d} so perish \hfill \textsuperscript{e} H. Ch. Carey, \textit{Principles of Social Science}. 


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November 1869

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you today a parcel by bookpost, containing 1. the volume of Irish pamphlets (especially Ensor of some value, b) 2. Social-Demokrat and Volksstaat, 3. 3 copies for you, Moore and Schorlemmer of the Report on the Basle Congress. I don’t know if I have already sent it. In this case, the copies can be given to other people.

I’ll look after your commissions.

The Bee-Hive completely suppressed the report (by Eccarius) on the latest session, on the pretext that it had received it too late. The real reason was that:

1. it did not wish to announce that the General Council would open a discussion on the Irish question at its next meeting;
2. in the report, unfavourable references were made to it (i.e., to Mr Potter), about the Land and Labour League. The fact is that Mr Potter failed glaringly as a candidate for the Committee of the League.

Last Tuesday I opened the discussion on point 1: the attitude of the British Ministry to the Irish Amnesthy Question. I spoke for about an hour and a quarter, much cheered, and then proposed the following resolutions on point No. 1:

* Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr O'Shea etc. etc.—Mr Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' Rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

---

a See this volume, p. 368. - b G. Ensor, An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations... and Anti-Union. Ireland as She Ought to Be. - c See the previous letter. - d of the General Council on 9 November 1869 - e 16 November
that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that 'policy of conquest', by the fiery denunciation of which Mr Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

that the General Council of the 'International Working Men's Association' express their admiration of the spirited, firm and highsouled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, and working men's bodies connected with, the 'International Working Men's Association' in Europe and America.*

Harris (an O'Brien-man) declared to second. But the President (Lucraft) pointed to the clock (we may only stay until 11); hence, adjourned until next Tuesday. However, Lucraft, Weston, Hales etc., in fact the whole Council, tentatively declared their agreement in informal way.

Milner, another O'Brienite, declared that the language of the resolutions was too weak (i.e., not declamatory enough); furthermore he demands that everything I said in support of the case should be included in the resolutions. (A fine kettle of fish!)

Since the debate will continue on Tuesday, now the time for you to tell, rather to write, me anything you might wish to amend or add to the resolutions. In the latter case, if you, for example, wish to add a paragraph about the amnesties all over Europe, Italy for example, write it at once in resolution form.

Incident of last Council's sitting. Mr Holyoake—be every man his own Cromwell—appears and, after leaving, has himself proposed by Weston. Tentatively declared that he should first take out a card as a member of the International Working Men's Association, otherwise he cannot even be proposed. His aim is simply to make himself important—and to figure as a delegate at the next General Congress. The debate on his admission will be stormy, since he has many friends among us and, as an offended intrigant, could play some nasty tricks on us. What are your ideas about the tactics to be followed?

Enclosed—screed from Liebknecht,\textsuperscript{470} who has also complained bitterly in his letter to Borkheim that we do not support him, either morally or materially. Return the 2nd enclosed letter from Wilhelm, which is addressed to Borkheim.

\textsuperscript{a} K. Marx, Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners
A branch establishment of the International founded in Dundee, ditto—new branch in Boston. (New England.)
Carbunculosa not yet quite vanquished.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos L. Blanc: When Reclus471 was here he also visited L. Blanc and told me after the visit: the little fellow is filling his trousers at the mere thought of having to return to France. He feels devilish well here as the 'petit grand homme'1a removed from danger, and he has—as he frankly told Reclus, lost absolutely all confidence in the French.

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

265

ENGELS TO MARX472

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 November 1869

Dear Moor,

I hope Eccarius will force Potter to publish the report belatedly, b particularly because of the Land and Labour League.451

I think an addition on the amnesties in the rest of Europe would only weaken the resolution c since, apart from Russia (which would be very good on its own473), Russia would have to be excluded because of those sentenced in the Guelphic conspiracy.474

I would, however, polish up the language somewhat in: Alinéa4 2 I would insert imprisoned or something of the sort before victims, to make it evident at first sight who is meant.

Alinéa 3, it is questionable whether one can speak of the teeth of a position, and instead of steps in I would say turns round.

Alinéa 4. With regard to appears to me more direct than with reference to.

---

a little grand man - b See this volume, p. 375. - c Ibid., pp. 375-76. - d paragraph 15-983
Lizzie immediately passed a vote of thanks to you for the resolution, and is vexed that she will not be able to be there on Tuesday.

The business with Holyoake is vexatious. The fellow is simply a go-between for the radical bourgeoisie with the workers. The question is this: is the composition of the General Council such that a swamping by such rabble is to be feared or not? If you accept Holyoake, then others might follow, and they will do so as soon as the affair becomes more important. Moreover, if the times become more tempestuous, these gentlemen will certainly also visit the sessions, and try to grasp the leadership. And as far as I know, Mr Holyoake has never done the slightest thing for the working class as such. A priori, everything against his acceptance, but if his rejection would lead to splits in the Council, while his acceptance would, in practice, make little difference to the constitution of the General Council, eh bien! Despite this I cannot well envisage a workers' Council with this fellow on it.

Before the receipt of yours of yesterday, I had sent Wilhelm £5 with a few frosty lines. The fellow really is too brazen-faced. First he insults me in every way, then I should give moral and material support, and send him articles for his sheet, which he has ceased sending me without saying a word. If you should write to him, you would be doing me a favour if you let him understand that, if he wants articles from me, he should pray write directly to me. To act as bootblack to Mr Wilhelm—that crowns it all! Enclosed, the letter returned.

Best thanks for the Irish pamphlets and reports, I shall deliver the two for Moore and Schorlemmer.

When was Reclus in London? And how is the French translation of your book going? Since I have been back here I haven't heard a word about it.

And now for Carey.

The entire point at issue does not seem to me to be directly connected with political economy as such. Ricardo says that rent is the surplus yield of the more productive plots of land over that of the least productive. Carey says exactly the same.

Continuation by 2nd post.

Your

F. E.

They are agreed upon what rent is. But, how and by what agency

---

a See this volume, p. 376. b very well c Wilhelm Liebknecht d Der Volksstaat e See this volume, p. 375. f H. Ch. Carey, Principles of Social Science.
rent materialises, is a matter of dispute. Now, Ricardo’s description of the process by which rent originates (Carey, p. 104), is just as unhistorical as all such historical travesties by the economists, and Carey’s own great Robinson-Crusoe-story about Adam and Eve (p. 96 et seq.). With regard to the older economists, including Ricardo, this is still excusable to some extent; they do not wish for historical knowledge; they are just as unhistorical in their whole conception as the other apostles of the 18th-century Enlightenment, for whom such alleged historical digressions are always only a façon de parler*, enabling them to represent the origin of this or that in a rational manner, and in which primitive men always think and behave as if they were 18th-century French philosophers. But when Carey, who wants to propound an historical theory of his own, proceeds to present Adam and Eve to us as Yankee backwoodsmen, then he cannot demand that we believe him, for he lacks the same excuse.

The entire point at issue would be nil, had not Ricardo, in his naïvety, simply called the more productive land ‘fertile’. According to Ricardo, the most fertile and most favourably situated land is cultivated first. Just the way a thoughtful bourgeois, on land cultivated for centuries, must picture things. Now Carey clings to the ‘fertile’ and foists upon Ricardo the assertion that the lands that are in themselves the most productive are those first cultivated, and states: No, on the contrary, the lands in themselves the most capable of production (the Amazon valley, the Ganges delta, tropical Africa, Borneo and New Guinea, etc.) are not cultivated even today; the first settlers, because they cannot do otherwise, always commence cultivation on self-draining land, that is to say, strips situated on hills and slopes, and these are by nature poorer. And when Ricardo says: fertile and the most favourably situated, he is saying the same thing, without noticing that he is expressing himself loosely and that a contradiction can be seen between these two qualifications connected by and. But when Carey gives a sketch on p. 138 and claims that Ricardo places his first settlers in the valley, while Carey puts them on the heights (in the sketch on bare crags and impracticable slopes of 45 degrees) he is simply falsely imputing this to Ricardo.\[b\]

Carey’s historical examples, as far as they apply to America, are the only useful things in the book. As a Yankee, he himself lived through the process of settlements, could follow it from the

--

* manner of speech  
** The reference is to D. Ricardo, On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation. See also present edition, Vol. 31.
beginning, and is well posted about it. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a lot of uncritical stuff mixed up in it, which would have to be sifted. When he speaks of Europe, however, the structures and the untenableness get under way. And that Carey is not unprejudiced with regard to America is shown by the eagerness with which he attempts to prove the worthlessness, indeed the *negative* value-quality of the uncultivated land (that the land is, so to speak, worth minus 10 dollars an acre) and praises the self-sacrifice of societies that, to their own certain ruin, make waste land serviceable for mankind. Related in the country of colossal land jobbery, this becomes ludicrous. Incidentally, he never mentions *prairie land* here, and elsewhere it is touched upon very lightly. The whole story of the negative value-quality of the waste land, and all his calculated proofs are best contradicted by America itself. If the story were true, America would not only be the poorest of countries, but would become relatively poorer every year, because more and more labour would be thrown away on this worthless land.

Now, as for his definition of rent: *The amount received as rent is interest upon the value of labour expended, minus the difference between the productive power (the rent-paying land) and that of the newer soils which can be brought into activity by the application of the same labour that has been there given to the work* (pp. 165, 166), this may have a certain amount of validity here and there, within certain limits, especially in America. But rent is, in any case, such a complicated thing, to which so many other circumstances contribute, that even in these cases it can apply only *ceteris paribus*,” only when 2 pieces of land lie *side by side*. Ricardo knew as well as he that interest for the value of labour expended is also included in rent. If Carey declares land as such worse than worthless, then rent *must* naturally be interest upon the value of labour expended or theft, as it is called on p. 139. Carey still owes us an explanation of the transition from theft to interest.

It seems to me that the origin of rent in different countries, and even in one and the same country, is by no means such a simple process as both Ricardo and Carey imagine. In Ricardo, as I said, this is excusable; it is the history of the fishers and hunters in the sphere of agriculture. It is not, in fact, an economic *dogma*, but Carey wants, furthermore, to make a dogma out of his theory and prove it to the world as such, for which, indeed, historical studies of a very different sort from Mr Carey’s are necessary.

---

*a other things being equal*
There may even have been localities where rent originated as Ricardo suggests, and others where it originated in Carey's way, and yet others where it had quite different origins. To Carey one may also remark that, where fever has to be reckoned with, in particular tropical fever, economics more or less come to an end. Unless his theory of population can be thus interpreted: with the increase in population, the surplus people are forced to cultivate the most fertile, i.e., the most unhealthy stretches of land, in which they either succeed or perish; in this way he would successfully establish harmony between himself and Malthus.

In northern Europe, rent originated neither in Ricardo's nor in Carey's way, but simply from the feudal burdens, later brought by free competition to their correct economic level. In Italy it was different again, vide Rome. To calculate what part of the rent in the long civilised countries is really original rent and what part is interest on labour invested is impossible, since it differs in each case. Moreover, it is of no importance, once it has been shown that rent can also increase without labour being put into land. The grandfather of Sir Humphrey de Trafford at Old Trafford near Manchester had such a load of debts on his back that he had no idea what to do. His grandson, after paying off all the debts, has an income of £40,000 a year. If we subtract about £10,000, which comes from building sites, £30,000 remains as the yearly value of the agricultural estate, which 80 years ago brought in perhaps £2,000. Further, if £3,000 be taken as the interest on invested labour and capital, and that's a lot, there remains an increase of £25,000, which is five times the former value, including improvements. And all this, not because labour is contained in it, but because labour was put into something else nearby, since the estate lies close to a city like Manchester, where good prices are paid for milk, butter and garden produce. The same happens on a big scale. From the moment when England became a corn- and cattle-importing country, and even before then, population density became a factor determining or increasing rent, quite independently of the labour invested generally in the land of England. Ricardo, with his most favourably situated lands, also considers the relation to the market, but Carey ignores this. And if he were then to say: the land itself has only a negative value, but the location has a positive value, he would thereby admit what he denies—that land, just because it can be monopolised, has, or can have, a value independent of the labour invested. But on this point Carey is as quiet as a mouse.
It is equally a matter of indifference whether the labour invested in land in civilised countries pays regularly or not. I asserted more than 20 years ago that in today's society no instrument of production exists that could last 60-100 years—no factory, no building, etc.—that, by the end of its existence, has covered the cost of its production. All in all, I still believe this is perfectly true. And if Carey and I are both right, this proves nothing either about the rate of profit or the origin of rent, but simply that bourgeois production, even measured by its own standards, is rotten.

These random comments on Carey will no doubt be enough for you. They are very mixed, because I made no excerpts. As for the historic-materialist-scientific trimmings, their entire value=those two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which he has planted in his paradisiacal work, not indeed for his Adam and Eve who have to drudge in the backwoods, but for their descendants. His ignorance and slovenliness are only equalled by the impudence that allows him to present such nonsense publicly.

You will not expect me to read the other chapters. It is pure blather, and the grammatical errors are no longer strewn so closely. I'll send you the book as soon as I go up to town; out here no pillar-box is large enough to take it. Monday or Tuesday.

Wilhelm's sheet is really disgraceful. I am not referring to the free-church-clerical babble, but all the news from their associations, etc., is always 8-14 days old before it is printed. Schweitzer holds a meeting on the 9th in Leipzig, and dispatches triumphal telegrams, which are printed on the 10th in Social-Demokrat. On the 12th the Social-Demokrat states that Liebknecht receives 1,000 thaler from Fränkel the banker. Up to the 17th no reply!! And we are supposed to take the responsibility for such stupidity and sloppiness.

Tussy will be getting a letter soon.

With 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 in full for the first time

---

a 'Aus Leipzig geht uns folgendes Telegramm zu...', Der Social-Demokrat, No. 132, 10 November 1869 (signed: Petzoldt). b 'Wir constatieren...' (in the column 'Vermischtes'), Der Social-Demokrat, No. 133, 12 November 1869.
DEAR FRED,

This week I have not been really on my feet, and the business under my arm is still a bother. That's why I didn't thank you earlier for the notes on Carey, whose volume I also received yesterday.a

In my book against Proudhon, in which I still fully accepted Ricardo's theory of rent, I already explained the fallacies, even from his (Ricardo's) own point of view.b

'Ricardo, after postulating bourgeois production as necessary for determining rent, applies the conception of rent, nevertheless, to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all the economists, who represent the bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories.'

Mr Proudhon naturally converts Ricardo's theory into an expression of egalitarian morals at once, and thus discovers in the rent determined by Ricardo:

'an immense land valuation which is carried out contradictorily by the proprietors and the farmers ... in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalise the possession of the land, etc.'

To this I remarked, inter alia:

'For any land valuation based upon rent to be of practical value, the conditions of present society must not be departed from. Now we have shown that the rentc paid by the farmer to the landowner expresses the rentd with any exactitude only in the countries most advanced in industry and commerce. Moreover, this rent often includes interest paid to the landowner on capital incorporated in land. The location of the land, the nearness of towns, and many other circumstances influence the farm rent and modify the land rent... On the other hand, rent could not be the invariable index of the degree of fertility of the land, since every moment the modern application of chemistry is changing the nature of the soil, and geological knowledge is just now, in

---

a See this volume, pp. 378-82.  

c in the original: le fermage (lease money)  
d in the original: la rente
our days, beginning to revolutionise all the old estimates of relative fertility ... fertility is not so natural a quality as might be thought; it is closely bound up with the social relations of the time.'

As far as the development of cultivation in the United States is concerned, Mr Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. For instance, Johnston, the English agricultural chemist, shows in his Notes on the United States: the agricultural migrants from New England to New York State left worse for better land (better not in Carey's sense of land, which still had to be made first, but in the chemical and also economic sense); the agricultural migrants from New York State who first settled beyond the Great Lakes, say in Michigan for instance, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia exploited so abominably the land so suitable both in location and fertility for tobacco, their main product, that they had to move on to Ohio, where the land was worse for this product (if not also for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants also made itself felt in their settlements. The people from Norway and from our timber forests selected the rugged northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same territory kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the United States and Australia, are, in fact, a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him, land not absolutely overgrown with forest is infertile by nature, that is all natural grasslands.

The joke of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (with regard to the United States) directly contradict to his dogma. First, as a result of England's diabolical influence, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England disseminated to the poorer (!) lands of the West. Thus, a move from better land to worse. (Besides, by the by, Carey's dissemination, in opposition to association, is all copied from Wakefield.) Second, in the south of the United States we have the misfortune that the slave-owners (whom Mr Carey, as a harmoniser, defended in all his previous works) take the better land under cultivation too soon and skip the worse. Thus, just what should not happen: starting with the better land! If, with this example, Carey convinces himself that the real cultivators—in this case the slaves—are induced neither by economic reasons, or other reasons of their own, but by external constraint, he should have been able to

---

count on his own 5 fingers that this occurs in other countries too.

According to his theory, cultivation in Europe should have originated in the mountains of Norway and proceeded from there to the Mediterranean countries, instead of marching in the other direction.

Carey tries, by means of an extremely absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure up anyway the very disgusting economic fact that, in contrast to all other improved machinery, the always better earth-machine, increases the cost of its product—at least for a period—instead of cheapening it. (This was one of the circumstances that struck Ricardo; but he poked his nose no further than the history of corn prices in England from about 1780 to 1815.)

As a harmoniser, Carey first proved there was no antagonism between capitalist and wage labourer. The second step was to show the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this is done by showing land-ownership as being normal where it has not yet developed. The fact that may, under no circumstances, be mentioned is the great and decisive difference between a colony and an old civilised country: that, in the latter, the mass of the population is excluded by landed property from the soil, whether it be fertile or infertile, cultivated or uncultivated; while in the colonies, the land can, relatively speaking, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself. This may play absolutely no part in the rapid development of the colonies. The disgusting ‘property question’, and that in its most disgusting form, would of course put a spoke in the wheel of harmony.

As regards the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important factor in the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), it follows conversely that the richest and most developed production will be found in those areas most fertile by nature, so it should be higher in Mexico, for example, than New England; I have already answered this in Capital, p. 502 et seq.

Carey's only merit is that he asserts, just as one-sidedly, the movement from worse to better land as Ricardo asserts the opposite. In fact, however, soil-types of differing grades of fertility are always cultivated simultaneously, and for this reason the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts very carefully distributed scraps

---

of land of different types amongst the members of the community; it was this that later made division of the community lands so difficult. As for the development of cultivation in the course of history, this—depending on the circumstances—takes place in both directions simultaneously, and one direction or the other dominates according to the epoch.

The factor that makes the interest on the capital invested in the land a component part of differential rent is precisely the fact that the landowner receives this interest from capital which not he but the tenant-farmer has invested in the land. This fact, known throughout Europe, is claimed to have no economic existence, because the tenant-farmer system has not yet developed in the United States. But this fact presents itself in another form there. The land jobber and not the tenant-farmer is ultimately paid in the price he gets for the land, for the capital expended by the tenant-farmer. Indeed, the history of the pioneers and the land jobbers in the United States is reminiscent of the worst horrors taking place, for instance, in Ireland.

But now damn Carey! Vivat for O'Donovan Rossa!

Last Tuesday's meeting was very fiery, lively, vehement. Mr Muddlehead, a or the devil knows what he's called—a Chartist, an old friend of Harney's—had foresightedly brought Odger and Applegarth along. On the other hand, Weston and Lucraft were absent, attending an Irish ball. Reynolds's had published my resolutions in its Saturday issue, together with an abstract of my speech (as well as Eccarius could do it; he's no stenographer) and Reynolds's printed it right on the front page of the paper following opening editorial. This seems to have scared those who are flirting with Gladstone. Hence the appearance of Odger and a long rambling speech of Mottershead, who got it in the neck badly from Milner (himself an Irishman). Applegarth sat next to me, so did not dare to speak against; on the contrary he spoke for, obviously with an uneasy conscience. Odger said that, if the vote were forced, he would have to vote for the resolutions. But unanimity was surely better and could be obtained by a few minor modifications etc. Then I declared—since it is precisely him I wish to push into a corner—that he should present his modifications at the next session! At the last session, although many of our most reliable

---

a Thomas Mottershead - b See this volume, pp. 375-76. - c [Record of Marx's Speech on the Policy of the British Government with Respect to the Irish Prisoners. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of 16 November 1869]
mentors were absent, we would thus have declared the resolution against one single vote. On Tuesday we shall be in full force.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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

267

ENGELS TO MARX33

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 November 1869

Dear Moor,

It is very amusing that Carey is also worthless in the only field in which one might expect that he must have a certain knowledge, in the history of the colonisation of the United States. After this, au fond, the fellow is left with nothing.

The election in Tipperary is an event. It launches the Fenians from empty conspiracies and the fabrication of coups on a path of action that, even if legal in appearance, is still far more revolutionary than what they have done since their abortive insurrection. In fact, they are adopting the methods of the French workers, and this is an enormous advance. If only this business is carried on as intended. The fear this new turn has produced amongst philistines, which is now screeching through the whole liberal press, is the best proof that, this time, the nail has been hit on the head. The Solicitors' Journal is typical noting with horror that the election of a political prisoner is unprecedented in the British realm! Tant pis, show me the country except England where this doesn't happen every day! The worthy Gladstone must be terribly annoyed.

But you really should look at The Times these days. Three leaders in 8 days either urging the Government to end the excesses

\[ a \] See the previous letter. \[ b \] basically \[ c \] So much the worse.
of the Irish national press, or in which the Government itself urges this.\(^a\)

I long to hear about your debate tomorrow evening, and about the result, of which there can be no doubt.\(^b\) It would be fine to get Odger into a pickle. I hope that, apart from him, Bradlaugh will stand for Southwark, and it would be much better if he were elected. Incidentally, if the English workers can't take an example from the peasants of Tipperary, then they are in a bad way.

Here, in the **FREE LIBRARY**, and the **CHETHAM LIBRARY** (which you know)\(^c\) I have discovered a mass of very valuable sources (besides the books with **SECOND-HAND-INFORMATION**), but unfortunately neither Young nor Prendergast,\(^d\) nor the English edition of the Brehon Law\(^e\) commissioned by the English Government. Wakefield,\(^d\) on the other hand, has put an appearance again. Also, various things by old Petty. Last week I ploughed through the **TRACTS** of old Sir John Davies (**ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND UNDER JAMES**)\(^f\); I don't know whether you've read them, they are the main source, but you've certainly found them quoted 100 times. It's downright shame that the original sources are not everywhere available; one gets infinitely more out of them than from the compilers, who make everything that is clear and simple confused and intricate. The tracts show clearly that, in *Anno 1600*, common ownership of land still existed **IN FULL FORCE** and was cited by Mr Davies in his pleas on the forfeited land in Ulster as evidence that the land did not belong to the individual owners (peasants), and thus [belonged] either to the LORD, who had forfeited it or, from the outset, to the Crown. I've never read anything finer than this plea. Re-allotments were made every two or three years. In another **PAMPHLET** he describes the income of the chief of the clan in exact detail. I've *never* seen these things quoted, and if you can use them, I'll send you them in detail. At the same time, I've caught out Monsieur Goldwin Smith beautifully.\(^e\) The fellow never read Davies, so makes the most ridiculous assertions to exonerate the English. But I shall catch the fellow.

Today I have not yet been able to set my eyes on the oration of the noble Louis-Napoleon, but only the sweet hopes of the worthy Prévost-Paradol,\(^g\) who imagines he is living once again under

Louis-Philippe and that the constitutional millennium will dawn today. INCORRIGIBLE!

I wanted to get good old Dido\(^a\) to reply to Tussy's letter this evening, which only arrived today; but the cur has run out into the rain and snow to avoid this duty, and now it is close of post, so Tussy will have to be patient until tomorrow. But she is certainly thinking more about O'Donovan Rossa in Chatham Prison than about her own old chap, who has just come in cold and filthy and is also locked up like a convict in the back cellar.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

---

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

268

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN\(^{484}\)

IN HANOVER

London, 29 November 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

About 5 weeks ago Jennychen sent you a letter\(^b\)—in fact two letters, one to you and one to Madame the Countess.\(^c\) With it she enclosed a portrait of G. Weerth—and as this is difficult to replace, and no second one can be sent, Jennychen would like to know as soon as possible whether you received the letter or not.

Some doubts about the inviolability and safety of the postal services have certainly been awakened here because a letter I wrote to Engels from Hanover\(^d\) was undoubtedly opened and then reclosed very clumsily. Engels retained the envelope, so that I could convince myself by ocular inspection.

My long and, to some extent, criminal silence may be explained by the fact that I had to catch up with a mass of work, not simply for my scientific studies, but also quoad\(^e\) International; in addition to have to grind at Russian, as the result of a book sent me from

---

\(^a\) Engels' dog \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 545-47. \(^c\) Kugelmann's wife Gertrud \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 358 and 363. \(^e\) regarding
St Petersburg on the situation of the working classes (of course, peasants included) in Russia, and, finally, my state of health is by no means satisfactory.

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat* the resolutions I proposed regarding Gladstone on the Irish amnesty question. I have now attacked Gladstone—and this has attracted attention here—just as I attacked Palmerston earlier. The demagogic refugees here love to attack the continental despots from a safe distance. I find this only attractive if it is done *vultu instantis tyranni*.

Yet both my appearance on this Irish amnesty issue and, further, my proposal to the General Council that it should discuss the attitude of the English working class to Ireland and adopt a resolution on the subject, naturally had other grounds than simply to speak out loudly and decidedly for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I have become more and more convinced—and the thing now is to drum this conviction into the English working class—that they will never be able to do anything decisive here in England before they separate their attitude towards Ireland quite definitely from that of the ruling classes, and not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801, and substituting a free federal relationship for it. And this must be done not out of sympathy for Ireland, but as a demand based on the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain bound to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because they will be forced to make a common front with them against Ireland. Every movement of the working class in England itself is crippled by the dissenion with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England itself. The primary condition for emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains unattainable, since its positions cannot be stormed here as long as it holds its strongly-entrenched outposts in Ireland. But over there, once affairs have been laid in the hands of the Irish people themselves, as soon as they have made themselves their own legislators and rulers, as soon as they have become autonomous, it will be infinitely easier than here to abolish the landed aristocracy (to a large extent *the same persons* as the English landlords) since in

---

Ireland it is not just merely an economic question, but also a national one, as the landlords there are not, as they are in England, traditional dignitaries and representatives, but the mortally-hated oppressors of the nationality. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by the present relationship to Ireland, but also her foreign policy, in particular her policy with regard to Russia and the United States of America.

Since, however, the English working class undoubtedly throws the greatest weight on the scales of social emancipation generally, this is the point where the lever must be applied. It is a fact that the English Republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in—Ireland.\[485\] Non bis in idem\[4b\]! The Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the convict felon O'Donovan Rossa as member of Parliament.\[b\] Government newspapers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,\[486\] a renewed system of terror! In fact, England never has and never can rule Ireland any other way, as long as the present relationship continues—only with the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption.

In France things are going well so far. On the one hand, the outmoded demagogic and democratic bawlers of all shades are compromising themselves. On the other, Bonaparte has been driven along a path of concession on which he is bound to break his neck.

Yesterday's Observer (this weekly belongs to the Ministry), referring to the Eulentburg scandal\[487\] in the Prussian Chamber, remarks: 'Napoleon said: "Grattez le Russe, et vous trouverez le Tartare"'. With regard to a Prussian it isn't even necessary to scratch—to find a Russian.

Apropos. Reich, Dr Med., has the Christian name of Eduard, and appears, from the preface to his book, to live in Gotha.\[488\]

My best wishes to Madame the Countess and Fränzchen.\[d\]

Your
K. Marx

Couldn't we have the Bielefeld Freiligrath-Fest-Broschüre?
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

The resolutions unanimously carried a despite Odger's incessant verbal amendments. I gave in to him on only one point, to omit the word 'deliberate' before 'insults' in para. 1. b I did this on pretence, that everything a Prime Minister publicly did, must be presumed eo ipso to be deliberate. The real reason was that I knew, as soon as the first para. was accepted in substance, all further opposition would be in vain. I'm sending you 2 National Reformers containing reports on the 2 first sessions, not yet on the latest. This report, too, is poor, and much is quite wrong (due to misunderstanding), but better than Eccarius' reports in Reynolds's. They are by Harris, whose curence panacea you will also find in the latest number of the National Reformer.490

With the exception of Mottershead, who appeared as John Bull, and Odger, who as always acted the diplomat, the English delegates have behaved excellently. The general debate on the attitude of the English working class to the Irish question begins on Tuesday.491

One has to struggle here not only against prejudices, but also against the stupidity and wretchedness of the Irish spokesmen in Dublin. The Irishman (Pigott) cannot know of the proceedings and resolutions solely from Reynolds's, to which he subscribes and from which he often quotes. They (the resolutions) had already been sent him directly by an Irishman on 17 November. c Till today, deliberately not a word. The jackass behaved in a similar way during our debate and petition for 3 Manchester men.492 The 'Irish' question must be treated as something quite distinct, excluding the outside world, and it must be concealed that English workers sympathise with the Irish! What a dumb ox! And this with regard to the International, which has press organs all over Europe and the United States! This week he has received the resolutions officially, signed by the Foreign Secretaries. The material has also been sent to the 'People'. d Nous verrons. e Mottershead subscribes to The

---

a See this volume, pp. 371-72. b Ibid., p. 375. c In the original: December. d probably The New-York Irish People. e We shall see.
Irishman and will not fail to use this opportunity to poke fun at the 'highsouled' Irishmen.

But I'll play a trick on Pigott. I'm writing to Eccarius today, asking him to send the resolutions with the signatures, etc., to Isaac Butt, the President of the Irish Working Men's Association. Butt is not Pigott.

The following explains to you the enclosed letter from Applegarth:

After the end of the last session, in which he behaved very well, he took me aside and told me the following: An eminent member of the House of Commons had written to him that he had been commissioned by an eminent member of the House of Lords (Lord Leachfield!) to ask him whether he had voted for the abolition of all private property at Basle. His answer was decisive for the attitude towards him of Applegarth's parliamentary patrons. He (Applegarth) wanted to give the fellows a decisive answer, I should write down briefly the 'reasons', and this the following day. I was very busy, as well as still suffering under the arm; cold made worse by the frightful fog after the session on Tuesday evening. Thus, wrote to Applegarth on Wednesday that I had been prevented, but ready to support him when he received a reply. With English obstinacy he did not accept; wrote enclosed letter. So I was willy-nilly forced to write him 8 closely-written pages, which will give him a lot to pore over about landed property and the necessity of its abolition. The fellow is very important since, on the part of both Houses of Parliament he is the officially recognised representative of the English trades unions.

Enclosed, also, a letter from Bracke. I have nothing against Bonhorst; I had only told Kugelmann that I regarded him as a rather revolutionary character. Kugelmann, with his usual tact, informed Bracke of this in amplified form.

Tussy thanks Dido very much for his letter, and sends greetings to all.

Salut.

Your
Moor

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

a apparently A. J. Mundella - b 1 December - c See this volume, p. 389.
Manchester, 9 December 1869

Dear Moor,

In the reports in the National Reformer a certain amount of nonsense is, however, attributed to you. They can't get along without something like that. I see, the Bee-Hive is ignoring the whole debate. This is called publicity, just like the dear old Didaskalia für Geist, Gemüt und Publizität.

I half expected what happened with The Irishman. Ireland still remains the sacra insula, whose aspirations may not be lumped together with the profane class struggle of the rest of the sinful world. Partly, this is certainly an honest madness of these people, but equally certainly it is partly a calculated policy on the part of the spokesmen in order to maintain their domination over the peasants. In addition, a nation of peasants is always forced to take its literary representatives from among the bourgeoisie of the towns and its ideologists, and here Dublin (I mean Catholic Dublin) is approximately to Ireland what Copenhagen is to Denmark. For these gentry, however, the whole labour movement is pure heresy, and the Irish peasant must not be allowed to find out that the socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe.

In other respects, too, the Irishman is very scurvy this week. If it was ready to retreat in this way at the first threat of suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, then the sabre-rattling was absolutely misplaced from the start. And now even the fear that still more political prisoners might be elected! On the one hand, the Irish are warned, quite rightly, not to let themselves be inveigled into any illegalities; on the other, they should be held back from doing the only lawful thing that is opportune and revolutionary in character, the only thing that might successfully break with the established practice of electing place-hunting lawyers and might impress the English liberals. Pigott is obviously afraid that others could outstrip him here.

Of course you will remember how O'Connell, also, always incited the Irish against the Chartists, although—or just because—they had inscribed Repeal on their banner.

\[^a\] sacred isle
The question put to Applegarth is delicious. One sees how these trumpery lords and M.P.s imagine that the whole labour movement is already in their pockets because Odger and Potter flirt with them and the Bee-Hive has been sold. The gentlemen are in for a surprise. In the meantime, it's a good thing that a new election is not, apparently, in the immediate offing; the gentlemen have to make fools of themselves first. Applegarth and Bracke returned enclosed.

From the enclosed query from Solingen you will see all the things I'm supposed to afford. What should be done in this case? If I send the people 50-100 thaler it will not help them, and I can't risk more for them since, in the long run, it will certainly be throwing money away. What is your opinion?

The worthy gentlemen from tiers parti believe they already occupy the ministerial chairs, and have already made wonderful fools of themselves. They vote gaily for the vindication of the prefects of Monsieur de Forcade Laroquette. In this way I cannot see why any sort of ministerial change is necessary, if everything the present ministers have done is all right. On the other hand, Louis certainly believes that he has now once again frightened the bourgeois with the red spectre that he can get away with phrases. The business is entangling itself quite nicely.

What scurvy knaves the Prussians are. Scarceley has an apparently constitutional wind begun to blow from Paris, when they immediately start making small concessions. Eulenberg takes over, in the state budget, the proxy costs of the deputies who are state officials, etc. And for this Camphausen diddles the Chamber out of 8 2/3 million annually, which previously, by law, had to be devoted to eliminating debts, and on the other hand he now abolishes the amortissement, except where the Government and the Chamber decree that there should be redemption. The stupid Liberals themselves demanded this earlier and must now vote for it.

China, with the steady expansion of her market, appears to wish to save the cotton trade once again, at least for a while. The reports from there are considerably better, though much has been consigned there, and since then there has again been a veering-round here, and once again work is going swingingly. This will naturally drive up the cotton price again, and the whole profit will go into the pockets of the importer. But at least they are working here without losses.

With Gottfried I am now completely in the clear. Yesterday he...
paid me the last remainder of my money, and we shall now probably more or less show each other our backsides.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

How anxious Bracke is not to give an opinion about people whom he should know very well. Also appears to have more good nature than resolution.

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

271

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 December 1869

Dear Fred,

D'abord, about the Solingen business. (Are £2 necessary here? I think only one.)

These people have bothered me, the Central Council, the Basle Congress etc., with their appeals. They themselves admit that their productive cooperative is only of local interest. How can they expect foreign countries to contribute a single farthing to them, in view of the international sacrifices that the strikes, etc., cost, and of the tribulations of hundreds of French and English production cooperatives? They have seen what benefit they have gained from Becker's enthusiastic appeals.

On the other hand: these Solingen people are supporters for you and me in the Rhine Province. They belonged (the leaders) to the

---

a See this volume, p. 299. - b First of all - c Marx has in mind the appeals for aid to the Solingen cooperative issued by the Central Committee of the German language sections: 'Rundschreiben des Zentralkomite's der Sektionsgruppe deutscher Sprache an die Sektionen und mitgenössischen Gesellschaften', Der Vorbote, No. 11, November 1868; 'Mahn Ruf. An unsere Bundesgenossen und die Arbeiter und Arbeitervereine aller Länder', Der Vorbote, No. 10, October 1869.
Under Lassalle’s lordly sway, when Marquis Izzy was in Cologne, the same Karl Klein announced a toast for us, the editors of the \textit{Neue Rheinische Zeitung}, and Izzy was forced \textit{de faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu}. Further, their cooperative was solid and maintained itself for years. The stupidity of the Prussian legislation forced them to fix their capital and thus reduce their \textit{working capital}. Then the Rhenish bourgeois became irritable and decided to break them up, partly by \textit{selling their obligations}, and partly by \textit{withdrawing all commercial advances} (not based on obligations).

Thus, the business is of general importance and, for us, personal importance.

What I suggest is this:

You send the fellows 50 thaler for obligations, and tell them, at the same time, that they must themselves see you can do \textit{nothing} for them among the English bourgeois in Manchester. Tell them as well—and this is a \textit{fact}—that I in London have made \textit{all possible efforts on their behalf, but in vain}. Finally, tell them—and I shall try this \textit{immediately}—that I shall try to raise money for them among the \textit{German bourgeois}. I shall—naturally you will \textit{not} tell them this—write immediately to Menke in Hamburg to this end. It is possible that Menke (who is a millionaire, and has read \textit{Capital} from beginning to end, and furnished it with ‘correcting notes’, which he himself showed me) will do something. 2,000 thaler are nothing to such people. They would naturally, \textit{d’abord}, send somebody to Solingen to look at how the thing works. If the business is \textit{not capable of surviving}, it \textit{should not and may not} receive support. If the contrary, then \textit{I am certain} that these people (Menke et Co.) will provide the money.

\textit{Ad vocem}:

\textit{Irish Question}. I did not attend the \textit{Central Council} last Tuesday. My ‘family’ did not allow me to go in this \textit{fog} and in my \textit{present state of health}, although I had undertaken to \textit{open the debates}.

With regard to the report in the \textit{National Reformer}, not only has nonsense been attributed to me, but even what is \textit{rightly} reported is \textit{incorrectly} reported. But I didn’t want to complain. \textit{D’abord}, I would, thereby, offend the \textit{reporter} (Harris). Second, as long as I don’t interfere, all these reports are in no way official. If I correct something, I admit the rest is right—yet everything is wrong the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{a} Ferdinand Lassalle
  \item \textit{b} to grin and bear it
  \item \textit{d} As to
  \item \textit{e} 7 December
  \item \textit{f} See this volume, pp. 392 and 394.
\end{itemize}
way it is reproduced. **Besides, I have reasons** not to convert these reports into **legal evidence** against me, which happens the moment I correct details.

The way I shall express the matter next Tuesday is: that, quite apart from all 'international' and 'humane' phrases about **Justice for Ireland**—which are taken for granted on the **International Council**—it is in **the direct and absolute interests of the English working class to get rid of their present connexion with Ireland**. I am fully convinced of this, for reasons that, in part, I cannot tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by **English working class ascendancy**. I always took this viewpoint in the **New-York Tribune**.501 Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will **never accomplish anything** before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. This is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of **Davies** in extracts. The book itself I have only glanced through superficially in the Museum, so you would oblige me if you would copy out for me the passages relating to **common property**. You **must** get hold of **Curran's 'Speeches' edited by Davies** (London: James Duffy, 22 Paternoster Row). I meant to give it to you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English members of the **Central Council**, and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779-1800 (Union461) it is of decisive importance, not only because of **Curran's 'Speeches'** (namely in court); I regard Curran as the sole great lawyer (people's advocate) of the 18th century, and the **noblest personality**, while Grattan was a parliamentary rogue), but because you find **all the sources** about the **United Irishmen**.462 This period is of the greatest interest, scientifically and dramatically. First, the dirty infamies of the English in 1588-89 repeated (perhaps even intensified) in 1788-89. Second, class movement is easily shown in the Irish movement itself. **Third**, the infamous policy of Pitt. **Fourth**, which very much irks Messrs the English, the proof that Ireland came to grief because **in fact, from a revolutionary standpoint**, **the Irish were too far advanced for the English King and Church mob**, while, on the other hand, English reaction in England (as in Cromwell's time) had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland. **This period** must be described in at least one chapter,502: a pillory for John Bull!

Enclosed something French—and, as a contrast, Freiligrath-ish!

---

a J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*. - b the British Museum Library
I would be glad if you would send the money for the next quarter as soon as possible.

Apropos. Tussy has undertaken a foolish work, embroidering a sofa cushion for you for Christmas. I don't believe she will be finished before the New Year. She allows neither Mama, nor Jennychen, nor Lenchen to sew a single stitch, so she has done nothing else for weeks. This is, however, a great secret, and you must naturally not give the slightest hint that you know about it. Tussy would eat me alive.

Compliments to Mrs Lizzy.

Your
K. Moor

Of the French stuff I am sending you, Gaulois—half Bonapartist, half opposition—is stupid. Père Duchèsne will astonish you by its impudence. And in such a state of things the bitch Eugénie dares to push herself forward? She really wants to get hanged.

Apropos. The translation of Capital goes on. Keller has now interrupted it, however. He wants to publish 18th Brumaire a first, believing this possible under the present circumstances and important for France.

As for the current Irish movement, 3 important factors:

1. opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and blarney;
2. opposition to the dictates of the priests who (the higher ones) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time, just as in 1798-1800;
3. the emergence of the agricultural labouring class against the farming class on the last meetings. (Similar phenomenon from 1795 to 1800.)

The Irishman only made its way owing to the suppression of the Fenian press. For a long time it stood in opposition to Fenianism. Luby, etc., of the Irish People were educated people who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government cast them into prison, and then came the Pigotts et Co. The Irishman will only continue to amount to anything until those people come out of prison. He knows this, though he is now squeezing political capital out of declarations on behalf of the 'felon convicts'.

---

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

---

a K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - b 'From Our Correspondent. Dublin, November 30' (in the 'Ireland' column), The Times, 1 December 1869; 'Great Excitement' (from the Belfast papers), The Irishman, 4 December.
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 December 1869

DEAR FRED,

Just before the close of post I saw the letter from the Solingen people lying next to me; so I had forgotten to enclose it for you yesterday, which I do herewith.¹

Also a proof, sent me by Beesly, but the continuation of it is missing. The page with the portraits—Paris—belongs to Jenynchen, so you must return it after perusal.

Salut.

Your

Moor

Various resolutions will be taken about the Bee-Hive, d'abord in order to register them in our Minutes Book, and then to publish them when there is an opportunity.²

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 December 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed—what I have discovered from Davies and otherwise about Irish land ownership about 1600. The post will be closing immediately, so I must keep things short today.

¹ See this volume, pp. 395, 396-97.
² first
³ See this volume, pp. 497-98.
⁴ J. Davies, Historical Tracts.
About the Solingen people—ALL RIGHT. From the start it was my opinion that both of us had a special interest in the people.¹ I shall probably go to Barmen next week, as my mother simply insists I spend a Christmas at home again, and this time it is very possible that I shall travel to Solingen and see the people myself.

Correction of incorrect reports would naturally be of no help.² It would have to be done every week.

I have the Curran³ here, in an edition that is probably much more complete, but I suppose I shall be glad also to acquire the new edition. For the time being I have enough to do with the early history up to 1660, and as soon as I'm finished with that, the period 1782-1800 will naturally be my main interest. First of all, however, I want to finish off the old stuff, particularly since I have found that the original positions between 1172-1600 are everywhere represented completely falsely, and I am only slowly discovering the original sources.

Not heard anything about Prendergast yet⁴? This book will soon be indispensable to me, or its lack will become very génant.⁵

More tomorrow.

Your

F. E.

---

disadvantage was found in the last accounts, and Sir Godfrey\(^a\) had to make it good to me subsequently—IT WILL COME IN FOR CHRISTMAS.

That damned Giraldus Cambrensis dances before me like a will-o’-the-wisp. I must get the fellow, since he is the first foreign, that is to say first authentic, source on the state of Ireland on the arrival of the English, and the quotations I have seen lead me to believe that I shall find something more. The book, called *Hibernia expugnata*,\(^b\) is nowhere to be found, but the first part, which interests me, is in the Frankfurt (!) edition of Camden’s *Britannia*,\(^c\) I don’t know whether in another edition. This edition is naturally not here; an English edition in the Free Library does not contain Giraldus\(^505\); the third volume of another edition in the lending library which might contain it is lost, and thus my only hope is the Chetham Library,\(^480\) to which I shall go tomorrow. Incidentally, this hunt for sources is quite a different sort of pleasure than it was to hunt for customers on the blasted stock exchange.

Are Petty’s *Political Anatomy of Ireland* and *Political Survey of Ireland* two different works, or only different editions? For the latter is here.

I have here a later edition of Kane’s book; the one from you is unfortunately of little use because of its age (1846).\(^506\)

I am making a written record of each period as soon as I have fairly finished my studies. Then you have the interrelations more clearly in your head and, altogether, a more vivid idea of the business, and can still make corrections. That is why, on the whole, I am keeping so strictly to the historic periods in arranging the order in which I plough through sources. I am nearly finished up to 1600.

On the side, I am reading *Grant’s Campaign Against Richmond* by Cannon.\(^d\) Grant is a self-willed jackass who had so little confidence in himself and his army that he never dared undertake the simplest flanking manoeuvre against Lee, who was weaker by half, before he had weakened him by several days of frontal attack and had nailed him down in his original position. He relied upon the simple calculation that if he lost three men for every one of Lee’s, then Lee would run out of people before he did. Nowhere else have there been such brutal butcheries as on that occasion. It was

---

the day-long skirmishes in the forests that cost so many lives; the wooded terrain made detours very difficult, and this is Grant’s only excuse.

Best greetings to the ladies.

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

275

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 December 1869

Dear Fred,

Best thanks for £100. Yesterday I couldn’t acknowledge because of the sudden appearance of Strohn. The poor fellow had his blood relapse again in May. Because of his health, he has had to hang around since then in Switzerland, etc.; looks very poorly and is very peevish. The doctors recommend him to marry. Strohn will be returning from here to Bradford, and desires you to return him the Urning or whatever the paederast’s book is called.\(^b\)

As soon as he goes (on Monday) I shall myself buzz around town to raise the Prendergast.\(^c\) I couldn’t do it last week because of the filthy weather, which I couldn’t risk to undergo in my not-yet-restored state of health. I remember vaguely that, in his introduction, Prendergast depicts the Anglo-Norman period, it seems to me, in fantastic-uncritical-optimistic radiant colours. The book must be obtained for you also to consult for the first period. Our Irish resolutions\(^d\) have been sent to all trades unions that maintain ties with us. Only one has protested, a small branch of the curriers, saying they are political and not within the sphere of action of the Council. We are sending a deputation to enlighten

\(^a\) See the previous letter.
\(^c\) J. P. Prendergast, The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.
\(^d\) See this volume, pp. 375-76.
them. Mr Odger has now noticed how useful it was for him to vote for the resolutions despite all sorts of diplomatic objections. As a result, the 3-4,000 Irish electors in Southwark have promised him their votes.

From the enclosed Égalité, which I must have back, you'll see how impudent il Signor Bakunin is becoming. He now has control over 4 organs of the International (Égalité, Progrès in Locle, Federacion, Barcelona, and Eguaglianza, Naples). He is trying to gain a foothold in Germany through alliance with Schweitzer, and in Paris through flattery for the newspaper Le Travail. He believes the moment has come to start an open squabble with us. He is playing himself up as the guardian of real proletarianism. But he's in for a surprise. Next week (luckily the Central Council has adjourned until the Tuesday after New Year's Day, so we on the subcommittee are free to work without the cozy intervention of the English) we shall be sending a threatening missive to the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva, and since the gentlemen know (incidentally a major part, perhaps the greater part are against Bakunin) that, according to the resolutions of the last Congress, we can suspend them if necessary they will consider the matter twice.

The main point on which our missive turns is this: the only representation with regard to us of the branches romandes en Suisse is the Federal Committee there. They have to dispatch their demandes and reprimandes to us privately, through their secretary, Perret. They have absolutely no right to abdicate their functions into the hands of the Égalité (a non-existence for us), and to expect the Central Council to get involved in public explanations and polemics with this remplaçant. Whether or not the rejoinders of the General Council are published in the organs of the international branches, the whole thing depends on the decision of the General Council, which alone is directly responsible to the Congress. At this opportunity, blows will fall upon certain intriguants who are usurping undue authority, and who wish to subject the International to their private control.

Regarding the tumult of the Cossacks about the Bulletin, the matter is as follows:

It was decided at the Brussels Congress that we should publish 'in the several languages' bulletins on strikes etc., 'as often as its...
But on the condition that we, for our part, received reports, documents, etc., from the Federal comités at least every 3 months. Since we have received neither these reports nor the means to print reports, this resolution naturally remained a dead letter. In fact, it became superfluous as a result of the founding of numerous international newspapers, which exchange with one another (Bee-Hive as register of English strikes, etc.).

At the Congress in Basle, the question was raked up again. The Congress treated the Brussels resolutions on the Bulletin as non-existent. Otherwise, it would simply have charged the Central Council with carrying them out (which would, once again, without the provision of means, have remained a lettre morte). At issue was a bulletin in a different sense (not, as before, a résumé of strikes, etc., but rather general reflexions on the movement). The Congress did not, however, come to a vote on this point. There is, therefore, at present no resolution in this question. But what a marvellous policy it would be to inform the public, through an open reply to Égalité that, at an earlier date, the Brussels resolutions remained unfeasible, 1. because the members did not pay their pence, and 2. because the Federal comités did not perform their functions!

With regard to Schweitzer, Mr Bakunin, who understands German, knows that Schweitzer and his gang do not belong to the International. He knows that Schweitzer publicly rejected Liebknecht’s offer to appoint the General Council as arbiter. His interrogation is all the more villainous since his friend Ph. Becker, the president of the German language groups, sits on the Geneva Federal Council, in order to give them the necessary information there. His aim is simply to gain a grip on Schweitzer. Mais il verra!

I have written fully to De Paepe about the affair (to lay before the Brussels Central Committee).

As soon as a Russian gets a foothold, there is the devil to pay. Borkheim has now plunged into Turkish.

Will you be going to Germany?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

---

*dead letter* - But he will see! - See this volume, pp. 406 and 413-14.
My dear Jung,

First Shaw's funérailles, afterwards other incidents have prevented me from sending you earlier the 'missive' to Geneva. There are des changements in the text—I have struck away, I have added some sentences, and very often corrected the phraseology.

Hence you must copy the thing anew (as quickly as possible) so that the text I send to day to Bruxelles be conform with that sent to Geneva. As soon as you have done, put the thing into the hands of Dupont.

With compliments to your family

Yours truly

Karl Marx

I have, besides the copy of the Geneva 'missive', made a full report to the Bruxelles Comité 'pour les encourager' et aussi un peu to show them the theoretical nonsense preached at Geneva.


---

a K. Marx, The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.  
b changes - c 'to encourage them' and also partly
Manchester, 9 January 1870

Dear Moor,

A Happy New Year!

I arrived back here at midday on Thursday, after thoroughly wrecking my stomach in Barmen with innumerable guzzlings. The people there are overjoyed, that is, the philistines are. The danger of war has now been finally overcome; Louis-Napoleon has once again finely maintained his superior wisdom through prudent compliance. Bismarck is once again able to work, confidence is returning, commerce must improve, and so 1870 must be an extremely blessed year for the honest German duffers. I cannot grasp how these people manage to take leave of more of their senses every year.

Hühnerbein, the old tailor and general of the revolution, was very pleased to see me. He still has a complete set of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung bound in red, which is good to know. He sends greetings; he has two very pretty daughters.

I did not go to Solingen for the following reasons:

1. It would have been very difficult for me to get away for a day at holiday time;

2. I could not very well have asked for a closer look at the business without contributing a larger sum myself, which was not possible and

3. as a Party friend, I would have been forced to take the people's word for some things, and not to have insisted so strictly, like a complete stranger, on the presentation of all documents and securities; and Menke, as a result of my report, would perhaps refrain from sending anyone, and thus load me with a responsibility I would prefer to decline.

Now I shall wait for your reply and then write to the people. If I hadn't been so wrecked and, in addition, worried about Lizzie, whom I left unwell, and from whom I heard nothing all the time, I would have dropped in on you on the return journey.

Read practically no newspapers the whole time, but I see that

---

a See this volume, p. 401. - b Ibid., pp. 420-21.
the Hatzfeldt, through Mende, has laid an interdict on Schweitzer\(^5\), things must be all over for Schweitzer soon. I shall presumably get details through you from the papers.

In Cologne I visited Klein\(^a\) for a few moments. Was very cool; these people become so philistinised that we appear to really bother them. They now have an anti-ultramontane association, naturally including Cherethites and Pelethites\(^b\) (which means Cretans and Philistines according to Ewald's translation).

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

278

**ENGELS TO MARX**\(^180\)

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 19 January 1870

Dear Moor,

I hope you are having a better time with the infamous carbuncle following the lancing.\(^c\) It’s a ghastly business. Keep on with the arsenic till all the symptoms have disappeared, and *then for at least another 3 months*. I shall go to Gumpert in the next few days and ask him for his opinion,\(^d\) but be so good as to let me know first for how long you stopped taking the arsenic, and when you began again, so I can answer his very first question.

I would have thought you really must realise that in the interests of your 2nd volume,\(^4\) too, you need a change of life-style. If there is a constant repetition of such suspensions, you will never get finished; with an increase in movement in fresh air, which will keep off the carbuncles, then sooner or later.

\(^a\) Johann Jacob Klein - \(^b\) 2 Samuel 8:18; 15:8 - \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 551, 552. - \(^d\) Ibid., p. 551.
Unfortunately, now that I can no longer call upon the packers in the warehouse I haven’t such opportunities for sending wine as formerly. I must wait, as with Brauneberger, until I find a ready-packed crate, or depend somehow or other on chance. That is why the small crate of port I am sending you today, has proved so slim. It is an old butter crate from Renshaws; I could not get more than 5 bottles in the narrow space, and the thin boards would not have stood more weight. It should keep you going for a while, however.

The Peter Bonaparte business is a bang-up inauguration for the new era in Paris.\(^{516}\) Louis\(^{a}\) is \textit{décidément}\(^{b}\) unlucky. For the bourgeois a very rude awakening from the illusion that the whole foundation of corruption and dirty work, carefully and slowly constructed over eighteen years, would disappear immediately noble Ollivier took over the helm. Constitutional Government with such a Bonaparte, such generals, prefects, police and Decembrists! The anxiety of the fellows, I mean the bourgeois, is nowhere more clearly expressed than in Prévost-Paradol’s letter in Monday’s \textit{Times}\(^{517}\).

The worst part of this business is that Rochefort thereby acquires a quite exaggerated nimbus. To be sure, though, the official Republicans are also a miserable lot.

John Bright deserves congratulations. The poor fellow is so helpless in his new and elevated situation that, despite all discretion, he promises the Irish \textit{free land} and \textit{opening of the prison doors}\.\(^{518}\) The latter naturally only to revoke it the following day, as soon as the slightest attempt is made to take him at his word. As far as \textit{free land} is concerned, this was already—in Bright’s sense, \textit{à la free trade}—introduced by the \textit{Encumbered Estates Court}.

I have at last discovered a copy of Prendergast\(^{c}\) in a local library, and hope to be able to obtain it. To my good or bad fortune, the ancient Irish laws\(^{481}\) are now also appearing, and I shall have to wade through these as well. The more I study the subject, the clearer it becomes to me that, as a result of the English invasion, Ireland was cheated of its whole development, and thrown back centuries. And this ever since the 12th century; neither should it be forgotten, of course, that 800 years of invasion and plunder by the Danes had already dragged the country considerably backwards; but this had ceased more than 100 years earlier.

\(^{a}\) Napoleon III - \(^{b}\) decidedly - \(^{c}\) J. P. Prendergast, \textit{The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland}.
In recent years there has been rather more criticism in Irish research, particularly in Petrie’s antiquarian studies\(^a\); he also forced me to read some Celtic-Irish (naturally with a parallel translation). It doesn’t seem all that difficult, but I shan’t delve deeper into the stuff; I’m already hobbled with enough philological nonsense. In the next few days, when I get the book, I’ll see how the ancient laws have been dealt with.

I congratulate you on your progress in Russian. You will charm Borkheim, and it is also a good thing because mine has nearly all become very rusty again, and if you let yours become rusty again, then I shall have to start once more.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. Lafargue is in a really frightful hurry.\(^b\)

Your
F. E.

---

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

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

---

279

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January 1870

DEAR FRED,

I am only writing you THESE FEW LINES today, since my left arm is under bandages and poultries, that is to say, not under my command.

The business was an abscess connected with the glands. In addition, a few other little things, which were put in order yesterday by being lanced. Today, everything in best progress; the doctor was fully satisfied.

The port, which arrived yesterday, is doing me a great service.

You should not imagine that I have learned so much Russian in a

\(^a\) G. Petrie, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion. In: The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XX. - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 551.
FEW WEEKS; I won't say as much as you have forgotten, but as much as would remain to you had you forgotten three times as much. I am still a beginner.

So Herzen is dead. Just about time I finished Трофима etc. 519

Plenty of things have happened in the 'International', especially with regard to Bakunin's intrigues. 507 But too long to write about now.

The Paris movements are amusing. a Since Ollivier is also a free trader, he is naturally a man after the heart of the English philistine, who always forgets that what suits him must be, prima facie, b disgusting to French Frenchmen.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzie AND ALL OF THEM.

Your
Moor

What do you say to the clever-clever stuff in Zukunft, by means of which they attempt to push themselves out of the purely political camp!

Apropos. I still have a little note from Liebknecht 520 which arrived for you during your absence from England. But I can't look it out now amongst the mess of papers. Next time.

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

280

MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE 48

IN BRUSSELS

London, 24 January 1870

Dear citizen De Paepe,

I am writing to you with some difficulty, as my left arm is bandaged. At the end of last month, an abscess of the gland began to form near the armpit. I neglected the thing, and I am punished for my sin. Several days after I sent the letter to Brussels, 512 the

a See this volume, p. 409. - b immediately

16*
pain became intolerable and I fell into the hands of doctors. I underwent two operations, and I feel better, but I am still being treated and must stay at home.

In the first place, I am writing this letter to ask you a personal favour. You probably know that a part of the English bourgeoisie has formed a sort of *Land League*\(^5\) against the workers' *Land and Labour League*.\(^4\) Their ostensible purpose is to transform English landed property into small-lot property, and to create a peasantry for the greater benefit of the people. Their real purpose is an attack against landed aristocracy. They want to throw land in free circulation in order to transfer it in this way from the hands of landlords into those of capitalists. To this effect, they published a series of popular tracts under the title of *Cobden Treaties*, in which small-scale property is painted in rosy colours. Their great battle-horse is *Belgium* (principally the Flemings). It would appear that in that country the peasants live under paradisiacal conditions. They established contact with Mr Laveleye who provides them with facts for their rhetoric. In the meantime, as I treat of landed property in Volume Two of *Capital*,\(^1\) I believe it useful to go into some detail there on the structure of landed property in Belgium and of Belgian agriculture.\(^2\) Will you have the goodness to send me the titles of the principal books which I must consult?\(^3\)

My illness has naturally prevented me from attending the General Council\(^a\) in the last weeks. Yesterday evening, the subcommittee (the executive committee) of which I am a member visited me. Among other things, they communicated to me the content of a letter sent by Mr Hins to Stepney. As Stepney believed that I would be able to attend the session of the General Council (on 25 January), he did not communicate to me any extracts from that letter. I do not know any of it except from hearsay.\(^b\)

In the first place, it is probably believed in Brussels that the catastrophe of Geneva, the change in the staff of *L'Égalité*,\(^5\) was produced by resolutions of the General Council.\(^b\) That is an error. Jung was so busy with his work as watchmaker that he did not find the time to copy the resolutions and dispatch them to Geneva before 16 January. In the interval, he received two letters from H. Perret, secretary of the Romance Committee. The first letter, dated 4 January, is official. It is a communication of the Romance Committee to the General Council stating that some editors of

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 471.  
\(^b\) K. Marx, *The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland*.  

L'Égalité convened to wage a public campaign against the General Council and the Swiss Committees with which they were not in accord, but that they acted against the will of the Romance Committee.

The second letter, of a later date but arriving also before the resolutions of the General Council were dispatched by Jung, is a confidential letter sent by Perret to Jung. I am giving you literal extracts from it to put you in the picture. As the letter is private, I need not tell you that these extracts must not be communicated to the Belgian Committee or that the name of the writer must remain a secret.526

'...Bakunin has left Geneva. So much the better. Those kind of people bring discord among us. He was the head of the Alliance.527 These democrats are authoritarians, they do not want any opposition; such are Bakunin, Perron and Robin; these three were at the head of L'Égalité. Bakunin, with his personal attacks, cost us 200 or 300 subscribers in Geneva. Robin is even more authoritarian, his ambition was to change everything here; he has not succeeded, we do not wish to allow ourselves to be dominated by these gentlemen who believe themselves to be indispensable. They attempted to bring pressure to bear on the Federal Committee, and that did not succeed; we do not want to engage in adventures with them or to bring discord in our sections. Please believe me that l'Alliance is dangerous for us, especially now. As for their plan in Geneva, I guessed it a long time ago; to let the men of l'Alliance move to the top of all the societies in order to dominate the Federation. If you knew their mode of action—denigrating at the sections the people who do not let themselves be dominated by them; they did everything to push my candidature out of the way in Basle, the same thing in Grosselin... You see the manoeuvre—sending to Basle no one but members of the l'Alliance, Heng, Brosset, Bakunin. That did not succeed at all. Besides, he a worked on the delegations at Lyons, at Naples; these methods are not ethical. They left for Basle before us to prepare their intrigues...

Here is something that happened at the Congress.579 something I guessed about but had no certain proof of. Martinaud, delegate of the Neuchâtel section, had a mandate signed by the brother of Guillaume,527 a forged, false mandate—we have proof of that in our hands. The Neuchâtel section was not yet definitively constituted, and the provisional committee wrote to us not to recognise either Guillaume or Martinaud. These are the morals of the apostles of l'Alliance, for Guillaume and some others from Locle are their friends. Besides, the creation of Progrès has lured away subscribers to L'Égalité, although our journal was founded by all and we must support it.

'The last bit of news: the cut-throats of l'Alliance have just handed in their resignation from L'Égalité—Perron, Robin and some others, more or less capable ones. A little coup d'état à la Bakunin and à la Robin. They wanted to force the hand of the Federal Committee, that it might dismiss from the staff a member b who offered opposition and who condemned attacks made against various committees and the General Council. We do not wish to increase the authority of these gentlemen, we are going to have a quiet fight with them yet, but it seems that l'Alliance loses many of its members; it is diminishing—so much the better.'

---

a Mikhail Bakunin  b Pierre Waehtry
So much for the extracts from Perret's letter. If Mr Hins has not yet communicated my letter (and the resolutions of the General Council) to the Belgian Council, it would be better to suppress entirely the paragraph about Bakunin. I have no copy of it, but I know that I wrote it in irritation brought on by physical suffering. Thus I do not doubt that Mr Hins justly blames me for the form of that paragraph. As to the substance and the facts, they are independent both from my bad manner of expression and the good opinion of Mr Hins about Bakunin. The fact is that l'Alliance, of which Bakunin is the creator and which has not been dissolved except nominally, is a danger to the International Association and an element of disorganisation.

In the paragraph concerning Bakunin, I am told that Mr Hins again picks up the phrase 'le bonhomme Richard'. That is a slip of the pen, which I regret all the more as Richard is one of the most active members of the Association. I used the phrase only to say that, in the correspondence cited here, he accepts with a great deal of simple-mindedness opinions which he never fathomed. Besides, when I wrote those words, Richard had just given a fresh proof of his thoughtlessness. He had sent to the Council a letter in which a judgement was expressed declaring certain persons belonging to a would-be schismatic Lyons branch to be infamous traitors expelled from the Association. We are asked to copy this judgement, to stamp and sign it, and to return it by post. And that without proof, without documents, without giving those condemned the right to defend themselves.

I am also told that Mr Hins reproaches the English Report on the Basle Congress for having suppressed everything related to the question of heritage. That is obviously a misunderstanding. On pages 26-29 we find the report of the General Council, the report of the committee appointed at Basle, and a summary of the discussion on this question. Moreover, the English Report on the transactions of the Congress was written by Eccarius. The Council appointed a commission to examine that report. Although I was appointed a member of this commission, I refused to take part in its work as I had not been present at the Congress and was thus not competent to judge the exactness of the report. My entire collaboration was restricted to purely stylistic improvements.

Finally, if the resolutions passed by the General Council were

---


not good enough to satisfy Mr. Hins, they obviously satisfied the Romance Committee, for two weeks after their adoption it passed the resolution to free itself from the dictatorship of l'Alliance.

Yours very truly,

K. M.


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

281

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 January 1870

Dear Moor,

It was a great relief to learn that, this time, it was only a glandular abscess, not a carbuncle. In view of your decisively anti-lymphatic temperament, the involvement of the gland (axillaris) can only be secondary and not mean anything. This state of affairs is fully explained by the prolonged neglect that arose from you treating the thing as a carbuncle.

Prendergast—a—finally received, and, as always happens, two copies at once; W. H. Smith & Sons have also got hold of one. I shall be finished with it tonight. The book is important because of the many excerpts from unpublished documents. No wonder it is out of print. Longman & Co. must have been furious at having been induced to put their name on such a book, and since there was certainly little demand for it in England (Mudies have not a single copy), they will have sold the edition for pulping as soon as possible, or, also possible, have sold the edition to a syndicate of Irish landlords (for the same purpose), and will certainly not print a 2nd. What the author says about the Anglo-Norman period is correct in so far as those Irish and Anglo-Irish who lived at some distance from the Pale, continued during that period to live

* J. P. Prendergast, The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.
roughly the same old casual life which preceded the settlement; and that the wars, too, in this period were more easy-going in character (with a few exceptions), and had not the distinctly devastating character they assumed in the 16th century, and which became the rule thereafter. But his theory that the enormous amiability of the Irishmen, and particularly Irishwomen, immediately disarms every immigrant, however hostile, is just thoroughly Irish, since the Irish way of thinking lacks all distinction of degree.

A new edition of Giraldus Cambrensis has been published: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, edidit J. S. Brewer, London, Longman & Co. 1863, *at least* 3 volumes; could you find out the price for me, and whether it would be possible to get cheaply, second hand, the whole work, or at least the volume containing 'Topographie Hiberniae', and possibly also 'Hibernia expugnata'.

In order not to make a fool of myself over Cromwell, I shall have to mug up considerably more on the English history of the period. This will do no harm, but will steal a lot of time.

I am reading the French papers with thanks and interest, and will return them tomorrow with several numbers of *Zukunft*. This paper is becoming more and more depressing and difficult for both readers and writers.

It is close of post, so *adieu*. Best greetings to all.

Your

F. E.

---

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

282

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

{London,} 27 January 1870

DEAR FRED,

I am still under treatment and confined to my room. The business was complicated to some degree by small carbuncles near the
abscess, nearly the size of an egg. But in a few days all will be quite right.

It is curious how doctors have differing opinions. Dr Maddison, who was employed in Edinburgh in a hospital for skin diseases, and still works in this branch, in addition to his practice in a London hospital, states that in both hospitals they are completely against arsenic for carbuncles, though use arsenic for rashes. As long as I am in his care, which comes to an end this week, I naturally take his medicine. As soon as this finishes, I shall take arsenic regularly for 3 months for *il faut en finir*.

Enclosed—the announced note from Wilhelm. If you write to him, do inform him, in passing (referring to the screed he sent you for me) that 1. if all newspapers write as much about the 18th Brumaire as his, that is to say, not at all, it is not surprising that nobody hears of it; and 2. that if this material cannot be obtained in Leipzig (which I regard as humbug), he should not write to me, but to Meissner direct.

Enclosed—letter from Dr J. Jacoby to Kugelmann, and note from Kugelmann. The matter is as follows: Kugelmann saw in supplement No. 18 of Zukunft (22 January) a speech by Jacoby, in which the latter avows socialism and, in the main part of the same issue, the story of the meeting at which this happened, when Schweitzer seized the presidency with the help of his bullyboys and, after the end of Jacoby's speech, accused him, *inter alia*, of borrowing arguments from me. Kugelmann wrote with his usual fervour to Jacoby on this, congratulating him and, at the same time, dressing him down for quoting all sorts of people, but precisely not me, who had supplied him with his real matter. *Hence Jacoby's reply.*

The odd thing is only that Jacoby—during the meeting, in answer to Schweitzer—said that I myself 'utilise in my works the labours of my predecessors on countless occasions'. Since I conscientiously cite everybody who contributed as much as a comma to the exposition, this means that Jacoby can take the substance of his new beliefs from me, without citing me. In addition, I am not a 'predecessor' of 70-year-old Jacoby. A mere populariser and superficialiser has no 'predecessors'. Yet despite all this, it is very fine that Jacoby, like Arnold Ruge, has been converted to *communism*. 'Liberty' no longer suffices!

I am sending you the latest issue of the Democratic News. The sheet is no good, but it is in the hands of our own chaps, and

---

\(^{a}\) it must be ended  \(^{b}\) *Der Volksstaat*  \(^{c}\) See this volume, pp. 542-43.
could be made into a *counterbalance* to the *Bee-Hive*, particularly since it only costs 1 *halfpenny*. You and Moore should both subscribe to 12 *copies*, since a similar subscription has also been imposed upon members of the General Council. In addition, one or the other of you could send me quite short reports about Lancashire etc., weekly or bi-weekly, for the sheet.

*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

283

**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN LONDON**

[Manchester,] 1 February 1870

Dear Moor,

I only received the relevant *Zukunft* yesterday evening, so I can only return the Jacobyana* today. It is very clear why the old Yid did not name you; he was sheepishly ashamed of himself, but he should at least have known that, once Schweitzer had been elected president, or was simply present, the plagiarism would certainly be rammed down his throat; but an old wiseacre like he always thinks, in his stupidity, that things might go well. If conversions continue like this, we shall soon dislodge old almighty God from the Rhenish proverb which states that he 'keeps curious company'.

I shall try to raise subsidies for the *Democratic News*. 12-fold subscriptions can lead to nothing, as we have simply no use here for the piles of waste paper. And I don’t know, either, what could be reported from here.

I shall inform Wilhelm suitably; I presume he has *never* spoken in his sheet* about the *18th Brumaire*. That not a single copy can be obtained in Leipzig is certainly a lie, unless the whole edition has

---

* a See the previous letter.  
* b *Der Volksstaat*
been sold out. Apropos, how do things stand with the French translation of it, and of your book?\(^580\)

I shall send Wilhelm the Peasant War, but shall only write the introduction for the complete publication. There is no sense in writing an introduction for a serial publication that might drag on for 6 months or more.\(^486\)

It is a real stroke of luck that, despite G. Flourens, no blow was struck at Noir's funeral. The fury of Pays shows the Bonapartists'\(^a\) great disappointment. They could not wish for anything better than to catch all the revolutionary masses of Paris en flagrant délit\(^b\) on the open field outside Paris, even outside the fortifications, which only have a few passages. Half a dozen cannon at the posterns, an infantry regiment in skirmishing order, and a brigade of cavalry to lay about and pursue—and, in the space of half-an-hour, the entire unarmed crowd—the few revolvers some might carry in their pockets would not count—would be routed, cut down or captured. Since they have 60,000 soldiers, they could even let them enter the fortifications, occupy these, shoot down with grapeshot and ride down the crowd in the open terrain of the Champs Elysées and on the Avenue de Neuilly. Delightful! 200,000 unarmed workers should, from the open field, conquer Paris occupied by 60,000 soldiers!

The French newspapers arrived this morning. Best thanks.

Have you read a full translation of Land and Freedom (the Russian thing)\(^531\)? I now have one; you can have it.

Best greetings to your wife, Jenny and Tussy.

Your
F. E.

---

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

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

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 553. - \(^b\) red-handed
Dear Friends,

I must apologise very much for having left your letter of 3 December unanswered until today. My only excuse is that I wanted to write something really nice, so I had to look around first, also in the interests of the cooperative. If I now have no very good news, this is, as you will see, not my fault.

I remember Solingen well from anno 48 and 49. Not only were the workers of Solingen at that time the most developed and most determined in the Rhine Province, as was also shown by the Elberfeld affair; I have a reason to be personally grateful to them, since the Solingen column, with which I marched to Elberfeld, supported me and guarded me there against the cowardly and treacherous Committee of Public Safety of the bourgeois ‘radicals’. Had it not been for the Solingers, these bourgeois would have bunged me into jail, where I would probably have been left as an expiatory sacrifice for the Prussian gentlemen. And I know full well that, during the whole period of the Lassallean triumphal processions, the Solingers did not behave as disciples of the new teaching, but as people who had belonged to the socialist movement for many years, who could, of course, join the new Association, but did not need to learn anything from it. And I know very well, how, when Lassalle was being idolised as a new messiah, Friend Klein had the courage to remind him and the workers that the people round the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had already contributed something towards the independence of the workers.

Thus, it is doubly painful to me that my own means do not permit me to give the cooperative a helping hand in a way that would be of special use to it. The little money I have is so tied up that, with the best will in the world—and certainly for the next few years at least—I cannot get at it, not even for my personal ends. I can thus only dispose of my income, which is not brilliant in the circumstances here. But to show my good will, at least, I enclose 50 thaler in one Prussian banknote I. Lit. C. N. 108,126; I would ask you to send me the relevant bond title; the interest,
however, should be credited not to me, but to the reserve fund of the cooperative.

Together with Marx, with whom I have discussed the matter,¹ I have looked around to see whether we might drum up money for the cooperative in some other way. Marx knows some people who have means, and who can be assumed to have good will. But the man² through whom we would have to manoeuvre this is away for a number of months, and until then nothing can be done. We intend to do the following: if we succeed in interesting these people in the matter, we shall ask them to send somebody to Solingen to inspect the state of the cooperative himself. It would then be necessary for this person to be shown all the books and records and be provided with all the necessary explanations with the greatest frankness. Otherwise, you cannot ask people to put money into a business and, if I were myself in a position to advance a larger sum, then I would come to Solingen and ask for the same. In business matters everybody has the duty to look out for himself, since anybody can make a mistake, particularly somebody who is interested in a certain thing. In addition, such a person—who naturally would be a complete stranger to Solingen—would have to give his word of honour that he would make no use of the information thus obtained. And when this person has convinced himself of the reliability of the business and the trustworthiness of the management, we hope a decent sum will be taken up in bonds.

I naturally give you this simply as our plan of operations, and would not like you to set great hopes in it already, as it is clear that we cannot just dispose of other people's money. I would not for the world wish the cooperative, basing itself upon such prospects, which might come to fruition at the earliest in months, or perhaps not at all, let itself in for transactions that would tie up its means, and get it into difficulties. I can only promise that we shall do our best in this matter, and remain, with best wishes for the success of the cooperative and the prosperity of all members, with greetings and a handshake

Frederick Engels

My address is now as above.


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

I See this volume, pp. 395, 396-97. - b presumably Menke
Engels to Marx
Manchester, 9 February 1870

Dear Moor,

Either you are sick, or you once again cramming yourself into sickness; otherwise one would hear from you.

The blasted:

*Ancient Laws of Ireland.*—*Senchus Mor.*—*Part I and II, Dublin,*

printed for her majesty, stationery office, the 2nd part of which appeared 3-4 weeks ago, are said to be ‘reprinting’, and lay me completely by the heels. Query, can one get something of this sort second hand in London?

So Rochefort has quietly been put in quod. Ollivier obviously wants a collision; the barricade attempts will presumably turn out to be ‘white smock’ pranks. And if Ollivier doesn’t want a collision, then Bonaparte, behind his back, does.

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

Marx to Engels

In Manchester

[London,] 10 February 1870

Dear Fred,

I first went out again last Saturday, but as a result of this damned foggy weather immediately contracted a sort of inflamm-
tion of the tonsils. The body is naturally sensitive after some weeks of sequestration. A north-east wind is howling here and, under the circumstances, prolongs imprisonment. But I hope to have my throat all right again in the course of this week.

On Sunday, Little Dakyns (the geologist) visited me. I invited him for next Sunday. His Scottish cap was the sole memento of his costume as Felix Holt, the Rascal. He was as sprightly as ever, and Tussy was delighted to see him.

As far as new things are concerned—such as the Irish Laws, etc.—it is very difficult to get them here second hand.

Laura writes to us today, inter alia, that since last June the excitement in Paris has been steadily rising. Since the Victor-Noir tragic balladry, the females in the working strata have gone daft, and you know what that means in Paris.

Flourens, the crack-brained youngster, is the son of late Flourens, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie, who always adhered to the existing government throughout his nearly 100 years of life, and who was, in turn, Bonapartist, legitimist, Orleanist and again Bonapartist. During the last years of his life he still made himself noticeable with his fanaticism against Darwin.

Apropos, about Napoleon I. In one of the copies of Cloche that you have, there is, in one of the memoirs—I no longer remember which—a passage about the wretched behaviour of the hero. Jennychen wants to have the quotation. She has had a squabble at the Monroes' about it, where they wished to deny the facts.

I have read the first 150 pages of Flerovsky's book (taken up with Siberia, North Russia and Astrakhan). This is the first work to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions. The man is a determined enemy of what he calls 'Russian optimism'. I never held very rosy views about this communist El Dorado, but Flerovsky surpasses all expectations. It is, in fact, rum, and at any event sign of a change, that something like this can be published in Petersburg.

You have few proletarians, but the mass of our working class consists of working people whose lot is worse than that of any proletarian.'

The method of presentation is quite original; sometimes it reminds you most of Monteil. You can see that the man has

---

a A personage from George Eliot's Felix Holt, the Radical. 
b See this volume, pp. 409-10 and 422. 
c in the original: Louis Noir. 
d N. Flerovskiy, Положение рабочего класса в России. 
e 'We have few proletarians, but the mass of our working class consists of working people whose lot is worse than that of any proletarian.'

f A. A. Monteil, Histoire des français des divers états aux cinq derniers siècles. Volumes I-X.
travelled about everywhere and observed things for himself. Blazing hatred of landlord, capitalist and official. No socialist doctrine, no mysticism about the land (although he favours the form of communal property), no nihilistic extravagance. Here and there a certain amount of well-meaning twaddle, which is, however, suited to the stage of development of the people for whom the book is intended. At all events, it is the most important book published since your work on the Condition of the Working-Class. And the family life of the Russian peasants is also well depicted—with the awful beating-to-death of their wives, the drinking, and the concubines. It would, therefore, be very opportune if you would send me the fantasy-lies of Citizen Herzen. 

You will recall that Égalité, inspired by Bakunin, attacked the General Council, made all sorts of interpellations publicly, and threatened more. A communication—which I composed—was, thereupon, sent to the Comité Romand in Geneva, and ditto to all the other Comités of French tongue corresponding with us. Result: The entire Bakunin gang has quit Égalité. Bakunin himself has taken up residence in Tessin, and will continue intriguing in Switzerland, Spain, Italy and France. Now the armistice is at an end between us, since he knows that I attacked him heatedly and inveighed against him on the occasion of the latest Geneva événements. The brute really imagines that we are 'too bourgeois' and, therefore, incapable of grasping and esteeming his lofty concepts about 'inheritance right', 'equality', and the replacement of the present state systems by 'l'Internationale'. Nominally, his 'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste' has been dissolved, but, in fact, continues. From the enclosed copy of a letter (which you must return to me) from H. Perret, secrétaire du Conseil Romand, to Jung, you will see that, in fact, the catastrophe in Geneva took place before they received our communication there. This, however, strengthened the new status rerum. The Belgian 'Conseil' (Brussels) has officially declared itself completely in favour of our stand against Égalité, but the secrétaire of the Belgian Council, Hins (brother-in-law of De Paepe, but fallen out with him), has sent a letter to Stepney in which he takes Bakunin's side, accuses me of supporting the reactionary party amongst the Geneva workers, etc., etc.

---

a See this volume, p. 426. b Ibid., pp. 404-05. c K. Marx, The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland. d Events e State of affairs
Did you notice, in one of the copies of *Marseillaise* sent to you, that Mr K. Blind had inserted an advertisement for K. Blind in the aforesaid sheet, according to which the aforesaid Blind was sent to Paris as ‘ambassador’ with General Schurz (*Schütz* does not sound good enough), was exiled from Paris by Bonaparte, and still is! and also was previously *member of the German National Assembly* 537!

My compliments to Mrs Lizzie and friends.

K. M.

[Postscript from Eleanor Marx]

MY DEAR Engels,

I AM VERY MUCH OBLIGED TO YOU FOR SENDING ME THAT ADVERTISEMENT. THE SITUATION IS ONE THAT WILL SUIT ME VERY WELL, SO I SHALL LOSE NO TIME IN APPLYING FOR IT. YOU WILL I AM SURE GIVE ME A REFERENCE.

WITH THANKS AND BEST LOVE TO ALL.

GOOD BYE.

Tussy.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

287

ENGELS TO MARX 180

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 February 1870

Dear Moor,

Your tonsil business, following the abscess in your auxiliary gland, doesn't make me very happy. In any case, it shows that something is not quite kosher about your lymphatic system. If the business does not clear up soon, I would ask Allen, who made such a correct prognosis about my glandular business. Yours, however, is obviously chronic, whilst mine was extremely acute; but better is better.

I am sending you, enclosed, what I've written for Liebknecht 520 as an introduction to the *Peasant War.* Since, in this connection, it

---

is not possible to steer clear of the year 1866, which has hitherto been avoided, we shall have to reach an agreement on what to say about it. Other remarks would also be welcome.

Further, Wilhelmmchen’s reply.³⁵³ Totally Wilhelm. He didn’t know at all that the 18th Brumaire had been published. On the other hand, I should immediately send him my address. Since he had no longer sent me his sheet, his excuse is that I must have left my address. And now this penance—belatedly throwing the whole Volksstaat from 1 October onwards at my head!

I would ask for the earliest return of these two documents, so I might send Wilhelmmchen what he wants and have him leave me in peace.

Today I returned to you, per Globe Parcel Co., all copies of Cloche, Lanterne, Marseillaise, Figaro, etc. that I had here. The relevant number of Cloche is among them.⁵⁵⁵ Since Jennychen collects these things, it is best if she has them all together. I have only kept one Marseillaise here, containing the business about the guncotton; I wish to examine Chlormeier further about it.

Dakyns wanted to visit you before Christmas, and wrote to Moore for your address. He, whose insight into character and sense of judgement is not, however, always unexceptionable, gave him such a picture of your inaccessibility at home that I said immediately that poor Dakyns would be quite unnecessarily intimidated. So I wanted to give you Dakyns’ address last time, but forgot; but I told Moore immediately that he should not put such nonsense into Dakyns’ head.

The sentence quoted from Flerovsky is the first Russian sentence I have understood completely without a dictionary. What is the Russian title of the book? I shall acquire it for myself. What I wanted to send you was not Herzen, but the German translation of Земля и воля, Land and Freedom, by the aristocrat Lilienfeld, which also describes the bad results of freedom for the peasants, and the resulting decay of agriculture.⁵³¹ I wrote to you about this more than a year ago, and since then Borkheim has also acquired it and, I believe, translated passages from it for you. As soon as I have read it through, I’ll send you it.

Perret’s letter also returned, enclosed. It’s a good thing Bakunin has gone to Tessin. He won't create much trouble there, and it proves the business in Geneva is over. Since there are simply such ambitious vain incompetents in every movement, it is au

---

³ Carl Schorlemmer - ⁵ See this volume, p. 423. - ⁶⁵ In the original: Lilienthal. - ⁵³⁶ See this volume, pp. 55-56.
fond* good that they join together in their own way, and after that move into the public eye with their cosmic whimsies. Then it soon becomes possible to demonstrate to the world that it is all gas. And this is better than if the struggle stays in the field of private gossip, in which people who have something to do are never a match for those who have the whole day for forming cliques. But an eye must be kept on the fellows, so they do not manage to occupy the field somewhere or another without resistance. Spain and Italy will have to be left to them, of course, at least for the time being.

It would be a very good thing if Mr Rochefort, or as Lizzie says Rushforth, were to go missing in prison for a while.\footnote{The petite presse is quite a good thing, but when it supplants everything else I lose my taste for it. It still has in its bones the whole quality of its origins in the bas-empire. And when Rochefort preaches unity of the bourgeois and the worker, it is even funny. On the other hand, the 'serious' leaders of the movement are, for their part, really comically serious. It is truly marvellous. The supply of heads, which, until '48 the proletariat obtained from other classes, appears to have dried up completely, and in all countries. The workers seem to be increasingly constrained to do it themselves.}

What is l'illustre Gaudissart\footnote{What is l'illustre Gaudissart up to? I hear and see nothing of him. Hasn't he got any business again yet?} up to? I hear and see nothing of him. Hasn't he got any business again yet?

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 in full for the first time

\footnote{a basically - b Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France. - c Sigismund Borkheim}
Allen visited me yesterday. Nothing but a simple chill. He advised me, however, to continue my house arrest until the Russian wind ‘which blows no good to anybody’ ceases.

Your introduction\(^a\) is very good. I know of nothing that should be altered or added. I agree \textit{verboten}\(^b\) with your treatment of 1866. The double thrust at Wilhelm\(^c\) of the People’s Party\(^d\) and Schweitzer, with his bodyguard of ruffians, is very pretty.

Regarding the \textit{excuses} made by Wilhelm,\(^e\) one never knows whether he is lying intentionally, or whether everything is revolving in confusion like a mill-wheel in his head. The \textbf{fact} is that I wrote to Meissner from Hanover that he should send copies\(^d\) to Wilhelm, \textit{Zukunft} and Schweitzer, and the latter immediately published a detailed announcement.\(^e\) Additionally: Wilhelm’s friends—Bonhorst and Bracke—\textit{saw} the new edition when they visited Hanover,\(^f\) \textit{and} told me that they had reached agreement with Meissner on the publication of a cheaper, popular edition. Meissner wrote to me about it. I agreed this edition should consist of 2,000 copies, of which 1,000 should be supplied to Bonhorst, etc., at cost price. They pledged themselves to see to the placing of this 1,000. I’ve heard nothing about the matter since. We should now put Wilhelm to the test. Write to him that he should write to Meissner, asking how it is that he has not advertised the \textit{18th Brumaire} either in \textit{Volksstaat} or in \textit{Zukunft}, and ditto, despite my instructions from Hanover, why he has sent neither him nor Weiss of \textit{Zukunft} \textit{copies}? The reply from Meissner would, at the same time, give me an opportunity to have a serious word with the latter about his sloppiness.

I agree entirely with your marginal notes on the \textbf{French radical}.

\(^a\) F. Engels, \textit{Preface to the Second Edition of ‘The Peasant War in Germany’}. - \(^b\) word for word - \(^c\) Wilhelm Liebknecht - \(^d\) of the second edition of K. Marx, \textit{The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte} - \(^e\) [The announcement of the publication of the second edition of K. Marx, \textit{The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte}, \textit{Der Social-Demokrat}, No. 117, 6 October 1869 (the ‘Literarisches’ column)]. - \(^f\) See this volume, p. 358.
PRESS. Not for nothing was Proudhon the socialist of the Imperial period. I am firmly convinced that, although the first blow will come from France, Germany is far riper for a social movement, and will grow far over the heads of the French. It is a great error and self-deception on their part that they still regard themselves as the 'chosen people'.

Apropos. Jennychen heard whispers yesterday at Monroe's that Mr John Bull Bright is not in the country as the papers report, but in town in the care of a mad-doctor. Softening of the brain has again set in. On the occasion of Castlereagh's suicide, Cobbett noted, that England during one of its most critical epochs, was governed by a madman. And the same again today, during the Irish crisis.

It's extremely amusing that Bouverie, this incarnation of pure Whiggism, should find the proceedings quoad O'Donovan to be illegal. Bouverie is furious that he was given the cold shoulder in the distribution of offices.


One of the things that amuses me very much in Flerovsky is his polemic against the peasants' direct dues. It is a complete reproduction of Marshal Vauban and Boisguillebert. He also feels that the situation of the country people has its analogy in the period of the old French monarchy (since Louis XIV). Like Monteil, he has a great feeling for national characteristics—'the straightforward Kalmyck', 'the Mordvinian, poetic despite his dirt' (whom he compares to the Irishman), the 'agile, epicurean, lively Tartar', the 'talented Little Russian', etc. Like a good Russian, he tells his fellow-countrymen what they should do to turn the hatred all these races feel for them into the opposite. As an example of the hatred, he cites, for instance, a genuinely Russian colony from Poland which moved to Siberia. These people know only Russian, not a word of Polish, but they regard themselves as Poles, and foster a Polish hatred of the Russians, etc.

His book shows incontestably that the present conditions in Russia are no longer tenable, that the emancipation of the serfs of

---

COURSE only hastened the process of disintegration, and that fearful social revolution is at the door. Here, too, you see the real roots of the schoolboy nihilism that is now the fashion among Russian students, etc. In Geneva, BY THE BY, a new colony of exiled Russian students has grown up with a programme proclaiming opposition to pan-Slavism, which should be replaced by the 'International'.

In a special section, Flerovsky demonstrates that the 'Russification' of alien races is a sheer optimistic delusion, even in the East.

You don't need to send me Lilienfeld. Gaudissart has it in Russian and German. He announced his return to me the day before yesterday. According to an earlier communication from his wife to mine, he had found a new post. But it surprises me that he doesn't mention this in his latest epistle.

Enclosed, it must be returned, a copy of the letter from Hins to Stepney. In my reply I gave the fellow a thorough dressing down. The exact manner in which he informs himself is shown by the following points, amongst others. He says that, in our Report on the Basle Congress, we suppressed the discussion on the right of inheritance. Bakunin probably palmed this off on him, and he believes it, although he has our Report in his hands and knows enough English to read it! He speaks of 'my' letter to Geneva, though I have not addressed a line there! My expostulation about Bakunin's goings-on is in my letter to Brussels, in which—apart from communicating the missive of the General Council to Geneva—I had to give a general report and communicate the appointment of a new secretary for Belgium (Serraillier, ouvrier bottier from Marseilles). He accuses us of having provoked the crisis in Geneva which—as Égalité shows—ended more than a week before our Missive arrived there, etc. The Belgian Conseil Général has, despite Hins, declared its full agreement with us.

Curious that old Becker announced his withdrawal from the editorial committee of Égalité together with the other Bakunin-

---

ists. At the same time, he publishes in his *Vorbote* the exact opposite of what Bakunin did in *Égalité*. The old confusionist!

*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

289

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 February 1870

Dear Moor,

I have written the necessary to Wilhelm.* I’m now eager to hear how he will extricate himself.

For a long time I have seen nothing more ridiculous than Flourens’ letter about his heroic deeds in Belleville, where he ‘had possession of a whole faubourg’ for 3 hours’. The start is wonderful, where he calls on the people to follow him, but only 100 go along, and these soon melt away to 60, and then these evaporate, until he, finally alone ‘with one lad’, is beaten in the theatre.

The story about Bright is very odd.° He has had one such attack already, and had to go to the country for 2 years fishing.

The story about the Russians changed into Poles is absolutely Irish. I must have Flerovsky; unfortunately, I won’t, for the time being, have any time to plough through it.

Hins returned—enclosed. The letter is obviously only written for you.²

Yesterday I was at a fine blow-out, twelve of us, *nothing but Tories*, merchants, manufacturers, calico-printers, etc. The fellows all agreed that:

---

*a* See this volume, p. 428. ° suburb. ° See this volume, p. 429. d Ibid., p. 429.
1. for the past 3 years here in Lancashire the hands had been always in the right and the masters always in the wrong (short time versus reduction of wages);
2. the ballot was now necessary to protect the Conservative voters, and
3. England would be a republic in 25 years, and even earlier unless the Prince of Wales, makes himself very popular.

It's amusing how people gain insight as soon as their party is out of office, and how quickly they lose it as soon as they are in.

Apropos. You probably know that, in Lady Mordaunt's divorce trial, the 'some other person' with whom she had a criminal connection is the Prince of Wales.

So Gladstone the mountain has successfully been delivered of his Irish mouse. I really don't know what the Tories could have against this Bill, which is so indulgent with the Irish landlords, and finally places their interests in the tried and trusty hands of the Irish lawyers. Nevertheless, even this slight restriction of the eviction right will result in an end to the excessive emigration, and will put a stop to the conversion of arable land into pasture. But it is very jolly if the worthy Gladstone should think that he has abolished the Irish question by means of this new prospect of endless procedure.

Is it possible to get a copy of the Bill? It would be very important for me to be able to follow the debates on the individual clauses.

You in London can have no idea of the way the telegraph has broken down since it was taken over by the Government. Only the first third of Gladstone's speech was published in yesterday's papers here, and even this was pure nonsense. The latest telegrams are all 24 hours later than before, so that, if you want to know something, you have to wait for the London newspapers to arrive. A telegram from here to Nottingham, handed in on Thursday, arrived Monday.

You know that, for the past 3-4 years, there has been a big squabble between Prussian and Austrian historians about the Peace of Basle, because Sybel claimed that Prussia was forced to conclude it because it had been betrayed by Austria in Poland. Now Sybel once again has a long story about it, from the Austrian

---

a Albert Edward  b Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on 15 February 1870 was published in The Times, 16 February and in Manchester Daily Examiner and Times, 17 February 1870. c H. Sybel, Oestreich und Deutschland im Revolutionskrieg. Ergänzungshäft zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit 1789 bis 1795.
archives, in his *Historische Zeitschrift.* Every line proves how Russia set Prussia and Austria at each other's throats and, at the same time, drew them into the 1792 war against France, exploited, cheated and dominated both; but stupid Sybel notices nothing of this; instead searches in this whole filthy murk of cheating, treaty-breaking and infamy, in which they were all equally involved, for only one thing: proof that Austria was even more rascally than Prussia. Never have there been such blockheads. His wrath is not directed against Russia, no, solely against Austria, and he explains Russian policy, which is displayed here quite openly and clear as day, with childish motives, such as annoyance at Austrian double-dealing.

From Flerovskiy's account b it apparently emerges that Russian power is bound to collapse very shortly. Urquhart will, of course, say that the Russians had the book written in order to throw dust in the eyes of the world.

To Tussv my best thanks for the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, sent me as a Valentine.

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

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 17 February 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

Yesterday I was out in the fresh air again for the first time in a long period.

First to business: be so good as to send immediately a copy of

---

Vogt* to Asher & Co., Unter den Linden 11, Berlin. I would prefer if you were to obtain a confirmation of posting certificate when you send the book off, and send me same. You would also oblige me if you would let me know roughly when C. Hirsch wrote to you about Vogt.

The pamphlet you sent me is one of the appeals currently being made by the privileged estates of the German-Russian-Baltic provinces to German sympathies. These canaille, who have always distinguished themselves with their zeal in the service of Russian diplomacy, army and police, and who, since the transfer of the provinces from Poland to Russia, have happily bartered their nationality for the legal right to exploit their peasantry, are now clamouring because they see their privileged position endangered. The old system of rank and estate, orthodox Lutheranism and bleeding the peasants—that is what they call German culture, to defend which Europe should now mobilise. Hence, too, the last words of this pamphlet—landed property as the basis of civilisation, and landed property, moreover, as the wretched pamphleteer himself admits, consisting mainly of directly manorial estates or tributary peasant estates.

In his quotations—in as far as they refer to Russian communal property—the fellow displays both his ignorance and cloven foot. Schédo-Ferroti is one of the fellows who (naturally in the interests of landlordism) attribute the miserable situation of the Russian peasantry to the existence of communal property, just as, formerly, the abolition of serfdom in Western Europe, instead of the serfs’ loss of their land, was decried as the cause of pauperism. The Russian book Land and Freedom is of the same calibre. The author is a Baltic country squire von Lilienfeld. The Russian peasantry is thrown into misery by the same thing that made the French peasantry miserable under Louis XIV, etc.—state taxation and the obrok to the big landowners. Instead of producing the misery, communal property alone diminished it.

It is, further, a historical lie that this communal property was Mongolian. As I have indicated at various points in my writings, it is of Indian origin, and may, therefore, be found among all European peoples at the beginning of their development. The specific Slav (not Mongolian) form of the same in Russia (which is also repeated amongst the non-Russian South Slavs) even re-

---

a K. Marx, Herr Vogt.  
b D. K. Schédo-Ferroti, Études sur l'avenir de la Russie; see also this volume, p. 154.  
c in the original: Lilenthal  
d quit rent
semblés most, mutatis mutandis, the Old German modification of Indian communal property.

The Pole Duchinski in Paris declared the Great Russian race to be Mongolian and not Slav, and attempted to prove this with a great expenditure of scholarship; and from the standpoint of a Pole, this is in order. Even so, it is wrong. Not the Russian peasantry, but only the Russian aristocracy, is strongly mixed with Mongol-Tartar elements. The Frenchman Henri Martin has taken over the theory from Duchinski, and the ‘enthusiastic Gottfried Kinkel’ translated Martin and set himself up as a Polish enthusiast, in order to make the Democratic Party forget his servile homage to Bismarck.

On the other hand, the fact that the Russian state represents Mongolianism in its policy towards Europe and America is naturally a truth that has today become a platitude, and thus accessible even to people like Gottfried and Baltic country squires, philistines, clerics and professors. Despite everything, therefore, the Baltic-German cries of dismay must be exploited, since they place Prussia, the German great power, in a ‘ticklish’ position. Everything that arouses antipathy on our side towards these ‘representatives of German culture’ in Prussia’s eyes is bound to make it appear worth protecting!

Another example of the crass ignorance of the pamphleteer: he sees the cession of Russian North America as no more than a diplomatic ruse by the Russian Government, which incidentally was very hard pressed for costs. But the main point is this: the American Congress recently published the documents about this transaction. They include, among other things, a report by the American envoy, in which he writes explicitly to Washington: the acquisition is at the moment not worth a cent economically—but England is, thereby, cut off from the sea on one side by the Yankees, and the reversion of the whole of British North America to the United States thus accelerated. There’s the rub!

I approved of the substance of your correspondence with Jacoby, but I was absolutum shocked by the exaggerated praise of my activities. Est modus in rebus! If you must praise, Old Jacoby himself is worth praising. Which other Old Radical in Europe has had the sincerity and courage to align himself so directly with the proletarian movement? It is quite unimportant that his transitional measures and detailed proposals are not worth much. Between

---

a with alterations of details - b See this volume, p. 417. - c All has its measure! (Horace, Satires, I, 1.)
ourselves—take all in all—I expect more for the social movement from Germany than from France.

I had a big row with Bakunin, that intriguer. But more about that in my next letter.

My best compliments à Madame la Comtesse a and Fränzchen. b

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in Die Neue Zeit, Bd. 2, Nr. 13, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in Pisma Markska k Kugelmannu (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad. 1928

291

MARX TO ENGELS 180

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 February 1870

Dear Fred,

Although it is still very inopportune to go out in the evenings in such weather, nevertheless I visited Gaudissart c yesterday evening. He had, you see, written to me that he had something very important to tell me, and could not really drag the files to me. And what was it? A giant letter about Russica, an impossible omnium-gatherum rambling on from one thing to another, with which he had honoured Zukunft274 and which this had not printed; neither had he received an answer to his furious letter requesting 'an explanation' of such methods. Further: a letter from the publisher d of Hermann here, requesting him to write against Russia for his paper. It would thus appear that Bismarck is very cross about Katkov's attacks.

Finally, an article in Katkov's paper e in which he 1. makes insinuations against Bakunin concerning various money matters; 2. describes him as his Siberian correspondent; 3. charges Bakunin with having written an extremely humble letter to Emperor Nicholas, from Siberia or shortly before being sent there—I don't re-

a Gertrud Kugelmann - b Kugelmann's daughter Franziska - c Sigismund Borkheim - d Heinemann - e Московских вedomостей
member exactly. Gaudissart will send me a copy of this, which I shall then communicate to you.

Gaudissart has business again, but not yet a new office in the City. He also has to get the business going again.

This evening—although yesterday evening did me no good—I must go into town again. I have been summoned to the subcommittee. It is, in fact, an important matter, since the people in Lyons have thrown Richard out of their society, though the General Council must make the decision. Richard, hitherto leader in Lyons, a very young man, is very active. Apart from his infecolation to Bakunin and a super-wisdom linked with this, I don't know what reproaches can be made against him. It appears that our last circular letter caused quite a sensation and that a hunt for Bakuninists has started in both Switzerland and France. But est modus in rebus and I shall see to it that there is no injustice.

The best bit of Gladstone's speech is the long introduction, where he states that even the 'beneficent' laws of the English always have the opposite effect in practice. What better proof does the fellow want that England is not fit to be lawgiver and administrator of Ireland!

His measures are a pretty piece of patchwork. The main thing in them is to lure the lawyers with the prospect of lawsuits, and the landlords with that of 'state aid'.

Odger's election scandal was doubly useful: the lousy Whigs have seen, for the first time, that they must let workers into Parliament, or Tories will get in. Second, the lesson for Mr Odger and consorts. Despite Waterlow, he would have got in if part of the Irish workers had not abstained, because he had behaved so trimming during the debate in the General Council, which they found out from Reynolds's.

You'll receive the Irish Bill next week.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Mr Siebel or Sybel, or whatever the fellow is called, appears to forget that the Prussians had already left the Austrians

---

a K. Marx, The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland. - b all has its measure (Horace, Satires, I, 1). - c Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on 15 February 1870 was published in The Times, 16 February and in Manchester Daily Examiner and Times, 17 February 1870. See also this volume, p. 432. - d See this volume, pp. 386-87, 392. - e Ibid., pp. 432-33.
in the lurch, in order to participate in the second partitioning of Poland excluding them. The filthy behaviour of the Prussians on that occasion was already disclosed in a Polish publication of 1794, which I have read in German translation, and the very clumsy way in which Russia made the two great German powers into its tools and fools in the anti-Jacobin war is very well set out in a Polish pamphlet, written in French in 1848. The names of the two authors quoted escape my memory, but they are in my notebooks.

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

292

MARX TO CHARLES DOBSON COLLET

552

IN LONDON

London, 19 February 1870

My dear Sir,

When I received your last letter, I was dangerously ill and, therefore, unable to answer.

The very minimum of the Russian Railway Loans amounts to 100 mill. £St. This sum has been mainly raised in Holland, Frankfort on the Main, London, Berlin, and Paris.

As appears from the Moscovite public journals, the Russian government intends raising, if possible, in the course of the next two years, no less than 50 mill. £St.

In regard to the last Railway Loan of 12 mill. £St., its history comes to this:

As you will be aware, the Russian government had successively, but vainly tried to raise money, first by Thompson and Bonar, then by Baring. Being hardly pressed for money, it succeeded at last to get from Rothschild, acting through his agent Bleichröder at Berlin, a loan of something like two millions £St.

With a view to get further securities for the repayment of this loan, Rothschild undertook to bring out the last Railway Loan.555

---

552 L. L. Sawaszkiewicz, Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la Révolution française et de l'Empire.
He stipulated
1) 4 per cent commission for himself—which, on 12 mill. £St., amounts to the nice round sum of 480,000 £St.;
2) another 5,000£ to be annually paid to him for 80 years for his trouble of paying out the coupons.

Rothschild proceeded very cautiously. He limited the English share of the loan to but 4 mill. £St., part of which he took up on his own account, while the rest was placed exclusively with confederate stockjobbers and City friends. Thus, when the loan was thrown on the open market, it was mere child's play to push it quickly to 4 per cent premium.

Still Rothschild's anticipations were quite surpassed. So floated was he with applications that he expressed his regret of not having at once issued a loan of 20 mill. £St.

The present financial distress of the Russian government may be inferred from the following facts:

About a year ago the Russian government issued a 'series' of paper money to be refunded after a certain term of years, and amounting to 15 mill. roubles. The official pretext of this new issue was that by this operation 15 mill. roubles of the old paper assignats should be withdrawn from the market and replaced by a more solid sort of currency. But hardly had the 'series' been issued in the way of state payments, when the Petersburg Official Gazette declared in a short, dry note that, for the present, no paper assignats would be withdrawn.

During the few last months, the Russian government has again issued no less than 12 new ‘series’ of that new sort of paper money, amounting together to 36 mill. roubles.

The Russian Exchange on London is now 28-29d. per rouble, while the par of exchange would be 40d. per rouble.

One reason of this state of things is avowed by the Russian press itself, viz. that, consequent on several bad harvests in the North-Eastern provinces, and still more on revival of American competition, the Russian corn exports have fallen by 1/3.

Yours truly
Karl Marx


Reproduced from the original

a C.-Петербургские ведомости
DEAR FRED,

Enclosed—Borkheim’s extract from Katkov’s article. At the same time, you will see from Gaudissart’s letter, on the reverse side, the shameless claims he makes on me as a result of a passing remark I made to him—on the evening I visited him—about Flerovsky. How should I respond to this thirst for action?

Also enclosed—a letter from Imandt. To me, the Prussian claim appears superannuated. What do you think? Doesn’t it depend on the form of the counter-bill he drew up for the university professors?

I wrote to De Paepe today about the foul deeds of the English Government against the Fenian prisoners. This business absolutely must get into the Continental press.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
North German consul, he would most probably have learned that a debt contracted abroad is not recoverable by legal action in Scotland—or should Scotland be an exception to all other countries? On superannuation, the Code Civil states, Article 2262, that all plaintiffs are superannuated after 30 years; Article 2265: who acquires something in good faith—superannuation in 10, respectively 20 years; Article 2271: the plaint of masters and teachers of sciences and arts regarding instruction given monthly, superannuates in 6 months. Since this last article does not correspond to the case, the plaint has obviously been filed simply in order to interrupt the superannuation in Rhenish Prussia, or also to see if Imandt can be browbeaten by fear of showing himself up, and will thus pay. His counter-bills are possibly made out on word of honour, in which case he could be shown up badly, in his position. Under Article 2244 a court summons interrupts the superannuation.

Katkov’s elucidations about Bakunin are not worth much. He does not say to whom the repentant letters were supposedly sent. Borrowing money is such a normal Russian means of sustenance that no Russian should reproach another on the subject. And that Bakunin should have used the 6,000 roubles lent him in order to flee, instead of paying the otkupschtschik, is really ludicrous. And that somebody banished to Siberia should once turn to Katkov, although otherwise he has no time for him—one can't make much of that either. It will annoy Bakunin, but I can’t see that Gaudissart will dig much capital out of it.

You can tell Gaudissart concerning his plan regarding Flerovsky that, if an English publisher is interested, he will find himself a translator who will translate AT THE MARKET RATE, which differs considerably from what Gaudissart calls ‘paying well’, and who will finish it in 2-3 months, and not take a whole year. Gaudissart should not think that he is the only person who knows Russian. There will still be time to return to the other points when he has really found a publisher. Incidentally, it won’t hurt at all if Gaudissart makes enquiries amongst the London publishers. If he should find somebody, which I hardly believe, this contact could be utilised at a later date. You can easily refuse the preface, saying it would be arrogant of you to wish to introduce a foreign book to English literature, before you yourself

---

a See this volume, p. 436. b tax agent (the Russian word is written by Engels in Latin letters in the original) c Sigismund Borkheim
had been introduced to it by an English edition of your own book.147

Apropos, why don’t you put Eccarius on to tackling the foul prison deeds in Volksstaat2

Sybel, of course, does mention the second partitioning of Poland behind Austria’s back,2 but, at the same time, he tries to prove once again that Prussia was entitled to do this, on account of some sort of previous Austrian treachery. His entire reasoning is this: when Prussia allies itself with Russia against Austria, this is in order, but if Austria attempts to ally itself with Russia against Prussia, this is treachery. The Pan-Germans and Austrians—Arneth, Vivenot and consorts—claim the opposite; so the two schools of history-mutilators today behave just as stupidly with regard to Russia as the two German powers did then.

I still haven’t got hold of the damned Irish laws.481 I have discovered Giraldus Cambrensis3; it can be had from Bohn, translated, for 5s. At the moment I’m going through Wakefield,4 who has a lot of good things on climate, soil, etc., with all sorts of omnium-gatherum in between. The fellow considers himself very learned, and is partial to quoting German, Dutch, Danish, etc., trash.

Yesterday I laughed more than I have for ages when I read Moses’ Paris letter in Volksstaat about Fluorens5 and the other new ‘forces’ that are replacing and supplanting old Blanqui, etc. The old blockhead never changes. Wilhelm6 ditto: his latest reports on 19 February are: Hanover, 13 January, Lörrach, 23 January, Munich, 25 January, Ernstthal, 17 January!

Incidentally, things are moving quickly in France. Jules Favre could do nothing better than to declare himself so vehemently against all violence, and in favour of peaceful progress, though limited.558

My move to London late in summer has now been decided. Lizzie has told me that she would like to leave Manchester, the sooner the better; she has had some rows with relations, and she is fed up with the whole business here. We shall get rid of our house

---

in September, so everything must be arranged between July and September.

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

---

MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

[London,] 23 February 1870

Dear Imandt,

As far as I am aware, debts contracted abroad are not recoverable by legal action in Scotland. I expect any old solicitor there would confirm this for you.

On superannuation the *Code Civil* states,\(^a\) Article 2262, that *all plaints* are superannuated after 30 years; Article 2265: who acquires something in *good faith*—superannuation in 10, respectively, 20 years; *Article 2271*: the plaint of masters and teachers of sciences and arts regarding instruction given *monthly*, superannuates in *6 months*.

The whole officiousness of the Prussians is obviously *simply an attempt to browbeat you*, and you can just laugh in the fellows' faces. It would only be inconvenient if the counter-bills are made out *on word of honour*. This would not alter things legally, but would be compromising. But this is surely not the case?

As you perhaps know, Dronke went bankrupt in a big way, then disappeared. According to some he is again haunting Liverpool; according to others, however, he is knocking about in Paris or Spain. In any case, you can get the most certain and reliable news about him *from Schily*.

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 441.
That scamp Biscamp continues to send his inspirations to the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung and the Weser-Zeitung, ditto, also, the Post, published here by Juch since the New Year (Hermann has passed into Bismarckian hands). I read nothing of all this, and still less do any personal relations exist. As far as I know, the Hesse Cassel man is hanging out somewhere in the London area, and is once again 'husband'. Since you...


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

---

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1870

DEAR FRED,

Last week we received the news that the youngest Lafargue child has died. The extraordinary coldness in Paris contributed to this. The child was stinted from the beginning.

In the meantime, all sorts of things have happened in Fenian affairs. A letter I wrote to the 'Internationale' in Brussels, censuring the French Republicans for their narrow-minded nationalist tendency, has been printed, and the editors have announced that they will publish their remarks this week. You should know that, in the letter of the Central Council to the Genevans—which was communicated to the Brussels people and the main International centres in France—I propounded, in detail, the importance of the Irish question for the working-class movement in general (owing to its repercussions in England).

A short while later, Jennychen flew into a rage at that disgusting article in The Daily News, the private organ of Gladstone's ministry,
in which this wretched rag addresses itself to its 'liberal' brothers in France, and warns them not to lump the cases of Rochefort and O'Donovan Rossa together. The *Marseillaise* really fell into the trap, saying *The Daily News* was right, and in addition published a wretched article by that prattler Talandier, *exprocureur de la République*, now a teacher of French at the military school in Woolwich (and also ex-private tutor at Herzen's, about whom he wrote a glowing obituary); in this article he attacks the Irish because of their Catholicism, and accuses them of causing Odger's defeat—because of his participation on the Garibaldi committee. Besides, he adds, they still support Mitchel although he has sided with the slaveholders, as though Odger did not continue to side with Gladstone, despite his much more important support for the slaveholders.

Jennychen—*ira facit poetam*—therefore wrote, in addition to a private letter, an article for *Marseillaise*, which was printed. And she received, from the *rédacteur de la rédaction*, a letter, a copy of which I enclose. Today she'll be sending another letter to the *Marseillaise* which, referring to Gladstone's reply (this week) to questions about the treatment of the prisoners, contains extracts from O'Donovan Rossa's letter (see *The Irishman*, Feb. 5, 70). According to Rossa's letter Gladstone is here presented to the French as a monster (insofar as Gladstone is, in fact, responsible for the entire treatment of the prisoners, under the Tories, too) and also as a ridiculous hypocrite, as author of the *Prayers, The Propagation of the Gospel, The Functions of Laymen in the Church*, and *Ecce Homo*.

With these two papers—the *Internationale* and *Marseillaise*—on the Continent we shall now unmask the English. If you should happen, one day or the other, to find something suitable for one of these papers, you, too, should take part in our good work.

The state of my health has not permitted me to take part in the meetings of the Central Council so far. But I shall, next Tuesday, if it doesn't rain. The discussions in the American House of Representatives about the Fenian prisoners have, as far as I could see, been most carefully suppressed by the English press.

Mr W. Liebknecht displays himself this time in his full glory. First, he is in a great hurry to have your Peasant War. Now procrastination and, instead, he prints, in No. 17 of the *Volksstaat, de dato* Hamburg, an article against the idea of 'class' differences, which comes from Heinzen's propaganda clique.

---

* a *ira facit poetam*—therefore wrote, in addition to a private letter, an article for *Marseillaise*, which was printed.

* b* 8 March

* c* dated from
Dear Laura and Paul,

You feel certainly great and just indignation at my prolonged silence, but you ought to excuse it as the natural consequence, first, of illness, then of extra work to make up for the time lost. The sad news Paul communicated to us, did not take me by surprise. The evening before the arrival of his letter I had stated to the family my serious misgivings as to the little child. I have suffered myself too much from such losses to not profoundly sympathise with you. Still, from the same personal experience I know that all wise commonplaces and consolatory thrash uttered on such occasion irritate real grief instead of soothing it.

I hope you will send us good news of little Schnappy, my greatest favourite. The poor dear little fellow must have suffered severely from the cold so adverse to ‘la nature mélanienne’. Apropos. Un certain M. de Gobineau, has published, il y a à peu près dix ans, a work in 4 volumes Sur l’Inégalité des races humaines, written for the purpose to prove in the first instance that ‘la race blanche’ is a sort of God amongst the other human races and, of course, the noble families within the ‘race blanche’ are again the

---

a As for Meissner and the 18th Brumaire, he observes a significant silence. b See this volume, p. 444. c Charles Étienne Lafargue d dark-skinned creature e some ten years ago f white race
London, 5 March, 1870.

Dear Laura and Paul,

I am sure that you are not surprised at my prolongated silence, but you ought to know it as the natural consequence of illness, not of inactivity, to make up for the toil lost in illness.

The conditions have accumulated to such an extent that, save for a moment of relief before the renewal of the letter that followed to the partly injured organs, the letter was written without much effort, with apero, &c., with which, I am not always in agreement with you. I have for the last personal reason, I mean that all were completely and literally ended on such occasion, nothing instead of something.

I hope you will send me your news of little Chapeau as soon as possible. The poor dear little fellow must have suffered severely from the cold weather. "La nature malade" in Paris, uncertain. The "Gabinets" has published a work of mine, "la peine des arts," as a work of "intellectual" literature. Written for the purpose, to make with the most cordial that. "Le silence" is a sort of "the" among the others, and indeed so of course. The noble family within the house included are among the "the" of the stairs. M. de Gabinets has always been my cousin, niece of the illegitimate De Gaulle de Gaulle in Paris. To have young still form an ancient family marriage and your modern French kinship. However, that may be, in spite of the spirit against the race which be with people, it is always in some opposition to have somebody they think themselves entitled to"
crème de la crème." I rather suspect that M. de Gobineau, dans ce temps là ‘premier secrétaire de la légation de France en Suisse’, to have sprung himself not from an ancient Frank warrior but from a modern French huissier. However that may be, and despite his spite against the ‘race noire’—(to such people it is always a source of satisfaction to have somebody they think themselves entitled to mépriser)—he declares ‘le nègre’ ou ‘le sang noir’ to be la source matérielle de l’art, and all artistic production of the white nations to depend on their mixture avec ‘le sang noir’.

I have been much delighted by the last letter I received from my sweet ex-secretary, and much amused by Paul’s description of Moilin’s soirée.

Ce ‘grand inconnu’ seems at last to have found the secret of catching that ‘gloire’ which till now always slipped so treacherously out of his fingers when he had just laid hold of its tail. He has found out that to be successful with the world everything depends upon the circumstance of circumscribing the world within one’s own four walls, where one may nominate himself president and have such an audience as will swear in verba magistri.

Here, at home, as you are fully aware, the Fenians’ sway is paramount. Tussy is one of their head centres. Jenny writes on their behalf in the Marseillaise under the pseudonym of J. Williams. I have not only treated the same theme in the Brussels Internationale, and caused resolutions of the Central Council to be passed against their gaolers. In a circular, addressed by the Council to our corresponding committees, I have explained the merits of the Irish Question.

You understand at once that I am not only acted upon by feelings of humanity. There is something besides. To accelerate the social development in Europe, you must push on the catastrophe of official England. To do so, you must attack her in Ireland. That’s her weakest point. Ireland lost, the British ‘Empire’ is gone, and the class war in England, till now somnolent and chronic, will assume acute forms. But England is the metropolis of landlordism and capitalism all over the world.

What is Blanqui about? Is he at Paris?

---

a the upper crust - b at that time ‘the first secretary of the French legation in Switzerland’ - c usher - d black race - e to despise - f ‘the Negro’ or ‘black blood’ - g the material source of art - h Laura Lafargue - i This ‘great stranger’ - j glory - k by his tutor’s words (Horace, Epistles, I. 1) - l K. Marx, The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners. - m K. Marx, The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland, Point 5 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 87-90).
You have of course heard nothing of my translator, M. K. I am in the same predicament.

The book of Flerovski on 'the situation of the labouring classes in Russia', is an extraordinary book. I am really glad to be now able to read it somewhat fluently with the aid of a dictionary. This is the first time that the whole economical state of Russia has been revealed. It is conscientious work. During 15 years, the author travelled from the West to the confines of Siberia, from the White Sea to the Caspian, with the only purpose of studying facts and exposing conventional lies. He harbours of course some delusions about la perfectibilité perfectible de la Nation Russe, et le principe providentiel de la propriété communale dans sa forme Russe. But let that pass. After the study of his work, one feels deeply convinced that a most terrible social revolution—in such inferior forms of course as suit the present Muscovite state of development—is irrepressible in Russia and near at hand. This is good news. Russia and England are the two great pillars of the present European system. All the rest is of secondary importance, even la belle France et la savante Allemagne.

Engels will leave Manchester and, at the beginning of August next, settle definitely down in London. It will be a great boon to me.

And now farewell my dear children. Don't forget to kiss brave little Schnappy on behalf of his

Old Nick


Reproduced from the original Published in English in full for the first time

---

a Keller (see this volume, p. 359). - b Н. Флеровский, Положение рабочего класса в России. - c the perfectible perfectibility of the Russian Nation and providential principle of communal property in its Russian form - d Splendid France and learned Germany - e See this volume, pp. 442-43.
Manchester, 7 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived here yesterday\(^a\) in a very suspicious state and, what is even more suspicious, \textit{a full hour} after time. Since, on Sunday, there is only \textit{one} \textit{post delivery} here, this looks very odd. Is the very honourable Mr Bruce taking an interest in our correspondence?

When I read on Saturday afternoon in the ‘Irishman in Paris’ the story about the \textit{Marseillaise}, I knew immediately in which part of the world Mr Williams was to be found, but stupidly enough could not explain the Christian name.\(^{b}\) The business is very fine, and the naïve letter, with Rochefort’s naïve suggestion that O’Donovan Rossa should be asked to contribute to the \textit{Marseillaise}, gives Jenny an excellent opportunity to establish a link with the treatment of the prisoners, and to open the eyes of the \textit{bons hommes}\(^b\) over there.

Why don’t you publish the General Council’s letter to the Genevans?\(^c\) The central sections in Geneva, Brussels, etc., read these things, but they do not penetrate to the masses unless they are published. And they should also be published in German in the papers in question. \textit{You don’t publish anything like enough.}

Please send me the relevant copies of \textit{Marseillaise} and \textit{Internationale} for a few days.\(^d\) Jennychen’s success has been greeted with a general hurrah here, and Mr J. Williams’ health has been drunk with \textit{all due honours}. I am very eager to hear how the matter develops. The stupid correspondent of the ‘Irishman in Paris’\(^e\) should try some time to get such things into his friend Ollivier’s papers.

A couple of days ago my bookseller suddenly sent me the \textit{Senchus Mor}, the ancient Irish laws,\(^f\) and what’s more, not the new edition but the \textit{first}. So, with a lot of pushing, I have

---

\(^a\) 6 March. A reference to Marx’s letter of 5 March 1870. - \(^b\) simple souls - \(^c\) K. Marx, \textit{The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland}. - \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 445, 453. - \(^e\) An allusion to the anonymous article printed in the ‘Irishman in Paris’ column of \textit{The Irishman}, No. 36, 5 March 1870.
succeeded in *that*. And such difficulties with a book carrying *Longmans* as the London firm on its title page, and published by the government! I haven’t been able to look at the stuff yet, since, in the meantime, I have started on various modern things (about the 19th century) and must finish them first.

I have concluded with Meissner on the basis of sharing the profits.567

I have just received a semi-incomprehensible telegram from Barmen, undated, from which it can only be seen that my mother is seriously ill. I don’t know whether a letter is on its way, or whether an earlier telegram got lost.568 I didn’t get Liebknecht’s sheet² today, either. It is very possible that I shall have to go to Germany in a few days, if so I shall see you on my way there. But I hope everything will still go well.

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

299

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 8 March 1870

Dear Rudolf,

I received your telegram today a few minutes before 5, which means it took scarcely 3 hours, since it was dated 1.52 p.m. So far your news is good, and I hope it remains so.

Hermann’s letter from Saturday⁶ I received only this morning; the storms must have delayed the Sunday boat from Ostend. In the regular run of things I should have received it yesterday afternoon, some hours *before* Hermann’s telegram,⁷ and then your information would have accorded properly. The matter seems to

---

¹ *Der Volksstaat* ⁶ 5 March ⁷ See the previous letter.
me extremely serious, and the worst is that it can drag on for a very long time and cause mother, at her age, a great deal of suffering, even if everything goes well this time. That the doctor is quite satisfied I understand to mean under the prevailing circumstances; a haemorrhage lasting from Wednesday until the following Tuesday appears to me to be certainly something serious. But we should hope for the best, namely that, when this is past, this does not re-occur.

I am ready to leave at any moment and, if my presence is desirable, I can, depending on the time at which I receive your telegram, either leave here at midday and arrive there the following evening, or leave late in the evening, per day-boat to Ostend, and get to Cologne the same day, where I would surely have to lie up for the night.

Try to keep mother as cheerful and in as good heart as possible.

Best greetings.

Your
Frederick

First published in Deutsche Revue, Jg. 46, Bd. II, Stuttgart, 1921
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

300

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 March 1870

Dear Fred,

Enclosed—2 copies of the Internationale. You don’t need to return them, since they have sent me 5 copies of each number.

In No. II there is nothing by me, except for translation of the facts from The Irishman.569

As to No. I, I had written it quickly to De Paepe as a private letter for him to work up into an article. Instead, he published it verbatim,\textsuperscript{a} adding nonsensical clauses, e.g., that the bodily punish-

\textsuperscript{a} K. Marx, The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners.
ment of O'Donovan should be understood as—lashes with a whip!

Have you read the stuff by Huxley about the lack of difference between Anglo-Saxon (vulgo Englishmen) and Celt? He is giving his 2nd lecture on the subject next Sunday. Little Dakyns has sent us tickets for this.

We are much disturbed here about the silence of the Parisians since the notice of death. Let's hope there has been no new misfortune.

Strohn was here the day before yesterday, and left for the Continent the same 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

301

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March 1870

DEAR FRED,

Since I know this stuff amuses you, the following with all haste (post just closing): in addition to a few introductory marginal notes on Gladstone's latest declaration in the House of Commons about the prisoners, Jennychen sent the Marseillaise an extract from an older letter by O'Donovan Rossa, published in The Irishman on 5 February (I believe that was the date). The Marseillaise (in a truly French way it gives this letter as from 'Newgate') proceeds to publish this in a special issue on Tuesday evening, containing only articles by 'prisonniers politiques' and costing 50 centimes. This has now been reprinted (re-translation into English) this evening in The Echo, etc. Levy's Telegraph also refers to it in its Paris correspon-

---

a Paul and Laura Lafargue - b See this volume, p. 444. - c In the original 9 February is corrected to 10 March by Engels.
Engels to Marx. 13 March 1870

Manchester, 13 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Mr J. Williams\(^a\) has certainly had a bang-up and well-earned success. The dodge by the Marseillaise in printing the letter as an original\(^b\) has got the whole English press into a fine pickle, and has finally forced The Irishman to admit its debt to the Marseillaise and the Internationale. The hushing-up is at an end, and Mr Bruce—although in the lousy Daily News he again has O'Donovan Rossa described as ‘ORDINARY CONVICT AND NOTHING ELSE’—will probably sing quite a different tune in answering the interpellations that are to come. Bravo Jenny! Lizzie is particularly grateful to you for the articles in the Internationale,\(^c\) which pleased her enormously.

The two letters enclosed came to me from Solingen. I had

\(^a\) Marx's daughter Jenny - \(^b\) See the previous letter. - \(^c\) K. Marx, The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners.
addressed this Moll as ‘thou’, assuming him to be the brother of Jupp, and an old member of the League; thus the intimate tone. You will also note that we have also fallen prey to myth-formation. I know nothing about either the Schapper business, which looks very fuddled, or the business with my old man. My old man would have taken care not to let me pay out wages or anything like that; for this, I could not count well enough for his taste. Since I have to answer the fellows soon, you might let me know whether you have heard anything concerning Menke in the meantime.

The whole week I have been standing ready to have to go away because of my mother, but luckily things are getting better.

The following passage suffices to characterise gentle old Gladstone’s whole long Land Bill as pure muck:

‘TELeASES IN QUESTION’ (namely, as they are given today, now and then, in Ireland by the LANDLORDS TO THE TENANTS) ‘ARE QUITE AS PRECARIOUS AS TENANCIES AT WILL. THEY HAVE NO EFFICACY WHATEVER IN REMOVING THE SENSE OF INSECURITY. A LEASE TO BE OF ANY AVAIL FOR THAT PURPOSE, SHOULD, SAVE IN THE PARTICULARS OF SUBDIVIDING AND SUBLETTING, BE FREE AND UNFETTERED—ABOVE ALL, IT SHOULD PUT NO OBSTACLE TO THE SALE OF THE TENANT’S INTEREST. BUT MODERN LEASES ARE THE REVERSE OF THIS—they are encumbered with clauses and covenants prescribing the mode of cultivation and the disposal of the produce, negatively and affirmatively regulating the action of the tenant and entirely forbidding the essential power of free alienation. EVERY LINE IN THESE DOCUMENTS MAY WITHOUT MUCH EXAGGERATION BE SAID TO CONTAIN A LEGAL PITFALL FOR THE UNWARY AND THERE ARE FEW, INDEED, IF ANY, WHO CAN ESCAPE THE EFFECT OF THE LAST CLAUSE WITH WHICH THEY WIND UP, MAKING VOID THE LEASE IN CASE OF THE BREACH OF ANY OF THE FOREGOING COVENANTS. SUCH LEASES AFFORD NO SECURITY. THEY ARE QUITE AS PRECARIOUS AND MORE DANGEROUS THAN TENANCIES AT WILL.’

And who says this? Mr Gallwey, Agent (!!) of the Kenmare Estate, at the Killarney Board of Guardians, 4 November, 1869. And the Kenmare Estate belongs to Marquis of Landsdowne, whose general agent for all his Irish Estates is the honourable ‘REALITY’ Trench! One could not hope for a better authority. And these leases are the contracts by which, after the passing of this Bill, every Irish tenant is to be held bound according to the noble Gladstone.

Have you had news from the Lafargues?
Best greetings to all of you.

Your
F. E.

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

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

a Friedrich Moll - b Joseph Moll - c the Communist League - d Frederick Engels’ father—Friedrich Engels, Senior - e See this volume, pp. 452-53. - f an allusion to Trench’s Realities of Irish Life; see this volume, p. 356.
Manchester, 17 March 1870

Dear Jenny,

I congratulate you on your well-earned success. That Mr Bruce had to stammer his apologies in yesterday's *Daily News* is priceless. It will now be necessary to show up the hollowness of these apologies, and that is not difficult. Here is some material, as I do not know whether you still have a copy of the *Pollock and Knox Report* about things not generally known.

Bruce says:

'With reference to the complaint that he was compelled to bathe in unclear baths, the Commissioners, after full inquiry into the practice of the prison, say "it would be idle to dwell upon such absurdities."'

What do the Commissioners say? Page 23:

'At bathing hours, he stood No. 1 of a party of 30, *he was not called first to the bath*. It turned out that the warder in charge on one occasion began with No. 1, next week with No. 30; the 3rd week he took No. 16 and 17 first and worked round to the flanks so as to give each his priority, without which there would have been universal discontent. *It would be idle to dwell on such absurdities*.'

Thus, the absurdity does not consist in fact that it is stated that Rossa had to bathe in the dirty water of criminals. No, but in the fact that he complains about it. Bruce changes the fact (admitted by the Commissioners) in such a way as if they had treated it 'as an absurdity'. That's the way Bruce treats the truth.

On the fact itself, the convict of Clonmel explains (*things not generally known, p. 9*):

'It is not generally known that we had to bathe in the same water in which several of these criminals bathed or were bathing at the time.'

I might further remark that penal servitude is similar to the French *travaux forcés* or the so-called *galères*, and a convict prison of this sort = the French *bagne*, and convict = *galérien*.

The enclosed clipping is a leader from the local John Bright's paper. The *Manchester Guardian* also has a leader on the subject,

---

aping that of yesterday’s *Times*, but also with the comment that political prisoners have a claim to some **consideration**.

Nota Bene: if you do not have the above report or the *Things* etc., I can send them to you immediately.

You should see the pleasure which this whole thing gave my wife. She is infinitely grateful to you for bringing all these infamies to light, and sends you the enclosed twig of *shamrock*, for today is St Patrick’s day and we don’t know if you have any there. There is also a *shamrock* for Tussy.

Give my affectionate greetings to Moor, your Mama, Tussy and Ellen.

Your

F. Engels


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

304

**MARX TO ENGELS**

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 March 1870

**DEAR FRED,**

Enclosed, the *Marseillaise*, which should, however, be returned with the previous ones. I haven’t read it myself yet. The article was written jointly by Jennychen and myself, as she hadn’t got **sufficient time** available. This is also why she hasn’t answered your letter, and why she is sending Mrs Lizzie her thanks for the *shamrock* provisionally through me.

From the enclosed letter from Pigott to Jenny you will see that Mrs O’Donovan, to whom Jenny sent a private letter, together with 1 *Marseillaise*, took her for a **gentleman**, although she signed it Jenny Marx. I answered Pigott today on Jennychen’s behalf, and took the opportunity to explain to him briefly **my views of the Irish question**.

---

*The Fenian Convict O’Donovan Rossa’, The Times, 16 March 1870. - Apparently carrying the second article by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series.*
Your hint about Bruce's falsification has already been used in the letter Jenny sent yesterday to the Marseillaise. We have Knox' et Pollock's Report (but did not consult it) and ditto 'Things not generally known'. On the other hand, you would oblige me if you would send by return: 1. Lassalle's publication against Schulze-Delitzsch, and 2. the book by 'Clement', the crazy Frisian.

The sensation caused in Paris and London by Jennychen's second letter (containing the condensed translation of O'Donovan's letter) has robbed Talandier of his sleep; he is loathsome and importunate (but very fluent with gob and pen). In the Marseillaise he had denounced the Irish as Catholic idiots. Now, equally fullmouthed, he is taking their side in a review of what The Times, The Daily Telegraph and The Daily News have said about O'Donovan's letter. Since Jennychen's second letter was left unsigned (by accident), he obviously flattered himself with the idea that he would be taken for the secret sender. This was frustrated by Jennychen's third letter. The fellow is, du reste, teacher of French at the military school of Sandhurst.

Last Tuesday I was back again, for the first time, at a meeting of the General Council. With me—Felix Holt, the Rascal. He had a very good time since, for a change, there was really something interesting going on. As you know, the prolétaires 'positivistes' in Paris had sent a deputy to the Basle Congress. There was a discussion as to whether he should be admitted, since he represented a philosophical society and not a workers' society (although he and his consorts all belong 'personally' to the working glass). Finally, he was admitted as a delegate of personal members of the 'Internationale'. These fellows have now constituted themselves in Paris as a branche of the Internationale—an event about which the London and Paris Comtists have made a great fuss. They thought that they had driven in the thin wedge. The General Council, being informed by the 'prolétaires positivistes' of their affiliation, reminded them politely that the Council could only permit their admission after examining their programme. So they sent a programme—real Comist-orthodox—which was discussed last Tuesday. In the chair was Mottershead, a very intelligent (though anti-Irish) old Chartist,
and a personal enemy of, and expert on, Comtism. After a longish debate: Since they are workers they may be admitted as a simple branch. Not, however, as 'branche positiviste', since the principles of Comtism directly contradict our Rules. And anyway, it was their own affair how they reconciled their philosophical private views with those of our Rules.

About the screeds from Solingen soon.

Salut.

Your
Moro

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

305

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Your letter of the day before yesterday\(^a\) was only delivered to me today, and the state of the envelope (enclosed) leaves no further doubt that the scoundrel Bruce is keeping an eye on our correspondence. I am, therefore, not sending these lines by post and, at the same time, a few lines, in which Pigott’s letter\(^b\) is returned, are going off to you by post.\(^582\)

Close your envelopes carefully, and seal them with sealing-wax over the glue so that the signet-print touches all four flaps of the envelope. Your present envelopes are not suitable; the 4 flaps have to come quite close together so that this can be done. This makes things more difficult, so that, in the short time the fellows have they are forced to leave visible evidence, and then one can denounce them publicly. In the meantime, write important things to

\(^a\) 19 March - \(^b\) See this volume, p. 458.
me under the address: Schorlemmer, Owens College, Manchester, or 172 Brunswick Street, Manchester, or S. Moore, 25 Dover Street, Oxford Street, Manchester, and don't write the address yourself. For very secret things, the best way is some sort of packet per Globe Parcel Co. like this one. In this way you could also let me have another address; it must not be that of your house. It's a good thing that I am soon moving to London, then this will come to an end. I have just given notice on my house. In fact, the beastly government could wish for no better medium than our correspondence in order to keep informed of the activities of the entire proletarian party; the government will also find things in our correspondence that they can utilise with their continental colleagues. At least because of this we must take all precautions. We must not correspond for Stieber's sake.

Jenny can shout: victoire sur toute la ligne! If it were not for her, the honourable Gladstone would never have granted the new enquête. How Moore allowed himself to be diddled again by Gladstone concerning this enquiry can be shown by comparing the hopeful note on p. 608 of The Irishman, which obviously proceeds from Moore, with Gladstone's Thursday speech, in which he reserved for himself the composition, procedures, etc.

An attempt was also made, probably in Cologne, to open the letter from Solingen to me, but it was unsuccessful, owing to proper use of sealing-wax.

Hearty greetings.

Your

F. E.

In their haste, the fellows laid together the four flaps of the envelope incorrectly, the proof is therefore absolute.

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 victory along the whole line! - b enquiry - c George Henry Moore - d See this volume, p. 455.
DEAR FRED,

Enclosed, 2 copies of *Marseillaise* (1 J. Williams\(^a\) in it), and *Het Volk*, more about which in the course of this letter.

The fellows here should look out with their letter-opening. The times of the worthy Graham are past.\(^564\) As soon as I have any completely striking, certain proof, I shall write directly to the POSTMASTER GENERAL. *Il ne faut pas se gêner.\(^b\)

I thought I was properly back on my feet, was working away gaily again for the past 2 weeks, but then there appeared, *d'abord,\(^c\)* a lousy cough from the March east wind—I'm still suffering from it—and then, since the day before yesterday, once again unpleasant manifestations on my right thigh, which for two days now have made walking and the seated position difficult. *À tous les diables!\(^d\)

Enclosed, a letter from the Russian colony in Geneva. We have admitted them; I have *accepted* their commission to be their representative on the General Council, and have also sent them a short reply (official, apart from *lettre privée*) with permission to publish it in their paper.\(^541\) *Drôle de position*\(^f\) for me to be functioning as the representative of *jeune Russie*\(^g\)! A man never knows what he may achieve, or what strange fellowship he may have to suffer. In the official reply I praise Flerovsky\(^h\) and emphasise that the chief job of the Russian *branche* is to work for Poland (i.e., to free Europe from Russia as a neighbour). I thought it safer to say no word about Bakunin, either in the public or the confidential letter. But what I shall never forgive these fellows is that they turn me into a *vénérable*. They obviously believe I am between 80 and 100 years old.

The letter from the publisher of *Volk*\(^i\) enclosed herewith—was addressed to me without a particular address on the envelope, but instead: 'Her Karl Marx, *Algemeen Correspondent voor Nederland der

\(^a\) Jenny Marx's fourth article on the Irish question
\(^b\) One should not constrain oneself
\(^c\) first
\(^d\) The devil take it!
\(^e\) Народное дело
\(^f\) Odd position
\(^g\) young Russia
\(^h\) The reference is to Н. Флеровский, *Положение рабочего класса в России.*
\(^i\) *Het Volk.*
Internationale Arbeiders Vereeniging, London.'\textsuperscript{a} This post of an 'Algemeen Correspondent voor Nederland' was completely unknown to me hitherto. But before I get mixed up in any way with 'Herr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss', I thought it safer to write \textit{d'abord} to our Flemish \textit{branche} in Antwerp to request information about this long name.\textsuperscript{b}

Best greetings to Mrs Lizzy.

Your

Moor

Apropos. Old Becker\textsuperscript{c} has finally written to Jung (also a few lines to me,\textsuperscript{585} which I shall answer tomorrow). He presents all the stupidities he committed as deep and intentional machiavellianism. \textit{Le bon homme}!\textsuperscript{d} Thereby, the interesting datum that Bakunin, who hitherto, as Becker states, shouted blue murder about Herzen, began to sing hymns of praise as soon as he was dead.\textsuperscript{586} \textit{Thereby he achieved his aim}, that the propaganda money, \textit{about} 25,000 frs annually, which the \textit{rich} Herzen had paid to himself from Russia (his party there), is now transferred to Bakunin. Bakunin appears to love this type of 'inheritance',\textsuperscript{587} despite his antipathy \textit{contre l'héritage}.\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{879}

The Napoleon \textit{race} has fallen pretty low when they, \textit{à tort et à travers},\textsuperscript{f} attempt to prove that they are being treated to \textit{boxed ears}.\textsuperscript{588}

---

\textsuperscript{a} Mr Karl Marx, general correspondent of the International Working Men's Association for the Netherlands, London. - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 464-65. - \textsuperscript{c} Johann Philipp Becker - \textsuperscript{d} The good fellow! - \textsuperscript{e} against inheritance - \textsuperscript{f} so imprudently
307

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London, 24 March 1870]

Dear Friend,

Yesterday I send you 3,000 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP addressed to von Bonhorst.

I have information for you, which is not uninteresting, about the internal affairs of the Internationals. This will reach you by an indirect route. In accordance with the Rules, all national committees in contact with the General Council must send it three-monthly reports on the situation of the movement. When I remind you of this, I would ask you to consider that this report is not written for the public, and should, therefore, present the facts completely factually, without make-up.

From Borkheim and from the latest letter from Bonhorst I know that the finances of the Eisenachers are in a bad state. As a consolation, the information that the finances of the General Council are below zero, steadily growing negative dimensions.

First published in: W. Bracke, Der Braunschweiger Ausschuss der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lützen und vor dem Gericht, Brunswick, 1872

Printed according to the book

Published in English for the first time

308

MARX TO PHILIPPE COENEN

IN ANTWERP

London, 24 March 1870
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London

Citizen,

Yesterday I received the proefblad of Het Volk published at Rotterdam and a letter from its editor, Philipp von Roesgen von Floss, in which he asks, among other things, for a card as a
member of the International. I know neither Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss nor the state of our affairs at Rotterdam. I suppose that you are better informed, and I am asking you to please write to me on these two points: (1) What is the state of affairs of the International at Rotterdam? (2) Can the General Council establish relations with Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss?

Greetings and fraternity.

Karl Marx

309

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 March 1870

DEAR FRED,

Returned, enclosed, the letter from the ‘wrong’ Moll. I have heard nothing from Menke yet. When you write to the lads, please tell them, also, 1. that Lessner has written repeatedly to them that the Central Council\(^b\) can do nothing on this matter; 2. that they can work it out on their own 5 fingers that their cooperative society is of absolutely no interest to the English; and 3. that the Central Council is bombarded from all parts of Europe with demands for money, without receiving financial contributions from anybody on the continent.

I don’t understand your lines of this morning. This is probably due to the fact that my head, as a result of physical infirmity, is not at its most lucid.

I would appreciate it if you could send me, tomorrow evening (if there is a post on Sunday, which is not the case here), £5 as an advance on the coming quarter. My wife informed me too late, i.e. at a moment of exhausted Exchequer, that the gas bill has to be paid at 2 o’clock on Monday.

---

\(a\) Friedrich Moll (see this volume, pp. 455-56). - \(b\) General Council
I think I left behind in Manchester the number of the Queen's Messenger containing the biography of Clanricarde. Since this brute is putting on great airs in connection with the Irish Coercion Bill, it is high time for J. Williams to introduce to the French a counterpart for Pierre Bonaparte.

Have you ever seen such filthy weather as this winter and autumn? No wonder that one can't get back on one's feet.

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

310

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 26 March 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

I am only writing you a few lines today, since a Frenchman has arrived, just at the moment when I was getting ready to correspond again with you after such a long period. I shall not get rid of the fellow this afternoon, and the post goes at 5.30.

Tomorrow, however, is Sunday, when a good Christian like myself is allowed to interrupt his work and write to you at greater length, particularly about the Russian casus, which has taken a pretty turn.

Jennychen, our illustrious J. Williams, has quite a good edition of Father Goethe. By the bye, she was recently invited to Madame Vivanti's, the wife of a rich Italian merchant. There was a great assemblée, including a number of English people. Jennychen had a furious success with a Shakespeare declamation.

Je te prie de saluer Madame la comtesse de ma part et de la remercier

---

a Marx's daughter Jenny  
b furious  
c Kugelmann's wife Gertrud
Dear Moor,

If you did not understand my few lines of the day before yesterday, then the enclosure must have been missing. You wrote on the 24th that you would take steps as soon as you had in your hands completely striking certain proof that our letters had been opened. The envelope of this letter was the most striking proof: the sealing-wax had been loosened with a hot iron and afterwards spread just as sloppily back on the envelope, so that every trace of the imprint was blotted out, and the unfastened flaps were not even properly covered again. So I immediately sent you this envelope, wishing thus to put you in a position to take immediate steps. If it was not enclosed, it had been taken out. But if it was in the same state in which you dispatched it, then you obviously need not put any sealing-wax on the letters, and might just as well send them completely open. Since this case interests me, please tell me how things stand.

---

a I would ask you to greet Madame la comtesse from me, and thank her for the friendly lines she wrote me. She has not the slightest reason to regret preferring Latin to French. This not only displays a classical and highly-developed taste, but also explains why Madame is never non-plussed. - b In the original: 29 March.
Luckily, I have money at home, and I send you enclosed £5, S/7, 29,808, Manchester, 16 January 1869, Bank of England note. Unfortunately, because of Sunday I cannot register the letter; the rogues who open our letters are equally capable of stealing the money. I wanted to get the rest yesterday, but the bank closes so early on Saturday that I wouldn’t have got into town in time. I’ll get it tomorrow.

I don’t remember seeing the Queen’s Messenger with Clancaricarde’s biography. As far as I know, I sent back to you all the Queen’s Messengers, etc., which you did not take with you personally, in the parcel with the Cloches and Lanternes; but I’ll take another look.

Mr Philipp von Roesgen von Floss has also spread himself in the Werker several times; the really Dutch, precise handwriting suggests a come-down notary’s clerk. Caution is suggested before he be granted the personeel diploma as lid of the International.

If your friend Collet only knew that you also have now become a bona fide and frank Russian agent. But it’s really quite nice of the fellows, who certainly seem to be a different sort of Russians from those we have previously encountered. They can be left with their project of playing patron to the other Slavs until a firm footing has been gained in Austria and Hungary, and then this will cease of itself. They also have a good picture of the Servian Omladina; it is a sort of student society with tendencies about as clear as those of the old Burschenschaft.

The explanation about Bakunin very good. Thus he is also rendered harmless, since the Russian paymasters will not permit him to go further than Herzen.

You must be having worse weather than us; here it’s fairly cold, and the wind veers between northwest and east, but otherwise it’s mostly fine, and I can take a decent walk every day. But 8 days ago, when it was once warm, I got a frightful grippe, which I drove out with 3 days of linseed tea.

I shall send you back the Dutch and Russian letters with the second post, so you’ll get them tomorrow afternoon.

I have been looking through our correspondence of last year, and have discovered that roughly from July-August onwards your letters first individually, and later all without exception, show

---

more or less clear signs of manipulation. The one I received this morning was, if it had been opened, at least decently closed.

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

312

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 March 1870

Dear Moor,

Yesterday I sent you, in a letter that was not registerable because it was Sunday, a £5 note, S/7, 29,808, Manchester, 16 January 1869, which I hope you received together with the letter. Enclosed now follow £82.10—draft on demand on Union Bank of London, drawn by Manchester and County Bank to order of F. Engels and endorsed to you, and, further, the various Dutch and Russian letters. The Roesgen here\(^a\) claims that he is certainly not a relative of the Rotterdam one.\(^b\) The latter is quite something in his confusion—the divine right of the king and the people—the protest against *hedendaagsche*\(^c\) Communism, the defence of constitutional monarchy against the republic (though in this there is *in Holland* an atom of historical idea) and, finally, protective tariffs. In such a case one may well be called Philipp von Roesgen von Floss. And it is also rather cool that he accuses the bourgeoisie that they first want *hunne eigene heurs vullen*\(^d\) and then *het door her uitgezogen land*

---

\(^{a}\) Charles Roesgen  
\(^{b}\) Philipp von Roesgen von Floss  
\(^{c}\) contemporary  
\(^{d}\) to fill their own purses
Dear Kugelmann,

Since an abscess on my right thigh makes sitting for any time impossible, I send you, enclosed, a letter for the Brunswick Comité, Bracke and Co., instead of writing twice. It would be best if you delivered it personally, after reading it through, and reminded them again that this information is confidential, not intended for the public.\(^b\)

---

\(^a\) sell the land they have sucked dry to Prussia, which ardently desires it. \(^b\) Marx enclosed Confidential Communication written by him.
MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT

IN NEW YORK

London, 9 April 1870

Dear Meyer and dear Vogt,

So here you have me in all postures, one time together with my eldest daughter Jenny. Kugelmann had all these things printed from earlier photograms. Je ne suis pas l'auteur responsable de ces folies.

First of all, with regard to my long letter-debt to you, you will see from the enclosed note from Eccarius that the General Council has passiert a votum of condolence. because of the state of my health. (You see, I am practising Pennsylvanian German.) In fact, because of repeated relapses, I have only been able to attend the meetings of the General Council twice since the beginning of December, so, for all important discussions, the subcommittee came to my place. Under these circumstances (and I am still not completely restored), my free moments have literally been so absorbed by work that my correspondence has been limited to the completely unavoidable.

First, ad vocem Sorge: he has written two letters to Eccarius as General Secretary. Eccarius informed the General Council of this. The latter instructed Eccarius to deliver the letters to me for answering, as I was Secretary for the German branches in the United States. I tarried intentionally, as I knew that Meyer was on a trip to the West Indies, and could not find Vogt's private address.

I do not know Sorge's private letters to Eccarius. They probably deal simply with the money question, payment to Eccarius for his contributions to the Arbeiter-Union. Eccarius regards his position as General Secretary too much as a means of making money, and in a way that compromises us Germans in the eyes of the French and English. See, for instance, the enclosed note to me from Lessner. This is also the reason that I shall not communicate Meyer's letter to Eccarius, since it conveys the information, irresistible to Eccarius, that Sorge has 'pecuniary resources'.

---

a See this volume, p. 213 - b I am not the author responsible for these follies. - c An unidiomatic use of the German verb passieren (to happen, take place, pass by), on which Marx comments in the parenthesis. - d regarding
With regard to Sorge's two official letters, they are written in the name of the General German Workers' Association 'LABOR UNION' No. 5, and signed Corresponding Secretary.

One letter contains orders for the reports of the General Council, and various other commonplace stuff.

The other letter contains nothing essential except for the notification that the association has joined the 'International'.

I shall write a few lines to Mr Sorge today, sending him the 15 copies of the latest report he requests.¹

A certain Robert William Hume (Astoria, Long Island, New York) sent us a detailed letter some time ago, on the occasion of the decisions of the General Council concerning the Irish amnesty⁵—a letter better than anything we had so far received from English-American circles. On my recommendation, he was named American-English correspondent, and has accepted this. I would, therefore, request you to get into contact with this man, and for this purpose I enclose a few lines addressed to him.

From the enclosed cutting from the Marseillaise of 2 April, you will see that F. Carl and F. Jubitz—persons unknown to us here—have sent an address to Paris in the name of the German workers.⁶ I would like to know whether these people belong to you. What was regarded as dubious here—on the General Council—was the fact that the International was not mentioned at all, but rather treated as non-existent.

General Cluseret has offered himself from New York to the General Council as French correspondent. Whether he was accepted I cannot say, believe I have heard so, however. He is a flighty, superficial, officious, boastful fellow. For instance, in one of his latest letters to the Marseillaise⁷ he presents himself as a recognised representative of the workers of New York. But the man is of a certain importance for us just because of his links with the Marseillaise. In case you should wish to get to know this 'hero', even if only to sound him out, I enclose for you a CREDENTIAL, which might also be of use elsewhere.

The money Meyer sent to Stepney has been delivered to the General Council. Stepney is a very pedantic, but honest Englishman. He sent me the letter from Meyer with enclosures, so I had to send the stuff back to the General Council.

The day after tomorrow (11 April) I shall send you what International things I have at hand. (It is too late for the mail today.) I shall, ditto, send more of the ‘Basle’.

Amongst the stuff sent, you will also find a few copies of the resolutions of the General Council of 30 November on the Irish amnesty, which you already know, and which I initiated; ditto an Irish pamphlet on the treatment of Fenian convicts.

I had intended to submit further resolutions on the necessary transformation of the present Union (i.e., enslavement of Ireland) in a free and equal federation with Great Britain. Further progress on this matter has been temporarily suspended as far as public resolutions go because of my enforced absence from the General Council. No other member of it has enough knowledge of Irish affairs or sufficient prestige with the English members of the General Council to be able to replace me on this matter.

Time has not passed uselessly, however, and I would ask you to pay particular attention to the following:

After studying the Irish question for years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the ruling classes in England (and this is decisive for the workers’ movement all over the world) cannot be struck in England, but only in Ireland.

On 1 January 1870 the General Council issued a secret circular, written by me in French—{for repercussions in England, only the French papers are important, not the German}—on the relationship of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and thus on the attitude the International Association must take towards the Irish question.

Here I give you, quite shortly, the salient points. Ireland is the bulwark of the English landed aristocracy. The exploitation of this country is not simply one of the main sources of their material wealth; it is their greatest moral power. They represent, in fact, the domination of England over Ireland. Ireland is, thus, the grand moyen by which the English aristocracy maintains its domination in England itself.

---

On the other hand: if the English army and police were withdrawn from Ireland tomorrow, you would immediately have an agrarian revolution in Ireland. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland would entail, and would lead immediately to, its overthrow in England. This would bring about the prerequisites for the proletarian revolution in England. In Ireland, the land question has, so far, been the exclusive form of the social question; it is a question of existence, a question of life or death for the immense majority of the Irish people; at the same time, it is inseparable from the national question: because of this, destruction of the English landed aristocracy is an infinitely easier operation in Ireland than in England itself—quite apart from the more passionate and more revolutionary character of the Irish than the English.

As for the English bourgeoisie, it has, d'abord, a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into simple pastureland to provide meat and wool at the cheapest possible price for the English market. It has the same interest in reducing the Irish population to such a low level, through eviction and forced emigration, that English capital (leasehold capital) can function with ‘security’ in that country. It has the same interest in clearing the estate of Ireland as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee and other Irish revenues that at present flow annually to London must also be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie also has much more important interests in the present Irish economy. As a result of the steadily-increasing concentration of leaseholding, Ireland is steadily supplying its surplus for the English labour market, and thus forcing down the wages and material and moral position of the English working class.

And most important of all! All industrial and commercial centres in England now have a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who forces down the standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker, he feels himself to be a member of the ruling nation and, therefore, makes himself a tool of his aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He harbours religious, social and national prejudices against him. His attitude towards him is roughly that of the poor whites to the

---

*a in the first place*
NIGGERS\textsuperscript{a} in the former slave states of the American Union. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of English rule in Ireland.

This antagonism is kept artificially alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling class. This antagonism is the secret of the English working class's impotence, despite its organisation. It is the secret of the maintenance of power by the capitalist class. And the latter is fully aware of this.

But the evil does not end here. It rolls across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the secret basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It renders any serious and honest cooperation impossible between the working classes of the two countries. It enables the governments of the two countries, whenever they think fit, to blunt the edge of social conflict by mutual bullying and, in case of need, by war between the two countries.

England, as the metropolis of capital, as the power that has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution and, in addition, the only country where the material conditions for this revolution have developed to a certain state of maturity. Thus, to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Working Men's Association. The sole means of doing so is to make Ireland independent. It is, therefore, the task of the 'International' to bring the conflict between England and Ireland to the forefront everywhere, and to side with Ireland publicly everywhere. The special task of the Central Council\textsuperscript{73} in London is to awaken the consciousness of the English working class that, for them, the national emancipation of Ireland is not a question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation.

These are roughly the main points of the circular letter, which, at the same time, gave the raisons d'être for the resolutions of the Central Council on the Irish amnesty. Shortly afterwards I sent a strongly-worded anonymous article on the English treatment of the Fenians etc., and against Gladstone etc., to the Internationale\textsuperscript{b} (organ of our Belgian Central Committee\textsuperscript{c} in Brussels). In this article I also pilloried the French Republicans—(the Marseillaise had

\textsuperscript{a} See p. XXXVIII of the Preface.—\textit{Ed.} \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx. \textit{The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners}. \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{c} Belgian Federal Committee
published some stupid nonsense about Ireland, written here by the wretched Tallandier\(^a\)—for saving, in their national egoism, all their \textit{colères}\(^b\) for the Empire.

This worked. My daughter Jenny wrote a series of articles for the \textit{Marseillaise} under the name J. Williams (she signed herself Jenny Williams in her private letter to the editors), and published, among other things, O'Donovan Rossa's letter. \textsc{Hence immense noise.} After many years of cynical refusal, \textit{Gladstone was thereby} finally compelled to authorise a \textit{parliamentary enquête}\(^c\) into the treatment of the \textit{Fenian prisoners}. She is \textsc{now regular correspondent on Irish affairs} for the \textit{Marseillaise}. \textit{(This is naturally a secret between us.)} The British Government and press are furious that the Irish question has thus been placed on the \textit{ordre du jour}\(^d\) in France, and that these blackguards will now be watched and exposed all over continent, via Paris.

A second bird was hit by the same stone. We have, thereby, forced the Irish leaders, journalists, etc. in Dublin to establish contact with us, something the \textit{General Council} had hitherto failed to achieve!

You have a wide field in America for work along the same lines. \textit{A coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers} (naturally, also, with the English and American workers who wish to join in) is the greatest thing you could undertake now. This must be done in the name of the 'International'. The social significance of the Irish question must be made clear.

Next time, several special things about the position of the English workers.

\textit{Salut et fraternité!}

\textbf{Karl Marx}


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

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 445. \(^b\) wrath \(^c\) investigation \(^d\) agenda
Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the *parlamentaires*. Some of them anticipated my wishes; others were new to me and very handy. I am sending you several numbers of *Zukunft* to give you an opportunity to admire the infinitely foul methods used by the National Liberals in the debate on political crimes (Criminal Code). This excels everything. The cowardly rogues believe they have performed such a deed of heroism with the abolition of the death sentence for *common crimes*—and that, too, only on paper—that political offenders may now be calmly imprisoned in convict jails and treated as *common convicts*. For *political* crimes, powder and lead will continue to exist, through the agency of martial law.

Enclosed—a jolly letter from Wilhelm, which I request returned for the sake of answering. You will see that the fellow acts as though I were copying from *him*. He has not yet firmly established his Leipzig sheet, and already wants to start a *daily* in Berlin. The fellow always sees the heavens filled with melodious violins, but the strings are missing and the sounding-board is smashed.

After various interruptions I am finally finished with Wakefield—16-1700 pages quarto.

The book is gruesomely written and still more gruesomely printed—nearly all figures and dates are wrong—but, as far as the material is concerned, unequalled in my practice. I have never before seen anything so complete about a country. And the fellow has eyes and is fairly honest. The anxiety of the English concerning Ireland from 1808 to 1812 is priceless. Dispatches sent to India in which Lord W. Bentinck declared that Ireland was lost for England, were intercepted by the French and published.

---

*a* parliamentary materials - *b* Der *Volksstaat* - *c* The German 'ihm hängt der Himmel voller Geigen' corresponds to the English 'he sees everything in rosy colours'. - *d* E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. 
It is striking 8 o'clock; I must run to catch the post. 
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

316

MARX TO ENGELS 34
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 April 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed, Wilhelm returned. a From the attached letter from Borkheim, 604 you will see what ill-mannered things Wilhelm says about me. I don't like such churlish sentimentality, and since Wilhelm is a born Darmstadt man and so has not, at least, the excuse that he is a born Westphalian, I have sent him a rather blunt reply.

In your article b he has intentionally overlooked the fact that the People's Party c and the 'National Liberals' are treated as the two poles of the same narrow-mindedness.

On Tuesday d I was at the Central Council e for the first time once again, and took the opportunity to muster Pfänder, who had entered as a member once more (re-elected), but had not yet presented himself. 605 He informed me that he had been called a week before to Schapper, who is very dangerously ill. Schapper wanted to see me; Pfänder did not inform me of this, because I could not walk well as a result of the business on my thigh. But I would have driven there if he had notified me. On the same evening (Tuesday), Lessner reported that Schapper was in articulo mortis. e I hope it is not as bad as that.

---

a See the previous letter. - b F. Engels, Preface to the Second Edition of 'The Peasant War in Germany'. - c 12 April - d General Council - e dying
While I am on medical matters, just this: I regard the latest outbreak simply as after-effects, which arrive with some regularity, and then disappear as the warm weather proceeds. I believe, therefore, that I am finished with it for this year. As always, however, the arrival of warmer weather has produced the liver complaint (or whatever it is), and for this I am gulping Gumpert’s medicine. Kugelmann claims that the only way to put me properly on my feet is to take the cure at Karlsbad at the end of the summer. The whole thing derives from poor nourishment, this from poor digestion, and this is connected with the fact that my liver doesn’t function properly. I would, therefore, ask you to question Gumpert about this. But it would be better if you said that the Karlsbad proposal came from my English doctor, for the very name Kugelmann might induce him not to judge the case objectively, contrary to his inclination and conscience. I feel that, in fact, some sort of decisive preventive measures must be taken, since one gets a year older every year, and this sort of infirmity is not helpful, either for oneself or for ones outside effectiveness.

Did you know that Meyen had died?

The copies of Zukunft give, I must say, a fine picture of the Prussian-Liberal present. But the Future will convert itself into the Present. As Future the paper is really bankrupt. In its new form, it comes under the sway of Sonnemann in Frankfort (with Weiss, as previously, as editor en chef). It should represent, purely politically, the People’s Party in Berlin. Quelle imbécilité! By abandoning its flirtation with the ‘social question’, it will completely lose its little bit of influence and circulation among the workers, and it will certainly not win over the Prussian, and especially Berlin bourgeois by a stronger South German coloration.

I enclose for you 2 Vienna workers’ papers and 1 Égalité, and request the return of all three after reading.

In the Volkswille the ‘structure’ is ‘fine’ which the little Jew Leo Frankel (Schweitzer’s Paris correspondent, I don’t know whether still?) constructs from my explanation of the components of value. Par exemple: (labour power + wage labour − wage = independent worker). From the Égalité you will gather that, at the Congress of the Suisse Romande in La Chaux-de-Fonds, it came to open warfare between the Bakuninists led by Guillaume (the brute calls himself

---

professor, is editor of Progrès in Locle, Bakunin's personal paper), and the Conseil Romand\(^b\) (Geneva).\(^606\) The presentation is very confused. On Tuesday evening Jung informed us of the official report of the Geneva Council,\(^b\) written by the Russian Utine, who holds the function of secretary of the Romance Congress. The anti-Bakuninists, 2,000 persons, were outflanked and thereby forced to secessio,\(^c\) by the Bakuninists, consisting of 600 persons, who, however, per fas et nefas,\(^d\) including forged mandates, made sure of a larger number of delegates. There were stormy declarations about Bakunin's activities, which were exposed by Utine, among others. The Council Romand now demands, on the basis of the resolution of the last (Basle) Congress,\(^508\) that the Central Council decide. We have replied: all facts, with the minutes of the meetings, must be sent here. Ditto, we have commissioned Jung to write to Guillaume, so that he may, ditto, submit his vouchers.

Recently also we had to rule on a dispute in Lyons.\(^550\) And finally, in Basle, one clique (under State Attorney Bruhin) has laid charges with us against the other (more proletarian one). We have, however, referred the latter case, as completely local, to J. Ph. Becker as arbitrator.

In Paris Lafargue got to know a very learned Russian lady\(^e\) (a friend of his friend Jaclard, an excellent young man). She told him: Flerovsky—although his book\(^f\) passed censorship at the time of the Liberal Fit—has been, if you please, banished to Siberia for the same. The translation of my book has been confiscated and prohibited before being published.\(^196\)

You will receive, this week or at the beginning of next: Landlord and Tenant Right in Ireland. Reports by Poor Law Inspectors. 1870, ditto Agricultural Holdings in Ireland. Returns. 1870.

The reports of the Poor Law Inspectors are interesting. Like their Reports on Agricultural Wages, which are already in your hands, they show that the conflict between labourers on the one hand, farmers and tenants on the other, began after the famine.\(^507\) As regards the Reports on Wages—assuming the present figures on wages are correct, and that is probable, considering other sources—the former wage rates are either quoted too low, or those in the earlier Parliamentary Returns, which I'll look out for you in my Parliamentary papers, were too high. On the whole, however,

---

\(^a\) Romance Council - \(^b\) Federal Council of Romance Switzerland - \(^c\) to split - \(^d\) by fair means and foul - \(^e\) A. V. Korvin-Krukovskaya - \(^f\) Положение рабочего класса в России
what I stated in the section on Ireland is confirmed: that the rise in wages has been more than outweighed by that in food prices, and that, with the exception of the autumn period, etc., the relative surplus of labourers is properly established despite emigration. Also important in the Landlord and Tenant Right Reports is the fact that the development of machinery has turned a mass of handloom weavers into paupers.

You would oblige me if you would tell me, quite shortly, about the bogs, peats etc., of Ireland. In all the blue books I have read, the bog is sometimes situated on the mountain, that is on the mountain slope, but also sometimes on the plain. What is the situation? What do the Irish understand by townlands?

It is clear from the two reports of the Poor Law Commissioners that 1. since the famine the clearing of the estates of labourers has begun as in England (not to be confused with the suppression of the 40s. freeholders after 1829).

2. that the encumbered estates proceedings have put a mass of small usurers in the place of the turned out prodigal landlords (the charge of landlords according to the same reports).

I would appreciate it if you and Moore could send me a few £s for Dupont. His wife is in hospital with consumption. He himself has been turned out of his old trade. The excuse: his political opinions; the real cause: he made all the inventions, which his manufacturer appropriated. For this reason, he has been persona ingrata for a long time for him (he thinks he has sucked him completely dry). But the Manufacturer has cut his own throat, so far as Dupont has made a quite new invention, which solves a problem that has existed for a long time in piano manufacture. I have already given Dupont a few £s; since, together with his 3 small girls, he had been condemned to just dry bread. It's only a matter of helping for a few weeks until he finds a new position. Who can write the story of workingmen evicted because of inventions!

And, in addition, the poor devil is also being harassed by the jealousy of the Paris people, and the slanders of the French branch, who naturally immediately cornered Floureens.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Stirling (Edinburgh), the translator of Hegel's Logic, and heading the British subscription for the Hegel monument—has

---

written a small pamphlet against Huxley and his protoplasm. As a Scotsman, the fellow has naturally adopted Hegel's false religion and Idea-istic mysticism (so induced Carlyle to declare publicly his conversion to Hegelianism). But his knowledge of Hegel's dialectic allows him to demonstrate Huxley's weaknesses—where he indulges in philosophising. His business in the same pamphlet against Darwin comes to the same as what the Berliner Blutschulze (Hegelian of the Old School) said some years ago at the natural scientists' meeting in Hanover.  

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

317

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 April 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, Borkheim. Good old Wilhelm did not expect his bragging about you would be communicated to you ipsissimis verbis. Remains a blockhead all his life.

The papers will be returned to you on Sunday evening. I shall try to see Gumpert tomorrow, but since he has himself been suffering with his nerves for some time because of 'over-work' (of what sort?), it's possible he'll be away during the holidays. In the meantime, I suggest you try taking strenuous walks—3-4 hours together—for several consecutive days and, weather permitting, walk at least 1-2 hours daily, and then every week such a long walk at least 1-2 times. Now I can no longer work properly until I have walked for an hour or more; it has a wonderful effect and will certainly also get your liver more or less going again. In addition, I quite agree with Kugelmann's view.

Fränkelche is a real yiddisher lad. He learned ‘la formule’ in Paris, and delivers good wares. It’s delicious that he understands the *frais généraux* as part of surplus value, including wear and tear of machinery, lubrication, coal (if this is not raw material), ground rent, etc.

Bogs are simply peat bogs or marshes, which occur in 2 main sorts of locality: 1. on the plains, in valleys (old lake beds) or depressions, the exit from which has become blocked; 2. on heights with a flat or mildly-rolling summit, as a result of deforestation, where the moss, grass, heather, etc., become matted, and the water flows off, on average, more slowly than it rains in. A marsh in the plains sometimes even has a big river flowing through it, which, however, does not dry it out (various places on the Shannon, Donau moss in Bavaria, etc.). Very usually such bogs are also the source reservoirs of rivers (the Bog of Allen, from which there flowed, in its original but now very reduced size, the Boyne, the Barrow, various tributaries of these two, and the Shannon). Chat Moss, between Liverpool and Manchester, which you know, is a real, typical Irish bog, as Wakefield confirms. It lies at least 30-40 feet above the Mersey and Irwell, which flow around it in a semicircle, so drainage very easy, yet this is only about 1/3 done, and they've been at it since 1800. This is because of the landlords; such an object can naturally only be drained systematically and compulsorily. They have them in Holland too—peat bogs are the same all over Europe. The Irish name those on the *plain red bog* and the *mountain bog* *black bog*. Water trickling down can produce on the slopes—even very steep, 30-40 degrees—similar marshy places which, in time, produce peat. On steep slopes it's naturally only thin; on flatter ones it can get thicker and thicker. The thickest, naturally, is on the flat summits.

**Townlands** are the lowest administrative divisions in Ireland, which are everywhere based on the old Irish *clan* divisions, and in the north and the west these have mostly been retained unchanged. The counties represent the local dukedoms (Donegal, the realm of *the O'Donnell*, who then had others under him, e.g., *the Mac Swine* and his people. Tyrone is that of *the O'Neill*, Fermanagh that of *the Maguire*, etc.). The baronies represent the individual *clans*, and in these the *ballybetaghs* (as Davies writes it*) or, translated into English, *townlands*, the individual village bounds,

---

* Leo Frankel - b See this volume, p. 479. - c general costs - d E. Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. - e J. Davies, *Historical Tracts*. 
held jointly by the inhabitants. In Ulster, for example, these have been completely retained in their old boundaries; in other parts more or less. The parish, the poor law union and other special English divisions, were later inserted between barony and townland.

Your conclusions from the Parliamentary Reports\(^a\) agree with my results. It should not, however, be forgotten that, in the first period after 1846, the process of clearing the 40sh. freeholders\(^609\) was mixed up with the clearing of labourers, the reason being that, up to 1829, in order to produce freeholders, leases for 21 or 31 years and a life (if not longer) had to be made, since a man could only become a freeholder if he could not be turned out during his lifetime. These leases almost never excluded subdividing. These leases were partly still valid in 1846, respectively the consequences, i.e., the peasants were still on the estate. Ditto, on the estates then in the hands of middlemen (who mostly held leases for 64 years and three lives, or even for 99 years); these estates often only reverted between 1846 and 1860. Thus, these processes ran mixed up, respectively the Irish landlord was never, or seldom, in a situation of having to decide whether particularly labourers, rather than other traditional small tenants should be cleared. Essentially it comes to the same thing in England as in Ireland: the land must be tilled by labourers who live in other poor law unions, so that the landlord and his tenant might be spared the pauper-rate.\(^611\) This is stated by Senior, or rather by his brother Edward, poor law commissioner in Ireland: The great instrument which is clearing Ireland is the poor law.

Land sold since the encumbered estate court amounts, according to my notes, to as much as \(\frac{1}{5}\) of the total; the purchasers were indeed largely usurers, speculators, etc., mainly Irish Catholics. Partly, also, graziers who had become rich. Yet even now there are only about 8-9,000 landowners in Ireland.

What do you say to the way the whole European bourgeoisie has made itself a laughing-stock, by pledging itself to the empire libéral, and lately awarding laurels to Louis Bonaparte for his sincere transition to constitutionalism? And now it comes to light that he means this so sincerely that he explicitly reserves for himself, for the suitable moment, the right to a coup d'état, vulgo a plebiscite.\(^612\) Nobody should be able to say that he had overthrown the constitution for a 2nd time. This is also a commentary on 'gouvernement direct par le peuple', which the Swiss are now

---

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 480-81. \(^b\) more or less \(^c\) direct government by the people
introducing and the French frankly don't want. What is a plebiscite called in Swiss—veto or referendum? This question should be put to Wilhelm. Ad vocem Wilhelm—have you seen the marvellous advertisement in No. 27 of Volksstaat: Who borrowed from me 'Kolb's Statistik'? W. Liebknecht. Not enough that he is sloppy; he has to advertise the fact too.

Zukunft—very amusing. The jackasses!
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

MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE614

IN PARIS

[London,] 18 April 1870

Dear Paul-Laurent,615

I send enclosed credentials for Mr H. Verlet. Let him give to the new section he is about to establish no sectarian 'name', either Communist or other. Il faut éviter les 'étiquettes' sectaires dans l'Association Internationale. The general aspirations and tendencies of the working class emanate from the real conditions in which it finds itself placed. They are therefore common to the whole class although the movement reflects itself in their heads in the most diversified forms, more or less phantastical, more or less adequate. Those who interpret best the hidden sense of the class struggle going on before our eyes—the Communists are the last to commit the blunder of affecting or fostering sectarianism.

Mr Verlet would do well to put himself in communication with our friend Jules Johannard, 126 rue d'Aboukir.

---

a G. F. Kolb, Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik der Völkerzustands- und Staatenkunde. - b See this volume, p. 479. - c Sectarian 'labels' must be avoided in the International Association.
One thing which ought to be done as quickly as possible, and which might be done by Paul-Laurent, is to publish in the *Libre pensée* a true and literal translation of the *International Rules*. The French current translation, emanating from our first Paris Committee, Tolain *et Co.*, is full of *intentional* mistakes. They suppressed everything which they did not like. If a true translation was made, it would be well to send it me before its publication.\(^{617}\)

In Germany people would much wonder at Verlet's appreciation of Büchner.\(^{6,18}\) In our country he is only considered, and justly so, as a *vulgarisateur*.

You know how much I admire le ‘Roman de Conspiration’.\(^{c}\) I was, therefore, truly delighted to see it so well appreciated by Paul-Laurent.

I am now forced to say a few words which Paul-Laurent will a little fret at, but I cannot help doing so.

Your father wrote me a letter to Hanover which I have not yet answered, because I did not know what to say.

I feel quite sure that Paul has discarded all notion of finishing, or occupying himself with, his medical studies. When at Paris I wrote to his father in a different sense, and I was warranted in doing so by Paul's own promises.\(^{d}\) Thus I am placed in quite a false position towards M. Lafargue *ainé*.\(^{e}\) I cannot remain in that fix. I see no other prospect of getting out of it but by writing to him that I have as little influence with his beloved son as himself. If you see any other way of escape for me, any other means of clearing my position, please communicate it to me.

In my opinion, which however I neither pretend nor hope to see accepted and acted upon, Paul-Laurent *cum figlio*\(^{f}\) ought to pay a visit to their parents at Bordeaux and try to coax them by the many means personal intercourse permits of.

Yours truly...\(^{g}\)

---

\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 557. - \(^{b}\) L. Büchner, *Kraft und Stoff*. - \(^{c}\) This refers to Paul Lafargue's article 'Le Roman d'une conspiration par A. Ranc', *La Libre pensée*, No. 13, 16 April 1870, signed Paul-Laurent Lafargue. - \(^{d}\) See this volume, p. 315. - \(^{e}\) senior - \(^{f}\) and son - \(^{g}\) The signature is torn off.
Dear Moor,

I forgot to write to you on Friday that I had no money in the house and could, therefore, enclose nothing for that poor devil Dupont. Enclosed S/6 11,916, Leeds, 15 July 1869—£5 for him. I hope it will suffice him until he has found a place again.

About Schapper, write to me, too, how things are going.

I have not yet seen Gumpert. I am, however, firmly convinced that plenty of exercise during the present marvellous weather will do you a lot of good, and will constitute an excellent pre-cure to Karlsbad. Yesterday, with Schorlemmer, I walked some 17-18 miles; you do the same, and you will soon forget you have a liver.

Today I am returning you 2 issues of Marseillaise and Égalité and the Vienna newspaper, and enclose a few cuttings from the Examiner and Times on Ireland, which are particularly remarkable since they come from a Methodist who, as a result of his isms (teetotalism), etc., hangs out with the Ismists here; otherwise, the Examiner would certainly not have accepted them. I shall need them later, so send them back sometime.

Apropos, what is Mr Williams doing? Tussy writes that he is still working, but I see no results.

I ordered Flerovsky some time ago, but have heard nothing further, so I assume it has been confiscated and is no longer available.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.
DEAR FRED,

I am sending you 2 PARLIAMENTARIES ON IRELAND, and the latest Égalité, ditto La Solidarité. From the enclosed letter from Perret, ex-secretary of the Fédéral Comité in Geneva—which I must have back by Friday—you will see how the Muscovite beast is acting. He was naturally forced to appeal also—which he did—to the CENTRAL COUNCIL through his secrétaire général Robert. I also enclose this letter. What do you think we should do about these fellows?

MR WILLIAMS SENDS YOU HIS COMPLIMENTS. ONE OF HIS ARTICLES HE HAD SENT TO Reynolds’s. HE WENT TO TOWN TO FIND ANOTHER COPY FOR YOU, BUT IT WAS NOT TO BE GOT. TWO further ARTICLES together with OTHER Marseillaises HE SHALL FORWARD YOU THIS WEEK.

My wife took the £5 to Dupont this morning. BEST THANKS FOR IT. HIS WIFE IS DYING IN THE HOSPITAL.

I have visited Schapper. Bad inflammation of the lungs, very emaciated, but perhaps he can still be saved.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

We shall put a spoke in Bakunin’s wheel in the Marseillaise through Flourens, who has seen through the ‘FRENCH BRANCH’ and annexed himself to us. HE IS A MAN OF VERY GREAT RESOLUTION. LEARNED. TOO SANGUINE.

First published 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 Mikhail Bakunin - b the sixth and seventh articles by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series
Dear Paul-Laurent,

I shall have you proposed by Dupont on Tuesday next.

Meanwhile I call your attention to the presence in your committee of Robin, Bakunine's agent who, at Geneva, did all in his power to discredit the General Council (he attacked it publicly in the Égalité) and to prepare la dictature de Bakounine sur l'Association Internationale. He has been expressly sent to Paris there to act in the same sense. Hence this fellow must be closely watched without becoming aware of having a surveillant at his side.

In order de vous mettre au courant I must give you a succinct review of Bakunine's intrigue.

Bakunine does not belong to the International but for about 1 1/2 years. C'est un nouveau venu. At the Berne Congress (September 1868) of the Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté (he was one of the executive committee of this International middle-class Association founded in opposition to the proletarian International) he played one of the mountebank parts he delights in. He proposed a series of propositions, stupid in themselves, but affecting an aim of swaggering radicalism calculated to frighten les crétins bourgeois. In that way, being outvoted by the majority, he made his noisy exit from the League and had this great event triumphantly announced in the European press. He understands la réclame almost as well as Victor Hugo qui, comme Heine dit, n'est pas simplement égoïste, mais Hugoïste.

Then he entered our Association—its Geneva branche Romande. His first step was a conspiracy. He founded l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste. The Programme of that society was nothing else but the series of resolutions proposed by Bakunine on the Berne Peace League Congress. The organisation was that of a sect with its head-center at Geneva, constituting itself as an

---

a the Paris Federal Council - b Bakunin’s dictatorship in the International Association - c to acquaint you with the matter - d a novice - e Here and below Marx erroneously wrote ‘Lausanne’. - f League of Peace and Freedom - g publicity - h who, as Heine put it, is not merely an egoist but Hugoist. - i Romance branch - j [M.] Bakounine, ‘Discours de Bakounine au deuxième congrès de la paix, à Berne’, Kolokol, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868 (see also this volume, p. 200).
International Association which was to have General Congresses of its own, which was to form an independent international body, and, at the same time, to be an integral member of our Internationale. In one word, our Association was by this interloping secret society by and by to be converted into an instrument du Russe Bakounine. The pretext was, that this new society was founded for the special purpose ‘à faire la propagande théoretique’. Very funny indeed, considering that Bakunine and his acolytes know nothing of theory. But Bakunine’s programme was ‘the theory’. It consisted, in fact, of 3 points.

1) That the first requirement of the social Revolution was — the abolition of inheritance, vieillerie St Simoniste, dont le charlatan et l’ignoramus Bakunine se faisait l’éditeur responsable. It is evident: If you have had the power to make the social Revolution in one day, par décret plébiscitaire, you would abolish at once landed property and capital, and would therefore have no occasion at all to occupy yourselves with le droit d’héritage. On the other hand, if you have not that power (and it is of course foolish to suppose such a power), the proclamation of the abolition of inheritance would be not a serious act, but a foolish menace, rallying the whole peasantry and the whole small middle-class round the reaction. Suppose f.i. that the Yankees had not had the power to abolish slavery by the sword. What an imbecility it would have been to proclaim the abolition of inheritance in slaves! The whole thing rests on a superannuated idealism, which considers the actual jurisprudence as the basis of our economical state, instead of seeing that our economical state is the basis and source of our jurisprudence! As to Bakounine, all he wanted was to improvise a programme of his own making. Voilà tout. C’était un programme d’occasion.

2) L’égalité des différentes classes. To suppose on the one hand the continued existence of classes, and on the other hand the égalité of the members belonging to them, this blunder shows you at once the shameless ignorance and superficiality of that fellow who made it his ‘special mission’ to enlighten us on ‘theory’.

3) The working class must not occupy itself with politics. They must only organise themselves by trades-unions. One fine day, by means of the Internationale they will supplant the place of all existing states. You see what a caricature he has made of my doctrines! As the transformation of the existing States into

---

*of the Russian - b to carry on theoretical propaganda - c old St Simonist rubbish, of which Bakunin, a charlatan and ignoramus, was the responsible publisher - d by plebiscite - e right of inheritance - f That’s all. This was a makeshift programme. - g Equality of different classes
Associations is our last end, we must allow the governments, these
great trade-unions of the ruling classes, to do as they like, because
to occupy ourselves with them is to acknowledge them. Why! In
the same way the old socialists said: You must not occupy
yourself with the wages question, because you want to abolish
wages labour, and to struggle with the capitalist about the rate of
wages is to acknowledge the wages system! The ass has not even
seen that every class movement as a class movement, is necessarily
and was always a political movement.

This then is the whole theoretical baggage of Mahomet-Bakunine, a Mahomet without a Koran.

His conspiracy he went secretly on with. He had some affiliates in
Spain and Italy, a few dupes at Paris and Geneva. Good old Becker
was foolish enough to allow himself to be put forward somewhat
in a leading character by Bakunine. He regrets his blunder at
present.

The General Council was only informed and called upon to
sanction the statutes of the ‘Alliance’ after Bakounine considered
that concern as fait accompli. However he was mistaken. In an
elaborate document the General Council declared the ‘Alliance’ to
be an instrument of disorganisation, and rejected every connexion
with it. (I shall send you the document.)

A few months later, the Comité Directeur of the ‘Alliance’
addressed a letter to the General Council to the effect: The great
men were willing to dissolve their organisation and merge it into
the Internationale, but on the other hand, we were to declare
categorically, Oui ou Non!, whether we sanctioned their prin-
ciples? If not, there would be a public secession on their part, and
we would be responsible for such a misfortune!

We answered that the General Council was not the Pope, that
we allowed every section to have its own theoretical views of the
real movement, always supposed that nothing directly opposite to
our Rules was put forward. We hinted in a delicate way that we
considered their ‘theory’ to be a sham. We insisted that ‘l'égalité des
classes’ be changed for ‘l'abolition des classes’, what they did. We
requested them to give us the dénombrement of their members,
what they have never complied with. (You will also get this second
document.)

---

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. - <sup>b</sup> yes or no - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 235. - <sup>d</sup> equality of classes - <sup>e</sup> abolition of classes - <sup>f</sup> the number - <sup>g</sup> K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*
Thus the Alliance was nominally dissolved. In fact, it continued to form an imperium in imperia. Its branches had no connexion at all with the General Council, but that of conspiring against it. It acted under Bakunine's dictatorship. He prepared everything to frapper son grand coup au Congrès de Bâle. On the one side, he made the Geneva Committee propose la question d'héritage. We accepted the challenge. On the other side, he conspired everywhere to discredit us and to have the seat of the General Council transferred from London to Geneva. At that congress, ce saltimbanque figurait comme 'délégué de Naples et de Lyon' (at that latter place, Albert Richard, otherwise a very active and well-meaning youngster, is his acolyte). Where the fellow got the money for all his secret machinations, travels, missions of agents etc. remains to this moment a secret. Poor like a church mouse, he has never in his life earned a farthing by his own work.

At the Congress he was baffled. After the Congress he commenced to attack us publicly by his private moniteur, Le Progrès (de Locle), edited by his valet James Guillaume, a Swiss schoolmaster, and by the Égalité (de Genève). We allowed this to go on for some time, and then sent a missive to the Federal Council of Geneva. (This document—copy of it—is in the hands of Varlin.) But before our circular arrived, the Federal Council of Geneva, never friendly to Bakunine and the Alliance, had broken loose from him. Robin et Co. were expelled from the Editorship of the Égalité. The Federal Council of the Swiss Romand Section made his pronunciamento against the intrigues of the Alliance and its Muscovite dictator.

Meanwhile Bakounine had left Geneva to reside at Tessin. His circumstances were changed. Herzen died suddenly. Bakounine, who had attacked him fiercely during the latter times (probably because he found Herzen's purse shut against him), all at once became the fiery apologist of Herzen in the French etc. press. Why? Because Herzen (although a millionaire) received annually for his Cloche and 'propagande Russe' a rather large sum from the Panslavistes démocrates in Russia. Although a fierce enemy de l'héritage Bakounine wanted to inherit Herzen's position and salary. He succeeded by his panegyrics of the dead man. He had the Cloche, the subvention etc. transferred to himself.

On the other hand there had grown up at Geneva a colony of Russian émigrés, enemies of Bakunine, because they knew the

---

\[a\] to deal a decisive blow at the Basle Congress - \[b\] the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland - \[c\] this charlatan acted as the 'delegate of Naples and Lyons'
mere personal ambition of this very mediocre man (although an accomplished intriguer) and because they knew that in his ‘Russian’ writings he propagates doctrines quite contrary to the principles of the Internationale.

The late Swiss Romand Congress at La Chaux de Fonds (5 April this year) was seized upon by Bakunine and his moutons to bring about an open split. The Congress was split into two Congresses, on the one hand a Congress of Bakunites, proclaiming abstention from all politics, representing about 600 men; on the other hand the Congress of the Federal Comité of Geneva, representing 2,000 men. Outine (c’est un des jeunes Russes) dénonça publickment les intrigues de Bakounine. His men have constituted themselves as a ‘Federal Central Council’ pour la Suisse Romande, and have founded their own organ La Solidarité, edited by Bakounine’s valet de chambre, James Guillaume. The ‘principle’ of that paper is ‘Bakounine’. Both parties have appealed to the General Council.

Thus this damned Muscovite has succeeded to call forth a great public scandal within our ranks, to make his personality a watchword, to infect our Working Men’s Association with the poison of sectarianism, and to paralyse our action by secret intrigue.

He hopes to be strongly represented at our next Congress. To direct to himself the attention of Paris, he has opened a correspondence with the Marseillaise. But we have spoken with Floureens, who will put a stop to this.

You are now sufficiently informed to counteract Bakounine’s movements within our Paris branches.

My thanks to Laurent for her letter. Another time try to find an envelope for your missives which is not so easily opened.

Apropos. Look whether you possess still the article of the Queen’s Messenger on Lord Clanricarde. We want it here and can get it from nowhere else.

Yours

Old Nick

First published in Annali dell’Istituto
G. G. Feltrinelli, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

---

a sheep - b (a young Russian) publicly denounced Bakunin’s intrigues - c of Romance Switzerland - d Laura Lafargue - e See this volume, pp. 466, 468.
Manchester, 21 April 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, the Swiss letters. The Genevans are, at all events, rather sluggish, otherwise they would not have got into this unfortunate position with the Bakuninists formally having the rules on their side with regard to them. This does not, of course, alter the fact that the Genevans must remain in the right; but, for the time being, the General Council has no reason to intervene, since the Genevans have appealed for a ballot in the sections, and you will have to wait for the result of this, one way or the other, before making a decision. The Bakuninists will probably not let themselves in for this referendum, since their règlement fédéral\textsuperscript{a} probably makes no mention of it, and they will, thereby, expose their weak point in wishing to sacrifice the unity of the International, and the International itself into the bargain, to their empty formalism. Then there would be reason enough to intervene. On the other hand, the Genevans themselves must see to it this time that they gain the majority in their plebiscite. Till then, the General Council could, at the most, suspend both central committees, and replace them by a neutral provisional one (Becker,\textsuperscript{b} etc.).

In the matter itself it is clear that the Alliance, even if tolerated by the General Council, has no place in a local organisation like the \textit{Suisse Romande},\textsuperscript{c} since it wishes to correspond with all countries and maintain sub-sections there. Thus it should either stay out of it, or abandon its international character. Whereas, if the business in Switzerland continues to develop, the result will be either that it leaves the International completely, or can be thrown out. But it must be impressed on the Messrs Genevans that they cannot be helped unless they help themselves. If Bakunin were to get a majority of the workers of the \textit{Suisse Romande} on his side, what could the General Council do? The only conceivable point is that of the total abstinence from all politics, but even this action would not be so certain.

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Statuts pour la Fédération des Sections Romandes adoptés par le Congrès Romand}...
\textsuperscript{b} Johann Philipp Becker
\textsuperscript{c} Romance Switzerland
MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1870

DEAR FRED,

I visited Schapper again yesterday. I fear he is fast sinking. He himself spoke of his death as settled, even told me he had instructed his wife to have him buried next Sunday. It is consumption of the lungs. Schapper spoke and acted really d'une manière distinguée. As long as his wife and eldest son were in the room he conducted the conversation (he can only speak with difficulty) in French. Je ferai bientôt la dernière grimace. He poked fun at old Oborski, who in the past few months has become a Catholic and says his prayers; ditto at Ruge, who once again believes in the immortality of the soul. In this case, he said, Schapper's soul would play rough with Ruge's soul in the hereafter. It gives him pleasure to make jokes about the old stories, meetings with Louis Bonaparte, Dr Conneau, Persigny, General Cavaignac etc., later Willich, etc. It comforts him that his daughter is married, his eldest son Karl is independent (a bookbinder), and each of the two younger ones already earning £1 per week (as goldsmiths). He hopes his brother (Nassau) will take in his youngest. He has left all his scant possessions to his wife, and she will live with the two younger boys. 'Tell all our people that I have remained true to our principles. I am no theoretician. During the period of reaction I had my hands full bringing up my

---

a in a very composed manner - b I shall soon pull my last face.
family. I have lived as a hard working worker, and die a proletariat.' I gave him your greetings, and said that, had you believed the business was dangerous, you would have come up to see him. This obviously pleased him. Schapper is 57 years old. The true manliness of his character emerged once again clearly and strikingly.

Leaving Schapper, I had to make a second sick-bed visit. Borkheim wrote me a few lines the day before yesterday, that he had been at home sick the whole week, would probably have to stay in bed another week, then to the country, etc. From the way his wife received me, I saw immediately that the matter was sérieux. He had had typhoid fever; seems now on the road to improvement. His lungs have certainly been affected. The English doctor—one of the hospital doctors here—predicted all this, and repeats now that he hopes, and is virtually sure, that he will get away with it this time, but that if Borkheim does not abandon his mad life, he has not as much as a year before him.

The fact is that Borkheim studies Russian etc., with frenzy from 4.30 or 5 in the morning until 9, then again from 7 in the evening until 11. You know he writes polemical letters to everybody under the sun and, since he came into possession of a considerable library, has wished to make himself a scholar by brute force.

The doctor demands that he should chuck up everything except business for at least two years, and devote his leisure to light reading and other relaxations. Otherwise he is lost, and this inevitably. He has not the physical strength to do the work of two people.

I saw him for about 10 minutes. He looked damnably fatigué and thin. I told him that, as long as you were tied to business, you had engaged yourself only very moderately in other things. I did this on purpose, since I know he respects you very much. When I came downstairs to his wife in the parlour I recounted the conversation to her. She said—and I promised to do what I could to this end—that you would do her the greatest favour by writing to her husband. First of all, it would cheer him up greatly—such a sign of attention on your part—and second, he would take it to heart if you advised him not to ruin himself by extra work.

It is my feeling that Borkheim is, at the moment, hors de danger, but he must watch out like the devil. Apropos. He is very annoyed with Liebknecht, for first printing the Bakunin letter and then writing to him (Borkheim) that he (Borkheim) must now answer.

\[a\] out of danger
Good old Wilhelm, always ready to make blunders so that others must work! *C'est un imbécile.*

Flourens has already visited me at home several times. He is a very nice fellow. His predominant characteristic is audacity. But he is very well educated in the natural sciences. For a year he gave lectures on ethnology at Paris University, and was all over the place in Southern Europe, Turkey, Asia Minor, etc. Full of illusions and revolutionary impatience, but a very jolly fellow with all that, not one of the ‘damned serious’ school of men. His name has been proposed for our Council, where he has twice assisted as a guest. It would be a very good thing if he were to stay here longer. It is worth while working on him. If, however, Bonaparte grants an amnesty after the plebiscite, he will return to Paris. Yesterday evening, he and Tibaldi were given a banquet by the French Freemasons’ lodge, the French Branch, etc. L. Blanc, Talandier, etc., also wanted to take part. All the French revolutionary riff-raff here are courting him, but he is already pretty well informed about these gentry.

My best thanks for your explanation about the Irish bog. For fun I got hold of the return on *Game Laws Convictions (England and Wales)* for 1869. Total number of convictions: 10,345. These are thus the specific agrarian crimes of the English and Welsh. Why does not Mr Gladstone also suspend the constitution in England?

You were right to smell a rat in Pigott’s letter. From the enclosed *Flag of Ireland* (letter of the Paris correspondent of *The Irishman* in it) one can see the fellow Pigott’s mauvaise foi—since he knows we take *The Irishman* here—has the muck printed in the *Flag*.

I am sending you, with the *Flag*, 5 numbers of Spanish organs of the International, viz. 2 Federacion, 1 Obreiro and 1 Solidaridad.

I shall only send off the copies of *Marseillaise* on Saturday. First, I must make some notes from them about the Creuzot case, etc. for the Central Council.

Last Tuesday the Central Council unanimously adopted my proposal (supported by Mottershead): to sever our connexion with the *Bee-Hive* and to publish that resolution. Mr Applegarth sat opposite me while I was giving the reasons for my proposal, with a diminished head. He and Odger on editorial committee of *Bee-Hive* I denounced the paper as being sold to the bourgeoisie (S. Morley, etc.), mentioned particularly its treatment of our Irish resolutions.

---

*a* He is an idiot.  
*b* in the original: will -  
*c* See this volume, p. 488.  
*d* bad faith -  
*e* 26 April -  
*f* See this volume, p. 386.
and debates, etc.\textsuperscript{a} I should introduce the formal motion\textsuperscript{b} on the decision of the Council next Tuesday.\textsuperscript{c}

\textit{Salut.}

Your Moor


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

324

ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE\textsuperscript{632}

IN BRUNSWICK

[Manchester, 28 April 1870]

I was very pleased by the detailed and precise financial statement.\textsuperscript{633} Here, in England, in front of my very eyes, so many attempts to found workers' movements and organisations have failed because of bad treasurer's work and book-keeping, and the resultant recurrent justified and unjustified charges of embezzlement and so on, that in this case I can consider myself competent to deliver judgement on the importance of this point. The workers have to deprive themselves for every farthing, so have the fullest right to know where every farthing goes, as long as they do not need and are not putting aside secret funds. And I believe that this is of special importance, particularly in Germany, since there, too, exploitation of the workers by knavish agitators has become the fashion. It is a hollow pretext to say that, by publishing such financial statements, you betray the weakness of your own party to the enemy. If the enemy wishes to judge the strength of a workers' party according to its specifically weak side—the state of its funds—it will, in any case, be out in its reckoning. And the damage done in one's own ranks by keeping such things secret is far greater than that which can arise from publication.

\textsuperscript{a} Record of Marx's Speech on 'The Bee-Hive'. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of April 26, 1870. - \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, Resolution of the General Council on 'The Bee-Hive'. - \textsuperscript{c} 3 May
Bonhorst bewails the apathy of the workers\textsuperscript{634}—but I find that things are going unexpectedly swimmingly in Germany. The individual successes naturally entail a hard struggle, and those involved naturally think things are going too slowly. But compare 1860 and 1870, and compare the present state of affairs in Germany with that in France and England—and recall the head start that these two countries had over us! The German workers have got half a dozen of their people into parliament; the French and the English not a single one. Allow me to remark, in this connection, that all of us here regard it as of the greatest importance that as many worker candidates stand as possible in the coming elections, and that as many are elected as possible.\textsuperscript{a}

---

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 500.  \textsuperscript{b} Ibid., p. 496.
peasantry behind them, and with any career ahead of them except the dilemma: Siberia, or emigration to Western Europe. If there were anything that could ruin the West European movement, it would be the importation of these 40,000± educated, ambitious, hungry Russian nihilists; all of them officer cadets without an army, which we should provide them; a marvellous piece of impertinence that, in order to bring unity to the European proletariat, it must be commanded in Russian! Yet however greatly Bakunin exaggerates, it is as clear as day that the danger exists. Святая Русь will spit out a certain number of these ‘careerless’ Russians every year, and, with the excuse of the principi international, they will creep in everywhere amongst the workers, swindle their way into leading roles, carry their private intrigues and brawls—unavoidable amongst the Russians—into the sections, and then the General Council will have its work cut out. It has already struck me that Utine has already found a way to obtain a position with the Genevans. And these Russians moan that, back at home, all positions are occupied by Germans!

I have had it out in all friendship with Wilhelm on various points, both about his previous attitude and also about his present attitude in the Reichstag. Bonhorst was arrested in Eschweiler because he lacked legitimation papers, after the Reichstag had passed the Passport Abolition Law, yet Monsieur Liebknecht misses the chance to interpellate the government about flagrant illegality and to force it to confess that such laws are in no way intended to apply to workers. And the jackasses expect the workers to re-elect them. Incidentally, I have also written to Bracke, who approached me for money for the ‘Party’, saying how necessary it is that they should nominate worker candidates and force them through everywhere. Wilhelm is capable of saying that this is not necessary at all.

The Spanish papers and the Flag—received with thanks. When I travelled past Majorca in 1849 I would not have dreamed that, in 20 years, we would have a paper there. At the time that hole was regarded as a Corsican wilderness.

Pigott remains the same ambiguous figure. In Ireland they must have a ‘Republic’, but the French should remain under Bonaparte. They will pass over my book in silence when it appears, just as they do now with the Irish articles in the Marseillaise.

---

a more or less  b Holy Russia  c See this volume, p. 499.  d The Flag of Ireland (see this volume, p. 497)  e El Obrero  f F. Engels, The History of Ireland  g Jenny Marx’s articles on the Irish question.
The ancient laws of Ireland, through which I am at present rummaging, are a bitter mouthful. First, the text itself is not very clear, since it assumes a knowledge of all ancient Irish law, which no longer exists. 2. It is very garbled. 3. The translation is bad, and in places definitely wrong, but it is clear that the agrarian conditions were not quite as simple as good old Davies—a with interest—described them. The laws insofar as published, give only the complicated side, not the simple one. Incidentally, I am not yet through with the stuff; from time to time I am forced to refer to the Celtic text, too, and since I don’t even have a grammar, I don’t get along very fast. But so much is clear: the editors, for all their knowledge of Celtic, don’t understand the contents any more than I do.

These things have been published at state cost by the Commissioners for the publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland. It is obviously a gruelling job. *In which Parliamentary Paper can one find out how much these fellows cost annually?* They have been in session since 1852, do nothing except engage working understrapers, and these two volumes are all that has appeared so far.

Best greetings to you all.

Your

F. E.

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

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

326

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 April 1870

Dear Fred,

Poor Schapper died yesterday morning at 9 o’clock.

Enclosed, 3 issues of *Marseillaise* containing J. Williams.

*Ancient Laws of Ireland, Senchus Mor*. Volumes I-II. *J. Davies, Historical Tracts*. *Jenny Marx, see this volume, p. 503.*
must have them back (with the Swiss Égalité and Solidarité) because of notes for the General Council, for which I have not yet found time. (Don't send back the Spanish papers.) Ditto, latest Vorbote. You will see from this that Becker has broken openly with Bakunin. (Don't send back.)

Finally, one copy of the Russian translation of our Communist Manifesto for you. I saw in the Werker, etc., that the Kolokol publishing house, which was willed to Bakunin, also includes 'this stuff', so ordered 6 copies from Geneva. It's very interesting for us.

Addio old boy. Compliments to Mrs Lizzy, Jollymeyer and Moore.

Old Nick

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

327

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 May 1870

Dear Moor,

Poor Schapper! The toll amongst our old comrades is getting very high. Weerth, Weydemeyer, Lupus, Schapper—but, all the same, à la guerre comme à la guerre. Couldn't you get me a photograph of him? Or, if possible, two, you know the Solingen people also want one.

Thanks for the papers. Everything requested goes back tomorrow. I would have sent Égalité and Solidarité long ago, but I thought the General Council would have received several copies. In the Spanish things, which certainly still betray a rather Spanish standpoint, you can see how Bakunin's phraseology shines through.

---

a See this volume, pp. 497-98. b Johann Philipp Becker c 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation', Der Vorbote, No. 4, April 1870. d Carl Schorlemmer e See the previous letter. f war is war
I saw Gumpert yesterday. When he asked after you, and I told him your liver complaints were flaring up again, he blew up without waiting for anything further: Why doesn’t he go to Karlsbad? There you have the answer. He thinks it would be best early in the summer, or only towards autumn, since it is very full there in July-August, and horribly hot. The Crown Prince of Prussia is there at the moment, wouldn’t you like to keep him company? He is an ‘educated’ man.

The resolution on *Bee-Hive* will please Sam Moore greatly; he has taken *Bee-Hive* up to now, and been very annoyed at the lousy sheet. I shall tell him he should take Reynolds’s, or do you know something better? Does the *Democratic News* still exist?

Enclosed, the latest from Wilhelm. He very much favours Prussia being the only serious opponent of the revolution in Germany, but is very much against it being a serious opponent. *Pauvre hère!*

Lizzie, for whom I immediately made a quick translation of the 3 Williams, is absolutely enthusiastic about them, and thanks Mr Williams warmly.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

For some time now your letters have been arriving in an unobjectionable condition. At least they have become more careful.

Steps have presumably been taken for a decent obituary on Schapper in the press? I don’t know whether Eccarius is the man to do justice to this best type of old conspirator.

---

*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. 479.  
*b* Frederick William  
*c* In the original ‘jebildeter’ (Berlin dialect).  
*e* Wilhelm Liebknecht  
*f* Poor devil  
*g* the sixth, seventh and eighth articles by Jenny Marx from the Irish question series
DEAR Fred,

All sorts of interesting things have happened here this week. But the English post is too inquisitive at the moment, and I don't feel the call to supply it indirectly with news. So, about this, later by word of mouth.\(^6^{39}\)

The Marseillaise did not arrive today. Possibly it has been confiscated. Last Wednesday\(^\text{a}\) we informed them by telegraph that they would receive the General Council resolution\(^b\) on Thursday in the original French; they should not translate it from English. This telegram naturally came immediately to the attention of the Paris police, and Pietri does not, perhaps, want our proclamation one day before the plebiscite.

The absurd Reuter-Havas telegrams have finally given us the long-awaited opportunity to declare publicly in the Paris press that the so-called London French Branch does not belong to the International.\(^6^{40}\)

Yesterday and the day before The Standard published two lousy articles against the International, dictated directly from the French Legation, as, ditto, the article in the London French paper L'International.

All London papers have received instructions from Bruce—and naturally obey them like the born dogs they are—not to mention a word in their columns about the steps the English police have taken very quietly in past weeks with regard to Flourens and the International General Council (they make a hodge podge out of the two).

Ten thousand copies of The Standard mentioned have been sent to France. Is this, also, a method of payment, or has the Société du 10 Décembre\(^6^{41}\) suddenly learned English?

Last Tuesday the rumour was spread in London that we were going to be arrested in our meeting room. As a result press reporters, for once hungry for news, were in attendance.

\(^\text{a}\) 4 May \text{—} \(^\text{b}\) K. Marx, Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections, Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (present edition, Vol. 21).
In England, at a moment of panic the fellows immediately forget their own laws, and allow themselves to be carried away by the press, which is partly ignorant, and partly lies with intent.

To be nice to the police, let us assume that everything reported by Grandperret, Reuter and the *Journal officiel* is gospel truth. Even so, the English Government could do *nothing*, apart, at the most, from making fools of themselves.

There can, *d'abord*, a be no question of the *extradition* of Flourrens—*Gaulois* says it has been demanded.642 There is only one Extradition Treaty between France and the *United Kingdom*, that of 1843. In 1865 the French Government declared it would denounce it after 6 months, since it was practically unworkable because of the *English Laws of Evidence*. As a result, in 1866 some of the formalities regarding evidence were changed, without any change in the content of the treaty. This specifies very precisely the crimes that lead to extradition, including murder (*parricide*, *infanticide*, and murder by poison) and attempted murder, *notabene*, attempts in the sense *qu'il y avait un commencement d'exécution*, b 'THE DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE THE DEATH OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHOSE LIFE WAS ATTACKED'.

Under this treaty Beaury, for instance, could *not* be extradited had he fled to England, let alone Flourrens.

The only question is whether a *foreigner here* could be sentenced by an English court for *complicity in a conspiracy to commit the crime of murder abroad*.

Before 1828 nobody—Englishman or *foreigner*—could be prosecuted here for *murder committed out of the United Kingdom*. English duellists made use of this. Sect. 7 of 9, Geo. IV stipulated,

'THAT IF ANY OF H. M.'S "SUBJECTS" SHOULD BE CHARGED WITH MURDER OR WITH ANY ACCESSORY TO MURDER COMMITTED ON LAND OUT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM HE SHOULD BE TRIABLE FOR SUCH OFFENCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM'.

The law was, in fact, made to fit English duellists, and therefore applies only to 'Her Majesty's *Subjects*'.

At Dr Bernard's *trial* in 1858 he therefore pleaded 'THAT THE COURT HAD NO JURISDICTION'. The servile court reserved this point, without taking a decision, and ruled that, for a start, a *Plea of Not Guilty* should be recorded. His acquittal prevented any further decision on this legal point.

Immediately after the Orsini *plot* of 1858, Palmerston introduced the *conspiracy* bill into the *House of Commons*,643

---

a for the time - b in which a *deed was commenced*
'WITH THE OBJECT OF MAKING CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT MURDER EITHER WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM OR WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF ANY FOREIGN STATE A FELONY'.

This bill was justified by the following in
1. 'CONSPIRACY WAS ONLY A MISDEMEANOUR' and that, under English law, a CONSPIRACY TO MURDER is nothing more nor less than A CONSPIRACY TO BLACKEN A MAN'S CHARACTER.
2. And this was shown very emphatically by the ATTORNEY GENERAL Sir R. Bethell—

'THAT THE 9 GEO. IV SECT. 7 ONLY APPLIED TO NATIONAL BORN BRITISH SUBJECTS, AND THAT FOREIGNERS RESIDENT IN THIS UNITED KINGDOM COULD CONSPIRE TO COMMIT MURDER ABROAD WITH IMPUNITY'.

The CONSPIRACY BILL, as everyone knows, was rejected, and Lord Palmerston fell FOR THE TIME BEING, together with the bill.

The whole commotion in the English and French press is, therefore, complete nonsense. If the worst comes to the worst, Flourens could be prosecuted for a MISDEMEANOUR in order, finally, to obtain a DEFINITIVE JUDICIAL DECISION on 9 GEO. IV SECT. 7 and certainly to fail thereby, and be forced to table the CONSPIRACY BILL. Gladstone will tempt the devil where Palmerston failed.

If this PLOT—for the ASSASSINATION of Badinguet— is not simply a police invention, then it is the biggest possible bit of tomfoolery open to man. Luckily, the EMPIRE can no longer be saved even by the stupidity of its enemies.

Bakunin's agent Robin, now in Paris and a member of the Paris Fédération (Internationale), immediately proposed a resolution there recognising the new Conseil Romand as the genuine one, and making a public announcement in the Marseillaise that only its supporters are really MEMBERS of the Internationale. But we had advised our people in Paris. Robin thus failed gloriously with his resolution. It was decided that the Fédération Parisienne had absolutely no autorité to intervene; the matter was something for the Conseil Général in London. This business is, however, characteristic of the modus operandi of Gospodin Bakunin.

The Paris PLOT brings to a sorry end the well-advanced plan to hold the Congress in Paris, and to take this opportunity also to transfer the General Council there.

I have received from Bakunin the 5 first Nos. of Kolokol and its French supplément. Even the Russian programme is very characteristic. The paper should be in no way the expression of an

---

\( a \) a nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a stonemason in whose clothes he fled from the prison in 1846) - \( b \) See this volume, p. 489. - \( c \) Mr
exclusive party (выражение какой-либо исключительной партии) but of all decent people (честных людей) who desire the 'liberation of Russia' and who are 'dissatisfied with the present conditions'. No pedantry, above all practical! For our part, we, Western Europe and the United States, should confine ourselves exclusively to propaganda of the theory of Mr Bakunin (i.e., the absence of all theory), and this in such a manner as though all nations had already been abolished. He thus bans us from any intervention, in either domestic or foreign policy. What an artful dodger!

Things are going slowly with Borkheim, but he is improving. I visited him again last Thursday (on this trip I caught a frightful cold, which is almost driving me mad). He was delighted with your letter. From his 'enclosure' you will see his need to make a fool of himself. The gentility with which he—a born figure of fun—delivers his estimate of Lever, was so patronising—he laughs now and then, and excuses this with his sickness—and the naivety with which he believes one can supply him with Harry Lorrequer par douzaines like blackberries! After this I sent him Peter Simple and, in fact, he finds this 'much better'.

Schapper was buried last Wednesday. Write down for me any biographical notes about him you have in your head. We shall have to compose a short obituary.

Compliments to Mrs Lizzy, Moore, Jollymeyer.

El Moro
(My beard becomes whiter daily.)

You will receive with this: two numbers of Égalité, and of the pamphlets plébiscitaires:

Aux Electeurs, Par Alceste (finely written),
Le Plébiscite Impérial par Rogeard (very bad),
Le Plébiscite de Boquillon par A. Humbert (one of the Marseil-laise editors, fine burlesque) (in the style of Offenbach's music).

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

The words in brackets are given in Russian by Marx. - In the original: Kladderadatsch—the title of the Berlin satirical journal - by the dozen - Paraphrased Falstaff's words (see Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Part I, Act II, Scene 4). - F. Marryat, Peter Simple. - 4 May - Carl Schorlemmer
Dear Moor,

With his plot-comedy, Mr Pietri appears to me to have far overshot the mark. In the end the policemen don’t even believe one another’s buffoonery. It’s really too fine. This scurvy Bonaparte has a fixed remedy for every sickness; in case of a plebiscite, the *populus* must be given a dose of assassination, just as every quack begins every bigger treatment with a strong laxative. I am longing to hear the result of the treatment; so far I know only about the Paris vote, which was so good that all forgeries by officials could not falsify it completely.  

The *Daily News* and *Observer* virtually announced that the English police had obtained the necessary and telegraphed it to the French police. With the *Fenian scare* the English police have completely dropped their disguise and are baser than any other. NB. Do use thinner paper for your envelopes; I could open these thick envelopes without leaving a trace.

You really should publish in France and Germany the heroic deeds of the English police regarding the International and Flourens.  

10,000 copies=£40 is damned cheap; I would have expected *The Standard* to sell itself dearer. This manner of bribery has, however, long been common here.

Flerovsky does not appear to have been confiscated; there are copies at least in Leipzig. My bookseller, the jackass, did not order the Russian text but a non-existent English translation. Hence the non-arrival.

So *Колокол* [Kolokol] will be even finer under Bakunin than it was under Herzen.  

Monsieur Wilhelm is no longer to be borne. You will have seen that ‘owing to the absence of the printer’ (who is, thus, the real editor), the *Peasant War* was printed in a mix-up that Grandperret could not have managed better and, at the same time, the

---

*a* See this volume, pp. 504-06.  
*b* Н. Флеровский, *Положение рабочего класса в России*.  
*c* Wilhelm Liebknecht  
*d* F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. 
dunderhead has the impudence to affix marginal notes that are complete nonsense, without any note as to authorship, and everyone will ascribe them to me. I have already forbidden him to do this once before, and he was piqued; but the nonsense is laid on so thick that it is no longer bearable. *Ad vocem* Hegel, the fellow glosses: known to the general public as the discoverer (!) and glorifier (!! of the royal Prussian state concept (!!!). I have reverted to him suitably, and have sent him, for publication, a declaration as mild as was possible under the circumstances. This dunderhead, who has been jogging around helplessly for years on the ridiculous contradiction between right and might, like an infantry man placed upon a horse with the staggers and locked in the riding-school—this ignoramus has the insolence to wish to dispatch a man like Hegel with the word 'Preuss' and, at the same time, suggests to the public that I had said it. I have now had enough of the whole thing. If Wilhelm doesn’t publish my declaration, I shall turn to his superiors, the ‘Committee’, and if they also get up to tricks, I shall prohibit any further publication. I would rather not be published than let Wilhelm proclaim me a jackass thereby.647

Borkheim, returned enclosed. The fellow is gracious enough to wish to find Lever jocose. ‘Boquillon’ is very nice; I haven’t yet read the other things.

I can tell you nothing about Schapper that you do not know yourself or you could not get much better from Pfänder.

The *Kölische Zeitung* has been gammoned into writing that the floor of the Atlantic Ocean is covered with protoplasm—a moving slime that nourishes itself.

In London clay, Owen has found the skull of a giant bird, similar to the great wingless birds of New Zealand.

The jolliest point about old Irish law is the family law. Those must have been free-and-easy times. Polygamy existed, was at least tolerated, and the concubines here were divided into 6-7 classes, including one, the *imiris,* ‘whom he (the man) has with the consent of her husband’. Very naïve, too, is the regulation about the disposition of property. If they both have the same amount, the husband and (the first or main) wife dispose of it jointly. If the husband has everything and the wife nothing, the husband disposes. Has the

---

wife all and the husband nothing, then 'the wife takes the position of the husband, and the husband that of the wife'. Yet still more civilised than the modern English laws.

The legal position of *hommes entretenus* is also defined.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Don't talk about grey hairs. They are growing thickly enough in my beard, but the corresponding *dignitas* simply won't appear.

---

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

---

330

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London, about 8 May 1870]

Dear Kugelmann,

As a filthy cough has made me incapable of writing for the moment, herewith only my best thanks for the fine birthday presents.¹

Yours truly

Karl Marx

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

---

¹ kept men - ² See this volume, pp. 512 and 558.
DEAR FRED,

Yesterday I received the enclosed screed from Wilhelm. An incorrigible South German bumpkin.

You will see from it, d’abord, that the blockhead never wrote to Meissner and attended to all my commissions in the same way. And, for precisely this reason, I should now write to him ‘regularly’, and you should go to ‘Stuttgart’, in the same way as he wished to propose you as a member of the North German Reichstag!

I had written to him that if, when he wrote about Hegel, he knew nothing better than to repeat the old Rotteck-Welcker muck, then he would do better to keep his mouth shut. He says that this would be ‘making rather informally short work, etc.’ of Hegel, and when he writes stupidities beneath Engels’ articles, then ‘Engels can of course (!) say something at greater length (!!!)’. The fellow really is too stupid.

The circular, which reached him in such a ‘romantic’ manner, states that the General Council reserves the right to speak about Schweitzer, etc., ‘publicly’ as soon as it considers suitable. This Wilhelm converts into us wanting to make a ‘public declaration’—for Wilhelm!

With regard to the next congress, what do you think of Bebel’s suggestion about Mainz or Mannheim? Better Mainz. The business would be a good thing, insofar as Mr Bakunin et Co. would be totally powerless in Germany.

Shameless Wilhelm, who thought my Bonapartec scarcely worth a note in his sheet, demands my permission to publish my articles on the French Revolution!

From the Marseillaise of last Sunday you will see that Opinion nationale, the Plon-Plon sheet, has discovered that the French

---

a Wilhelm Liebknecht - b See this volume, p. 428. - c Ibid., p. 509. - d K. Marx, Confidential Communication. - e K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. - f Der Volkstaat - g K. Marx, The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850. - h Marx refers to Une Dénunciation, written by A. de Fonvielle and published in La Marseillaise, No. 139, 8 May 1870. - i Jérôme Charles Paul Bonaparte
original of our declaration, written by me, was certainly written in Paris! Incidentally, I am pleased that this sheet is finally abandoning the patronage it has hitherto granted us, which we found very distasteful.

The ancient Irish business with women quite pales compared to what the Celts in Wales allowed themselves in that field. This was (up until the 11th-12th century) quite Fourier’s fantasy mise en pratique. For my birthday, Kugelmann sent me two pieces of wallpaper from Leibniz’s study, which amused me very much. It appears Leibniz’s home was pulled down last winter, and the stupid Hanoverians—who could have made good business in London with the relics—threw everything away. Each of these two pieces depicts something mythological, one Neptune in his waves, etc., the other Venus, Amor, etc., all in poor Louis XIV style. On the other hand the quality (solidity) of the hand manufactory of those days compares well with today’s. I have hung the two pieces up in my study. You know my admiration for Leibniz.

I am still suffering so much from the nose stoppage resulting from my last visit to Borkheim that my daughters have forbidden me to go to the General Council this evening, and threaten, if I disobey, to send to Fred Engels a savage denunciation of my conduct. My presence there is really very necessary just now. Enfin, nous verrons!

Apropos. I recently purchased a 14-volume edition of Swift (of 1760) for all of 4½ shillings. So, as soon as you need to look at Swift’s things about Irish subjects, the necessary will be sent to you.

Has not the time nearly come for us to look around for a house for you here, and for you to give instructions in that line?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

The elections in France—so far as they make sense—have produced a grand result. A great and ever repeated tomfoolery of the Republicans to persuade the poor devils of soldiers to vote ‘no’. A quoi bon? That the government should repeat the old trick, get to know and to root out the unreliable elements. Very

---

a K. Marx, Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association. b put into practice. c Well, we shall see! d Who profits?
soon, the 4,000 military voters of Paris will have vanished, partly to Algeria, partly to distant provincial punitive garrisons.612

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

332

ENGELS TO MARX56

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1870

Dear Moor,

The relevant Liebknecht stuff was missing; I suppose it will turn up tomorrow.648

Holding the congress in Germany would present some difficulties, since one simply does not know what laws rule there, though one does know which police practices prevail. But it is fairly certain that a dissolution of the congress by the police would be the worst to be expected; the people would be safe, with the exception of a possible 24-hour detention; but it would have to be determined now where the congress should reassemble if dissolved—in Belgium or Switzerland. Otherwise, Mainz would be quite a good place, and Mannheim, too; the Baden Government is so harassed by the People's Party38 and the ultramontanists that it would scarcely take any action.

Since Wilhelm mucked about my Peasant War in such a manner,647 think what he will do with your articlesa!

Could you get together for me that material for a note, with citation of the sources, on the Welsh phanerogamic beingb? I could use it just now, in a few days I shall be writing about this.

The bourgeois vandalism with regard to Leibniz's house is very common. In any case, I congratulate you on the relics.

I shall hardly likely be needing Swift before I move to London.

The decision in the large towns in France is very fine. The remainder is faked and doesn't count. Regarding the way the

a K. Marx, The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850. - b See this volume, pp. 512, 515-16.
Republicans urged the army about non, this would only have been useful if immediate action had been intended, but it is agreed that this was not the case. As things have now turned out, the soldiers will have to suffer, and 'more reliable' regiments will be sent to Paris.612

If you and your family wish to reconnoitre the surrounding district for a house for me, this would be very agreeable for us here. I have my house here until the end of September, so if I move at the end of August there is time enough. In addition, I have enough material to made through here, and it's easier here than in London. You know the sort of house I need: at least 4, if possible 5 bedrooms (since Pumps is growing up), and apart from a study for me, two living rooms and kitchen, etc. If possible without a close dominant vis-à-vis. It would be desirable that it should not be much higher up than you live, since Lizzie has an asthmatic reluctance about hill climbing. If you find something, then I can come over. It doesn't need to be as big as your house, and smaller rooms would suffice for me.

Best greetings to all.

Your
F. E.

Your letter appeared to have been opened again, and badly stuck down with too much gum, so that the excess of gum made it adhere to another letter, and traces remained.

Do you know of an Irish grammar, or is one to be had second-hand? I would very much dislike to quote a Celtic word incorrectly, perhaps in the genitive or nominative plural—instead of nominative singular.

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

---

612

Mary Ellen Burns
DEAR FRED,

I only noted from your letter today that I had forgotten to enclose the Wilhelm. It follows herewith, ditto, letter from Bracke, etc., which I must have back before Tuesday, when I intend to be on my feet again. Mainz, Darmstadt, Mannheim? Wouldn't Mannheim be best? Mainz is a Prussian fortress city.

With regard to the Welsh, I don't find the main thing in my notebooks. But this much:

The community of goods was accompanied by Celtic looseness of the marriage tie, already known in antiquity, at the same time, however, voting rights for women in the tribal assembly.’ (W. Wachsmuth, ’Europäische Sittengeschichte’, Zweiter Teil, Leipzig, 1833.)


I find noted in my notebooks, as curiosities:

‘Precepts on ascertaining virginity. The testimony of one person suffices, e.g., that of a girl on her virginity.’ ‘A man who has got rid of one bed-companion because of another atones with as many denarii as are necessary to cover the bottom of the complainant. A woman who lays a plaint against a man for rape clasps his member with her left hand, lays her right upon reliquaries, and thus swears her testimony.’

‘Fornication with the queen costs the double mulct to the king.’

The first chapter of the book on common law deals with the women.

‘If his wife lay with another man and he beats her, he sacrifices his claim to indemnification... What a wife might dispose of—differing according to station—is exactly specified. The wife of a peasant (taeawgh) might only dispose of her neck-band, and might lend only her sieve, and this not further than her voice could be heard when demanding its return. The wife of a nobleman (uchelwyr) could dispose of cloak, shirt, shoes, etc., but lend all her household utensils. Sufficient grounds for divorce for a wife were the man’s impotence, scabies and bad breath.’

---

*a Liebknecht’s letter (see this volume, p. 513) - b the Good
Quite some lads, these Celts. But born dialecticians, everything being composed in triads. When I leave the house again I shall look up Wachsmuth on phanerogamy in the Museum.\(^a\)

At this opportunity I have also found in my notebooks quotations from various writings on Ireland, but which you have certainly seen, or are superfluous because of better sources. One book, the title of which I cannot read properly, Cgygia or Ogygia by R. O'Flaherty, London, 1685.

Dr Charles O'Conor: Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum. Buckingham (1814-1826, 4 volumes).

The antiquities and history of Ireland, by Jam. Ware, London, 1705; Ware, Two books of the writers of Ireland Dublin, 1709.\(^5\)

In the case of Bakunin, either the transaction has broken down, or it has been arranged thus *pour sauver les apparences*.\(^b\) Looking at things more closely, I discover, that Ogarev is the editor.\(^c\) In the first numbers Bakunin has only one letter, in which he acts like a stranger, attacks the editors for lack of principles, etc., puts on airs as a socialist and internationalist, etc. Yet, with all that, what his letter amounts to is that, in theory, all coalitions are to be condemned, but in practice, to be sure, Ogarev is right. The main thing now is to overthrow Tsarism, and for this the unification of all parties hostile to it is necessary, etc., etc. Later they will be able to scuffle with one another, etc. Thus, 'politics' are permissible for socialists in Russia, but not for the world in Western Europe!

The Russian things I am sending you today you may keep, since I have duplicate copies.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

I shall look around for the Irish grammar as soon as I can go out again.

The state of my last letter was *not* the fault of the post.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

\(^a\) the British Museum Library - \(^b\) to save appearances - \(^c\) М. Бакунинъ, 'Редакторамъ Колокола', *Kolokol*, No. 2, 9 April 1870.
Manchester, 15 May 1870

Dear Moor,

Mainz is not so bad, the Hessian Government is always at loggerheads with the Prussian Governor, and the Prussians have to declare a state of siege in the city before they can do anything. Darmstadt has too small a proletariat and, in addition, a small court, so one cannot count on anything. Mannheim, also, has a smaller proletariat than Mainz, and altogether I think it would be good to hold the congress under the noses of the Prussian soldiers. If it is broken up, then the whole show can move to Brussels; even those compromised in Prussia can get there via Strasbourg, Metz and Luxembourg in 24 hours; the others via Cologne or Saarbrücken-Luxembourg. Apropos, the International should try to obtain a footing in Luxembourg; there are many miners, tanners, etc., there. This must be done from Saarbrücken or Aachen; the committee\(^a\) should be charged with this.

Best thanks for the Celtica.\(^b\) I shall take a few hours to look up further details in the Chetham Library, where I shall probably find something.

Ogygia\(^c\) is a horribly uncritical thing; here and there there are notes of some value, since the fellow had at his disposal old writings now lost, but in order to discover this you would have to plough through Irish Codices for at least 3 years. Dr Ch. O’Conor’s Scriptores are \(^±\) good sources, but mainly later ones; but he also published the Annals of Ulster with a Latin translation and, ditto, the first volume of the Annals of the 4 Masters, and I don’t know whether this is included there. But the Annals of the 4 Masters, the main work, was edited and translated by Dr O'Donovan in 1856, and I have it here; I went through the first volume yesterday.\(^d\)

Ware (Sir Jam. Ware, I think judge or something of the sort under Charles I) is by far the best of the older ones; he also had available to him, in translation, old writings now lost; he wrote in Latin (Waraeus), I have him in English and Latin.

---

\(^a\) the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party - \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 515-16 - \(^c\) more or less
The continuous reading of Irish books, i.e., the parallel English translation, could not be stood without at least a superficial knowledge of the phonetic and inflexional laws of the language. I have discovered here a frightful Irish grammar from Anno 1773, and ploughed through it the day before yesterday, thereby learning something, but the man himself had no idea of the real laws of Irish. The only good grammar is that by Dr John O'Donovan, mentioned above, the best Irologist of this century. When you go to the Museum you should take it out in order to see what it would cost approximately (O'Donovan has the habit of publishing nothing except fat expensive quarto volumes): O'Donovan's Irish Grammar. In addition you might also look at:

Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrak, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society 1844 (presumably by O'Donovan), and

Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many (ditto), to find out whether there is anything in them about social conditions, and whether these are fat expensive books: if not, and there is something in them, I shall acquire them.

There exists, further, an edition (by O'Donovan) of Leabhar nag-Ceart (Book of Rights), and if you could find an opportunity to take a look at it and tell me whether there is any prospect of results in it—NB. only for social conditions, everything else is of no interest to me—and whether it is an expensive de luxe edition, I would be very much obliged. On the basis of the quotations I have, there is not much in it for my purpose.

But this, I think, fairly well exhausts the relevant old literature, insofar as it has been published.

Ogarev was already an editor of Kolokol with Herzen, and is quite an ordinary bourgeois and poet. If Bakunin should really receive the money, and not Ogarev, then Ogarev will certainly be fettered to him as a controller.

In the last few days I have often been sitting at the quadrilateral desk in the small bow-window where we sat 24 years ago; I like this place very much; because of its coloured window the weather is always fine there.\textsuperscript{480} Old Jones the librarian is still around, but he is very old and does nothing more; I haven't yet seen him there again.

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

---

\textsuperscript{a} Ch. Vallancey, \textit{A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish Language.} \textsuperscript{b} the British Museum Library
The letter from Wilhelm (which is returned, enclosed, together with the Brunswick one) is really the silliest thing I have ever read. What a dumb ox! Now I am wondering what reply he will give me. At the end I advised him to consider whether it were not fitting to first study something if you want to teach it.

In which Parliamentary Paper can one see how much money is thrown away annually on the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland? This is a simply colossal job (in miniature). It would also be important to know how much of this money is allocated 1. as remuneration for the inactive commissioners, 2. as salaries for the actually-working understrappers, printing costs, etc. This must be given in some Parliamentary Paper. The fellows have been drawing emoluments since 1852, and until now 2 volumes have been published! 3 Lords, 3 judges, 3 priests, 1 general, and 1 professional Irologist, now long dead.

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

335

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1870

Dear Fred,

Enclosed—a very well-behaved screed from Wilhelm!

The old fool is beginning to take fright. In my last letter, I told him that Borkheim was very sick; the Dr had forbidden him to do literary work for a long time even after his recovery; the continuation of Bakunin's twaddle, which should never have been started, must now be stopped, etc.!

And what does the brute do? In the issue of Volksstaat that arrived today he published a personally defamatory article against Borkheim, written by the vagabond Nechayev. I am really afraid this will excite Borkheim in a dangerous manner. Borkheim wrote to me the day before yesterday; he wanted to see me. I could not go because of my very foul cold and cough. But my wife was there yesterday. He is still very weak, and all
excitement has specifically been prohibited by the Dr! The arrival of Volksstaat today will have caused an awful scene!

I wrote immediately to Wilhelm, the silly blockhead, and fittingly hauled him over the coals. At the same time, I mentioned that his effusions about you were ‘too childish’ to be answered, but he could rely upon it that his (Wilhelm’s) ‘private views about Hegel or anything else’ were a matter of indifference to you,\textsuperscript{a} ditto the circumstance ‘which’ and ‘what assortment of studies’ he (Wilhelm) ‘rather despises’. The fellow’s claim that he has led ‘for 22 years a restless life, with no time for any leisure’ is delicious. We know he spent about 15 years of the 22 in idleness.

I am sending you the Echo, which you must preserve, because of the disavowal of the French Branch,\textsuperscript{b} also published in the Marseillaise, Internationale (Brussels), and our other organs. Circumstances were finally so favourable that we had an opportunity to give an official kick to the rabble.

\textit{Mayence! soit!}\textsuperscript{c}

It is \textit{un peu indiscret}\textsuperscript{d} for Bracke to have had extracts from your private letter to him\textsuperscript{e} published in Volksstaat. But the intention is good, and I even believe this operation was politically correct. They obviously wished thereby to take a kick at Schweitzer.

There has already been a lot in The Irishman about the scurrilous Irish Laws Commission.\textsuperscript{636} I shall try to find out the necessary about it.

If my condition \textit{doesn’t quickly} change so that it no longer disturbs my work, I might come for 8-14 days to Manchester.\textsuperscript{639} If nothing else helps, perhaps a change of air will.

Your

K. M.

---

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 509-10. \textsuperscript{b} K. Marx, \textit{Draft Resolution of the General Council on the ‘French Federal Section in London’}. \textsuperscript{c} Mainz! for all I care! \textsuperscript{d} a little indiscreet\textsuperscript{e} See this volume, pp. 498-99.
Manchester, 17 May 1870

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht will hardly send you my letter, since it is just the opposite of what Wilhelm says it is. I took special care not to use any insulting expression, but the whole letter naturally centres on the bitter fact that Wilhelm writes under my signature on subjects about which he knows nothing (as now admitted). And this must of course 'insult him'.

Even now it is incomprehensible how he could publish Nechayev's filthy letter,656 which consists of a series of curses, and nothing else but the very stupidest Russian Herzenite platitudes. Something like this can only be explained by his enormous indolence, which makes him struggle as hard as he can to fill up his paper\(^a\) without working himself.

To bring your 'condition' to an end, the best thing for you would be to come in the course of this week, and with Tussy. A change of air has always been good for you, and we shall see to it that you get better exercise here than there. Then, if things are bad, you can also consult Gumpert. But bring Tussy with you. Lizzie has already baked currant bread against her arrival, and the whole house has been in jubilo since I announced I would ask you to bring her with you. If you can come tomorrow, tant mieux\(^b\); just telegraph, no more notice is needed to have you rooms ready. Otherwise on Thursday.\(^c\) It will do both of us good to march through the fields, and to laugh about the assorted humbuggery that has been abroad since I was last in London.\(^d\) Lizzie has promised to go to bed unhesitatingly with Tussy at 11 o'clock every night—Sundays always excepted—so that this point will make no trouble either. And, finally, I feel that my 1857 Rüdesheimer is now just at the stage when it should be drunk, and for this I need your help.

Thus, either a telegram tomorrow and 'han selv'\(^d\)—not with

---

\(^a\) *Der Volksstaat* - \(^b\) all the better - \(^c\) 19 May - \(^d\) himself
22,000 men as ‘han selv’ said, but still with Tussy—or then the day after tomorrow.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

Bracke queried me about publication of the letter, and set a term for my prohibition, which I allowed to pass, since I attached no importance to it.

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

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 May 1870

DEAR FRED,

On Monday we shall be travelling to join you for 14 days, not longer, since Tussy is interrupting all her lessons. It's no go this week, since SWEET Jennychen has holidays until Monday, and we should not leave her alone for this period.

The enclosed muck from Heinzen discloses at the tail-end—the false story about my relationship with Lassalle—who is prompting Heineke, the doughty bondsman. It is OLD Hatzfeldt, probably operating through Weber junior, who deliberates in New York. Incidentally, Heineke is making a grievous mistake if he expects me to honour him with a word of rebuttal. He has been working to this end for years—to no avail!

Our French MEMBERS are demonstrating ad oculos the French Government the difference between a political secret society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles etc., COMMITTEES (some of them fled to Switzerland and Belgium) than committees twice as numerous announced themselves in the newspapers as their successors with the most daring and defiant

---

a See this volume, pp. 498-99, 520. b 23 May. c to the eyes of
declarations (and, as an added touch, with their private addresses as well). The French Government has finally done what we so long wanted it to do: transform the political question—Empire or Republic—into a question de vie ou de mort\(^a\) for the working class!

Altogether, the plebiscite is dealing the final blow to the Empire! Because so many voted 'yes' for the empire avec la phrase constitutionelle,\(^b\) Boustrapa\(^320\) believes he can now unceremoniously restore the empire sans phrase, c'est à dire le régime du Décembre.\(^c\) In Paris—according to all private information—la société du 10 Décembre\(^641\) has been fully restored and is fully active.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

The transfer of the congress to Mainz—unanimously voted yesterday—will give Bakunin a fit.

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

338

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1870

Dear Moor,

So Monday.\(^d\) Had you come yesterday you could just as well have brought Jennychen with you; she could have slept with Tussy for the few days until Sunday, and she ought to see Manchester once before we leave here.

Bonaparte really is an incorrigible jackass. The blockhead has no conception of any sort of historic movement; all history is a jumble of unconnected chance events, in which the little dodges of the old trickster play the decisive role—and what dodges! Always the same old recipe for every emergency. That he is once again organising his December 10 gang is [...]\(^e\)

\(^{a}\) of life or death - \(^{b}\) Empire with the constitutional phrase - \(^{c}\) Empire without phrase, that's to say the December regime - \(^{d}\) 23 May - \(^{e}\) The manuscript is damaged here.
Old Heinzen is really entertaining. For twenty years and even longer the same old tune, but literally, it's really moving. You only need to say: Communist, and up jumps Heinzen, like a frog in strychnine-tetanus leaps when you touch the table on which it is lying. Old Hatzfeldt’s hand is unmistakable here, and the thing was certainly made in America,\textsuperscript{658} since nobody in Germany knows Heinzen’s tune, the one you must whistle to make old Heinzen dance. The myths about Lassalle’s attempted revolution, which we caused to fail in Cologne, are just too stupid.

The behaviour of the French workers is grand. The people are now active again and are in their element; there they are masters.

Best greetings.\textsuperscript{a}

The extant part of the letter was 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

339

MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1870

My dear child,

We were beginning to fret somewhat at the obstinate London taciturnity, but your letter\textsuperscript{659} has again cleared up the horizon. I think not that we shall stay longer than to the beginning of next week.

My cold is not yet quite gone, but the general state of health has [been] wonderfully improved consequent upon the change of air. I see Gumpert almost daily and his advice is the more valuable the less he gets paid for it.

Here things are going on pretty much in the old track. Fred is quite jolly since he has got rid of ‘den verfluchten\textsuperscript{b} Commerce’. His book on Ireland\textsuperscript{c}—which by the by costs him a little more time than he had at first supposed—will be highly interesting. The

\textsuperscript{a} The signature is missing, the manuscript is damaged. \textsuperscript{b} damned \textsuperscript{c} F. Engels, The History of Ireland.
illustrious Doppelju\textsuperscript{a} who is so much up in the most recent Irish history and plays so prominent a part in it, will there find his archeological material ready cut.

Lange's book\textsuperscript{b} differs from an 'Irish stew' in that particular point that it is all sauce and no substance. This muddled meddler evidently intends to fish out some compliments from me in return for his 'sweets', but he is woefully mistaken. How much he has understood of the \textit{Capital} is clearly shown by his discovery that my theory of 'value' has nothing whatever to do with the developments on the \textit{Arbeitstag}\textsuperscript{c} etc.

Our friend Gumpert settles more and more down into a liberal, town-talk speaking, commonplace sort of fellow. What with his self-produced and with his 'inherited' family, this is hardly to be wondered at. It is too much of a good thing.

Tussy looks very blooming and is quite merry. She has happily found the live stock at Mornington Palace\textsuperscript{d} increased by a new supply of kittens and so forth. She crossexamined Fred of course as to the 'threatening letters'; he considered it dangerous to allude to such a thing in letters conveyed by post and possibly falling under the eye of some Stieber. The true Stieber, who, I see, is eagerly busying himself at Paris to hatch a new complot, in which the 'Intern. W. Ass.' is to play the principal part and where I, as his old protégé, and '\textit{wirklicher geheimer Oberhauptchef}'\textsuperscript{d} must of course put\textsuperscript{e} in my appearance.

While I write these lines, damned Fred is bothering me by continual 'fragmentary' communications from the old Norse Sagas. Apropos of Norse Sagas, has Möhmchen\textsuperscript{f} not assisted at K. Blind's poetical lecture Sunday last?\textsuperscript{g}

Little Dakyns came over Saturday evening and stayed here on Sunday. This his visit was paid to Tussy and myself. This brave gnome was horselaughing all the time over. His costume was faster than ever before—\textit{papiere Vatermörder ohne Kravatte},\textsuperscript{h} a dirty white hat instead of the Scotch cap, and \textit{eine Sorte weisser Schuhe wie man sie at the seaside trägt}.\textsuperscript{h} At our Sunday walk—Schorlemmer and Moore belonging of course to the party—his success with the general public was more than a \textit{succès d'estime}. He created quite a sensation.

\textsuperscript{a} The reference is to Jenny Marx's pseudonym: J. Williams. \textsuperscript{b} F. A. Lange, \textit{Die Arbeiterfrage. Ihre Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft} (see also this volume, pp. 527-28). \textsuperscript{c} working day \textsuperscript{d} 'real secret leader' \textsuperscript{e} In the original: set \textsuperscript{f} Marx' wife, Jenny \textsuperscript{g} a paper stand-up collar without a tie \textsuperscript{h} a kind of white shoes such as one wears at the seaside
And now, illustrious Doppelju, give my best compliments to Möhmchen and Lehnchen.\(^a\) I miss here very much the *Marseillaise* and all news from Paris. At the Schiller Club\(^76\) they keep *Le Temps*, about the dullest of all the French papers. Also its editor-in-chief is one Nefftzer, an Alsacian.

*Addio*, illustrious one.

Old Nick

---

340

**MARX TO VICTOR LE LUBEZ**\(^661\)

**IN LONDON**

Manchester, 14 June 1870  
86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road

[Draft]

Sir,

Yours dd. 11 June has been sent me from London. I want now to be informed by you who is the informer that gave you the *absurd* information that I am the London Correspondent of the *Volksstaat* and the author of an Article on your person. Allow me to observe that my time is spent on subjects of a more general interest.

I am

Sir

Yours etc.

K. M.

Mr Le Lubez.

---

\(^a\) Helene Demuth
MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 27 June 1870

Dear King Wenceslaus,

I returned here this week after a stay of one month in Manchester, and found your letter waiting.

In fact I can give you no reply as to the date of my departure, and not even to the question—which you have not asked—namely, whether I shall travel at all.

Last year I anticipated that, after the Easter Fair, I would have a second edition of my book, and consequently the takings from the first edition. You will see, however, from the enclosed letter from Meissner, which arrived today, that all this is still a long way off. (Be so kind as to send me the letter back.)

Messieurs the German professors have recently found themselves obliged to take note of me now and then, even if in a very silly way; for example, A. Wagner in a pamphlet on landed property, and Held (Bonn) in a pamphlet about the rural loan banks in the Rhine Province.

Mr Lange (On the workers' question, etc., 2nd edition) pays me great compliments, but with the object of increasing his own importance. Mr Lange, you see, has made a great discovery. All history may be subsumed in one single great natural law. This natural law is the phrase (—the Darwinian expression becomes, in this application, just a phrase—) 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE', and the content of this phrase is the Malthusian law of population, or rather over-population. Thus, instead of analysing this 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE' as it manifests itself historically in various specific forms of society, all that need be done is to transpose every given struggle into the phrase 'STRUGGLE FOR LIFE', and then this phrase into the Malthusian 'population fantasy'. It must be admitted that this is a very rewarding method—for stilted, mock-scientific, highfaluting ignorance and intellectual laziness.

---

And what this Lange has to say about the Hegelian method and my application of the same is simply childish. First, he understands rien about Hegel’s method and, therefore, second, still less about my critical manner of applying it. In one respect he reminds me of Moses Mendelssohn. That prototype of a windbag once wrote to Lessing asking how he could possibly take ‘that dead dog Spinoza’ au sérieux! In the same way, Mr Lange expresses surprise that Engels, I, etc., take au sérieux the dead dog Hegel, after Büchner, Lange, Dr Dühring, Fechner, etc., had long agreed that they—poor dear—had long since buried him. Lange is naïve enough to say that I ‘move with rare freedom’ in empirical matter. He has not the slightest idea that this ‘free movement in matter’ is nothing but a paraphrase for the method of dealing with matter—that is, the dialectical method.

My best thanks to Madame la comtesse for her kind lines. This really does one good at a time ‘when more and more of the better ones are disappearing’. But, sérieusement parlant, I am always pleased when a few lines from your dear wife remind me of the happy times I spent in your circle.

Regarding Meissner’s pressure for the second volume, I was not only held up by illness throughout the winter. I found it necessary to mug up on my Russian, because, in dealing with the land question, it has become essential to study Russian land-owning relationships from primary sources. In addition, in connection with the Irish land question, the English Government has published a series of blue books (soon concluding) about the land relations in all countries. Finally—entre nous—I would like the second edition of Vol. I first. It would simply be disturbing if this came in the middle of the ultimate finalisation of Vol. II.

Best compliments on Jenny’s part and my own to all the members of the Kugelmann family.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in Die Neue Zeit, Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Dear Fred,

You must excuse the interruption in our correspondence since my return to London. There was so much international and other business pressing upon me.

Dupont, whose one child (baby) is, for the time being, staying with his brother-in-law, the second with Serraillier, the third with him— all small girls— has in the meantime received two offers as sort of manager or chief overlooker (in wind-music-instrument factories), one in Paris, the other in Manchester. I advised against No. I, since there he would not only soon be arrested, but also become completely absorbed in quarrels with the various cliques. I strongly advised, on the other hand, No. II, despite his aversion to it. He has, therefore, accepted the offer of J. Higham, 131 Strangeways, Manchester (Brass Musical Instruments).

The difficulty is that he will have to take one child, No. II, with him immediately, and will have the two others follow him in a few weeks, so he needs a little house in Manchester, and some sort of reliable female person to look after the children and for domestic management. His income for a start will be £3 weekly. Could Lizzy do something directly or indirectly on this matter?

Dupont is politically a character, but privatiem enormously weak. D'abord he can stand very little liquor without getting very excited. Secondly he is easily dominated and exploited by his company.

He will perhaps go to Manchester in the course of this week. In any case, I shall write in advance about his day of arrival.

From the enclosed letter from Meissner you will see how things are there. I had a pressing letter from Kugelmann, who will be leaving for Karlsbad on 12 August, and is waiting for my declaration before renting accommodation, to which I replied with Meissner's letter. I reminded him that Meissner had spoken in his presence of certain prospects for a second edition, and payment for the Easter Fair; and I added that, under present circumstances, I

---

a See this volume, p. 487.  b Firstly.  c Karlovy Vary.  d of the first volume of Capital; see also the previous letter.
could not say either when I would go to Karlsbad, or whether I would go at all. 

Hence his enclosed letter. I have not yet replied, since we are still awaiting an answer from Dublin concerning O'Donovan Rossa's photograph.

Lafargue had notified me that a young Russian, Lopatin, would bring a letter of introduction from him. Lopatin called on Saturday; I invited him for Sunday (he was with us from 10 o'clock until 12 at night), and he returned on Monday to Brighton, where he is living.

He is still very young, was two years in the lock-up, after this 8 months fortress confinement in the Caucasus, from which he escaped. He is the son of an impoverished nobleman, and had to earn his living at the University of St Petersburg by private tutoring. Today is living very meagrely from translations for Russia. Lives in Brighton, since there he can bathe in the sea 2-3 times a day, gratis, at a certain distance from the official bathing beach.

A very wide-awake critical brain, cheerful character, stoical, like a Russian peasant who simply accepts what he gets. Weak point: Poland. Here he talks just like an Englishman—say an English Chartist of the old school—does about Ireland.

He told me the whole story about Нечаевъ (23 years) is an abominable lie. Нечаевъ has never been in a Russian prison; the Russian Government never undertook an assassinat against him, etc.

The story is this. Нечаевъ (one of Bakunin's few agents in Russia) belonged to a secret society. Another young man, X, rich and enthusiastic, supported this society with money via Нечаевъ. One fine morning X tells Нечаевъ that he will not give another kopeck, since he does not know what is being done with the money. Whereupon, Mr Нечаевъ suggested to his secret society (perhaps because he could not account for the money) that X be murdered, since he might change his views at a future date, and could become a traitor. He really did murder him. He is thus sought by the government simply as a murderer vulgaris.

In Geneva, Lopatin d'abord took Нечаевъ personally to task (about his lies), and he excused himself with the sensational political usefulness for the so-called cause. Lopatin then told the story to Bakunin, who told him that as a 'bon vieillard' he had believed it all. Bakunin then challenged Lopatin to repeat the story in the presence of Нечаевъ. Lopatin immediately went with Bakunin to Нечаевъ where the scene was repeated. Нечаевъ

---

\( a \) 2 July - \( b \) S. G. Nechayev - \( c \) Ivan Ivanov - \( d \) 'good old man'
remained silent. All the time Lopatin was in Geneva, Нечаев remained very unobtrusive, no longer saying a word. Scarcey had Lopatin left for Paris, and the whole buffoonery started again. Shortly after this, Lopatin received an insulting letter from Bakunin about the affair. He replied in even more insulting terms. Result: Bakunin wrote a Pater-peccavi letter (in Lopatin’s possession here), but—il est un bon vieillard crédule! (En passant: c Lopatin says that whole sentences written by Borkheim are completely unintelligible and make complete nonsense in Russian, not only grammatically wrong but ‘nothing at all’! And that fool Borkheim has, in the meantime, as he told me before my meeting with Lopatin, sent his bungling work through our friend Eichhoff in Berlin to a German there—who is used by the Berlin police as a Russian interpreter—in order to obtain from him a certificate that he can write Russian. The talent of our Gaudissart for unconscious comedy is really UNRIVALLED!)

Чернышевский, I learned from Lopatin, was sentenced in 1864 to 8 years travaux forcés in the Siberian mines; so he still has two years to slave. The first court was decent enough to declare that there was absolutely nothing against him, and that the alleged intriguing, plotting secret letters were obvious forgeries (which they were). But the Senate, on the Tsar’s orders, most graciously reversed this verdict, and sent off to Siberia this cunning man who, as the judgement said ‘was so clever that he cast his writing in a legally unexceptionable form, but nevertheless publicly dispensed poison therein’. Voilà la justice russe.

Flerovsky is in a better situation. He is only in administrative exile in a miserable little hole between Moscow and Petersburg!

You suspected rightly that Flerovsky is a pseudonym. But Lopatin says that the name, although not originally Russian, occurs quite frequently amongst Russian clerics (namely monks, who think it is the Russian translation of Fleury, and who are just as keen on sweet-scented names as are the German Jews). Lopatin was originally a naturalist by professional training. He has also been concerned in commercial business, and it would be a good thing if one could find something for him in this line. I shall speak about it with Borkheim and Pohl. About Paris, etc., very soon.

Your
Moor

---

a Father, I have sinned - b he is a credulous good old man - c by the way - d N. G. Chernyshevsky - e forced labour - f Such is Russian justice. - g See this volume, p. 535.
Apropos. Jennychen would like to know whether she should not rather name you as the author of the note.³
And—she is very obstinate—she will not allow me to change a few words in the manuscript without your special permission!

My best compliments to Mrs Lizzy.

[Postscript by Marx’s daughter Jenny]

5 July 1870

Dear Engels,

Thank you very much for your letter and the most interesting notes. I only hope Mr Risse’ would interlard them with the Judenkirschen of which he seems to have a plentiful stock on hand. For O’Donovan Rossa’s portrait I have written to Pigott. In case a good photograph is not to be had, of course, I can as you say, send Kugelmann the print which appeared in The Irishman.

With many thanks, I remain

Affectionately yours

Jenny

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

343

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Your instructions regarding Dupont are so uncertain that I can do absolutely nothing. I should rent him a cottage—but furnished or unfurnished? You say nothing on this point, but this is the main thing. In addition, a reliable housemaid is damned difficult to drum up in a hurry and, third, Lizzie cannot leave the house because of her knee which, as a result of her unrest and impatience, is not getting better as quickly as it should.

Under the circumstances, Dupont’s plan to come here with one child right away appears to me completely impracticable. I should

³ F. Engels, Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs. - b Jewish wit - c See this volume, p. 529.
think that his brother-in-law or Serraillier would be able to accommodate the 3rd child, too, for 8-14 days; in this case it would be better for him to come here alone right away, then I could immediately go round with him and get a house and, in the meantime, we could make enquiries about a woman. Since he will have to bring the children here, or have them brought by somebody, it makes no difference if there are 2 or 3 of them.

If this is agreed, write to me immediately, so that I can get him quarters near his workshop, lodgings for a week with board if he wants it—I assume he will only want a bedroom without the expense of a sitting room?—and when he will be coming. On this I expect an immediate reply, so I know what I have to do. But, as I said, to bring the child with him right away would be absolute nonsense; it would cost him much more money, and would be in his way everywhere during the first few days. Where should a woman spring from all of a sudden, if he doesn’t simply take the first one to offer?

Quoad Karlsbad, I am, as I said, in favour of you going there this summer. I can make £40 available to you for the journey. The cure is absolutely essential for you, even if you cannot completely avoid Kugelmann and his fervent fire thereby. C. Roesgen was also there, I saw him yesterday; he said it is not expensive there, particularly since ‘there is no opportunity to spend money’ during the cure; the cure did a lot of good to his liver (which is in a fine state compared to yours), and he looks rather thinner but much healthier. So make up your mind; apart from Kugelmann you will certainly find other interesting liver patients there, and on your way back you will travel via Hamburg and put pressure on Meissner. So take a quick decision and leap with eyes closed into the hot springs of Karlsbad, and the equally warm admiration of Kugelmann. NB. Because of possible passport difficulties on the Austrian frontier, it might be a good thing if you were to travel in the company of your personal physician.

Lopatin’s stories about the other Russian are very interesting and it is very useful to know them. That since Kugelmann knows my handwriting quite well; but she can deal with it as she will, and as far as alterations are concerned, do
what you like with it. There will probably be no refuge from the Jewish wit to which she refers.

Apropos Dupont. Lizzie has her eyes on somebody quite suitable for him if only we can get hold of her, but I fear we shall have no information on this before Sunday or Monday. It is her cousin Anna Kane, a person who is not young, not pretty, but honest to the backbone. Tussy knows her; but we shall scarcely discover before Friday where she is at the moment, and will probably not be able to see her before the end of this week or the beginning of next.

I found and looked through the old Welsh laws\(^a\) in the official *Record Commission* edition. There are quite jolly things in it. If a man discovers, on his nuptial night, that his wife is not a virgin, but lies with her until the morning, then nothing of hers falls to him, sed si, postquam illam vitiatam deprehenderit, surrexerit ad pronubos, pene erecto, et testaretur eis se illam vitiatam invenisse, et non concubuerit cum illa ad craslinum usque; illa nihil ab eo in craslinum habebit. Si mammæ et crines et menses apparuerint, tunc lex pronuntiat neminem posse certe scire num virgo sit necne\(^b\) and thus she must produce 7 compurgators, including her parents and brothers and sisters. If she will not or cannot do this

**LET HER SHIFT BE CUT OFF AS HIGH AS HER HIP, AND LET A YEARLING STEER BE PUT IN HER HAND, HAVING HIS TAIL GREASED WITH TALLOW, AND IF SHE CAN HOLD HIM BY HIS TAIL, LET HER TAKE HIM IN LIEU OF HER SHARE OF THE** argyvreu (PARAPHERNALIA), **AND IF SHE CANNOT HOLD HIM, LET HER BE WITHOUT ANYTHING.**

Now we have ‘To be let’ in the window. Haven’t you found anything yet?\(^2\)

What is the catalogue of the London Library like? This is very important for me, so that I know what I can leave unread here.

Best greetings to you all.

Your

F. E.

---

\(^a\) *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, volumes I-II. \(^b\) but if, as soon as he discovers she is damaged, he goes to the marriage arrangers with erect penis, and it is testified by them that he found her damaged and did not lie with her until the morning, she will on the next day receive nothing from him. If breasts, hair and menstruation are present, the law proclaims that nobody can know with certainty whether she is a virgin.
345. Engels to Marx. 7 July 1870

344

MARX TO HERMANN LOPATIN

IN BRIGHTON

[London, 6 July 1870]

The occupation of a translator is abominable; commerce will give you a great deal. A greater chance to use your free time for the study and propaganda...

First published in Istoriya SSSR, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Printed according to the letter of Hermann Lopatin to Pyotr Lavrov of 6 July 1870

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

345

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 July 1870

Dear Moor,

I had to write to you yesterday about Dupont in all haste, and without being able to consider the case properly with Lizzie; I had been busy in town the whole day, and in the evening there was a ballot at the club, so I could only discuss the business properly with Lizzie later; and it thus turned out that there is no reason to burden either Serraillier or Dupont's brother-in-law with the girl, for it will be hard enough for them to look after the other children; the child can sleep perfectly well with Mary Ellen and will not inconvenience us in any way. Dupont can also stay with me for the first few days, until we have got him fixed up to some extent, and it will be much better if I do this together with him, rather than alone, without having him along. Lizzie says she has bedding enough, without that used by Mary Ellen during her scarlet fever, which I naturally would not like to have used yet.

---

a See this volume, p. 532.  b Mary Ellen Burns
When I wrote to you yesterday morning I had no way of knowing this yet, but so that you might receive today other news in addition to yesterday's letter, I telegraphed you this morning:

**Dupont’s** LITTLE GIRL WELCOME TO STAY WITH US, DIRECT THEM BOTH TO MY HOME, ADVISE TIME OF ARRIVAL.

I hope you received this telegram before further consultations with Dupont. You must persuade him that he should not hesitate to accept my offer (if it is necessary, i.e., the persuasion), he is making things easier not only for himself but for me too, by coming to me right away with the little one. So request him in my name to do as I suggest, and just let me know when he will be arriving so I can meet him at the station.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1870
Damn heat!

**Dear Fred,**

After receipt of your telegram I informed Dupont of the necessary. He is leaving on Monday, a 11 o'clock, from Euston Station.

I would recommend you to let the child sleep with him for the short time he'll be there. Since the sickness and death of the mother there has been a certain neglect and, owing to school attendance, the possibility of creepy-crawlies on her head. At least it appears so to the female section here.

Tomorrow I'll send you the French papers with the trial proceed-

---

a 11 July
ings.667 I must have them back as soon as possible. Little Jew Frankel\textsuperscript{a} has won laurels. Both with the accused\textsuperscript{b} and in the newspapers etc., you will note the tendency to claim for themselves (Paris) the invention of the Internationale.

I'll go and see Beesly about the London catalogue tomorrow.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

\( (\text{Verte})^c \)

Jenny has still had no reply from Ireland, apart from the enclosed letter from Pigott\textsuperscript{d}. The fellow writes as if he were replying to an advertisement. Jennychen is too gentille for him. Il lui faut\textsuperscript{e} THE FEROCIOUS IRISH GIRL. If foreigners here are, in general, prejudiced against the Irish, aren't narrow-minded nationalists like Pigott responsible?

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

347

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG\textsuperscript{668}

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 July 1870

* Dear Jung,

Enclosed the Programme. The questions are arranged in such an order as will facilitate the business of next Congress. You'll understand my meaning.

Yours truly*

K. M.

---

\textsuperscript{a} Leo Frankel - \textsuperscript{b} accused - \textsuperscript{c} Turn over - \textsuperscript{d} See this volume, p. 562. - \textsuperscript{e} He needs
(1) On the necessity of abolishing the public debt. Discussion on the right of indemnity to be accorded.

(2) The relations between political action and the social movement of the working class.

(3) Practical measures for converting landed property into public property (see the note).

(4) On the conversion of currency banks into national banks.

(5) Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.

(6) On the necessity for the working class to keep general statistics of labour in accordance with the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of 1866.

(7) Reconsideration by the congress of the question of measures to abolish war.

Note to point (3): The General Council of Belgium has proposed this question:

'Practical measures to set up agricultural sections within the International and to achieve solidarity between the proletarians in agriculture and the proletarians in other industries.'

The General Council of the International Association believes that this question is inherent in point (3).

* The following must not be published but only communicated by letter to the different sections.*

Confidential notice to the different sections.

(1) The General Council requests that the different sections give their delegates formal instructions on the opportunity of changing the seat of the General Council for the year 1870-71.

(2) In the event that the change were to be decided upon, the General Council would propose Brussels as the seat of the General Council for the same year.
Your favourite virtue  
in man quality  
in man  
in woman  
Chief characteristic  
Idea of happiness  
" misery  
The vice you excise  
" detest  
Your aversion  
The characters you most dislike  
Favourite occupation  
— Hero  
— Heroine  
— Poet  
— Prose writer  
— Flower  
— Colour  
— Dish  
— Maxim  
— Motto  
jollity  
to mind his own business  
not to mislay things  
knowing everything by halves  
Château Margaux 1848  
to go to a dentist  
excess of any sort  
Cant  
affected stuck up woman  
Spurgeon  
chaffing and being chaffed  
none  
too many to name one  
Reineke de Vos, Shakespeare, Ariosto, etc.  
Goethe, Lessing, Dr Samelson  
Blue Bell  
any one not Aniline  
Cold: Salad, hot: Irish Stew  
not to have any  
take it aisy  

F. Engels


Reproduced from the original
Dear Mr Steinthal,

At the same time as this letter, I am sending you Marx on capital by book-post.

Many thanks! This book has given me constant food for thought, though I had to work on all sorts of other things at the same time.

It is an *epoch-making work* and throws a shining and often scorching light on the development of the social periods, with the declines, the birth-pains, and the frightful days of agony.

The proofs of *surplus value* through unpaid labour, of the expropriation of the workers who had worked for themselves, and of the coming *expropriation of the expropriators* are classical.

On the latter, p. 745:\(^{a}\): 'The capitalist mode of production and appropriation, hence *capitalist* property, is the first negation of *individual private property*, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. The negation of this negation therefore again gives the producer individual property, but based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., *on the co-operation of free labourers and their possession in common of the land and of the means of production produced by labour itself*.'

Marx is a man of broad erudition and with a brilliant dialectical talent. His book is above the level of many people and newspaper writers; but it will quite certainly make its way, and exercise a powerful influence, despite its broad scope; yes, precisely because of this.

With regard to religion, the author states very accurately: 608: 'As, in religion, man is governed by the products of his own brain, so in capitalistic production, he is governed by the products of his own hand.'

And to liberate him, it by no means suffices to shine a light in the owl's eye; in fact, whenever he loses his master, like the Frenchman or the Spaniard, then he himself installs one over himself again.

---

\(^{a}\) The following quotation, slightly modified by Marx, is from *Capital*, Vol. I (1867), pp. 744-45.
But still all the best for 1869! May it stand the test like its predecessor! My best greetings to Mrs Steinthal and Mr Heydemann.

Yours sincerely

Dr A. Ruge

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 12, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

3

JENNY MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 15 September 1869

Dear Mr Kugelmann,

I would have replied long since to your friendly lines from Karlsbad, but I had not been hoping day by day for more definite news from our dear travellers. Since their first and last letter from Liège, we have completely lost track of them. But I expect they will move in on you this week, probably after a bit of tacking hither and thither, so I am sending for your joint reading today’s *Times* and an older number of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. There is a deathly silence in the press here about the Congress, apart from the quite confused twaddly article in *Pall Mall*, which I enclose. Today *The Times* has broken the ice for the first time with a very favourable factual and concise article, which will arouse great interest here, and particularly in France, because of the speech by the American delegate. I believe I can smell out our ‘George’, in various turns of phrase, expressions and ‘Eccariads’, if it is possible to ascribe so much tact to him.

A real arsenal of newspapers and letters has accumulated here in the meantime; and I really don’t know whether they are worth the trouble and cost of sending overseas; their contents are mostly

---

*a* The year is in Kugelmann’s hand.  
*b* Karlovy Vary  
*c* The 1869 Basle Congress of the International Working Men’s Association. See Note 379.  
*d* [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Working Men’s Congress', *The Times*, No. 26543, 15 September 1869.  
*e* Andrew Cameron  
*f* Georg Eccarius
now so antiquated. Lessner wrote 3 very pleasant detailed letters about the Congress and Liebknecht 2 wishy-washy ones that would be better left unread. Eccarius conveys the curious fact that an American told him that he had heard from Mr Slack, the correspondent of the New-York Tribune in London, that 'Bright had written to all London newspaper offices and requested them to publish no reports on our deliberations'. This would provide some explanation for the silence of the press.

But if The Times publishes a few more reports, the other bell-wethers will follow, and then the success of the Congress will be assured. In any case, it will have more success than that of the Eisenachers, the only effect of which seems to be to have helped 'our great master Ferdinand' to obtain, in addition to his official 'moniteur', the Social-Demokrat, a semi-official one in the form of Liebknecht's sheet. Even in Basle they tried to push the wretched Schweitzer scandal into the foreground, so that one might have thought that the 'Internationals' had no other mission but to internationalise the principles of the 'Man of Iron' without the strict organisation.

I shall send some private letters of interest to Hanover immediately, as soon as I hear that our dear 'wanderers' have reached you. Laura, with her husband and their delightful little chap, have been with us here just 4 weeks to the day; now they are beginning to prepare for their return to Paris. Unfortunately, mother and son are not as well as I might wish. The sweet little lad is suffering from the break-through of his first teeth, with all the usual symptoms. His friendly face has grown so narrow and small, and his shining little eyes stare out of his pale face twice as large and rich as usual. He is a cheerful, gentle lad, and we shall sorely miss the little monkey.

Please give my heartiest respects to your dear wife, give Fränzchen a kiss, and accept friendliest greetings from

Yours
Jenny Marx

First published in Movimento Operaio, No. 2, Milan, 1955
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

a Ferdinand Lassalle - b organ - c Demokritisches Wochenblatt - d Ferdinand Lassalle (the reference is to his 'iron' law of wages) - e Charles Étienne Lafargue - f Gertrud Kugelmann - g Franziska Kugelmann
JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)
TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 October 1869

My dear Doctor!!!

Thank you very much for your letter and the copy of the portrait of your dear mother. It is a wonderfully good one—better than the original painting. I was very glad to have it.—It gave me much pleasure to hear that you feel better—may time gradually reconcile you to the great loss you have sustained. Think—

‘after life’s fitful fever, she sleeps well—nothing can hurt her further’.a

Is there no consolation in that thought?

I have written a note to Mrs Menke. I am much obliged to you for the timely remembrancer, though to my credit be it said, that previous to the arrival of your note, I had thought of writing to ‘Mariechen’—... but somehow or other—well—the way to hell, they say, is paved with good intentions. Moor also has written her a few lines. He is much better and has almost managed to get rid of the troublesome cough which so much tormented him at Hanover. He sends you his kind regards, and hopes you will excuse his [not] writing to you, as at the present moment he is very busy reading a book (which has just appeared in the Russian language, and the reading of which gives him no small amount of trouble) on the condition of the Russian peasantry,b which it appears is exactly the reverse of what the imaginative Careyc represents it to be—anything but enviable. ‘Happiness doesn’t grow in Russia.’ This book has just appeared in the nick of time, it is very important. Moor should in his second volume make known the facts contained in it. Meanwhile the French translation of the first volume is steadily progressing.44 In a month the third chapter will be ready for correction, at least so writes Paul (Lafargue) who visited the translator a few days ago.

---

'Dans une pauvre maison, dans une chambre plus pauvre encore, où ne se trouvent que deux chaises, une table, un lit et quelques planches pour des livres,'\(^a\)

Paul writes us, he found Mr Keller (the translator) busy at his work. He is young, intelligent, enthusiastic. Paul is delighted with him, and particularly admires his 'grand pouvoir travailleur et énergie'\(^b\)—and indeed who could help doing so? For the sake of pursuing his studies (he occupies himself with several sciences, but principally with the social science), this young man lives in a state of comparative misery. His father is a wealthy manufacturer, whose factory he superintended during seven years, but feeling disgusted with his 'métier de gardechiourme'\(^c\) Mr Keller gave up his position. Paul met two more socialists at Mr Keller's house.

'Le parti socialiste,' il nous écrit, 'se constitue à Paris et commence à tenir le haut du pavé, quoiqu'il n'ait pas de journal, il a les réunions publiques et l'agitation personnelle.'\(^d\)

No doubt the socialist party has risen on the ruins of the Simons, Pelletans, Bancel, Gambettas. The French people have discovered that the emptiest vessels make the greatest noise—have watched those big-mouthed ranters turning tail and won't give them credit for their good intentions, their hopes, 'that they who run away, may live to fight another day'.

In London the event of the week has been a Fenian demonstration, got up for the purpose of praying the government for the release of the Irish prisoners.\(^452\) As Tussy has returned from Ireland\(^677\) a stauncher Irishman than ever, she did not rest until she had persuaded Moor, Mama and me to go with her to Hyde Park, the place appointed for the meeting. This Park, the largest one in London, was one mass of men, women and children, even the trees up to their highest branches had their inhabitants. The number of persons present were by the papers estimated at somewhere about 70 thousand, but as these papers are English, this figure is no doubt too low. There were processionists carrying red, green and white banners, with all sorts of devices, such as 'Keep your powder dry!', 'Disobedience to tyrants is a duty to God'. And hoisted higher than the flags were a profusion of red Jacobin caps, the bearers of which sang the Marseillaise—sights and sounds that must have greatly interfered

\(^a\) In a poor house, in a room still poorer, where there are only two chairs, a table, a bed and a few bookshelves - \(^b\) great working capacity and energy - \(^c\) profession as a warder - \(^d\) The socialist party, he writes, is constituting itself in Paris and beginning to come to the fore; although it has no press organ it holds public meetings and carries on agitation among individuals.
with the enjoyment of the portwine at the clubs.—On the following day, Monday, all the papers made a furious onslaught on those confounded ‘foreigners’, and cursed the day they had landed in England to demoralize sober John Bull by means of their bloodred flags, noisy choruses and other enormities....

It is tea-time—and I have promised to roast some chestnuts for Tussy, so thank your good stars or rather the chestnuts that this scrawl doesn’t run on for ever.—(I am sure you have been thinking I was never going to stop.) With kindest remembrances from all at home.

Believe me dear ‘Doctor’

Very faithfully yours

Jenny Marx

You seem surprised at my bestowing upon you your sonorous title. Believe me I do not grudge it to you. In ‘our new society’ there will be little need for priests of the body; they will go to the wall along with their brethren physicians of the soul—meanwhile I wish you joy—make the most of your dignities—while they last! I enclose Weerth’s *photographie.*

First published in *Movimento Operaio,* No. 2, Milan, 1955
Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

5

JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)
TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

London, 27 December 1869

My dear Doctor,

I hope you do not fancy that true to the code of certain forefathers of mine, I am indulging in a spirit of revenge. The only reason why I have so long left unanswered your very kind letter is, that I haven’t been able to call one hour my own. Until two o’clock you know I am every day engaged—then, as our poor Helen has been very unwell, my afternoons were often

---

* See this volume, p. 389.  * Helene Demuth
spent in housework, besides which I have looked through several hundred newspapers, in order to make extracts from them to Moor of the financial swindling concerns etc.—(By the bye Overend and Gurney have just been acquitted.227 The bourgeoisie throughout the length and breadth of the land rejoice at the liberation of these ‘martyrs’, whom they declare to have been more sinned against than sinning. I shouldn’t be at all surprised if these thieves in broadcloth were one of these days returned to Parliament to legislate for their countrymen. The partiality of the Judge for the defendants was so glaring, that it struck even the obtuse jury, and on one occasion elicited a protest from them.)—You see I have excuses to offer for my silence. But nevertheless, I will admit, that though you were right in supposing that I do not bow down before a God of vengeance, I am just as little inclined to worship ein sanftes Lämmerschwänzchen.\(^a\) To prove to you that I am not in the habit of returning ‘good for evil’, I have condemned you as a punishment to eat a most indigestible compound—a truly English plum-pudding, for the performance of which feat, remission for all your sins shall be granted you.

All at home send you their best wishes for the New Year, in which I most heartily join. We were so sorry to hear of your illness, and trust that by this time you have quite recovered from the effects of it. Moor is in pretty good health at this moment, that is to say, comparatively speaking.—A few days ago Engels paid us a visit of a few hours. He was on his way to Barmen where he intends spending the Christmas days with his mother.\(^513\) He looked particularly well, and very happy at having effected his escape from the counting-house, in which he felt like a fish out of water. He works hard at his book on Ireland.\(^b\) Your questions concerning that book, I am unable to answer, being altogether ignorant as to its contents. I suppose it will be something of a pendant to The Condition of the Working-Class in England.\(^c\) It gave us much pleasure to see that you sympathize with us as regards the Irish question. We are all of us downright Fenians. On the day we received the news of Donovan’s\(^d\) election we all danced with joy—Tussy was quite wild.\(^466\)

You can imagine what consternation the intelligence of the election of a Fenian produced in England. At first the Press, with the exception of Reynolds’s and The National Reformer, could only

---

\(^a\) a sweet little lamb’s tail \(^b\) F. Engels, The History of Ireland. \(^c\) F. Engels, The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources. \(^d\) O’Donovan Rossa
shriek in chorus ‘A felon convicted has been elected—horror of horrors!’ Then having in concert rung the changes on those to them magical words, the hireling crew fell foul of each other—the Tory papers abused Gladstone, declaring this election to be the fruit of his policy—the Whig organs ranted on the subject of ingratitude and lamented the fate of a country in which messages of peace and good will were thus answered, in which treason flaunts itself in the daylight and the praises of murder are sung. The British government at once despatched thousands of soldiers to the Sister Isle. It must be admitted that as the Tories say, Gladstone’s measure of Church disestablishment has already borne fruit. Religious fanaticism is dying a natural death, the hostility of Catholics and Protestants is at an end, there is a split in the Orange camp and Orangemen, Ribbonmen and Fenians are uniting against their common enemy the British Government. Consequently the influence of the priests is vanishing, the Irish movement is no longer in their hands, in fact the election of Donovan Rossa was in direct opposition to the clerical party. For instance, these gentlemen being opposed to the release of the political prisoners, convoked meetings for the tinkering of some sort of land bill, which meetings were forcibly broken up by the people, who declared that they would come to no terms with the British Government, until the prisoners had been released. As the Government turned a deaf ear to amnesty meetings etc. the people elected Donovan Rossa, the Fenian, in defiance of the British Government and of the Irish professional agitators, lay and clerical, whose insincerity they had at last discovered.

Meanwhile the noblest Irish are pining in British dungeons. It is impossible to describe the sufferings of these men. Donovan Rossa had been at one time for 35 days kept in a dark cell with his hands manacled behind his back, night and day, and was not loosed even to take food—thin porridge—which was left for him on the floor of the cell. Altogether, my dear Doctor, England is at this moment a country of horrors. In the East End of London famine fever has broken out—in the workhouses the paupers are murdered wholesale. The doctors no longer satisfied with the corpses of the paupers are making their experiments on the living, and yet the time is still fresh in my memory when the English Press expressed the greatest indignation at the Practice of the vivisection of animals in France.

Last week a case happened in Wales, which makes one’s hair stand on end. A Welsh farmer had spread the report that his daughter, a girl of 12 years, had lived without food for two years.
Now though this poor Welshman received money for exhibiting his child, it is possible (in Wales the belief in witches etc. still exists) that he is half a lunatic and believed his tale. But that doctors of the first London hospitals should have done so, seems incredible. Be that as it may, they formed a commission and appointed nurses from Guy’s Hospital to go to Wales in order to watch this so-called fasting girl during a fortnight. Daily these same physicians issued bulletins to the public as to the girl’s state. For six days they kept her without food, and on the seventh the miserable child died. On the night before the child’s death, Doctor Davies told the father of the girl that there was no danger, and on being examined that gentleman declares, that he did not suggest food because he did not like to ‘offend’ the father. How very polite and considerate to be sure!

I will try to procure the whole case for you. It certainly does not give one a high opinion of the medical profession in England. I do believe that if a person were to declare that he can walk over red-hot iron-bars unhurt or jump out of a window, doctors would be found to investigate the matter. We shall return to the trials by ordeal one of these days! 680

With best wishes for the new year

Believe me, very sincerely yours

Jenny Marx

First published in Movimento Operaio, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

6

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, about 17 January 1870]

Dear Mr Engels,

Seldom can a hamper have arrived so à propos as that of yesterday. The crate had just been unpacked, and the 50 slim fellows were standing in rank and file in the kitchen when Dr Allen and his partner, a young Scots doctor, arrived to operate on
poor Moor, so that, immediately after the operation, Moor, and his two Aesculapii could refresh themselves with the delicious Braunenberger. The business was very bad this time. For 8 days we had applied all the remedies, compresses, *basilicum* etc., etc., that have so often been of help: but all in vain. The abscess steadily grew, the pain became unbearable, and no opening or discharge could be induced. It had to be lanced, so Moor finally decided to take the unavoidable step of calling in a doctor. Immediately after the very deep incision he felt great relief, and although he was not yet free of pain this morning, he is on the whole much much better, and will, we hope, have recovered in a few days. But now I must go into action against him with a whole register of sins. Since returning from Germany, and particularly since the Hanoverian campaign, he has been unwell, coughed continually, and instead of looking after himself, began to study Russian hammer and tongs, went out seldom, ate infrequently, and only showed the *carbuncle* under his arm when it was already very swollen and had hardened. Dear Mr Engels, how often in the past years have I wished that you had been here!! Some things would have been different. Now I hope that he will take this latest experience as a warning. Please, dear Mr Engels, don't make *any remarks* to him in your letters about this. He is very irritable at the moment, and would be very cross with me. But it has been a great relief to pour out my heart to you, since I am quite incapable of changing his lifestyle in any way. Perhaps it would be possible to speak to him seriously through Gumpert, when he comes to Manchester once again. He is the only doctor in whom he still has confidence. Dominant in our house at present is a general disdain for all medicine and all doctors; but they are still a necessary evil; you can't get along without them.

What do you say to the second New Year present with which Laura has presented us? I hope that the rapid pace will soon come to an end; otherwise we could sing

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6...
10 LITTLE NIGGER\(^b\) BOYS!

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

---

\(^a\) The reference is to the birth of the Lafargues' daughter (see this volume, p. 552). - \(^b\) See p. XXXVIII of the Preface.— *Ed.*
JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)
TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 January 1870

My dear Doctor,

I write these lines to tell you why Moor has not answered your letters. Since about three weeks he has had carbuncles under his arm, which were so painful that poor Moor was unable to move his arm. Twice the doctor cut them. This operation brought with it almost instantaneous relief. At the present moment I am happy to say, our dear patient is almost well again, though of course he still feels very weak, the necessary effect of the great strains he has suffered. Now that it is over I think it is a good thing the illness came to a crisis as Moor had been tormented by it for months past—you will remember he was anything but well at Hanover and in that state he continued up to the present time—sometimes a little better, sometimes worse.

Your correspondence with Jacoby amused him much. To judge from that venerable gentleman’s rambling answer, your letter to him must have hit pretty hard.

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to myself—the contents of which surprised me not a little and have made me very anxious to hear the final decision of the Philistines of the Künstler-Verein. Considering that this Verein is composed of the cream of Hanoverian society, the ‘cultivation’ of the Upper Classes, on the strength of which they consider themselves so much superior to the Working Classes, certainly is something to be mightily proud of! The only pity is that these blockheads have succeeded in annoying you and in robbing you of so much time.

I must ask you and dear Trautchen to forgive me for not having before this informed you of the advent of a little stranger in Lafargue’s family. On the second of January Paul announced to us the arrival of a girl in the rue du Cherche-Midi. She is exactly a year older than her brother, the birthdays of the children being on the same day. A few days ago Laura wrote us that she is much stronger.

---

a See the previous letter. b See this volume, p. 417. c Union of Artists. d Gertrud Kugelmann. e Charles Étienne Lafargue. There is a mistake in the original: ‘older’ instead of ‘younger’. f 1 January
Her letter was accompanied by a most interesting lot of French journals—the Marseillaise, Cloche, Réforme, Rappel and Pays. These journals give one a capital idea of the present state of France. The hubbub and excitement prevailing in the capital are incredible. All parties, nay all individuals are at loggerheads. Rochefort is at daggers drawn with his quondam friends and supporters Vermorel, Villemessant etc. etc. whom he openly denounces as mouchards, and they again in their organ, the Figaro, return tit for tat. As for the Banceis, Gambettas, Pelletans, Favres etc., that tribe of big-mouthed spouters of sonorous phrases have altogether vanished—they are no-where. Experience has taught the people what they have to expect from the bragging 'gauche'. Not one of them dared to show his face at Victor Noir's funeral or to raise his voice in the Chambers. Rochefort, supported by brave old Raspail, has annihilated them—doomed them to a living death. Whatever Liebknecht may say to the contrary, Rochefort reigns supreme at Paris, and the wisdom of his conduct in preventing a collision with the military on the day of the interment is now apparent to all. Were Liebknecht to read the Pays he would see that Cassagnac and consequently the Government do not disguise their rage at the fact—'que le peuple ne savait pas mourir pour ses convictions,' ‘qu'ils n'ont pas élevé dans l'air le drapeau rouge'. Formerly, shrieks the ferocious clown Cassagnac:

‘les révolutionnaires étaient des hommes de cœur, des hommes de principes qui se battaient pour des idées, et qui savaient bien que ni canons, ni fusils, ni bayonettes ne tiendraient devant la poitrine nue du peuple qui réclame son droit.’

These 'naked breasts' would indeed have been a feast for the cannons and chassepots of the Man of December, the more so, stationed as they were on the outskirts of Paris, where barricades could not be erected and where consequently the 100,000 soldiers would not, as in the narrow streets of Paris, have been exposed to a hand to hand scuffle with the people.—Then the Volksstaat also gives an incorrect account of the strike at Creuzot. It is not true that the workmen demand higher wages and a diminution of the hours of labour. They simply requested to have the management of their sick fund in their own hands and not in those of

---

\(a\) police agents - \(b\) left - \(c\) that the people did not manage to die for their convictions, that they did not raise the red banner - \(d\) 'the revolutionaries were brave people, people with principles, the people who fought for ideas and knew well that neither cannons nor rifles nor bayonets can resist the naked breasts of the people demanding their rights.' - \(e\) Napoleon III
M. Schneider, further that their fellow-workman Assy should not be sent away and that an under-master who had oppressed them, should be dismissed. These are the true causes of the strike. The French Government and the official press declare them to be due à l'excitation artificielle. M. Gérout, of the Opinion Nationale, montre les sociétés secrètes dominant, donnant des mots d'ordre et des consignes. These societies are of course, the International, from which Assy, the leader of the strike, is said to have received 55,000 frs. The Times reprints these statements and endorses them. Would they were true! It is a thousand pities the International cannot keep pace in its doings with the brilliant imaginings of these worthies.

It is a significant fact that some of the soldiers sent to Creuzot at once fraternized with the miners. Four of these soldiers are to be tried for having attempted to enlist their comrades in the people's cause.

In Yorkshire a strike has also taken place, the workmen claiming the management of their own sick fund and protesting against the refusal of the Employers to allow the men to combine. As ever since the year 1824 the right of combination has been legalised in England, the masters are in fact acting in direct opposition to the laws of the country, notwithstanding which the Government supplies them with soldiers to do their bidding.

The particulars of the strike are exactly like those of Creuzot—free constitutional England and despot-ridden France—do not differ—both countries have soldiers ready at hand to shoot down the men who have the courage to assert that they think they have intelligence enough to manage their own funds—their hard earned savings.

According to an estimate made by a correspondent to one of the English papers, staying at Creuzot,—the workmen lose by the strike 8,000£ a day (wages) whilst the loss to the masters is about 40,000£!!! a day.

Will you please give my best love to Trautchen and thank her for her letter. I will write to her very soon. Please also tell her that I must call upon her to hand over a certain little bracelet to 'Käuzchen', for whom it was destined. As she is a sworn foe of the Communists, she will know to appreciate my respect for private

---

a artificial excitement  b shows the omnipotence of secret societies providing slogans and instructions  c The reference is to the statement 'The Great Strike in France', The Times, 24 January 1870.  d Franziska Kugelmann
property. But joking apart I really should not like to see the 
bracelet on Trautchen’s arm—it is rather too ‘primitive’.

With Moor’s kindest regards to the Frau Gräfin, a Käuzchen und 
an den Mann von der plastischen Bewegung. b

I remain very sincerely yours

Jenny Marx

First published in Movimento Operaio, No. 2, Milan, 1955
Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

8

PAUL LAFARGUE TO MARX

IN LONDON

Paris, [18 April 1870]

My dear Mr Marx, c

I have just returned from the labour federation conference 
about which Laura wrote you in her letter. 627 All the sections of 
the International, all the labour groups and all the corporations 
were convoked 644; each group sent one or two delegates. There 
were at least 1,200 or 1,300 members of the International or 
delegates from different labour groups. The Rules which had 
been drawn up by a commission were adopted unanimously; 
except for paragraph 2 to which was added a new amendment, 
the gist of which is that all the sections would appoint substitute 
delegates who would be prepared to assume their functions should 
the government ever arrest the members of the Federal Council. 
This proves to you how far the working class has come along; 
your advice given in the Basle manifesto ‘if you want freedom you 
must take it’ was heeded and understood. 685 Thanks to the 
International, which, owing to the federal bureau of labour 
societies, has made enormous strides since the last elections, the 
working class has a sense of its power and wants to take action 
whatever the cost. The mutualist group 686 is shattered; it was not

a Gertrud Kugelmann - b and master of plastic movement (Ludwig Kugelmann). 
The reference is to the course of treatment advised by Kugelmann to Marx. - c Marx’s answer see on pp. 489-93 of this volume.
represented at the conference; it vigorously opposed all calls for federation. What was most encouraging about the assembly was the need for centralisation felt by all members as well as the acute and precise awareness the working class had of its individuality as a class and of its antagonism towards the bourgeoisie. As champion of class struggle, you would have enjoyed attending this rally. Following the Rules vote delegates spoke about the plebiscite and of the manner in which the working class ought to conduct itself; all the speakers were in favour of abstention but considered it an opportune time to draw up a manifesto. A commission was appointed of which I am a member. It met that same evening to discuss the manifesto’s groundwork, etc. The document should contain the following three main points:

1) The empire is not recognised as having the right to ask questions;

2) insofar as the empire represents the bourgeoisie, the people have nothing to do with the improvements of the imperial constitution;

3) the necessity of abstaining or casting a blank ballot must be impressed upon peasants. Appointed as literary editors were Tolain, Avrial, Paul-Laurent, etc... That’s what happened yesterday.

You must have seen in the Marseillaise the big notice of the French section, fortunately, however, it has as much influence here as a spit in the sea. When the Federal Council is constituted an order will be given to the Marseillaise not to print anything on the International without the authorisation of the Federal Council; you must know that the Marseillaise is at the mercy of the International and that if the latter ever placed its notices in the Réveil, the Marseillaise would die.

I could get myself appointed by any section as a member of the Federal Council but I believe it would be better if I were the representative of the London Council; would you like to appoint me next Tuesday representative of the Council to the Paris federation? The International has some invaluable members here; Varlin in particular has a talent for organisation and an influence which cannot be overestimated. Combault, delegate of the Vaugirard section is also an invaluable member; he is a most eloquent speaker, is adept at handling matters in a lively and amusing fashion and is liked even by those he lampoons. He has the wit of a Gaudissart. Thank you for your letter. I shall heed your advice but I do not believe that it will sway Verlet, who is more of an enthusiast than a tactician. As for my father, I
believe you will do well to speak to him in such a manner; it will be better for you, for him and for me.

You think that the pseudonym Paul-Laurent is altogether sentimental in origin; 'sentiment' does in fact play into it to a small degree, but there is more to it than that, as the following item published in the *Libre pensée* will prove to you.

'In our last issue we said that our collaborator Paul Lafargue, not wishing to be confused with the Lafargues of the *Figaro* and *Paris-faillite* stores, felt compelled [s'était senti forcé] to add the name Laurent. The inveterate wit of *Figaro*, a purist of broken French, informs us that the rules of syntax do not allow the figurative use of the verb 'to feel' [sentir]. Do not the words 'vil me sens' bring to mind in the Lafargue in question (Gustave) the name of a certain person (Villemessant)? At any rate the scholar Guguste, whose every lucubration is felt to reveal his character [sentent la terroir] should try hard to avoid appearing pedantic [sentent le pédant] if he does not want people to see just how ignorant he really is [qu'on ne sente trop son ignorance].'

Since the *Libre pensée* is a purely literary newspaper it will not be possible to publish the Rules in it, but once the Federal Council reprints the Rules I shall, if I am a member of it, oversee the operation most carefully; that will be more important.

Greetings to Williams (Jenny). I let Prudhomme in on the literary secret. I saw Franckel who is taking great pleasure in spreading it everywhere.

Greetings to all.

Heartily,

P. Lafargue

First published in *Novaya i noeishaya istoriya*, No. 5, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time
JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)
TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

[London,] 8 May 1870

Many many thanks my dear Mr and Mrs Kugelmann for the beautiful presents you have sent me. I don't know which delight me more—the engravings or the songs—my eyes and ears are equally busy. The studs have given Moor great pleasure, and indeed the flowers are most artistically worked. He is also delighted with the tapestry of Leibniz and has already given it a place in his study, where we have stuck it on the wall over the mantel-piece. Unfortunately the blue paper of the tapestry has injured the beautiful engraving representing the death of Caesar, having covered it with blue colour. Altogether the engravings have been damaged by the way in which they were packed,—Kaulbach's history is partly torn. However we hope, the picture-framer will be able to patch it up again. The box only reached its destination yesterday afternoon (Saturday) so it must have been a very long time travelling.

I also have to thank you—last though not least—for your kind letters and good wishes for my birthday. I was sorry to hear that you, dear 'doctor', are again unwell, and trust soon to have a better account. Moor also is far from well, having caught a very severe cold. All the other inmates of Modena Villa, four cats and dog included, are well, but in a great hubbub, in which they have been ever since last Sunday, when the news came from Paris that a plot against Bonaparte's life had been discovered. Of course you have seen from the German papers that the imbecile French government attempted at first to implicate the International in this affair, and that a great number of its members, forming the Paris and Lyons branches of the International, have been arrested. The flunkeys of the English and French press of course availed themselves of this opportunity to make furious onslaughts on the International and to call upon their respective governments to suppress that odious Association as the root of all evils. For all

---

a See this volume, p. 512. - b 7 May - c 1 May
that, the French government has however been obliged to declare that the International has nothing to do with the plot, and that its members are solely being prosecuted for the crime of belonging to an 'illicit society'. Moor has written a declaration, unanimously adopted by the General Council, in which he repudiates any complicity of the International in the affair.\textsuperscript{a}

According to the French government, M. Gustave Flourens is deeply implicated in the plot, and as that gentleman is in England, the French government has been secretly asking the English government to deliver him up; but Mr Gladstone, who is well aware that the doing so would cost him his premiership, (as it did Palmerston in the case of Simon Bernard\textsuperscript{b}), declares that the ministry can do nothing in the matter without further proofs of M. Flourens' culpability. But in reality there are no proofs against M. Flourens in the hands of the French government, for granted it be proved that he sent money to Paris for the purpose of arming the people with bombs in case an insurrection should break out, that does not imply that he had anything to do with the intended assassination of the Emperor. Last Sunday (my birthday) when the news of the discovered complot reached us M. Flourens was at our home—so you can imagine that my birthday was anything but a tranquil or a gay one. We did not know at the time but what M. Flourens might not be at once arrested. He is the son of the celebrated naturalist of that name and has himself written a book on Ethnography\textsuperscript{c} and delivered lectures at the Collège de France. He is a most extraordinary mixture of a savant and an homme d'action.\textsuperscript{d}

The good result of the plot is that it has forced the man of December\textsuperscript{e} to throw off his liberal mask and to show himself in his true colours. A system of blanche terreur\textsuperscript{f} prevails at Paris. Yesterday all the opposition papers were confiscated, the people are being goaded to a state of desperation. There is no knowing what will happen to-day.

I continue to write to the Marseillaise, several of my letters have been quoted in The Irishman, the national paper of Ireland.\textsuperscript{g} At present I am waiting for news from Ireland concerning the treatment of the political prisoners. If I do not soon receive an

\textsuperscript{a} K. Marx, Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p. 505. - \textsuperscript{c} G. Flourens, Histoire de l'homme. Cours d'histoire naturelle des corps organisés au Collège de France. - \textsuperscript{d} a scholar and a man of action - \textsuperscript{e} Napoleon III - \textsuperscript{f} white terror
answer I shall begin to think that the letter I have written to the wives of the prisoners has been intercepted by the British Government. Unluckily I signed my real name!

Post-time.

Kiss dear Fränzchen for me, my good Trautchen, and with ever so many thanks for your kindness

Believe me

Affectionately yours

Jenny

Mama and Tussy send their kindest regards—I forgot to tell you that Dr Gunz called upon us three times. He sent us tickets for several operas.

First published in *Movimento Operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Republished from the original

Published in English for the first time

10

JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 12 July 1870]

Tuesday evening

My dear Mr Engels,

I have just returned from a new journey of exploration, and hasten to report to you. I have now found a house, which charms all of us because of its wonderful open situation. Jenny and Tussy were with me, and both find it particularly nice. Because of its position and interior fittings it is naturally rather more expensive than Shrewsbury Villa, for which the man insists on £55. Our present house costs £60. *It is next to Primrose Hill*, so all the front rooms have the finest and openest view and air. And round about, in the side streets, there are shops of all sorts, so your wife will be able to buy everything herself. Now for the interior fittings. Basement, big attractive kitchen with large range. Next to this, a very spacious bathroom with large bathtub and *cheminée*,

---
a Franziska Kugelmann - b Gertrud Kugelmann - c fireplace
KITCHEN, cupboards of all kinds, COAL CELLAR, and a dungeon lying deeper, which although it has no flooring at present, could be a very good cool wine-cellar; a small, very small, garden, not bigger than for hanging out the washing, etc. Then rez-de-chaussée¹ 2 very nice rooms divided by folding doors; the back one has, instead of a window, a particularly charming GREENHOUSE or, if you like, double window, which makes the room very light and friendly. Bel étage,² in front—a very fine large room, next to it a smaller one, no folding doors. 2nd floor—3 BEDROOMS: 2 very roomy, the third rather smaller, all in full REPAIR. The two bottom rooms are just being papered. I think you could scarcely find a better house, and I am convinced your wife will like it very much. Its situation is just too cheerful and amusing. You scarcely need to leave the house to be in the open and see thousands of people.

It is naturally of the utmost importance that you and your wife see it for yourselves, and as quickly as possible, since a house situated as well as this one will certainly go quickly. But if it is not to your taste I have found another 2 nearby; but they are not situated in such a pleasant way. It would be best if your wife came with you right away and saw for herself. You know we shall be very happy to have her with us. Write straight away about it, so we know whether we should go on looking or whether you will be coming.

I would like to get these lines into the post this evening so that you might consider the matter in the course of the day.

Therefore, a hasty adieu from

Your

Jenny Marx

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

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

¹ ground floor  
² first floor
My dear Doctor,

I hope you do not think that laziness or negligence has had anything to do with my silence. The fact is, that I no sooner received your letter than I wrote to Mr Pigott, the editor of The Irishman to enquire of him where I could obtain a photograph of O'Donovan Rossa. Mr Pigott wrote to say that he was unable to give me any information on the subject (the British Government does not allow the portraits of the Fenians to be sold) but that he had sent my letter to Mrs Rossa, as that lady could perhaps procure for me a photograph of her husband. Now I have waited from day to day for a letter from Mrs Rossa—but in vain—and as I think it will be of no use to wait any longer, I write these lines to ask you whether the enclosed print,\(^a\) which appeared some time ago in The Irishman will be of any use to Mr Rissé? It certainly is a very bad likeness—but it is better than nothing.

It would be a thousand pities to give up the excellent plan of publishing Rossa's portrait. Its publication would greatly annoy John Bull—for the British Government dreads nothing so much as that its infamous treatment of the Fenian prisoners should become known on the Continent. Indeed, the Prison Enquiry is solely got up for the purpose of hushing up the unpleasant truths that were oozing out. On the eve of the Enquiry, the pretended object of which is to elucidate things, the prisoners are more closely guarded than ever, lest they might inform their friends of the treatment they are undergoing. A few days ago Mrs Luby, wife of one of the prisoners, visited her husband to bear to him the tidings of his mother's death, (grief for her son's sufferings hastened Mrs Luby's death) and though the unfortunate woman had not seen her husband since three years, she was not allowed to see him face to face without the intrusion of a jailor. Mrs Luby was led into one huge iron cage grated with heavy iron bars, Luby

\(^a\) At the beginning of the letter there is a note by Kugelmann: 'Rossa's portrait is missing'.
was brought from his cell to another cage grated also with heavy iron bars, apart from that in which the wife was detained. A jailor stood close beside the prisoner watchful, ready to interfere should he utter a word relative to the Prison treatment.

But poor Luby had no need to complain—his pallid, shrunk and shrivelled form spoke but too eloquently of a tale of horrors. The fact is that Mrs Luby did not even recognize her husband—so altered, and aged does he look. The friends of the prisoners being thus carefully excluded, the evidence of the prisoners suppressed, it is not difficult to guess that the whole commission will turn out to be a regular sham from beginning to end. As the governors, jailors, warders are to have it all their own way in the coming inquiry, the end of it all will be that the venal scribes of the press will be enabled to paint in glowing colours the amenities of English prison life and to brand the statements of O'Donovan Rossa as so many lies!

For the notes required for the preface of Mr Rissé's book I addressed myself to Engels who with his usual amiability and promptitude at once sent me the enclosed remarks which will I think prove of interest to the German public.

As regards Carlsbad I am sorry to say that thanks to that desperate gambler at Paris our long projected voyage has come to nothing. To travel without a passport is of course an impossibility in the present state of affairs and to obtain one equally out of the question. Even to naturalised Englishmen the British Government refuses passports. But Moor will himself write to you on the subject. Tell Trautchen I will also write to her in a few days to give vent to my disappointment—and please will you also tell that lady that I think she has grown unconscionably lazy. I have not heard from her for months.

What do you think of the war? We have not yet recovered from our surprise and indignation at the turn affairs have taken. It is not easy to reconcile oneself to the thought that instead of fighting for the destruction of the Empire, the French people are sacrificing themselves for its aggrandizement, that instead of hanging Bonaparte they are prepared to enroll themselves under his banner. Who could have dreamt of such things a few months ago when the Revolution in Paris seemed a fact. This revival of chauvinism in the 19th Century is indeed a hideous farce!

---

a F. Engels, *Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs.* - b Karlovy Vary - c Napoleon III - d Gertrud Kugelmann
It is time to post this long letter—so with best love to dear Trautchen and Fränzchen.¹
Believe me dear ‘Doctor’, very faithfully yours

Jenny Marx

First published in *Movimento Operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955
Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

¹ Franziska Kugelmann
NOTES

1 This letter was first published in English, in a slightly abridged form, in: Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx. Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—3

2 Engels visited Marx in London between 1 and 5 April 1868 to attend the wedding of Laura Marx and Paul Lafargue.—3, 5, 7, 10

3 Marx is referring to the Parliamentary elections to be held in November 1868 on the basis of the second Reform Bill of 1867. The law extended suffrage to people resident in town for a period of not less than 12 months and renting houses or flats for no less than £10. In the counties, the right to vote was granted to tenants with an annual income of above £12. Suffrage was granted to a section of skilled workers. However, it was not extended to Scotland and Ireland.—3, 375

4 Marx is referring to the stand of the British trade union leaders in the 1867-68 election campaign, when George Odger, William Cremer, George Potter et al. urged the workers to come to an understanding with the Liberals and in fact refused to draw up an independent and class-conditioned election programme. In the course of the elections, trade union leaders frequently withdrew their candidatures in favour of one election coalition or another with which they were affiliated. A case in point is George Odger, who was nominated in Chelsea (London).

During the 1868 election campaign, Liberal leader Gladstone publicly promised to settle the Irish question, which since the autumn of 1867 acquired a sharper edge due to a new upsurge of the national liberation movement in Ireland against British colonial oppression. He came out with the slogans ‘to pacify Ireland’ and ‘to reconcile England and Ireland’ and he also promised a church reform. In his speech in the House of Commons on 3 April 1868, Gladstone likened the Tory policies in Ireland to the conquest of England by the Normans (see The Times, No. 26090, 4 April 1868). Marx warned the leaders of the British labour movement against the dangerous influence of social demagogy inherent in the Liberals’ election platform on the Irish question. Trade union leaders, Lucraft in particular, actually supported bourgeois Radicals in their assessment of the Irish Fenians (see Note 86).—3
The reference is to Freiligrath's letter written on 3 April 1868, in which he thanks Marx for a copy of Volume One of *Capital* sent to him in September 1867 and congratulates him on his daughter Laura's marriage. The letter contained the following opinion of *Capital*: 'This is precisely the book one would wish to study, and its success has not been quick and loud in coming, but its hidden impact will be all the more profound and durable. I know that on the Rhine, many young merchants and factory-owners are delighted by your book. In that environment, it will attain its real purpose: for the scholars, it will be, apart from this, an indispensable source.'—4, 8

Marx has in mind his letter to Freiligrath of 20 July 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 397). In his reply, dispatched the same day, Freiligrath avoided giving a direct answer to Marx's question.

Late in April 1867, a committee was set up in London to collect donations for Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had found himself without means of subsistence owing to the closing down of the London branch of the Banque Générale Suisse of which he was manager. On 25 and 26 April, the committee, which was made up of German petty-bourgeois émigrés, appealed 'to all friends of German poetry' in England and other countries for a subscription. Similar committees were set up in many German towns and in New York. Accounts of the progress on the subscription were published by the *Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London*.—4, 373

Engels is probably referring to the letter Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote to him on 29 March 1868.—5, 8

In his letter to Engels of 25 February 1868 Otto Meissner requested assistance in drawing up a publisher's advertisement announcing the publication of Volume One of *Capital* so as 'to break silence through powerful advertisement'. Simultaneously, Otto Meissner sent notices containing the table of contents to about thirty newspapers.—5, 37

The reason for these opinions of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published by Wilhelm Liebknecht was probably the anonymous article 'Märzgedanken', printed in No. 13 on 28 March 1868. Reviewing the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany, its author (in all probability, Liebknecht himself) exaggerated the contribution of petty-bourgeois democrats to the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, specifically, of Gustav Struve, a leader of the Baden uprisings and Liebknecht's friend. For Engels' opinion of these events, see his works 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' and 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany' (see present edition, Vols. 10 and 11).—5

Engels is referring to the article 'Auswanderung und Bürgerrecht', in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 14 of 4 April 1868, on the treaty between the North German Confederation and the USA on the citizenship of German émigrés. The draft agreement was discussed in April 1868 in the North German Reichstag.

The *North German Confederation* (Norddeutscher Bund) existed from 1867 to 1870 as a federative state under the aegis of Prussia. It was set up on the initiative of the Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck after Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866 and the disintegration of the German Confederation.—6

A reference to Engels' intention to write a review of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review* to which Professor Beesly was a contributor. (see Marx's letter to Engels of 8 January 1868, present edition, Vol. 42). While
working on the review, Engels wrote out excerpts from *Capital*, which later made up a synopsis (see Note 26). The review was written around 20 May-1 June 1868, but rejected by the editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 20).—6, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 44, 47, 50, 52, 54, 70, 73, 74, 81, 138

12 Paul and Laura Lafargue wrote to the Marx family about their life in France. (Letters of Laura and Paul Lafargue to Karl Marx and his daughter Jenny, of 3 April 1868; to Jenny of 6 April 1868; of Laura Lafargue to her sister Jenny of 9 April 1868; and to her sister Eleanor of the same date).—7, 9

13 Marx is referring to his articles of 1856-57 for the *New York Daily Tribune* on the French joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier—'The French Crédit Mobilier' (a series of articles) and 'Crédit Mobilier' (see present edition, Vol. 15).—7

14 A reference to the speculative machinations of the Scottish economist and financier John Law in France between 1716 and 1720; he dealt with the issue of securities and the foundation of joint-stock trading companies. The bank which he founded in 1716, and later transferred to the French Government, as well as a number of companies for trade with foreign countries, went bankrupt in 1720.—7

15 The reference is to Johann Baptist Schweitzer's review of Volume One of *Capital* anonymously printed in twelve issues of *Der Social-Demokrat* between 22 January and 6 May 1868, under the heading 'Das Werk von Carl Marx'. For Marx's opinion of this review, see his letter to Engels of 23 March 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42).—8, 11, 13, 61

16 In March and April 1868, 3,000 building workers were on strike in Geneva. They demanded that the working day be reduced to ten hours, wages be raised, and payment by the day be substituted by payment by the hour. On the initiative of the Central Committee of the International's Geneva sections, the workers in other industries rendered assistance to the strikers.

In 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' to the Brussels Congress of 1868 written by Marx it is stated: 'In the struggle maintained by the building trades of Geneva the very existence of the International in Switzerland was put on its trial. The employers made it a preliminary condition of coming to any terms with their workmen that the latter should forsake the International. The working men indignantly refused to comply with this dictate' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 16).

The victory of Geneva workers was made possible by the solidarity action organised by the General Council in England, France and Germany.—8, 11, 14, 94, 199, 209

17 François Graglia, member of the Committee of the Geneva Section of the International, was sent to Paris and London to arrange financial aid for the Geneva building workers who had gone on strike. He stayed in London from 6 to 9 April, attended meetings of the French Section and the General Council, and, accompanied by Hermann Jung, visited a number of workers' societies.—8

18 The bronze workers of Paris went on strike in February 1867 when, in response to their demand for fixed tariffs, their employers insisted that they dissolve their credit société, Société de crédit et de solidarité des ouvriers du bronze. Thanks to the General Council, which discussed the matter at its meetings of 5, 12, 19 and 26 March and 2 and 9 April 1867 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 101-03, 105-06, 107, 108), Paris workers received financial aid from the British trade
unions. The strike ended in a victory for the bronze workers, who managed to preserve their organisation. The employers agreed to introduce fixed rates for individual types of work.—8

19 The part of the letter intended for Laura was written by Marx in English. It was published for the first time in English, in an abridged form, in Annali dell' Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milano, 1958.—9

20 An allusion to Laura's work as Marx's secretary before her marriage.—9

21 Marx jokingly refers to Borkheim's letters written on 2 and 7 April 1868 as 'scribaille', a word that Borkheim had borrowed from Herzen's unsigned article in the French edition of the Kolokol (La Cloche), No. 6, 1 April 1868, prompted by an anonymous publication in St. Petersburg's Birzheviye Vedomosty (Stock-Exchange News), Nos. 307 and 310, 15 and 18 November 1867. Borkheim quoted Herzen in his letter of 2 April. He decided to use Liebknecht's Demokratisches Wochenblatt to attack Herzen and applied to Marx for certain linguistic information. Borkheim carried out his intention in the article 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa. III' (see Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nos. 17, 20, and 25 April and 16 May 1868).—9

22 Guillaumin & Co.—a book-publisher in Paris dealing in literature on economics.—9

23 The part of Marx's letter of 11 April 1868 addressed to Paul Lafargue was written in German.—10

24 The events in the Charleroi coalfields occurred in the spring of 1868. In response to the mine-owners' decision to reduce production to four days a week and lower the wages by ten per cent, the workers declared a strike. On 26 March, violent clashes took place between the workers and the police. Twenty-two people were arrested and put on trial. The Belgian Section of the International launched a wide campaign to support the strikers both in Belgium and abroad. It organised protest meetings and gave wide coverage of the events in La Tribune du Peuple, La Liberté and other papers. On 12 April it issued a manifesto to the workers of Belgium and other countries (see La Tribune du Peuple, No. 4, 19 April 1868). The Section maintained regular contacts with the General Council. The Charleroi events were discussed at the Council meetings of 21 April, 12 May and 2 June 1868 (see The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes). The Brussels Section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the detainees. The lawyers managed to swing public opinion in favour of the defendants and on 15 August all of them were acquitted by the jury. This led to a rise in the membership of the International in Belgium.

For the Geneva strike of building workers see Note 16.

From 14 to 17 April 1868 a general strike took place in Bologna. The workers demanded that the income tax be cut down and distributed more fairly. A number of meetings and a demonstration were held. Troops were summoned to disperse the demonstration and numerous arrests were made.—11, 62

25 A reference to the newspaper reports on Eichhoff's lectures on the causes of modern trade crises ('Die Ursachen der Handelsstockungen der Gegenwart'), which he delivered in Berlin in February-May 1868. In them, he quoted Capital and the Manifesto of the Communist Party, and used material that Marx had sent him. Eichhoff's lectures did a great deal to advertise Volume One of Capital in
Germany. The reports were printed in *Die Zukunft* and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.—11, 37

26 The 'Synopsis of Volume One of *Capital* by Karl Marx' made by Engels in the spring and summer of 1868 is extant as a manuscript covering about two thirds of the book, including the chapter 'Machinery and Large-Scale Industry' (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 263-308, and this volume, Note 11).—11

27 A reference to Ludwig and Gertrud Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 8 April 1868, in which they expressed their joy at the prospect of Marx's visit to Germany.—12

28 Kugelmann, who corresponded with the noted German natural scientist Rudolf Virchow on certain questions of medicine, tried to get him interested in Marx's *Capital*.—12

29 The full English translation of this letter was first published in: *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—12, 48, 56, 67, 82, 130, 144, 173, 184, 213, 231, 278, 317, 337, 359, 433, 466, 475, 527

30 This refers to the appeal 'Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Zuruf an alle Arbeiter deutscher Sprache' for rendering material aid to the building workers of Geneva who had gone on strike, drawn up by Johann Philipp Becker on the instructions of the Central Authority of the German-language sections' group. It was published in Geneva on 11 April 1868.

On the strike of Geneva building workers, see Note 16.—14

31 Marx refers to the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' featured in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 15, 11 April 1868, edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht, in which Marx's book *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17) was described as 'containing much that is edifying' and 'systematically silenced by the German press'.—15

32 The subjects listed by Marx were dealt with in the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 16, 18 April 1868.—16

33 This letter was published in English for the first time in an abridged form in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, Lawrence LTD, (1934).—16, 20, 89, 152, 154, 163, 235, 306, 342, 353, 362, 369, 387, 418


35 Engels is probably referring to the editorial 'Politische Uebersicht' in Liebknecht's *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 15, 11 April 1868, which quoted Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag commission on debts: 'Since you refuse to pass a state law on debts, not recognising the Reichstag's right independently to lodge complaints against officials at the debt collection department,—well, then there will be no law on debts, and we shall be unable to raise a loan for the Navy.'—19

36 As a result of the victory in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, in which the Kingdom of Hanover fought on the side of Austria, Prussia annexed Hanover in September of that year and turned it into a province, to which the operation of the Prussian constitution was extended in 1867. George V, King of Hanover, fled to Austria, where he attempted to head a movement against affiliation
with Prussia. He failed and, on 1 February 1868, had to sign a treaty with Prussia under which he agreed to abdicate for a certain compensation. However, as early as 2 March 1868, the Prussian government passed a resolution on the confiscation of the ex-King of Hanover’s property and lands.—19, 221

A reference to the first session of the Customs Parliament held between 27 April and 23 May 1868.

The Customs Union Parliament—the guiding body of the Customs Union reorganised after the war of 1866 and the signing, on 8 July 1867, of a peace treaty between Prussia and the South German states, which provided for the establishment of this body. The Parliament comprised members of the North German Confederation’s Reichstag and deputies from the South German states: Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. Bebel and Liebknecht were the two workers’ deputies in it. It was to deal exclusively with issues of trade and customs policies; Bismarck’s intention gradually to widen its jurisdiction by encompassing political questions was met with stubborn opposition from the South German representatives (see Note 62).—20

The German People’s Party (Deutsche Volkspartei) was set up in 1865 and encompassed the democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and part of the bigger bourgeoisie, chiefly from South and Central German states. As distinct from the National-Liberals, it opposed Prussia’s supremacy and advocated the plan for the establishment of the so-called Great Germany incorporating both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy, the People’s Party voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states. It was against Germany’s unification as a single centralised democratic republic, advocating the idea of a federative German state.

In 1866, the German People’s Party was joined by the Saxon People's Party, whose nucleus consisted of workers. This left wing of the German People’s Party had, in effect, nothing in common with it except anti-Prussian sentiments and the wish jointly to solve the problems of national unification in a democratic way. Subsequently, it developed along socialist lines. The main section of the Party broke away from the petty-bourgeois democrats and took part in founding the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party in August 1869.—20, 102, 231, 242, 257, 299, 304, 308, 313, 324, 428, 478, 513

A reference to the female suffrage meeting held in Manchester on 14 April 1868. It was reported by The Bee-Hive Newspaper (No. 340, 18 April 1868).—20

Paul and Laura Lafargue returned to London from Paris about 25 April 1868, and on 30 April moved into a flat rented for them on Primrose Hill (see Marx’s letter to Engels of 30 April 1868, this volume, p. 25).—20

After the first publication of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy appeared in 1859, Marx produced a lengthy economic manuscript throughout 1861-63, which was a second rough draft of Capital (the first was the manuscripts of 1857-58). In 1863, he evolved the final plan for a four-book work, the first three books theoretical and the fourth, a historical and critical one. Having finished work on the manuscripts of 1861-63, Marx began preparing them for the press in August 1863.

This work from 1863-65 resulted in the third rough draft of Capital, three books of a theoretical character. The notes for the fourth book, the Theories of Surplus-Value, were incorporated in the manuscripts of 1861-63. Later, having
completed work on them, Marx went back to the first book. On Engels' advice, he decided it should appear first. Preparation for the press continued throughout 1866 and most of 1867. The first German edition of the first book appeared in September 1867 as Volume One of *Capital*. Under the plan agreed upon with Meissner, the publisher, the second and third books (devoted to the circulation of capital and the process of capitalist production as a whole) were to appear as Volume Two, while the fourth book on the history of economic theories was to be Volume Three of *Capital*.

Marx, however, had not completed the preparation of the last books of *Capital* for the press. After his death, this was done by Engels, who published Marx's manuscripts relating to the second and third books as volumes Two and Three of *Capital* (1885 and 1894). Engels also intended to prepare for the press and publish as Volume Four of *Capital* the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book, but did not have time to do this in his lifetime. This edition presents this book of *Capital* as part of the *Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63*, (volumes 30-34) while Volumes One, Two and Three of *Capital* are to be found in volumes 35, 36 and 37 of the present edition respectively.—21, 30, 61, 68, 119, 232, 234, 259, 408, 528, 545

42 In the first manuscript of the third book of *Capital* written by Marx in 1864-65, the entire text is divided into seven long chapters. After Marx's death, while preparing the manuscript for the press, Engels substituted this division by division into parts. In Volume Three of *Capital*, published by Engels in 1894, the chapter mentioned in the letter corresponds to Part II 'Conversion of Profit into Average Profit' (see present edition, Vol. 37).—24

43 The first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867) considers the changes in the structure of capital mentioned here in the c) section of Chapter VI, 'Das allgemeine Gesetz der Kapitalistischen Accumulation'. Corresponding to this section in the second (1872) and subsequent German editions of Volume One, is Chapter XXIII of Part VII. Corresponding to this material in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels is Chapter XXV, Part VII, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—24

44 Here productive capital means industrial capital, as distinct from merchant capital. Later, Marx evolved a special definition of productive capital in Part I of Volume Two of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).—24

45 Marx's reference is to the erroneous tenet of Adam Smith's theory (see A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Ed., 1776, Book I, Ch. 6) generally shared by bourgeois political economists according to which the value, and consequently the price of the commodity is reducible to neat revenue and does not include fixed capital. Marx criticised 'A. Smith's dogma' in Part III of *Capital's* Volume Two (present edition, Vol. 36).—25

46 On 26 April 1868, Victor Schily asked Marx for his biographical data which J. J. E. Reclus needed for his review of Volume One of *Capital* for La Cooperation newspaper. Marx's reply to Schily has not been found.—25, 28

47 The reference is to the trial by the Central Criminal Court from 28 to 30 April 1868 of three Fenians (see Note 86), including Richard Burke, an organiser of the abortive Fenian uprising of 1867. Ernest Jones and Macdonald were the defence counsel for Burke. For a detailed report on the trial, see The Times, nos. 26111-26113, 29 and 30 April, and 1 May 1868.—26
In his letter of 29 April 1868, Johann Baptist Schweitzer requested Marx to define the position of the workers' party on the bill on reducing taxes for pig iron to be discussed in the Reichstag. Enclosed with the letter were the clippings 'Jahresbericht der Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen' and 'Ein Circular der Herren Fabrikanten Funcke und Hück' (Annual Reports of the Elberfeld and Barmen Chambers of Commerce and the Circular of Messrs Factory Owners Funcke and Hück) (Hagen, 23 April). Marx quoted them when drafting a reply to Schweitzer. Having received Engels' notes on this question (see p. 29 of this volume) Marx replied to Schweitzer probably on 7 May (the letter has not been found). In his article 'An die Mitglieder des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins (die Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle betreffend)' published by Der Social-Demokrat on 13 May 1868, Schweitzer referred to Marx as 'the outstanding scientific authority of our trend'. The article also reprinted the above-mentioned documents in full. In his letter to Marx of 13 May 1868, in which this article was enclosed, Schweitzer thanked Marx for 'precious judgement'.—26, 28, 30

A reference to the article featured by the Mannheimer Zeitung reviewing Volume One of Capital. It was not signed and was probably promoted by Siebel.—28, 74

In his letter to Liebknecht, which has not come down to us (see Engels' letter to Marx of 13 March 1868, present edition, Vol. 42), as well as in his review of Volume One of Capital for the Demokratisches Wochenblatt published on 21 and 28 March 1868, Engels advised the worker deputies to make 'themselves thoroughly conversant with' Capital, which would supply them with the necessary material for the debate on new handicraft trades Regulations in the Reichstag (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 336).

The draft regulations were discussed in the Reichstag in the spring of 1869 and were approved on 29 May (see Note 324).—30

A reference to the spinning mill industry statistics for 1860 cited on page 186 of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital. Preparing the second German edition which appeared in 1872, Marx used additional information supplied by Engels (see Note 59), cited exact data and corrected a number of factual mistakes which the first edition contained (see present edition, Vol. 35).—30, 36

Marx's letter to Joseph Dietzgen dated 9 May 1868, is not extant in full. The date has been established on the basis of Dietzgen's reply written on 20 May. Eight years later, Dietzgen had his article 'Sozialdemokratische Philosophie' printed by Der Volksstaat newspaper (No. 3, 9 January 1876), in which he quoted the excerpt given here.—31

The Royal Society (The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge), the oldest British learned society founded in 1660 and endorsed by the Royal Charter in 1662. Publishes the journals Philosophical Transactions (since 1665) and Proceedings of the Royal Society (since 1800).—33

A reference to the scandalous court trial in Austria in May 1868. Baroness Julia Ebergenyi, mistress of Count Chorinsky, was charged with the murder of Chorinsky's wife. The letters from Chorinsky to Ebergenyi, which featured as evidence at the trial, gave reason to suspect Chorinsky of complicity.—34

Marx is probably referring to the incident described by Plutarch in his Vita parallelae.

Decurions — members of city councils originally existing in the urban communities of Italy dependent on Rome, and later, under the empire, in all towns in the provinces; were in charge of distribution and collection of taxes, renting town lands, expenditure of public money, etc. — 35

Marx's letters to the Philips family, his mother's relatives, written around 15 February and 5 March 1868 (see Marx's letters to Engels of 15 February and 6 March 1868, present edition, Vol. 42), have not been found. — 35

The extant notebook II of Marx's economic manuscripts of 1861-1863 (see MEGA², II/3.1, S. 143) suggests that the information mentioned in this letter was received by Marx from Engels in August-September 1861 during his stay in Manchester. Page 87 of this notebook contains a phrase, 'Suggested by Engels...'. The figures cited further completely tally with the examples on page 186 of Volume One of the first edition of Capital which appeared in 1867. However, this phrase is absent in the notebook Marx kept since April 1860 and until February-May 1863. — 36

These letters from Marx to Wilhelm Eichhoff have not been found. — 36

An allusion to the rumour that, having returned to Germany in 1867 after a long period of emigration, Wilhelm Eichhoff had abandoned politics and refused on these grounds to join the political campaign against Stieber waged by Liebknecht in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt between April and June 1868. However, as early as May, Liebknecht informed Borkheim that Eichhoff had promised to let him have the necessary anti-Stieber materials. The content of Liebknecht's letters was known to Marx. His associates began to distrust Eichhoff even more after he had been seen in the company of Berlin police officers, and especially after his speech at the inaugural meeting of the Democratic Workers' Society, which appeared in Die Zukunft newspaper in distorted form and was later reprinted by the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 43, 24 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 151, 153). Marx had done a great deal to clear Eichhoff's name. On Marx's request, Eichhoff wrote to him on 31 October-1 November giving full explanations which convinced Marx of his dedication to the cause of revolution (see also Marx's letter to Engels of 16 April 1869). — 36, 266

Marx is referring to a Protest signed by representatives of South German states and four members of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation (see Note 10) on 7 May 1868. The authors opposed Bismarck's intention to expand the competence of the Customs Union Parliament (see Note 37) by stretching it to cover political issues. The text was printed by the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 20, 16 May 1868. — 38

Engels refers to Lasker's speech at the first session of the Customs Union Parliament held on 18 May 1868 (on the Customs Union Parliament, see Note 37). — 38

Marx is referring to Chapter II 'Die Verwandlung von Geld in Kapital' of the first German edition of Capital, Volume One. In the second and subsequent
German editions, it corresponds to Part II, and in the English edition of 1887, to Part II, Chapters IV-VI (see present edition, Vol. 35).—39

65 A reference to Chapter I 'Waar e und Geld' of the first German edition of Capital, Volume One. Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions, as well as in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels, is Part I (see present edition, Vol. 35).—39, 68

66 A reference to the champions of the so-called 'currency principle', a trend in bourgeois political economy advocating the quantitative theory of money. Jones Lloyd (Lord Overstone), Robert Torrens, George Arbuthnot and other representatives of this school maintained that the value and price of commodities are determined by the quantity of money in circulation, that the guarantee of stable currency is the obligatory backing of banknotes by gold and that their issue is regulated according to the import and export of precious metals, regarding violation of these 'laws' as the decisive cause of economic crises. The attempt of the British Government to rely on the 'currency principle' theory (Bank Act of 1844, etc.) failed, thus proving its scientific groundlessness and its impracticability (see critique of this theory in Marx's A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, present edition, Vol. 29).—39

67 Marx lectured on wages in the London German Workers' Educational Society on 20 May 1868. 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 Communist League had been founded, the leading role in the Society belonged to the League's local communities. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work. But on 17 September 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed work in the Educational Society. At the time of the First International, the Society functioned as its German Section in London. It existed up to 1918 when it was closed down by the British government.—40, 166

68 Marx and his daughter Eleanor stayed with Engels in Manchester from 29 May to about 15 June 1868.—42, 45, 49, 52, 58

69 Silesian wars—in historical writings, the wars waged by Prussia against Austria for Silesia (which belonged to Austria). As a result of the First (1740-42) and Second (1744-45) Silesian wars, which formed part of the European war for Austrian succession, the most of Silesia was captured by Prussia. Austria's attempts to recover the territory in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), sometimes referred to as the Third Silesian War, were futile.—42

70 The Lausanne Congress of the International in 1867 designated Brussels as the venue of the next general congress (1868). However, since the Belgian Chamber of Deputies had renewed the Aliens Law of 1835, under which any foreigner could be expelled from the country as politically unreliable, Marx raised the issue of not meeting in Brussels at the General Council sitting of 26 May 1868 (see The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 346, 30 May 1868). The resolution on the transfer of the site of the Congress to London drawn up by Marx was read at the Council sitting of 2 June (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 6).
The speech made in the Chamber of Deputies by the Belgian Minister of Justice Jules Bara on 16 May 1868, in which he urged the deputies to abolish the convocation of the congress in Brussels, the protest of the Brussels Section of the International evoked by this speech and printed in the Tribune du Peuple No. 5, 24 May 1868, and the letters of De Paepe and Vandenhouven, the leaders of the Brussels Section, prompted Marx to propose a new resolution at the General Council’s sitting of 16 June, under which Brussels remained the venue for the next annual congress. The text of the resolution was included in the Minutes of the General Council meeting of 2 June 1868, and was also printed by The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 347, 6 June 1868.—43, 45

71 Engels did not carry out his intention to write a second review of Capital for The Fortnightly Review.—44, 53, 74

72 A reference to the French Section of the International in London, founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian elements (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue), the branch included representatives of the petty-bourgeois émigrés (Le Lubez, Pierre Vésinier and later Félix Pyat). See also this volume, p. 62 and Note 89.—45, 62, 63, 75, 78, 83, 91, 173, 272, 481, 488, 497

73 Marx is referring to the General Council of the First International which, up to the end of 1866, was usually referred to as the Central Council.—45, 82, 102, 161, 228, 275, 341, 396, 445, 449, 475, 488, 497

74 The Brussels newspaper La Cigale, No. 25, 21 June 1868, carried a piece by Pierre Vésinier from London, 'Bulletin du travailleur', which featured in a distorted way the debate on changing the place of the International’s congress at the 9 June General Council meeting and contained slanderous attacks on Hermann Jung and Eugène Dupont, the Council members. In this connection on 22 June the central section in Brussels unanimously decided not to accept responsibility for Pierre Vésinier’s article, and to voice the protest against making public the internal affairs of the International. The protest of the Belgian Section was printed in La Cigale, No. 26, 28 June 1868.—45

75 Marx paraphrases a passage from Hegel’s Phänomenologie des Geistes (see G. W. F. Hegel, Sämtliche Werke, in 20 Bde., Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1927, S. 270-71).—46

76 The Schiller Institute, founded in Manchester in November 1859 in connection with the centenary of Friedrich Schiller’s birth, was conceived as a cultural and social centre of the city’s German colony. At first Engels was critical of a society notorious for its tendency towards formalism and pedantry, and he kept aloof from it. But after certain amendments had been made to its Rules, he became a member of its Directorate in 1864, and later its President, devoting much time to it and exercising a considerable influence on its activities. In 1867-68, Engels was particularly occupied with its affairs since a new building was under construction. While Engels was away from Manchester in 1868, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who was connected with Bonapartist circles and had been casting aspersions on the proletarian revolutionaries, to give a lecture at the society. In view of this Engels decided that his political reputation would be compromised if he remained President (see this volume, p. 100 and present edition, Vol. 21, p. 18). On 2 October the secretary Davison approached Engels on behalf of the Directorate asking him to reconsider his decision, but Engels refused. In April 1870 he was again elected member of the Directorate, but did not take an active part in its work.—46, 64, 100, 113, 345, 526
Marx is referring to his stay with the Kugelmanns in Hanover from around 17 April to 15 May 1867. He visited them after his talks with Otto Meissner in Hamburg about the publication of Volume One of *Capital.*—48, 158

Engels' letters to Eleanor Marx have not been found.—49, 75

A reference to the collection of material for Wilhelm Eichhoff's work on the history of the International Working Men's Association, its foundation, organisation, political and social activity and growth: *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung.* Wilhelm Eichhoff conceived it in the summer of 1868 when his brother Albert, a publisher, planned to put out a Workers' Calendar for 1869. Wilhelm Eichhoff proposed to write a leading item on the establishment, development and activity of the International Working Men's Association. On 6 June 1868, he informed Marx of his intention and asked him to send the necessary material and help him with the article. As early as 27 June Marx sent to Berlin a great number of documents of the Association, newspaper clippings and his own notes. In his reply of 29 June Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material and informed him that he was going to use his notes word for word and supplement and expand them as advised by Marx. Eichhoff's work grew into a pamphlet because of the abundance of material. It was written with Marx's direct assistance. Eichhoff's letters show that as his work progressed, Marx answered his numerous questions, gave advice, made suggestions, and wrote certain parts of the pamphlet. From 12 to 22 July 1868, Marx edited the pamphlet and read the proofs. On 29 July the work was completed and the edition came out in August (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 322).—50, 80

This letter was first published in English in full in: *The Letters of Karl Marx.* Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1979.—51, 111, 171, 314, 355

The article has not been found.—53

In his letter of 29 June 1868 Eichhoff thanked Marx for the material for his pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung* (see Note 79), and told him about an unsigned review of Volume One of *Capital* published by the *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte* (see Note 83).—55


The letter in question has not been found.—55, 78, 109, 121, 127, 151, 153, 166, 169, 189, 202, 211, 217, 222, 223, 224, 229, 249, 256, 258, 262, 266, 267

A reference to the bourgeois peasant reform of 1861 in Russia which abolished serfdom and launched the development of capitalism. Under the Manifesto and the Statute on the Peasants Leaving the State of Serfdom signed by Alexander II on 19 February 1861, the peasants were granted personal freedom and the right to dispose of their property; the system of land ownership was preserved, and the peasants had to pay for the land allotments they received. Until the payment had been made, they remained 'under
temporary duty' and had to make payments in kind or do corvée for the landowner. (See Marx’s opinion of the Reform, then in the state of preparation, in ‘The Emancipation Question’, present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 139-47).—55

86 Fenians—Irish revolutionaries who took their name from the warriors of Ancient Erin. The first Fenian organisations were founded in the 1850s in the USA and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising.

The Fenians, who represented the interests of the Irish peasantry (see Marx’s letter to Engels, 30 November 1867, present edition, Vol. 42), came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and adhered to conspiratorial tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals (see Note 452).—57, 224

87 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—58

88 The London German Workers’ Educational Society (see Note 67) jointly with certain other organisations in London held annual gala evenings to mark the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat; members of the General Council also took part in these gatherings.—62

89 At a public meeting in Cleveland Hall, London, held on 29 June 1868, Félix Pyat read out an address, allegedly received by him from the secret society La commune révolutionnaire de Paris and moved a provocative resolution declaring the assassination of Napoleon III as the sacred duty of every Frenchman. The resolution was published by The Bee-Hive, No. 351, 4 July 1868. In response, at its meeting of 7 July, the General Council, on Marx’s proposal, resolved to disavow Pyat’s behaviour in a resolution to this effect (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). When the General Council Resolution appeared in the press, a split took place in the French Section in London (see Note 72). Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue expressed their disapproval of Pyat’s adventurist and provocative tactics and withdrew from it (see this volume, p. 78). Pyat’s group lost contact with the International but continued to act on its behalf and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements opposing Marx’s line in the General Council. On 10 May 1870 the General Council officially dissociated itself from this group (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).—62

90 The letter of the Brussels committee of 23 June 1868 reported on the decision of the central section in Brussels concerning Vésinier’s piece in La Cigale, No. 25, 21 June 1868. It was read out at the General Council meeting on 7 July 1868 (see Note 74).—62

91 A reference to the members of the second bureau of the Paris sections of the International (Combaut, Varlin, Landrin, Malon, Molin, Granjon and others) who were sentenced to imprisonment. In March 1868, they had been elected to replace the 15 previously arrested members of the first bureau (on the court trial over the members of the first bureau, see Marx’s letters to Engels, 8 and 11 January 1868, present edition, Vol. 42). The members of the second bureau were kept at the Paris Saint-Pelagie prison after they were brought to trial for the second time on 22 May 1868 on the pretext that no official permission had
been granted for membership of the new Paris bureau. The defendants were sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine.—62

92 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form 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.—65

93 A reference to Kugelmann's intention to write to Faucher about the review of Capital (see Note 83). Marx ironically likens Faucher to Mannequin Piss (manneken-Pis), the well-known statue of a boy on the 17th-century fountain in Brussels executed by the Flemish sculptor F. Duquesnoy.—65, 68

94 Joseph Dietzgen's article '‘Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie’ von Karl Marx. Hamburg, 1867' was sent by Marx to Liebknecht and published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt in No. 31 (supplement) and nos. 34, 35 and 36 of 1, 22 and 29 August and 5 September 1868.—65, 70

95 Demagogues in Germany were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision against the intrigues of the 'demagogues'.—66

96 Marx gave a more detailed analysis of Schmalz's views in his economic manuscripts of 1861-63 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' (see present edition, Vol. 31).—67


98 Together with a letter of 9 July 1868, Kugelmann sent Marx a copy of the newspaper Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland of 4 July 1868, which contained an unsigned review of Volume One of Capital, analysed by Marx in the present letter. Kugelmann also sent Marx his letter to Faucher written in connection with the review in the Vierteljahrschrift... (see Note 83).—67

99 Marx gave a critique of the views of the French vulgar economist Bastiat and his German followers in the afterword to the second German edition (1872) of Volume One of Capital and elsewhere in that volume (see present edition, Vol. 35).—68

100 Marx's idea was that the chapter on vulgar political economy should conclude the fourth, historical-critical part of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 32). The material containing a critique of vulgar bourgeois political economy was first used by Marx in his manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 41).—68

101 In his letter of 9 July 1868, Kugelmann asked for Marx's opinion of his intention to publish Schweitzer's review of Volume One of Capital as a pamphlet. The review appeared in Der Social-Demokrat between January and May 1868 (see Note 15).—69

102 Ernest Jones was nominated for the Parliamentary elections of 1868 by Manchester's workers, but lost.—71, 92, 136, 162

103 K. Borutta dedicated his book Gedanken über Gewissens-Freiheit (Königsberg, 1867) to 'Fräulein Ottile Schurzel in Moskau'.—72

104 The General Association of German Workers—a political organisation of German workers founded in Leipzig on 23 May 1863, at a meeting of workers' societies.
Its foundation was an important step in the advancement of an independent nation-wide working-class movement in Germany and promoted the workers' emancipation from the ideological domination of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, Lassalle, who had been elected chairman, and his followers chose to direct the Association's activities along reformist lines, restricting it to a public campaign for universal suffrage. One of the items on the programme was the establishment of production cooperatives financed by the state, which were expected to solve social contradictions. The Lassallean leadership of the Association supported the Prussian government's policy of the unification of Germany from above, through dynastic wars.

Thanks to the experience of the working-class movement, and especially the International, and supported by Marx and Engels, the more advanced section of the Association began to drift away from the Lassallean dogmas. The Lassallean leaders, who were afraid to lose their influence among the workers, were forced to manoeuvre. The programme of the Hamburg Congress of the Association (which in its final version appeared in Der Sozial-Demokrat, No. 98, 21 August 1868) contained points that went against Lassalle's doctrine, i.e., advocated complete political freedom, positively assessed Marx's Capital, and urged the international cooperation of the working class. In the letter "To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers" (see present edition, Vol. 21), a reply to the invitation which had been extended to him, Marx gave his opinion of the programme and, as he remarked in a letter to Engels of 26 August, congratulated the members of the Association on 'having abandoned Lassalle's programme' (see this volume, p. 90).

The Hamburg Congress (22-26 August 1868) adopted important decisions: it approved the strike movement in principle, unanimously acknowledged that 'Marx had rendered outstanding services to the working class with his work Capital', and pointed to the necessity for joint action by the workers of different countries. In fact, however, the Lassallean leaders continued to oppose its affiliation with the International and adhered to their former standpoint.

At the Gotha Congress (May 1875), the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The united party assumed the name of the Socialist Workers' Party.—73, 75, 98, 105, 115, 117, 132, 134, 358, 420

105 Engels is referring to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 17 July 1868 about the arrangement made by Liebknecht and Schweitzer in Berlin in July 1868. During the meeting, Liebknecht told Schweitzer about his and Bebel's intention to recommend the forthcoming congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations in Nuremberg (see Note 135) to adopt the programme of the International, and insisted that the Lassallean Association be affiliated with it, believing that this would remove the cause for dissent between the Lassalleans and the followers of Bebel and Liebknecht, and make unification possible.—73, 110

106 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Engels of 26 July 1868, which stated that, according to Kertbény, Keil of Leipzig agreed to feature Marx's biography in Die Gartenlaube magazine. However, the biography written by Engels was not printed. In July 1869, Engels revised it for Die Zukunft newspaper, and it appeared in No. 185 under the heading 'Karl Marx' on 11 August 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21).—73, 77, 81
In the late 1850s-early 1860s, Beta, who was contributing to the newspaper *Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London* and was also a correspondent of *Die Gartenlaube*, which was published in Leipzig, repeatedly calumniated Marx in his articles. For Marx’s opinion of Beta’s activities as a newspaperman, see his letters to Engels, 19 and 26 November and 11 (or 12) December 1859, and 10 January 1861, and his letters to Ferdinand Freiligrath, 23 November 1859 and 23 February 1860 (present edition, Vols. 40 and 41).—74

On 23 July 1868, on behalf of the Union of German Workers’ Associations (see Note 169) Bebel sent the General Council of the International an invitation to the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135) in which he wrote: ‘Among the more important items on the agenda the principal place belongs to the question of the programme... We... intend to recommend the Congress to adopt the programme of the International Working Men’s Association and... also suggest that the organisation be affiliated to the International Working Men’s Association.’ The invitation was enclosed into Liebknecht’s letter to Marx of the same date. Liebknecht insisted that Marx go to Nuremberg as the General Council delegate, but Marx declined this offer. The General Council meeting of 25 August 1868 decided that its representative at the Nuremberg Congress would be Georg Eccarius.—75

The solidarity congress of workers of all nationalities inhabiting Austro-Hungary, which was to be held in Vienna in September 1868, was banned by the government of Austria-Hungary.—75

Marx probably means two legal actions brought against Schweitzer in 1868. On 14 February, speaking at a meeting in Berlin, Schweitzer said that the Royal police headquarters, by the repeated banning of meeting, had violated human rights. Schweitzer’s speech was interpreted as undermining the King’s state power and he was sentenced to two weeks’ imprisonment which he served in September 1868.

The Elberfeld court sentenced Schweitzer to three weeks’ imprisonment for the distribution of leaflets, and he served his term in Berlin prison from 8 to 29 July 1868.—75

Marx’s reply to Schweitzer’s letter of 28 June 1868 has not been found. In his letter Schweitzer asked if Marx would be able to attend the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104). If Marx agreed, Schweitzer intended, before going to prison (see Note 10) to send him an invitation signed by 24 members of the Association’s committee (see also this volume, pp. 89-90).—76

Marx’s notes refer to his biography written by Engels (s.” Note 106). The first one refers to the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*. The newspaper was founded by members of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie which was opposed to Prussian absolutism. In May 1842, Marx began to contribute to it, and in October became one of the editors. It published a number of Engels’ articles (see present edition, Vol. 2). Under Marx’s editorship, the newspaper began to follow an increasingly coherent democratic trend. Its character, which was to a large extent determined by Marx’s articles containing criticism of Germany’s social, economic and political development (see present edition, Vol. 1) attracted the attention of the Prussian authorities. On 12 November 1842, the government imposed a rigorous censorship of it, and on 19 January passed a decision banning the newspaper as of April 1843, and introducing even stricter censorship for the remaining period. The decree was promulgated
on 21 January (see 'Erlass der drei Zensurminister betr. Unterdrückung der Rheinischen Zeitung zum 1. April 1843,' Berlin, 1843, 21 January). At the end of January 1843 Marx was already thinking of resigning the editorship (see Marx's letter to Ruge, 25 January 1843, present edition, Vol. 1, p. 397), but he did not consider it possible to carry out his intention at the height of the campaign for the repeal of the ban. In March, however, he became convinced that changes in the editorial board could provide a chance of saving the newspaper, and he decided to resign officially from his post (the announcement of his resignation was published on 17 March 1843. See present edition, Vol. 1, p. 376).

But the royal rescript was not repealed. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on 31 March 1843.—76

113 Marx is referring to the reprisals against the Neue Rheinische Zeitung published in Cologne in 1848-49. In April-early May 1849, Minister of the Interior Manteuffel repeatedly urged the Cologne authorities to take legal action against the newspaper's editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 492-93, 496-97). By the spring of 1849, 23 lawsuits had been brought against it. However, the procurator's office, which had already failed twice to get a conviction from the jury (7 and 8 February 1849. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-39) did not dare to challenge the newspaper on legal grounds. On 16 May Marx was ordered to leave Prussia within 24 hours.—76

114 In a letter to Engels of 26 July 1868 (see Note 106) Kugelmann suggested that Marx's biography be printed under the heading 'Ein deutscher National-Okonom'.—77

115 The Jacobin Club ('Société des amis de la constitution')—a political club founded at the time of the French Revolution, in October 1789; initially represented different political trends in the anti-absolutist camp.—79

116 A reference to Moses Hess' review of Volume One of Capital, which he had already begun writing in November 1867 for the French press. Marx suggested that it should contain a synopsis of the theory of value as expounded in Capital. In 1868, Hess tried for several months to get the review published in a number of newspapers, including Courrier français and Morale indépendante. It is not known what has happened to the review.—79, 84

117 Marx considered the expediency of transferring the General Council to Geneva for the year 1869 in connection with the forthcoming Congress of the International in Brussels.—79

118 Engels refers to the resolution of the Communist League's Central Authority in London of 15 September 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 625-29) passed as a result of the adventurist activities of the Willich-Schapper faction which transferred the powers of the Central Authority to the Cologne district authority.

The Communist League—the first German and international communist proletarian organisation set up under the leadership of Marx and Engels in early June 1847 in London and operating until 1852. Its programme and organisational structure were evolved with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. On the instruction of the League's Second Congress held on 29 November-8 December 1847, which unanimously approved the principles of scientific communism elaborated by Marx and Engels, the two men wrote the League's programme, Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in February 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519).
During the 1848-49 revolution, the Communist League was the organisational centre and vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

After the defeat of the revolution, the Communist League was restructured in 1849-50 and continued working. The ‘Address of the Central Authority to the League’ written by Marx and Engels in March 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87) summed up the results of the 1848-49 revolution and emphasised the need to set up an independent proletarian party; it also developed the idea of permanent revolution.

The decision mentioned above was adopted as a result of the dissent, which became more acute in the summer of 1850, over the tactics to be adopted in order to protect the workers from the influence of the Willich-Schapper faction, which tried to make the League adopt an adventurist policy of starting revolution in total disregard of the objective laws and the situation prevailing in Germany and other European countries. The faction’s activities gave the police an excuse to stage provocative acts against the Communist League. However, the transfer of the Central Authority to Cologne had certain undesirable consequences: the Cologne district authority proved incapable of exercising leadership over the entire League; moreover, the transfer had put the Central Authority in danger of police reprisals. In fact, the police persecution and the arrests of May 1851 put an end to the work of the League in Germany. On 17 November 1852, soon after the Communist Trial in Cologne, the League dissolved itself on Marx’s suggestion, but its members continued their propaganda and revolutionary work.

The Communist League had played a major historical role as a school for proletarian revolutionaries and the embryo of a proletarian party, the forerunner of the International Working Men’s Association.—80, 140, 397

119 In his letter to Marx of 7 August 1868, John Morley, editor of The Fortnightly Review, explained that he had rejected Engels’ review of Volume One of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87) because he had ‘no room for it’.—81, 84

120 As is apparent from Kugelmann’s letter to Marx of 2 August 1868, the matter under discussion is the financial assistance to the weavers in Linden (Hanover) who were on strike. Kugelmann wrote to Marx: ‘A few days ago, the workers of the local mill, about 1,000 of them, launched an entirely justified strike. They are working for about 14 hours a day and earn 3 shillings a week. This is the first strike of such scope here, and its successful conclusion is of major importance... It would be of particular significance for Germany if England could render support to the striking weavers. The moral impact of this factor would be tremendous for both sides.’ This message was discussed at a meeting of the General Council held on 4 August 1868 (see The Bee-Hive, No. 355, 8 August 1868).—82

121 In 1866-67 in London, Lafargue resumed and completed his medical studies interrupted by his expulsion from Paris University in 1865. He returned to Paris in the autumn of 1868 and tried to get a doctor’s certificate allowing him to set up a practice in France, without taking his exams for a second time, but failed. After becoming involved in political activities and journalism, Lafargue abandoned the idea of a medical career.—82, 155

122 Tranquillity is the first duty of citizens, a phrase from the address by F. W. von Schunenberg-Kehnert, acting Governor of Berlin, to the city’s population on 17 October 1806, after the defeat at Jena.—83
Enclosed in this letter was the text of an ‘Appeal to the German Workers in London’ written by Lessner on behalf of the London German Workers’ Educational Society (see Note 67) in connection with the Congress of the International to be held in Brussels in September 1868, and sent to Marx for review (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 385-86).—83

This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877, Ed. by F. J. Raddatz, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—85, 86, 255, 303

These letters from Karl Marx to his relatives have not been found.—85

Marx was on holiday at Ramsgate approximately from 21 to 24 August 1868.—87

Engels refers to Bernhard Becker, whom Lassalle nominated in his will as his successor to the post of President of the General Association of German Workers. Becker called himself 'heir by Lassalle’s will' on the title page of his *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's.*—88, 89

A reference is to a number of works by Marx and Engels, including statements in *Der Social-Demokrat* and *Berliner Reform*, the pamphlets 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party' and 'The “President of Mankind”', which expose Schweitzer’s political stand and Bernhard Becker’s slanderous attacks (see present edition, Vol. 20).—88

Engels’ mother wrote on 2 September 1868 to tell him that she had arrived in Ostend the day before. Engels joined her for about 10 days there. *En route* he met Marx in London.—88,90, 92, 95, 100, 128

The official invitation to Marx to be guest of honour at the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) was sent on behalf of the President and the Committee of the Association on 13 August 1868 and published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 95, 14 August 1868. It was read out at the General Council meeting of 18 August 1868 and included in a brief report of the meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 358, 22 August 1868.—89

Engels’ letter to Marx of 27 August 1868 has not been found.—90

In 1868, the members of the International in Naples maintained contacts with the International Working Men’s Association through Eugène Dupont, member of the General Council, who was their delegate at the Brussels Congress.

The Neapolitan branch of the International became finally established in 1869. It was the first section of the International Working Men’s Association in Italy, and quite a large one at that; it had many workers among its members. It was under the strong influence of the Bakuninists. Early in 1871, however, it disintegrated; with the help of Cafiero, who received instructions from Engels, it was reorganised and maintained regular contacts with the General Council. Cafiero kept its members informed about Engels’ letters and the Association’s documents. Soon, it became the International’s principal centre in Italy, but was routed by the police in August 1871.—91

Marx is referring to the reports of the International’s Italian sections on the situation in the country. Specifically, on 18 August 1868, a letter read out at the General Council meeting stated that ‘at Bologna and vicinity the right of
meeting is suppressed; the officers of the working men's societies are in prison' (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 358, 22 August 1868).

On 3 November 1867 at Mentana, the French army, jointly with the Pope's mercenary guards, defeated Garibaldi's army which had undertaken a new campaign against Rome to liberate it from the French and annex it to the Italian state. — 91

134 Since the members of the second bureau of the International's Paris sections (see Note 91) had been arrested, more than ten representatives to the Brussels Congress (see Note 138) were sent mostly by the French professional unions affiliated with the International. Among them were mechanics, tin-smiths, cotton printers, bookbinders, house painters, marble and bronze workers. — 91

135 The *Nuremberg Congress* of the Union of German Workers' Associations led by Bebel was held on 5-7 September 1868. In all, 115 delegates from 93 sections in Germany, Austria and Switzerland were present. Apart from Georg Eccarius, the official representative of the General Council, several other members of the International attended. By 69 votes against 46, the Congress resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and adopt a programme recognising its basic principles. It also elected a committee of 16 to carry out this resolution. On 22 September 1868, the General Council approved the committee membership giving it the status of the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association in Germany. On 7 September liberal bourgeois members, who found themselves in the minority and were opposed to the Congress resolutions, announced their withdrawal from the Union. The Nuremberg Congress also resolved to organise trade unions and heard Liebknecht's report on armaments, in which he demanded that standing armies be disbanded. The Congress was an important step towards the foundation of a proletarian party in Germany. — 91, 102, 115, 118, 128, 135, 166, 172, 249, 304

136 *The Times* published five reports by Eccarius on the work of the Brussels Congress of the International. They appeared on 9, 11, 14, 15 and 17 September 1868 under the heading 'International Working Men's Congress (From a Correspondent)'.

Eccarius' reports on the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 135) were not printed by *The Times*. — 91, 97, 101

137 The last meeting of the General Council before the Brussels Congress was held on Tuesday, 1 September 1868. It heard, and unanimously approved the report of the General Council to the Brussels Congress drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 12). — 92

138 A reference to the Third Congress of the International held in Brussels on 6-13 September 1868. It was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing workers of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Marx, who took part in the preparations for the Congress, was not present. The annual report of the General Council written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 12) was read out at the Congress on 7 September 1868. The Congress adopted an important resolution on the necessity for introducing public ownership of railways, mineral resources, collieries and mines, forests and arable land. This resolution showed that most of the French and Belgian Proudhonists had become supporters of collectivism and it marked the victory of proletarian socialism over petty-bourgeois reformism in the International. The Congress also adopted the resolutions (drawn up by Marx) on the
eight-hour working day, on the use of machinery and on the attitude towards
the congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see
present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204), and a resolution, moved by a group of
German delegates, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's
Capital and promote its translation from German into other languages (see
Note 150).—93, 95, 96, 115, 131, 143, 148, 166, 202, 221, 258, 404

139 The original letter has not been found. Friedrich Lessner first quoted it in his
reminiscences Vor 1848 und nachher published in the Deutsche Worte, Wien
[1898]. There, the letter was erroneously dated 10 August.

This letter appeared in English for the first time in: Lessner F., Sixty Years
in the Social Democratic Movement, London, 1907.—93

140 A reference to Friedrich Lessner's letter to Marx posted in Brussels on
8 September 1868, in which Lessner gave a detailed account of the work of the
International Working Men's Association's Congress in Brussels.—93

141 Marx is probably referring to the question of the strike movement entered onto
the agenda of the Brussels Congress on the suggestion of the French delegate
Tartaret in addition to the points proposed by the General Council earlier. The
reports of the French Section in Geneva and the Belgian Section in Liège
contained Proudhonian ideas on the issue; strikes were denounced as a matter
of principle and only recognized as the inevitable evil. The Congress resolution,
passed despite the opposition of the Proudhonists, defined strikes as a
necessary and legitimate means of struggle between labour and capital.—94

142 A reference to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers'Associations (see Note 135) and the general congress of the Lassallean
Association in Berlin (see Note 164).—94

143 Marx means the opposition to the trade unions put up by the Belgian unions
and French Proudhonists at the Geneva and Lausanne congresses of the
International.

The Geneva Congress, the first congress of the International Working Men's
Association, was held on 2-8 September 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates
from the Central Council (see Note 73), various sections of the Interna-
tional and workers' associations in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland.
Hermann Jung was elected its chairman. The Congress approved the Rules
and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Asso-
ciation (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). Marx's 'Instructions for the
Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions' were
read as the official report of the Central Council (see present edition, Vol.
20, p. 185). The Congress became a scene of struggle between Marx's
followers and the Proudhonists, who had a third of the votes and countered
the 'Instructions' with their own programme on all items on the agenda. They
were particularly opposed to trade unions and preached political indifferen-
tism. In heated debates with the Proudhonists, Jung, Eccarius, Dupont, Carter
and other supporters of the Central Council succeeded in having 6 items out
of 9 of the 'Instructions' adopted in the form of Congress resolutions, including
the one on trade unions.

The Lausanne Congress of the International was held on 2-8 September
1867. Marx took part in the preparations, but, as he was busy reading the
proofs of Volume One of Capital, he was unable to attend. He withdrew his
candidature at the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867. The Congress
was attended by 64 delegates from six countries (Britain, France, Germany,
Switzerland, Belgium and Italy). Apart from the annual report of the General Council, the Congress heard reports from the local sections, which indicated the increased influence of the International on the proletarian masses and the growing strength of its organisations in different countries. Despite the efforts of the General Council's delegates, the Proudhonist-minded delegates imposed their agenda on the Congress. They sought to revise the decisions of the Geneva Congress in a Proudhonist spirit. They managed to pass a number of their resolutions, including the ones on cooperation and credit, which they regarded as the chief factors of changing a society through reform. However, they failed to achieve their main objective. The Congress confirmed the Geneva resolutions on the economic struggle and strikes. 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.—95, 221, 258

144 Marx sent Sorge's credentials to Meyer (see this volume, p. 59) in response to Meyer's letter of 20 May 1868, which contained the following request: 'In the middle of next month, Sorge is planning to go to Chicago and will be able to establish all sorts of contacts. Would you be so kind as to supply us with some useful addresses?'—96

145 As President of the Central Committee of the Social Party of New York and its environs, (between November 1867 and September 1868), the first workers' party in the USA, Friedrich Sorge was a vigorous promoter of the ideas of the International in the USA. Early in 1868, disagreements of principle began to arise, which later turned into a personal hostility between Sorge on the one hand, and Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on the other. Meyer and Vogt insisted on more vigorous action to draw the unions of American workers into the International, even though they were not yet ready to take that step. Sorge strove to organise a more active popularisation campaign that would gradually make them realise the need for joining the International. In the end he failed to achieve the official affiliation of the Social Party to the International, but in his activity he adhered to the International's principles and the decisions of its congresses.

Having been stripped, on Meyer's and Vogt's insistence, of the General Council's Corresponding Secretary's powers, Sorge did not belong to any organisation for over a year. Only in December 1869, he resumed his work of popularising the International's ideas among the German workers within the reorganised General Association of German Workers.—97

146 The National Labor Union was founded in the USA at a congress in Baltimore in 1866, with the active participation of William Sylvis, a prominent member of the American labour movement. It made a major contribution to the growing struggle for an independent policy of workers' associations, for solidarity of white and coloured workers, for an 8-hour working day and for the rights of working women. Soon after its foundation, it established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. The Union's congress in Chicago held in August 1867 elected Richard Trevillick delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International, but he was unable to attend. At the last sessions of the Basle Congress of the International (1869) Andrew Cameron was the National Labor Union delegate. The Union's congress in Cincinnati in August 1870 adopted a resolution on its adherence to the principles of the International and its intention to join it. The resolution was not implemented, however. In 1870 and 1871, many trade unions withdrew, and in 1872 the Union virtually ceased to exist.—97, 184, 351
Notes 587

147 Marx planned to have *Capital* translated into English back in 1865, when working on the manuscript (see Marx's letter to Engels, 31 July 1865; present edition, Vol. 42). Reporter Peter Fox, a member of the British labour movement, was to help him find a publisher. However, due to the latter's death in 1869 nothing was settled. The English translation of Volume One of *Capital* edited by Engels appeared after Marx's death, in January 1887. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling between mid-1883 and March 1886; Eleanor Marx-Aveling assisted in preparing the translation for the press.—97, 442.

148 At the General Council meeting of 8 October 1867 Peter Fox, James Carter and Robert Shaw accused Eccarius of misrepresenting the reports on the Lausanne Congress published in *The Times* on 6, 9, 10 and 11 September 1867. See also Marx's letters to Engels of 4 and 9 October 1867, present edition, Vol. 42.—97, 106, 148

149 Excerpts from Volume One of *Capital* were published in the USA, in *The Sun* on 26 January 1868.—97

150 At the Brussels Congress of the International (see Note 138), on 11 September 1868, a group of German delegates moved the following resolution on Marx's *Capital*: 'We, the German delegates at the International Working Men's Congress at Brussels, recommend to the working men of all countries the work of Carl Marx, *Das Kapital*, published last year, and urge upon them the desirability of endeavouring to cause that important work to be translated into those languages into which it has not yet been translated, and declare that Carl Marx has the inestimable merit of being the first political economist who has scientifically analysed capital and dissolved it into its component parts.' The resolution was unanimously approved by the Congress and published in *The Times* on 15 September 1868 as part of Eccarius's report. See also Note 136.

The article 'Der fünfte Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine zu Nürnberg (5-7. September)', which appeared in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 37, 12 September 1868, quoted Liebknecht's speech at the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations (see Note 135), in which he lashed out against bourgeois science and the press which kept deliberately silent about Volume One of *Capital*.—99, 101

151 Marx is referring to a speech made by Moses Hess at the meeting of the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association on 11 September 1868. Hess spoke out against the Proudhonist theory of 'gratuitous credit' (crédit gratuit), which was criticised by Marx in his work *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212).—100, 102

152 The Brussels Congress resolution (adopted on 13 September 1868) on the ownership of land, mines and collieries and railways was the first concrete statement of the socialist principle underlying the International's approach to the issue of property. In connection with land ownership, the Congress emphasised that the contemporary economic development of the capitalist system determines the need for introducing public ownership of land and the mineral resources, including arable land (for the text of the resolution, see: 'Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel. Bruxelles, septembre 1868. Supplément au journal *Le Peuple belge*, 24 septembre 1868').—101
The question of Eccarius' reports published in The Times (see also notes 136, 155) was not discussed at the General Council meetings because of his long illness.—101, 106

Lessner, who informed Marx almost daily about the course of the Brussels Congress, wrote in a letter of 11 September 1868: 'On Wednesday, the question of machinery was discussed. I took the floor, mentioned your book and quoted from it... Daily News had something about this. Its reporter approached me and inquired about the name of the book and the part from which I quoted. My reading out of the excerpts was welcomed by applause. Friend Eccarius, however, did not deem it worthwhile, or not to his advantage, to mention this in his report for The Times.'—101

The text of the resolution on war proposed by a group of German delegates at the Brussels Congress was printed in full in the supplement to Le Peuple belge, 22 September 1868, and the Vorbote magazine, No. 10, October 1868. Eccarius' report in The Times, 17 September 1868, contained an incomplete and inaccurate exposition of the resolution.—101

The Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association elected a special commission to investigate the accusations brought by Vésinier against certain members of the International (see notes 74 and 90). On 3 November 1868, at the sitting of the General Council, a letter from the Brussels commission was read out which said that Vésinier had failed to adduce any proof and that the commission had not been able to find the slightest grounds for these accusations. The commission members proposed expelling Vésinier from the International as a slanderer.—102

A reference to an article by Johann Philipp Becker 'Was wir wollen und sollen' printed in 1866 in the first issue of the Vorbote. Before the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations, this article appeared, mistakenly, in the Union organ, Deutsche Arbeiterhalle on 27 July and 12 August 1868, as the International's programme, and was reprinted by the Demokratisches Wochenblatt (nos. 31-32, supplements, and 33, 1, 8 and 15 August 1868). It gave an incoherent and vague account of the aims and tasks of the International working-class movement, especially in Germany and Switzerland. However, it was not mentioned at the Nuremberg Congress, as the error had been rectified earlier. The Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 35, 29 August, published the chief points of the International's programme which the Congress adopted without any changes. Delegates Stuttman, Eichelsdörfer and Sonnemann stated that the reference to Becker's article as the International's programme was an error. In a letter to Marx of 20 September 1868, Liebknecht wrote: 'The quiproquo happened while I was absent on my wedding trip. I had given orders to print your “Address”; and Bebel, who could not find it, wrote to Becker for the “Programme” and received the unfortunate document that brought us to despair in Nuremberg. When I discovered the mistake, it was too late to mend it, especially as we could not well disavow old Becker. Luckily, Pfeiffer and Co. were so confused by our vigorous onslaught that they quite forgot to prove the stupidities of the pseudo-programme. Now the thing is explained, and our people know, that under the circumstances the error was excusable.'—102

In the summer of 1869, the Ermen-Engels partnership agreement signed on 30 June 1864 for the term of 5 years, which had made Engels a co-owner of the firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester, was to expire. As Engels had
expected, his talks with G. Ermen about his withdrawal from the firm became protracted. A draft agreement is extant, drawn up by Engels on 2 December 1868, which specified the terms of the withdrawal: 1) Mr. Engels retires from business on the 30th June 1869 and engages not to be interested, either directly or indirectly, as principal or assistant, in any similar or competing business either in England or on the Continent for the term of five years after that date. 2) Mr. Engels consents that Mr. G. Ermen, if he should think proper to do so, continues the firm of Ermen and Engels as long as he is a partner in the concern. 3) Mr. G. Ermen pays Mr. Engels on 30th June 1869 the sum of £1750, Seventeen Hundred and fifty Pounds St. 4) Mr. Engels to have the right of keeping £5000—in the concern at 5% Interest between 30th June 69 to 30th June 1870. Manchester December 2\textsuperscript{d} 1868' (see also Note 369).—104, 167

On 22 August 1868 Bismarck, Prime Minister of Prussia, had a fall while riding and withdrew temporarily from his duties because of his injury, while King William I, as the press reported, incessantly toured the country, taking part in military reviews, festivals and receptions.—104

In a letter of 15 September 1868, Schweitzer wrote to Marx: 'I consider you to be the head of the European working-class movement—not only through democratic election but by the will of God. You can also be assured that I will promote your intentions as best I can. Of course no prestige is great enough to prevent one, under certain circumstances, from adhering to one’s own opinion. I believe, however, that conflict does not arise easily. When it appeared to me that you were not right, subsequent consideration showed me, at least until now, that I was mistaken myself. Yet I cannot find much in common with your followers—at least with some of them.

‘...I intend to get you the Statutes which we want to propose to the organisation at the congress after they have been discussed by a limited number of persons, so that before the congress, has started you will have a chance to note the points which may not tally with the spirit of the [congress’s] organisation, although this shouldn’t occur.

‘It may happen that it will be too late to send the Statutes to you; however, I shall try to make the dispatch possible.’—105, 107, 115, 118, 127, 132

Marx is referring to the six editorials printed under the common heading ‘Der allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Congress’ in Der Social-Demokrat in September 1868, which mirrored the ideological conflict between dedicated Lassalleans and the followers of Schweitzer. Fearing that their influence among the workers might dwindle under the impact of the mounting strike movement and the International’s ideas, Schweitzer’s followers were forced to abandon some of the Lassallean concepts and change their attitude towards the economic struggle of the working class. Specifically, a general German workers’ congress in Berlin that Schweitzer and Fritzsche had been planning (see Note 164) was to consider the issues of the strike movement and the trade unions of German workers. The address drawn up by Schweitzer and Fritzsche for the congress and published by Der Social-Demokrat, No. 101, 30 August 1868, read: ‘It is urgently necessary to establish a mass and stable organisation of all workers throughout Germany for the purpose of jointly moving forward by means of strikes... We are convening a general German workers’ congress to set up, and also strengthen and evolve the uniform organisational principles of general trade unions in all industries throughout Germany, as well as to discuss the general lines along which strikes can be organised.’—105
The principle of setting up production associations on the basis of state credit as a means of emancipating the workers from exploitation was first proclaimed by Philippe Buchez in 1831 in the philosophical journal *L'Européen*, which he published. His plan was popularised in the 1840s by *L'Atelier* magazine, which represented the interests and ideas of French handicraftsmen and workers influenced by the doctrine of Christian socialism (see also this volume, p. 260).—105, 133, 260

Marx's letter to Liebknecht has not been found. In his reply of 20 September 1868, Liebknecht wrote that "...there are a few dozen of "Vogts" in Berlin. I had to leave them there when I was expelled; and most copies were distributed by me to political persons,—sold very few. In 5 or 6 days I hope to have news."—106

A reference to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers convened by Schweitzer and Fritzche on 26-29 September 1868 in Berlin with the permission of the Hamburg Congress of the Lassallean Association to discuss the establishment of trade unions (see Note 104). Represented at the congress were mostly workers from North German towns. The workers' societies comprising the Nuremberg organisation headed by Bebel and Liebknecht were refused permission to send their members to the congress. As a result the Berlin congress promoted the foundation of a number of unions built after the pattern of the sectarian Lassallean Association and brought them together in a single general union. Schweitzer became president, while the most prominent members of the General Association of German Workers headed the individual, and for the most part newly-established, unions. Marx sharply criticised Schweitzer for such an organisation of the congress, which brought about a split in the German trade unions (see this volume, pp. 134, 135), and for the adoption of the Statutes, which went completely against the goals and nature of the trade-union movement.—108, 112, 118, 125, 127, 132, 133, 134, 140

A reference to the bourgeois revolution in Spain (1868-74) which began on 18 September 1868 with a naval mutiny in Cádiz against the reactionary monarchy of Isabella II. The masses, supported by almost all the royal troops, were actively involved in the revolution. As a result, state authority passed to the bourgeois and bourgeois landowners, who on 18 October formed a provisional government headed by General Francisco Serrano. The Constituent Cortes, convened in February 1869, passed a bourgeois-monarchist constitution which proclaimed Spain a hereditary monarchy and introduced a number of bourgeois freedoms (universal suffrage for men, freedom of press, assembly, associations, etc.). Against the background of fierce class clashes, a bourgeois-democratic federative republic was proclaimed in Spain in 1873. However, in 1874, big bourgeois and landowners engineered a restoration of the Bourbons.—108, 113, 115, 119, 126, 131, 137

In a letter to Marx of 16 September 1868, Liebknecht proposed that an address to the German workers be drawn up urging unification and criticising Schweitzer and his followers as opponents of unity in the ranks of Social-Democrats.—109, 110, 112

A reference to the ban imposed on 16 September 1868 by the Leipzig police on the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) centred in Leipzig, and on its local branch in Berlin (see Engels' article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association', present edition, Vol. 21). On 10 October,
however, a group of Lassalleans headed by Schweitzer restored the association under the same name, transferring its seat to Berlin. The new Statutes of the Association published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 119, 11 October 1868, stated that the Association would abide by Prussian laws and act only in a peaceful, legal way. Adapting itself to Prussian law, the Association dissolved its local branches. (For Marx's and Engels' opinion of these manoeuvres, see letters of Marx to Engels of 25, 26 and 29 September and of Engels to Marx of 21, 24 and 30 September and 2 October, as well as Marx's letter to Schweitzer of 13 October 1868.)—109, 111, 134, 140

168 The bourgeois revolution of 1848 in the Kingdom of Naples began on 12 January 1848 with a popular uprising in Sicily against the feudal absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand II of the Bourbon dynasty. It triggered off revolutionary events in other Italian states. However, as a result of the conciliatory stand of the liberal bourgeoisie, the revolution was suppressed in May 1849.—109

169 Engels is referring to the Union of German Workers' Associations, which was set up at the workers' educational societies' congress in Frankfurt am Main on 7 June 1863, in opposition to the Lassallean General Association of German Workers (see Note 104). Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel were actively involved in its activities, heading the workers' movement for a revolutionary and democratic way of Germany's unification and against the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, which was quite strong in the first years of the Union's existence. At the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135), it in fact affiliated itself with the International. Later, the Union was instrumental in the formation, at the Eisenach Congress of 1869, of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 373).—110, 118

170 In late September 1868, Engels wrote an article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association' for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published by Liebknecht (present edition, Vol. 21). In it he quoted excerpts from his pamphlet 'The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party' (present edition, Vol. 20).—111, 112, 114

171 A reference to a speech made by Bernhard Becker, President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, at the meeting of its Hamburg branch on 22 March 1865, in which he slandered the International Working Men's Association and Marx, Engels and Liebknecht personally. Becker's speech appeared in the supplement of *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, 26 March 1865. Marx exposed Becker's lies in his essay 'The "President of Mankind"' (present edition, Vol. 20).—112

172 Following Marx's advice, in early October 1868 Engels wrote a postscript to his article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21), in which he exposes Becker's plagiarism in his pamphlet, mentioned in this letter.—112

173 *Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the seventeenth century.—113, 128, 264, 481

174 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London, Lawrence LTD, [1934].—114, 127, 188, 191, 195, 262, 349, 428, 462, 471

175 A reference to the agreement reached by British trade unions at the first national congress in 1868, which was convened in connection with the campaign for completely legalising them. Ever since, congresses have been held
on a regular basis, and an executive body of the congress, the Parliamentary committee heading the campaign, was formed.

The London Trades Council was first elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. It headed the London trade unions numbering thousands of members and was fairly influential among the British workers. The leaders of the following trade unions played a major 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). All of them, except Allan, were members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. The General Council did its best to draw the broad mass of British workers into the International and endeavoured, on the one hand, to get the local trade union organisations affiliated to it and, on the other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British Section. After the repeated deferment of the question, which was due to the struggle between the reformer leaders of the London Council who opposed affiliation and local trade union representatives, it was finally decided at the London Trades Council meetings of 9 and 14 January 1867, to co-operate with the International Association 'for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before' (The Times, No. 25708, 15 January 1867). This decision was discussed at the General Council sitting of 15 January 1867. Afterwards, the contacts between the London Trades Council and the International were maintained through the General Council members who also sat on the Trades Council.

The London Workingmen's Association was founded in 1866 on the initiative of George Potter and his followers for the purpose of launching a movement for trade union representation in Parliament. From the start, Potter's platform was of a conciliatory character; he and his followers made advances to the workers and professed themselves champions of universal suffrage, but in fact were ready to compromise and accept the election reform on any terms. The work of Potter's association was in fact hampering the movement for universal suffrage, headed by the Reform League (see Note 228), whose programme and tactics had been evolved under Marx's influence. The association functioned up to the 1870s.

By the Amalgamated Trades Unions here is meant the United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades set up in June 1866 at the conference of trade union delegates in Sheffield. The Alliance, which embraced 53 trade unions with the membership of nearly 60,000, existed up to late 1870.—114, 135

176 A reference to Eichhoff's letter to Marx of 27 September 1868.—116, 118

177 Marx is referring to the speech made by the leader of the Party of Progress Schulze-Delitzsch at the meeting of members of the machine-builders' union in Berlin on 24 September 1868. The meeting elected twelve delegates to the general congress of the General Association of German Workers (see Note 164). A detailed report of the meeting and Schulze-Delitzsch's speech were published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 113, 27 September 1868.—116

178 A reference to the conflict in the Paris Section of the International which was discussed at the General Council sittings on 24 January, 7, 21 and 28 February, and 7 and 14 March 1865. This was the first occasion when the General Council acted as arbiter in a section's internal affairs.
The Paris Section, which was founded at a meeting held on 28 September 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, where the International had been inaugurated, began its work in late December 1864. It was headed by an Administration comprising three correspondents approved in London, Proudhonist workers Henri Tolain, Fribourg and Charles Limousin. Alongside with Tolain's group, a lawyer and bourgeois republican Henri Lefort also claimed to be a founder and leader of the International Working Men's Association in France. Lefort's followers accused Tolain and other members of the Paris Administration of being in contact with the Bonapartists (Marx and Engels exposed this insinuation in the statement to Der Social-Demokrat, see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 36). Nevertheless, wishing to draw into the International the workers grouped around Lefort and trying to reduce his influence on them, Marx supported the Central Council resolution of 7 February 1865 on Lefort's appointment as 'Counsel for the literary defence' of the International in France. Those present at the meeting of the Paris Section, however, lodged a protest against this decision, and sent Tolain and Fribourg to London on 28 February to speak on this point at the Central Council meeting. The Council referred the problem to the Standing Committee, which discussed it on 4 and 6 March. Marx proposed a draft resolution which actually annulled the previously adopted decision on Lefort's appointment. This resolution has survived in his notebook (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 330). When Marx drew it up, he tried to protect the French organisation of the International from attacks by bourgeois elements and to strengthen the leadership of the Paris Section by bringing in revolutionary proletarians. The draft formed the basis for the Central Council resolution on this issue which was passed on 7 March 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 82).—118

179 A reference to a lecture delivered by Karl Vogt in September 1868 at the Schiller Institute in Manchester. See Engels' letter 'To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute' (present edition, Vol. 21).—118


181 A reference to the French constitution of 14 January 1852 issued after the Bonapartist coup d'état, under which state authority was concentrated in the hands of the president elected for a term of 10 years at a general election (see also Marx's letter to J. B. Schweitzer of 13 October 1868, this volume, p. 135).—120

182 A reference to Wilhelm Eichhoff's letters to Marx of 27 September and 2 October 1868.—120

183 A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 2 October 1868.—120

184 A reference to a letter from Sigismund Borkheim to Marx of 3 October 1868.—120

185 A reference to Joseph Dietzgen's manuscript 'Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit' (The Essence of Human Brainwork) sent to Marx for review from St. Petersburg, where Dietzgen lived from 1864 to 1869. The work was published for the first time in Hamburg in 1869.—120, 126, 151, 152, 154, 173
Marx is referring to a letter written to him by Nikolai Danielson on 30 (18) September 1868, with a postscript by Nikolai Lyubavin dated 14 (2) October. Danielson wrote: "The significance of your latest work—Capital. Critique of Political Economy—has prompted one of local publishers (N. Polyakov) to undertake its translation into Russian. The various attendant circumstances make it desirable to publish the second volume simultaneously with the first. Therefore, as the publisher's representative, I request you, should you consider it possible, to send me sheets of the second volume as soon as they have been published."

In his reply, Marx enclosed a note on his own literary and political activities, which was used in the preface to Capital's Russian edition (see this volume, pp. 123-25 and Note 196).—120, 123, 149

At the time, Marx planned to publish the second and third books of Capital ('The Process of Circulation of Capital' and 'The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole') as Volume Two of Capital (see also Note 41).—123, 160, 412

The notes about Marx's literary and political work were used in the Preface to the Russian edition of Volume One of Capital which appeared in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1872. (On the history of its translation into Russian, see Note 196.)—123

In the original Marx wrote '1847' instead of '1848'. The matter is that the basis of this 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' was the material prepared by Marx for a speech he was to have delivered at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels in September 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-81 and 287-90 and also notes 116 and 246). The speech was published as a pamphlet in French at the end of January 1848.—124


In Britain, the different workers' societies functioning within the same industry were admitted to the International on equal terms.—125

In his letter of 8 October 1868 Johann Baptist Schweitzer complained to Marx as the 'secretary of the International' about the policies pursued by Bebel, Liebknecht and their followers towards the General Association of German Workers which he headed. He mentioned the decision of the Hamburg Congress (see Note 104) to become affiliated, 'with the consent of the authorities', with the International Working Men's Association. Schweitzer demanded that Marx support him and help him check Bebel's and Liebknecht's attacks against him. Otherwise, Schweitzer threatened, he would begin 'open hostilities'.

Enclosed with his letter were the Statutes of the general Trade Union Association founded at the general congress of the General Association of German Workers in Berlin (see Note 164).—127

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. (See Marx's letter to Engels, 4 October 1867: present edition, Vol. 42.) 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 position of the reformist wing of the International. Odger did not get any post when the appointment of officers in the Council took place. The International's Basle Congress (September 1869) approved the General Council's decision.—128, 135

194 The address written by Marx on instructions from the General Council and approved by the Council on 13 October 1868, is not extant.—128

195 After Volume One of Capital had been published, Kugelmann and Engels took considerable trouble to blow up the conspiracy of silence of bourgeois science and the bourgeois press against this work. Kugelmann's connections made it possible to distribute the book and popularise it in the democratic and bourgeois press. He managed to get published anonymously a number of reviews by Engels in the Beobachter, Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg and other newspapers.—130

196 A reference to the publication of the Russian translation of Volume One of Capital, which was undertaken by the St. Petersburg publisher N. Polvakov; on 30 (18) September 1868, Danielson wrote to Marx on his behalf (see this volume, pp. 123-25). At the end of 1869 it was decided that the translation would be made by Bakunin. However, the specimens he submitted were not accepted as satisfactory. Starting with the summer of 1870, the translation was being done by Lopatin, who used his stay in London to consult Marx. He translated chapters II, III and IV (in part) of the first German edition of Volume One. Late in 1870, with the translation still unfinished, Lopatin returned to Russia to help organise Chernyshevsky's escape from Siberia. By October 1871, the translation was finished by Danielson (he completed Chapter IV, and did chapters V and VI) and Lyubavin, a former fellow-student of Danielson, professor of chemistry at Moscow University (he translated Chapter I and the supplement). The first Russian edition of Volume One of Capital, which was also the first foreign edition, appeared in St. Petersburg on 8 April (27 March) 1872.—130, 480

197 Marx is apparently referring to his Paris acquaintance with N. Sazonov, M. Bakunin and G. Tolstoy, a Russian landowner.—130

198 A reference to the Adresse de l'Association internationale des femmes, à l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Biéne, le 1er Sept. 1868, signed on behalf of the Association by Marie Goegg, President of the Central Committee. The Address made it clear that the Association, which had by that time existed for about three months, was a feminist organisation which showed no interest in the issue of class struggle. It demanded that suffrage be extended to women, and advocated their equal rights to work and education. Its further history is unknown.—131

199 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895, London, Lawrence LTD [1954]; a more complete version was published in: Marx, Engels, Selected Correspondence, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975.—132

200 Schulze-Delitzsch, a German bourgeois economist and a leader of the Party of Progress (see Note 317), advocated small savings banks and loan offices, and consumer and producer cooperatives based on the workers' own means with the aim of diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle against
capital. Schulze-Delitzsch advocated harmony of capitalists' and workers' interests, asserting that cooperatives could help improve workers' conditions under capitalism and save small producers and artisans from ruin. Lassalle criticised Schulze-Delitzsch's cooperative plans and advanced his own idea of production associations set up by workers and sponsored by the Junker-bourgeois Prussian state.—133

201 A reference to a demand advanced by the Chartist movement in Britain which was entered into the People's Charter published on 8 May 1838 in the form of a Bill to be submitted to Parliament. It consists of six clauses: universal suffrage (for men over 21 years of age), annual elections to Parliament, secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of property qualifications for candidates to Parliament, and salaries for M.P.s. In 1839, 1842 and 1848 petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament.—133

202 Marx is referring to the new Regulations for handicraft trades, which extended the workers' right to form coalitions and stage strikes. On 29 May 1869 the Regulations were approved by the North German Reichstag (see also Note 324).—134

203 Between 14 and 22 September 1868, 13,000 miners were on strike in Essen. They demanded that deductions from wages be stopped and an eight-hour working day introduced. The strike ended in victory for the workers.—136

204 A reference to the distribution of Marx's book *The Poverty of Philosophy*... (see present edition, Vol. 6), which was written in 1847 in Brussels and published (1,500 copies) that same year by two publishers simultaneously, Vogler's in Brussels and Frank's in Paris, who in 1865 sold his business to publisher F. Vieweg. The publication was undertaken on a commission basis: Marx paid part of the expenses as the author and was to receive a certain sum from the sale of each copy. By 1868, the demand for the book grew steeply owing to the mounting campaign against the Proudhonist elements in the International, while the book became a bibliographical rarity. In view of this, Marx applied, in October 1868, to the Paris publisher, who, as is clear from the letter, had stopped the sales altogether. Nothing is known about the results of Lafargue's negotiations on this issue.—137, 217

205 Alexandre Besson and Victor Le Lubez (see Note 72) had sent a letter to Hermann Jung in October 1868 in which they protested against the decision of the Brussels Congress to expel Pierre Vésinier from the International (see Note 156). In their letter they also attacked Hermann Jung and Eugène Dupont, members of the General Council. On 19 October 1868, Jung informed Marx about the French Section's meeting at which he was going to defend the International.—139

206 A reference to the reactionary Prussian Law on Associations passed on 11 March 1850.—140

207 Engels is referring to the Democratic Labour Union (Der Demokratische Arbeiterverein) that was formed in October 1868 following a split in the Berlin Workers' Union, which rejected, by 32 votes against 28, the resolutions of the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135). A leading role in the founding of the new Union belonged to Eichhoff, who kept in constant touch with Marx and was the Berlin correspondent of the General Council of the First International. On 5 November 1868, at a General Council meeting, Marx reported on the formation of the Democratic Labour Union. On Eichhoff's suggestion, the Union joined the Union of German Workers' Associations headed by Bebel and
Liebknecht, and adopted its programme based on the International's principles. The Democratic Labour Union also maintained close contacts with the Berlin Section of the International. Almost all of its members were also members of the International. To emphasise its proletarian character, two workers, Wilcke and Kämmerer, were elected its Presidents. The Democratic Labour Union actively opposed the Lassalleans. Wilhelm Liebknecht used to speak at its meetings. In 1869 it joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party set up at the Eisenach Congress.—140

208 A reference to Chapter VI, 'Der Accumulationsprozess des Kapitals' of the first German edition of Capital's Volume One (1867). Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions is Part VII. In the English edition of 1887 which was prepared by Engels this is Part VII ('The Accumulation of Capital') and Part VIII ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation') (see present edition, Vol. 35).—141

209 In his letter to Marx of 15 October 1868 Kugelmann wrote about a review of Capital by Hansen, a Berlin professor of political economy, who said, among other things, that it was 'the most significant phenomenon of this century'. Hansen also offered Marx a professorship in political economy.—142, 144

210 A reference to a meeting held on 20 October 1868. It was organised by the French Section in London (see Note 72). It was held mainly by petty-bourgeois refugees headed by Pyat, who had lost contact with the International. They came out against the resolution on the bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) passed by the Brussels Congress on 12 September 1868. It stated that the existence of a pacifist league claiming to be the leader of the international workers' movement is superfluous given the existence of the International Working Men's Association. It was suggested that the League should join the International and its members should become members of International's sections. On 20 October Marx wrote to the General Council about the forthcoming meeting. The Council referred the issue for consideration to its executive body, the Sub-Committee, granting it special powers for exposing the intentions of the meeting's organisers should this prove necessary.—143

211 Probably a reference to the strike of British tailors which began in March 1866. It was headed by the Executive Committee of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Association formed at the national conference of British tailors held in Manchester on 12-17 March 1866. London entrepreneurs tried to recruit apprentices in Belgium, France and Switzerland through their agents. In this connection, the General Council published an appeal in these countries' newspapers urging the tailors to refuse to go to England on account of the strike under way there. The entrepreneurs' plans were foiled, and they were obliged to make concessions and raise the wages.—143

212 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 24 October 1868.—144

213 This letter has come down to us as a copy written in English in Sigfrid Meyer's hand.—147

214 The General Council's credentials for August Vogt, which Marx enclosed with his letter to Meyer and Vogt of 28 October 1868, are published according to the copy made by Sigfrid Meyer on the copy of Marx's letter to Jessup of 28 October 1868.—148

215 In his letters to Marx of 31 October and 31 October-1 November 1868, Eichhoff cleared himself of the charge of being connected with the Prussian
police (see Note 61). Among the reasons that had led to this suspicion was an inaccurate report of Eichhoff's speech at the first meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union (see Note 207) on 15 October 1868 published by Die Zukunft and later by the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 43, 24 October 1868.—151, 152

216 A reference to the 'Adresse an die Demokraten Spaniens' (Address to the Democrats of Spain) issued in October 1868 on behalf of the Social-Democrats of Saxony in connection with the revolution in Spain (see Note 165). The Address was published in the supplement to the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, edited by Liebknecht, No. 44, 31 October 1868.—151

217 An allusion to the June 1848 uprising of Paris workers which ended in the defeat of the insurgents, and at the coup d'état accomplished in France on 2 December 1851, which established the military bourgeois dictatorship of Louis Napoleon. On 2 December 1852, the Empire was proclaimed, and Louis Bonaparte became Emperor Napoleon III.—152, 242

218 A reference to the 'Adresse au peuple et au Congrès des États-Unis d'Amérique' (Address to the People and Congress of the United States of America) which was read on 2 November 1868 at a meeting convened in London by petty-bourgeois democrats Felix Pyat, Victor Le Lubez, J. V. Weber, etc. The Address was printed by La Cigale, No. 45, 8 November 1868, and L'Espègle, No. 45, 8 November 1868.—155

219 A reference to Borkheim's letter to Engels of 9 November 1868.—156

220 The 'gang system' mentioned here has been described by Marx on pages 684-87 of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital (1867). In the second (1872) and subsequent German editions, this information was to be found in Part VII, Chapter XXIII, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation'. Corresponding to it in the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels was Ch. XXV Section 5e ('The British Agricultural Proletariat') of Part VII ('The Accumulation of Capital').—156

221 The meeting convened in Paris on 10 October 1868 by French economists and journalists, including Horn, was devoted to the problem 'capital and interest from the point of view of labour'. A report of the meeting was published by Le Figaro, No. 285, 11 October 1868, under the heading 'Chronique de Paris'.—158

222 A reference to the subscription launched by the democratic and republican Paris press to raise money for a monument to Victor Baudin, deputy of the Legislative Assembly, who died on the barricades during the Bonapartist coup of 2 December 1851. Against the background of mounting anti-Bonapartist sentiments, the subscription assumed the nature of a mass political campaign. Its organisers had legal proceedings instituted against them on the charge of inciting hatred against the government. The trial took place on 13-14 November 1868. The accounts were published in pamphlet form under the heading 'Affaire de la souscription Baudin (The affair of Baudin's subscription) in Paris, in 1868. The monument was unveiled only in 1872. The banquet movement—a campaign for an electoral reform in France in 1847, on the eve of the revolution. Bourgeois-democratic elements took an active part in it alongside the bourgeois liberals. Engels gave his opinion of this movement in a number of articles (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 364-66, 375-82, 385-87, 393-401, 409-11, 438-44).—159, 188, 191
The Bank Charter Act (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on 19 July 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department issuing bank-notes. The Act limited the quantity of bank-notes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves, which could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of bank-notes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in the precious metal reserves. The issue of bank-notes by provincial banks was stopped. The Act was suspended several times by the government itself, in particular, during the economic crises of 1847, 1857 and 1866. Marx gave an analysis of the meaning and significance of the 1844 Act in a series of articles written in 1857-58 for the New-York Daily Tribune: ‘The Vienna Note.—The United States and Europe.—Letters from Shumla.—Peel’s Bank Act’ (see present edition, Vol. 12), ‘The Bank Act of 1844 and the Monetary Crises in England’, ‘The British Revulsion’ (Vol. 15), ‘The English Bank Act of 1844’ (Vol. 16), etc. A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in Capital, Vol. III (Chapter XXXIV) (Vol. 37).—159, 166

Marx is referring to the Chapter ‘Spaltung von Profit in Zins und industriellen Profit. Das zinstragende Kapital’ of his manuscript of Book Three of Capital written in 1864-65. In Volume Three of Capital published by Engels in 1894 it corresponds to the entire Part V ‘Division of Profit into Interest and Profit of Enterprise. Interest-Bearing Capital’ (see present edition, Vol. 37).—160

A reference to the confidential address of the Permanent Central Committee Bureau of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) of 22 September 1868. It was published as a leaflet signed by Gustav Vogt, the President of the Bureau and Editor-in-Chief of the League’s press organ, Les États-Unis d’Europe. The address called on the League ‘to become a pure political expression of great economic and social interests and principles which are now developed and spread so triumphantly by the great International Working Men’s Association of Europe and America’ (see also K. Marx, F. Engels, The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men’s Association, present edition, Vol. 23.).—161

The decision to publish the resolutions of the Geneva and Brussels congresses was adopted by the General Council on 6 October 1868 on a suggestion by Lafargue and Dupont. The preparatory work was done by Eccarius, while Marx put the finishing touches and checked the translation into English. The first part of the pamphlet was published in The Bee-Hive, No. 371, 21 November and the second, in No. 374 on 12 December 1868. In February 1869 the resolutions were published in London in pamphlet form, under the heading: ‘The International Working Men’s Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and Congress of Brussels, 1868’.—161, 221, 223

A reference to the bankruptcy of Overend, Gurney and Company, a major British bank. It financially ruined a large number of depositors. The matter was brought to court; the trial ended in December 1869 with the acquittal of the company directors.—161, 208, 305, 548

The Reform League was founded in London in the spring of 1865 on the initiative and with the direct participation of the International’s General
Council as a political centre of the mass movement for the second election reform. The League’s leading bodies—the Council and Executive Committee—including the General Council members, mainly trade-union leaders. The League’s programme was drafted under the influence of Marx, who called upon the working-classes to pursue their policy independently of bourgeois parties. Unlike these parties, which confined their demands to household suffrage, the League advanced the demand for manhood suffrage. This revived Chartist slogan (see Note 201) evoked a sympathetic response among the working class and won the League the support of the trade unions, hitherto indifferent to politics. The League had branches in all major industrial towns and counties. However, the vacillations of the bourgeois radicals in its leadership, and the conciliation of the trade union leaders prevented the League from following the line chartered by the General Council. 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 layer of the working class (see Note 3).—161, 245

229 In St. Stephen’s Chapel, where the House of Commons sat between 1547 and 1834. Later, came to designate the House of Commons of the British Parliament.—162

230 Chassepot—a needle-gun invented in 1866 by a French worker and named after him; the French army was supplied with this type of weapon in 1866-74.—162, 553

231 Marx exposed the slanderous attacks of the French bourgeois newspaper Le Constitutionnel against the Paris workers, participants in the June 1848 uprising, in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 154, 156, 479).—162

232 Rotten boroughs—sparsely populated or depopulated small towns and villages in England which enjoyed the right to send representatives to Parliament since the Middle Ages. These representatives were in fact appointed by the landed aristocracy, who controlled the handful of ‘free voters’ who nominally elected them. The ‘rotten boroughs’ were disfranchised by the electoral reforms of 1832, 1867 and 1884.—163

233 The Mobile Guard was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on 25 February 1848 with the secret aim of fighting the insurgent people. Its armed units consisted mainly of lumpen-proletarians and were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Subsequently, it was disbanded on the insistence of the Bonapartists, who feared that in the event of a conflict between President Bonaparte and the republicans the Mobile Guard would side with the latter.

For Marx’s description of the Mobile Guard, see his work The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850 (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 62-63).—164

234 Marx’s article for The Diplomatic Review was written on request of Collet Dobson Collet, the publisher, on 9 November 1868 (see this volume, p. 159), and published under the heading ‘How Mr. Gladstone’s Bank Letter of 1866 Procured a Loan of Six Millions for Russia’ (see present edition, Vol. 21). The editors of The Diplomatic Review prefaced it with a note which introduced Marx as the author of Capital and the Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century (see present edition, vols. 35 and 15).—166

235 The National Sunday League—a philanthropic educational organisation which campaigned to get the cultural establishments—museums, concert halls,
etc.—to stay open on Sundays, since the working population was unable to visit them on weekdays. Its honorary secretary was R. M. Morell, and a member of the council—the bourgeois radical Baxter Langley. The League's activities met with a strong opposition from the Anglican Church and the religious organisations which demanded a strict observance of Sundays.

The League's premises at 256, High Holborn, London, W.C. were the venue of the General Council meetings held between June 1868 and February 1872. —166

A reference to the anonymous article 'Look before You Leap, and Beware of Traitors' (Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 949, 18 October 1868), which sharply criticised Jones' attitude to the Whigs and accused him of being a renegade. During the Parliamentary election campaign, Jones openly supported the Whig candidates from Carlisle saying that 'the Whigs had now come round to the Democrats, and joined hands with them'. The article in the Reynolds's Newspaper quoted Jones' remarks of more than ten years before (published by the Democrat newspaper of Carlisle) which did not tally with his later actions: 'The Whigs are the political adventurers; ... they are the men who keep their hands in the pockets of the people; they are tricky politicians. On each side of them stand two classes—one on each side of them, and the thief is in the middle. The one is the Tory; the other is the Radical; and the Whig—the thief—is in the middle.' —166

This letter is the rough draft of Engels' reply to W. Holzenhauer's letter of 18 August 1868. Holzenhauer wrote that he had been employed by the firm of Ermen and Engels in Engelskirchen for 18 years, from the time of its foundation (see Note 238), and had been dismissed after a quarrel with Adolf von Griesheim. —169

A reference to the German branch of the firm Ermen & Engels—at Engelskirchen (near Cologne) founded c. 1840 by Friedrich Engels Sr., which ran the German side of the enterprise with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm had its offices in Barmen.

After their father's death in March 1860, Engels' brothers Hermann, Rudolf and Emil suggested that Frederick should give his share in the business over to them. One of the reasons they named was that he had been living abroad since 1849. Engels was to receive £10,000 in compensation to consolidate his legal and financial position in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester. He became its co-owner in 1864 (see also Note 158). —169

This letter was published in English in full for the first time in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877, Ed. by F. J. Raddatz, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1981. —169, 269

A reference to Schweitzer's reply of 2 December 1868 to Marx's letter of 13 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 132-35). Schweitzer defended the draft Statutes of the Lassallean trade unions (which Marx had criticised) and the political course of the General Association of German Workers which he headed (see notes 104 and 164). Schweitzer declared that he had more reason for leadership of the German workers' movement than Liebknecht, and claimed that control should be concentrated in his hands. As he put it, a reconciliation between Liebknecht and him was possible only if Marx, whom both sides recognised as the 'spiritual Eminence' should personally intervene to support Schweitzer against Liebknecht. —172, 175, 176
241 A reference to the letter from the Saxon miners of Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, dated 15 November 1868, which expressed their wish to join the International, was sent to Marx and read at the General Council meeting of 24 November 1868 (see Note 281).—172, 176

242 In his letter to the General Council of 29 November 1868, written on behalf of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva, Johann Philipp Becker wrote that Bebel, President of the Union of the German Workers' Associations (see Note 169), had stated in his circular letter that societies could join the International Working Men's Association without paying membership dues. Bebel's purpose in doing so was to popularise the resolution on joining the International passed by the Nuremberg Congress (see Note 135). This question was discussed at the General Council meeting on 15 December 1868, at which Marx stated that he had requested Liebknecht to remove that point from the circular letter.—172

243 A reference to the formation of a new Cabinet under Gladstone. On that occasion, The Times featured an editorial which contained, among other things, predictions about the appointments likely to be taken up by Lowe and Bright (see The Times, No. 26300, 5 December 1868).—176

244 Above the address in the original is the oval seal of the General (Central) Council with the inscription: 'International Working Men's Association, Central Council, London'.—177, 195

245 A reference to Sigfrid Meyer's letter of 24 November 1868, which was a reply to Marx's letter of 28 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 148-49). Meyer wrote about the progress of the labour movement in the USA and the work he was doing with August Vogt to set up a German Section of the International in New York.—177

246 A reference to the cotton crisis produced by the cessation of cotton deliveries from the USA due to the blockade of the slave-owning Southern states by the Northern states' navy during the Civil War of 1861-65. The cotton famine in Britain began just before the overproduction crisis and merged with it. Since 1862, and for two or three years, three-quarters of the cotton mills in Lancashire, Cheshire, and some other counties stood totally or partially idle.—179

247 Marx quotes Kugelmann's letter of 7 December 1868 that contained Joseph Dietzgen's address for which Marx had asked (see this volume, p. 173) and some information about him. Enclosed with the letter was Dietzgen's photograph and W. A. Freund's letter.—180

248 A reference to the lecture 'On the Physical Basis of Life' delivered by Th. H. Huxley in Edinburgh on 8 November 1868. Later, on 1 February 1869, it was published in The Fortnightly Review, No. XXVI.—183, 242

249 See Note 247.—184

250 This letter is a rough draft of Marx's reply to the letter from the firm of Asher & Co., Foreign Booksellers & Publishers, 12 December 1868. It contained a request for a copy of Marx's pamphlet Herr Vogt, which was not available in London.

The fair copy of the letter has not been found.—185

251 A reference to the letter from A. A. Serno-Solovyevich to Marx of 20 November 1868, in which he requested Marx, on behalf of the commission
The Brimstone Gang — a students' association at the University of Jena in the 1770s which was notorious for its brawls; subsequently the expression became widespread. In 1849-50, it was the jocular nickname of the group of German petty-bourgeois émigrés in Geneva. In 1859, petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt made a number of slanderous statements in which he associated the activities of the Brimstone Gang with Marx and his followers. Marx refuted his allegations in his pamphlet Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 28-37).— 186

253 A reference to the blockade of the Southern ports, from which cotton was shipped to England, declared by Lincoln on 19 April 1861. The blockade, which lasted till August 1865, was not very effective, however, since contraband trade developed between the Southern states and England and also between the South and the North. Liverpool played a special role in the smuggling of commodities between England and the Confederation: for the first two years of the war 31 thousand bales of pressed cotton were delivered there. (See K. Marx, 'The British Cotton Trade' and 'The Crisis in England', present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 17-20 and 53-56.)— 186

254 Marx refers to the speech made by Louis Michel on 13 November 1851 in the Legislative Assembly (see Le Moniteur universel, No. 318, 14 November 1851, supplement 1) concerning the Bill introduced on 6 November 1851 by the royalists Le Flô, Baze and Panat, questors of the Legislative Assembly (deputies of the Assembly in charge of economic and financial matters and security). The Bill, which gave the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly the right to summon troops, was rejected on 17 November. When the vote was taken, the Montagne supported the Bonapartists, seeing the royalists as the principal danger.— 188

255 A reference to the meeting of the deputies of the Party of Order at the French Legislative Assembly held in the Mayor's office of Paris' 10th district on 2 December 1851. It adopted a resolution on Louis Napoleon's resignation from the post of President and the transition of power to the Legislative Assembly. The deputies refused to apply to workers for support. This attempt at legalised opposition to the coup d'état was immediately suppressed by the police and the troops. Participants in the meeting were arrested.

A detailed report of the meeting was published in: E. Ténor, Paris en décembre 1851. Étude historique sur le coup d'état, Paris, 1868, pp. 142-64.— 188, 191

256 A reference to the Frankfurt Parliament or the German National Assembly, which was convened after the March revolution in Germany and first met on 18 May 1848 in Frankfurt am Main. Its principal goal was to overcome the political fragmentation of the country and work out a German constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. It did not dare call upon the people to rebuff the onslaught of counter-revolution and defend the constitution. When the major German states recalled their deputies, and the authorities of Frankfurt am Main banned meetings within the city limits, the left-wing elements moved to Stuttgart and tried to launch a legal campaign in defence of the imperial constitution, but were dispersed by the troops on 18 June 1849. Marx and Engels severely criticised the activities of the Frankfurt National Assembly in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (see present edition, vols. 7, 8 and 9).— 189
This refers to the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste), founded by Mikhail Bakunin, in Geneva in October 1868. Besides Bakunin, members of its Provisional Committee were Brosset, Duval, Guétat, Perron, Zagorsky and Johann Philipp Becker. In 1868 leaflets in French and German containing these documents were published in Geneva. On 29 November, Becker, who shortly afterwards broke with Bakunin, sent the Alliance's Programme and Rules to the General Council for approval. On 15 December, the General Council spoke against the admission of the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association, and on 22 December unanimously approved, with insignificant amendments, a circular letter 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy' (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36) written by Marx and approved by Engels, which exposed the Alliance's wish to split the workers' movement (see this volume, p. 192). The circular letter was sent out to all the sections of the International as a confidential communication.

For the text of the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy with Marx's remarks, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11,—190, 191, 201, 211, 218, 413, 424, 489

After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France in February 1848, foreigners residing in Paris conceived the idea of setting up armed legions for the purpose of establishing republics in their home countries. Marx and Engels were resolutely opposed to the export of revolution as an adventurist and unsound venture which doomed the revolutionary forces to destruction. A case in point was the fate of the Belgian republican legion which was making its way home from Paris and was ambushed by Belgian government troops on 29 March 1849 immediately after crossing the French border near the village of Risquons-Tout (see also Engels' article 'The Antwerp Death Sentences', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 404-06).—195

In November 1868, the reformist trade union leaders in Britain (Applegarth, etc.) took part in the setting up of a committee for the organisation on behalf of the workers of a banquet in honour of the American Ambassador in London Reverdy Johnson. On 1 December 1868, the General Council made public the committee's letter which suggested that the Council should send its representative to the banquet. Marx, who was opposed to the workers' participation in the organisation of such a function, said that Johnson 'did not represent the working classes of America [and that] the working classes ought not to go in the wake of the upper and middle classes'. The General Council resolved to send Robert Shaw and Hermann Jung to the committee's organisational meeting to campaign against this sort of undertaking. Thanks to the steps taken by the General Council representatives, the attempt to give a reception in honour of Johnson on behalf of the workers failed.—195

An excerpt from this letter was published in the Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co catalogue on 19 April 1977.—196

Marx apparently sent his daughter Laura a volume of poetry by Rückert, a German Romantic poet, whose work was influenced by Goethe's Oriental poetry.—196

The Corn Laws (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of landowners in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. In 1888 the
Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade with the aim of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing workers' wages. The struggle between industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.—196

263 Marx refers to the second section of Chapter VI in the first German edition (1867) of Volume One of Capital entitled 'Die s.g. ursprüngliche Accumulation'. In the second (1872) and subsequent German editions the structure of the volume underwent changes. The above-mentioned Chapter VI came to form Part VII, while the second section of it became Chapter XXIV. Corresponding to this section in the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels are chapters XXVI-XXXII, Part VIII ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation', see present edition, Vol. 35).—197

264 A reference to Bakunin's letter to Marx of 22 December 1868 (see Die Neue Zeit, Bd. I, No. 1, Stuttgart, 1900-1901, S. 6-8).—198, 202

265 De Paepe took a firm stand on the policy of Bakunin and his followers who intended to split and disorganise the International. In a letter of 16 January 1869, addressed to the initiating committee of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 257), De Paepe criticised the activities of the Bakuninists and their programme and supported the decision of the General Council on the Alliance passed on 22 December 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36).—198

266 Marx is referring to the economic struggle of the Swiss weavers and building workers, which began on 9 November 1868 with the strike of the ribbon-weavers and dyers in Basle and lasted until the spring of 1869. Marx described it in detail in the 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 68-82).—198, 199, 203, 209

267 A reference to the meeting of the General Council Sub-Committee held on Saturday, 2 January 1869, which discussed the question of the lockouts declared by the textile manufacturers in Rouen and Basle (see notes 266, 272).—198

268 Herzen announced his decision not to take any further part in the publication of the Kolokol (The Bell) in 'Lettre à N. Ogareff' in No. 14-15, 1 December 1868.—200

269 Seven Dials was a poor district in London between Charing Cross and Oxford Street. The place got its name because on this crossing of seven streets once stood a pillar surmounted by seven dials, one for each street. The pillar was removed in 1773.—201

270 The 'Provisional Rules of the Association' written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20), which the General Council unanimously approved on 1 November 1864, was published in English, together with the 'Inaugural Address', as a pamphlet entitled Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association... in London in November 1864, and in The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 161, 12 November 1864. The translation of the 'Provisional Rules' into French made in late 1864-early 1865 contained a number of inaccuracies through the fault of the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris Section. The new and corrected French translation was made by Charles
Longuet under Marx's supervision and was included in the pamphlet *Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire*, which appeared in Brussels in 1866. The Geneva Congress of 1866 approved the Rules (General Rules) and amplified them with Regulations (later Administrative Regulations). These documents were published in late November 1866 in the pamphlet *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et règlement*, Londres, 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). However, the publication remained little known, as out of the 1,000 copies issued, 800 were held up at a frontier post on their way to France. A separate edition of the Rules and Regulations in English appeared in London in 1867 under the heading 'Rules of the International Working Men's Association', London, 1867.—202

271 The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 in Switzerland with the active participation of Victor Hugo and Giuseppe Garibaldi. In 1867-68, Bakunin took part in its work. At the outset the League, influenced by Bakunin, tried to use the workers' movement and the International Working Men's Association for its own ends. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the people, the League's leaders, however, approached peace action from a pacifist stand, refused to reveal the social causes of wars and not infrequently reduced anti-militarist actions to mere declarations. The League's Inaugural Congress was scheduled for 9 September 1867 (originally 5 September) in Geneva to coincide with the conclusion of the Lausanne Congress of the International (2-8 September 1867). At the General Council meeting of 13 August (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, 17 August 1867), Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would have signified approval of its bourgeois programme, but suggested that some members of the International should attend the Congress on their own to try and make it adopt revolutionary and democratic decisions. The Lausanne Congress ignored the decision of the General Council and, influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, resolved to be officially represented at the League's congress. Marx's tactics against the League of Peace and Freedom were fully approved by the Brussels Congress of the International (see Note 138).—202, 489

272 In December 1868, following the wage cuts in the cotton yarns and goods industry, a wave of strikes began in various regions of France, the most important being the one in Sotteville-lès-Rouen. The Rouen Section of the International arranged for the strikers to receive support from workers in other industries in Paris and Rouen. The Rouen Section applied for aid to the General Council. The question of the strikes in Rouen and Vienne was discussed on 5 January 1869 at the Council meeting. On Marx's proposal, it was unanimously decided to voice a protest against the arbitrary rule of the French manufacturers (the resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 379, 16 January 1869). The Council requested the British workers to render aid to the locked-out workers of Rouen and took other steps to give material aid to the strikers.

A detailed account of the strike in Rouen was presented in the 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 73-74).—203

273 A reference to the Polish Insurrection Cross, the symbol of the Polish people's national liberation struggle, given to Jenny Marx on her birthday. Since late
1867 Jenny wore this cross on a green ribbon, the national colour of Ireland, as a sign of mourning for the Fenians executed on 23 November 1867.—206, 214

On Marx’s advice, Borkheim wrote eleven articles brought together in the series Russische Briefe (Russian letters): on the Russian railways (I-VII), on Mikhail Bakunin (VIII-X), and on the Russian press (XI). They appeared in Die Zukunft in January-August and November of 1869 and in February and March of 1870. In a letter to Engels of 19 January 1869, Borkheim asked him to recommend books for use in his work on the articles.—206, 436

This letter is written on a form with the letterhead: ‘Memorandum from Ermen & Engels to M’.—206, 207

A reference to the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation adopted on 12 September 1848. It granted the population the right to take part in exercising legislative power in the forms of Volksanregung and Initiativbegehren. In place of a former Diet, the central legislative body, the Federal Assembly, consisting of a National Council and Council of States, was set up.—209

A reference to the fact that up to August 1869, the Demokratisches Worchenblatt edited by Liebknecht remained a joint press organ of the German People’s Party (see Note 38) and the Union of German Workers’ Associations (see Note 169).—210

Marx’s work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11), in which, following the events, Marx revealed the essence of Bonapartism, drew attention of the leaders of the working-class movement in the 1860s. In 1864 Wilhelm Liebknecht tried to arrange a new publication of the work in Switzerland. Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Lassalle’s friend and associate, offered assistance. Marx, however, turned it down (see Marx to Sophie von Hatzfeldt, 22 December 1864, present edition, Vol. 42).

In 1865, Marx apparently had the idea of publishing a collection of his and Engels’ works in Germany. The edition was to include also The Eighteenth Brumaire... (see Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, 24 June 1865, present edition, Vol. 42). Marx and Engels planned to enlist the services of Otto Meissner, the publisher of Volume One of Capital (see Engels to Marx, 27 April 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). The negotiations were, however, protracted. Against the background of the exacerbating crisis of the Second Empire in France, Marx stepped up his efforts to get a second edition of the work printed. Already in late January 1869, Marx, who on 27 January had received Meissner’s agreement to undertake a second edition of The Eighteenth Brumaire..., sent him a corrected version (see this volume, Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann, 11 May 1869, and p. 222). The second authorised German edition of this work appeared in Hamburg in late July 1869.—211

Marx addressed the same request concerning his work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte to a number of his friends, including Borkheim. It was F. Wohlauer who sent Marx a copy of the book probably together with the letter of 1 February 1869.—211

Marx refers to Gustav Adolf Bachmann’s letter of 31 January 1869 with the request of the Lugau workers to be affiliated with the International Working Men’s Association. See Die I. Internationale in Deutschland, Berlin, 1964, S. 295.—214, 219

Engels wrote the ‘Report on the Miners’ Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony’ (see present edition, Vol. 21) at Marx’s request on the basis of material sent in by
the Saxon miners from Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, who informed the General Council and Marx personally of their wish to join the International (see Note 241). The report, which Engels had written in English, was read at the General Council meeting of 23 February 1869. An abridged version appeared in The Bee-Hive, No. 385, 27 February 1869. Other English newspapers, including The Times, The Daily News and The Morning Advertiser, refused to carry the report. In early March 1869 Marx himself translated it into German, and it was published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 33, 17 March, Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 12 (supplement), 20 March, and Die Zukunft, nos. 67 and 68, 20 and 21 March 1869.—214, 219, 220, 221, 223, 226, 227, 230, 244

282 As is clear from Lafargue’s letter to Marx’s wife Jenny, written before 12 February 1869, the matter under discussion was Lafargue’s negotiations with the French authoress Clémence Royer about the translation of Volume One of Capital into French. The negotiations proved unproductive. On the translation of Capital into French, see also notes 309 and 441.—217

283 A reference to the plan for the publication of a French daily political newspaper La Renaissance, to be started in 1869. Among the proposed staff members were Blanquists (Jaillard, Tridon etc.) and republicans (Ranc). A major contribution to the work was made by Lafargue, who wrote two articles, one a critique of Proudhonism, and the other a concise exposition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party (the manuscripts are not extant). Lafargue tried to persuade Marx to contribute to the newspaper. Due to a shortage of funds the project fell through, but the preparations had gone so far that in early 1869, a prospectus ‘Pour paraître le 24 février [18]69. La Renaissance, Journal politique hebdomadaire’ was brought out.—217, 220, 225, 287, 290, 308, 316

284 The Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) took place on 21-25 September 1868.—218

285 A reference to the preparatory materials for Borkheim’s articles ‘Michael Bakunin’ (VIII-X) in the Russische Briefe series (see Note 274), brought out by Die Zukunft on 21 July, 13 and 15 August and 2 November 1869. Among the materials used by Borkheim was Bakunin’s ‘Address to the Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends’ (printed in the Kolokol, No. 123-124, supplement, 15 February 1862).—219, 223

286 Engels visited Marx in London from around 4 to 7 February 1869.—222

287 Marx is referring to the book: J. L. Foster, An Essay on the Principles of Commercial Exchanges between England and Ireland, London, 1804. The source of this research was the material collected by two Parliamentary commissions, the Secret Committee of the House of Lords and the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1797 to investigate the affairs of the Bank of England in connection with the operation of the so-called Bank Restriction Act, promulgated on 3 May 1797. It introduced a compulsory exchange-rate of the Bank of England bank-notes and cancelled the exchange of bank-notes into gold. In 1819, the British Parliament adopted a new law which re-established the exchange of bank-notes into gold. The exchange was completely restored by 1821.

A synopsis of Foster’s book made by Marx is extant. Marx made it in his notebook of excerpts entitled ‘Heft II. 1869’ probably right after he had received the book.—224
This is probably an error. W. Blake's work *Observations on the Principles Which Regulate the Course of Exchange; and on the Present Depreciated State of the Currency*, which deals with the difference between the nominal and the real rate of exchange, appeared in London in 1810. In 1802, a book by W. T. Thornton *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain* was published in London. W. Blake repeatedly refers to Thornton's work in the sections on the real and nominal rate of exchange. Marx's synopses of the works by Blake and Thornton have come down to us. They are to be found in Marx's II and VI London notebooks of excerpts of 1850-53 (see MEGA², IV/7, S. 115-27 and 506-27).

Marx mentions William Petty's works dealing with the difference between the nominal and the real rate of exchange in the *Theories of Surplus-Value* (see present edition, Vol. 34).—224

Marx is referring to the decision of the British Government to pardon some of the Fenians who took part in the 1867 uprising. A statement to this effect was made by C. Fortescue-Parkinson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, at the House of Commons on 22 February 1869 (see *The Times*, No. 26368, 23 February 1869). Under the new decision, 49 out of 81 convicts, at that time undergoing penal servitude in Australia and Great Britain, were liable to unconditional pardon. 'The class to which he referred might be described as partly young men, hot-headed and easily led, literally the dupes and tools of others and incapable, as far as can be ascertained, of doing mischief to the public hereafter, if undirected,' wrote *The Times*.—224

Marx likens Gladstone's cabinet (1868-74) to the 'Cabinet of All the Talents'; this ironic name had been given to the notorious Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen (1852-55). A characteristic of the 'Cabinet of All the Talents' is contained in the article by Marx and Engels, 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 620).—224

A reference to the negotiations on the payment of damages inflicted on the United States by Britain, which during the American Civil War of 1861-65 rendered assistance to the insurgent slave-owning Southern states, specifically, by equipping warships for them. Among these, the principal one was the *Alabama*, which operated against the Northerners from August 1862 to July 1864. On 23 November 1868, representatives of the USA and Great Britain signed a convention to cover all Anglo-American claims since 1853 but ignoring those of the *Alabama*. The dispute was finally settled on 14 September 1872, when the Geneva tribunal ruled that Britain should pay $15.5 mln to the United States.—225

Marx quotes a translation into Scots made by John Bellenden of a Scottish 16th century chronicle originally written by Hector Boece, a poet and chronicler. The translation was published in Edinburgh in 1536 under the title *The History and Chronicles of Scotland* and reprinted in 1821. The original, written in Latin, first appeared in Paris in 1527 under the title *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari* and reprinted, with supplements, in 1574.—226, 230

A reference to *La loi relatif à des mesures de sûreté générale* (Law on Public Security Measures) known as *La loi des suspects* (Suspects Law) adopted by the Corps législatif on 19 February and promulgated on 28 February 1858. It gave the Emperor and his government unlimited power to exile to different parts of France or Algeria or to banish altogether from French territory any person suspected of hostility to the Second Empire.—230
A reference to Liebknecht's statement of 18 February published by the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 8, 20 February 1869. In that statement, Liebknecht proposed to appoint the General Council the arbiter in the conflict between Schweitzer and his General Association of German Workers on the one hand, and Bebel, Liebknecht and the workers' unions they headed, on the other. The note that Schweitzer had refused to recognise the General Council as arbiter appeared in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 24, 24 February 1869.—230, 234, 405

Wilhelm Hasenclever was elected to the North German Reichstag at the by-elections of 25 January 1869 not in Essen but in the Duisburg constituency. He received 6,792 votes while Dr. Hammacher, a National-Liberal, and Landrat Keßler polled 2,665 and 2,142 votes respectively (4,807 in all). As the source of the information about the outcome of the elections Engels used *Der Social-Demokrat*, 28 February 1869, which mistakenly stated that Hasenclever's superiority amounted to 992 votes.—230

In a letter of 14 February 1869, Kugelmann advised Marx to send an autographed copy of Volume One of *Capital* to A. Quételet, probably hoping to prompt the latter to contribute a review to the press. Kugelmann was impressed by Quételet's book *Zur Naturgeschichte der Gesellschaft...,* Hamburg, 1856, which he quoted in his letter to Marx.—232

A reference to A. Quételet's books *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale*, Tomes I-II, Paris, 1835 (Marx used the English translation published in Edinburgh in 1842) and *Du système social et de lois, qui le régissent*, Paris, 1848. Extracts are extant which Marx copied out of these books in 1851 and probably in 1865-66.—232

The *Liberal Union* (l'Union Libérale), a coalition of bourgeois republicans, Orleanists and a part of the Legitimists formed as a result of their joint opposition to the Empire during the 1863-64 election campaign to the Corps législatif. Another attempt to form a liberal union at the time of the 1869 election campaign failed owing to dissent between the parties which had comprised the coalition in 1863. Moderate bourgeois republicans (Jules Favre, Jules Simon and others) advocated a union with the monarchists and supported the Orleanist Dufaure who, however, lost the elections.—232

A reference to the second letter of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy Central Bureau (see Note 257) of 27 February 1869, a reply to the General Council's circular letter which contained a refusal to admit the Alliance to the International Working Men's Association as an independent international organisation. The Alliance voiced its readiness to disband if the General Council approved its Programme and agreed to admit individual sections of the Alliance to the International.

Marx received the Alliance's address from Eccarius, who enclosed it with his letter of 4 March 1869.—235, 240

Marx discussed the draft of the reply 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy' with Engels; it was unanimously approved by the Council at the meeting of 9 March 1869. The document was written by Marx in English and French (see present edition, Vol. 21), and confidentially communicated to the corresponding secretaries of the International's sections. The document was published for the first time in 1872, in the private circular of the General Council *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23).—235, 237
On the insistence of the General Council, Article 2 of the Alliance's Programme was changed in April 1869 to read as follows: 'It is above all working for the complete and final abolition of classes and for the political, economic and social equalisation of persons of both sexes.'—236, 491

The second edition of Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10) was published in Leipzig in October 1870 as a separate pamphlet with the author's preface, which highlighted the role of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat (see present edition, Vol. 21).—237

Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* was translated into French after Marx's death by the French socialist Edouard Fortin. The translation was published in the central organ of the Workers' Party of France *Le Socialiste* (Paris) in January-November 1891. It appeared as a separate edition that same year in Lille: *Le Dixhuit Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte* par Karl Marx.—238

Engels refers to Wilhelm Angerstein's letter of 9 March 1868, in which the latter requested him to contribute to a new Austrian workers' newspaper. On 11 March 1868 Marx received an offer from Angerstein to contribute to the Viennese newspapers *Der Telegraph* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. See Engels to Marx, 13 March, and Marx to Engels, 14 March 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42).—238

Following in the steps of the ribbon-weavers, the Basle dyers also went on strike on 9 November 1868 (see Note 266). The strike lasted until spring of 1869 and developed into a campaign for the existence of the International in Basle, where its next congress was to be held by decision of the Brussels Congress. In many countries, members of the International launched a mass campaign of solidarity with the striking Basle workers. Apart from the 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel' published in *Der Vorbote* for December 1868, the events were described by Johann Philipp Becker in his pamphlet *Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association und die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel im Winter 1868 auf 1869*, Genf, 1869.—238

In a letter to Marx of 8 March 1869, Otto Meissner wrote that the printing of the second German edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* had been postponed for commercial reasons (the time between the New Year and Easter being unfavourable for book-publishing, while later, Marx could have counted on proofs).—239, 241


In 1895, Engels reprinted the articles from the *Revue* in German with his introduction (see present edition, Vol. 27).—241, 242

When he was about to travel to Karlsbad for a cure, Marx made an attempt to become a British subject in August 1874, as a precaution against possible reprisals by Austrian authorities. In Austria, as in a number of other European countries, members of the workers' and democratic movement could be taken to court for merely corresponding with Marx. A Special Report of the Metropolitan Police Office, Scotland Yard, is extant which was drawn up in connection with Marx's application for citizenship and in which Marx is characterised as follows: '... he is the notorious German agitator, the head of
the International Society, and an advocate of Communistic principles. This man has not been loyal to his own King and Country.'

Marx's request was not granted for reasons which had probably not been explained to him.—243, 248, 563

309 Marx attached considerable importance to the publishing of the French translation of Capital. Ever since 1867, negotiations with Élisée Reclus through Victor Schily had been under way in Paris. Reclus undertook to do the translation in collaboration, with Moses Hess. Judging from Schily's letter to Marx of 24 January 1868, Élisée Reclus and Moses Hess intended not so much to translate Capital as to abridge it in order to adapt it to the needs and tastes of the French public. The negotiations, which lasted for almost three years, were unproductive. In early 1868, an offer to translate Capital came from Józef Cwierczakiewicz (alias Card), a Polish émigré in Geneva. Marx turned the offer down (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 528, 532-33). In December 1868 Lafargue entered into negotiations with the French authoress Clémence Royer over a translation of Capital (see Note 282).

For subsequent attempts to get Capital translated into French, see Note 441.—243

310 See below for a letter from Hirsch to Kugelmann of 8 February and Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 22 March 1869.—249

311 A reference to August Bebel's letter to Marx of 27 March 1869 written in connection with the dispute between Bebel and Liebknecht, on the one hand, and Schweitzer, on the other, at the congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Barmen-Elberfeld on 28-31 March 1869. Pressured by the workers, Schweitzer was obliged to meet half-way the demand of the Association's Leipzig members for an open discussion with Liebknecht, and for his and Bebel's presence at the Barmen-Elberfeld congress (see Note 318). Afraid of losing his prestige in the Association, Schweitzer intended to submit for discussion a proposal on establishing closer contacts with the International. Bebel, who had with Liebknecht arrived at Barmen-Elberfeld on the eve of the congress, warned Marx about Schweitzer's demagogic manoeuvres in the above-mentioned letter of 27 March 1869: 'We have heard so much about Schweitzer's mean tricks here that our hair is standing on end. It is now abundantly clear that Schweitzer has proposed the International's programme solely for the purpose of dealing us a strong blow and splitting up or winning over to his side the majority of the opposition. I request you therefore on my behalf, and also on that of Liebknecht and our other friends, to ignore for the time being the request to approve the corresponding decision of the congress or at least to give Schweitzer a very cautious reply.'—249, 250

312 Seeking to stem the growth of the opposition in the General Association of German Workers Schweitzer proposed to join the International Working Men's Association at the general congress in Barmen-Elberfeld (see notes 311 and 318). His proposal, which was published on 3 February by Der Social-Demokrat, may be summed up as follows: 'a) the Association shares the Programme and goals of the International Working Men's Association;

'b) if the Association does not join the International, this will be solely due to the Law on Associations operating in Germany;

c) the Association considers itself under obligation to work for a repeal of this law and the realisation of a full and unlimited right to form unions and hold assemblies; and especially to popularise the principle according
to which the state has no right to use its laws to prevent a free development of a peaceful workers' movement;

d) until it becomes possible to join the International, the Association will try, as far as it can, to remain in real accord and maintain real cooperation with the International.'

Schweitzer's proposal was approved by the general congress with an amendment introduced by Bremer, the head of the International's Magdeburg Section:

'e) each member of the General Association of German Workers has a right to be a member of the International Working Men's Association.'

In actual fact, Schweitzer refused to cooperate with Liebknecht and Bebel in uniting the German working-class movement under the International. The General Association of German Workers did not join the International.—249

313 Marx is referring to Joseph Dietzgen's letter of 20 March 1869, in which he wrote about the success of his work in setting up a section of the International Working Men's Association in Siegburg and its environs.—249

314 Engels is referring to his 'Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony' (see present edition, Vol. 21, and this volume, Note 281). Die Zukunft published it on 20 and 21 March 1869, ascribing it to Marx and providing it with an editorial comment: 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association has resolved to publish the following report by Karl Marx, Secretary of the General Council for Germany, both in the English original and the German translation.'—250

315 The Bee-Hive, No. 390, 3 April 1869, carried a report on the conference of cooperative societies held in Leeds at which Lloyd Jones, a figure in the British cooperative movement, made a speech on the need to set up a joint press organ of cooperatives and trade-unions, and proposed to call it the Citizen Newspaper. The project had not been carried out.—251, 253

316 Between 1867 and 3 April 1869, Engels' domicile was at 25 Dover Street; he referred to 86 Mornington Street, the house he rented for Lizzy Burns and where he himself lived most of the time since August 1864, as his 'unofficial address'. From 3 April and until September 1870 when he moved to London, Engels' domicile was at 86 Mornington Street.—251

317 A reference to the members of the German Party of Progress founded in 1861. Among its most prominent members were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Forckenbeck and Hoverbeck. The Party advocated German unification under Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the establishment of a liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. Frightened by the possibility of a popular revolution, it did not support the basic democratic rights, i.e., universal suffrage and freedom of the press, association and assembly. In 1866, its Right wing broke away to form a National-Liberal Party which capitulated before the Bismarck Government.—252

318 A reference to the dispute between Liebknecht, Bebel and Schweitzer at the congress of the General Association of German Workers held in Barmen-Elberfeld on 28-31 March 1869 (see Note 311). Bebel and Liebknecht accused Schweitzer of having contacts with the Bismarck Government and of attempts to prevent the formation of a united workers' party in Germany. The congress showed that Schweitzer's authority had been undermined: 14 delegates representing 4,635 of the Association's members refused to give him a vote of
confidence, while 42 delegates with 7,400 votes gave such a vote. The congress adopted a number of resolutions aimed at restricting Schweitzer's dictatorial powers and making the internal life of the Association more democratic: in addition to the President, it was to be headed by a board of twelve members and its seat was to be in Hamburg. A proposal was moved to convene a Social-Democratic congress in Germany with a view to 'founding a united organisation'. On Schweitzer's suggestion, it was resolved to establish closer contacts with the International to the extent permitted by the German law. In fact, however, the Association's leadership continued to pursue a sectarian policy and obstruct the affiliation of the Association with the International.— 253, 255, 264

Marx is probably referring to a General Council meeting of 1 December 1868, which discussed the question of workers' participation in the campaign to organise the reception for the American Ambassador in London, Reverdy Johnson (see Note 259).— 253

Boustrapa—nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the cities where he staged putsches: Boulogne (6 August 1840), Strasbourg (30 October 1836), and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which culminated in the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship).— 253, 523

A printers' strike in Geneva began in March 1869 when the owners of printing presses refused to raise the workers' wages, for which the latter had been campaigning for ten years. The strike was headed by the Romance Federal Committee and the International's sections in Geneva which secured financial support for the strikers from workers in Switzerland, France, Germany and Italy.

For a detailed account of the strike, see Marx's 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 71).— 254

Die Zukunft wrote about this statement by Schweitzer on 2 April 1869: 'It should be noted that Herr von Schweitzer had earlier stated unambiguously that if even the most insignificant minority should refuse to grant him confidence, he would immediately resign. It seems, however, that he changed his mind again after the voting.'— 255

On 3 April 1869, the political affairs section of Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 14, reported: 'Since now there is every reason to hope for, if not the influence, then at least the unification of the various factions of Social-Democracy, we shall henceforth refrain from attacking Herr von Schweitzer in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt so as not to obstruct the unification. We assume, naturally, that the other side will terminate its attacks against us.'— 255

When under discussion during the spring of 1869, the Bill on regulations for handicraft trades in the North German Reichstag was severely criticised by the working-class deputies. Following Engels' directions (see Note 51), on 18 March Bebel demanded that factory work be subjected to some sort of regulation, i.e., that a ten-hour working day be introduced, work on Sundays prohibited, factory inspection organised and freedom of association granted to trade unions (see Die Zukunft, No. 67, 20 March 1869). Of the numerous proposed amendments, only Bebel's suggestion that 'workers' books' be abolished was adopted. On 29 May the Bill was passed (see 'Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages der Norddeutschen Bundes. I. Legislatur-Periode-Session 1869', 1. Bd. Berlin, 1869, S. 114-19, 124 and
146-48). Reporting to the General Council on 13 April 1869 about the speeches of the worker deputies at the North German Reichstag, Marx mentioned Bebel's speech in particular (see The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes, Moscow, 1974, pp. 81-82).—255, 274

325 In a letter to Marx of 3 April 1869, Liebknecht gave an optimistic account of the outcome of the struggle against Schweitzer at the congress of the General Association of German Workers in Barmen-Elberfeld (see Note 318). According to him, Schweitzer had sustained a crushing defeat, the leadership had passed into the hands of the Hamburg board and strife was extinguished. Summing up his information, Liebknecht wrote: 'The General Association of German Workers numbers only 11,000 men who have extremely vague political notions and mostly support Bismarck. Our Union is more numerous and enlightened.'

Liebknecht also wrote about his intention to bring out Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany as a separate pamphlet (2,000 copies) (see present edition, Vol. 10).—256

326 The strike of workers in the cotton yarns and goods industry in Preston (Lancashire) began in March 1869 as a response to the provocative decision of the manufacturers to cut wages by ten per cent. The General Council and the trade unions organised financial support by workers in other towns, as a result of which the strike lasted until August 1869, and ended in a compromise (wages were reduced by 5 per cent). Reports on the progress of the strike appeared regularly in The Bee-Hive.—257, 278, 296

327 A reference to Moll's letter to Marx of 6 April 1869, written on the instructions of the Solingen Section of the International. Moll wrote: 'The congress of the General Association of German Workers in Barmen-Elberfeld (see notes 311 and 318) has, as you know, largely destroyed Dr. Schweitzer's personality cult by blowing away the smoke-screen surrounding that power-hungry dictator; the congress advocated joining the International Association, as far as this is permitted by the existing laws.

'Bebel and Liebknecht vigorously championed the International's principles, made accusations against Schweitzer and other delegates and took them by the throat. Schweitzer did not try to defend himself, although he had intended to do so before the congress. The assured speeches of many, if not all delegates have made it clear that this Association has many viable elements; our section, like the International Association in general, will grow stronger, since the disunited workers' organisations will join the International.'—259

328 This letter was published in English for the first time in: The Times. Literary Supplement, 1.VI.1967.—259

329 On the instructions of the Solingen Section of the International (see Note 330), Friedrich Wilhelm Moll wrote to Marx about the disagreements with Schweitzer in his letter of 6 April 1869 (see Note 327).—260

330 The Solingen Section of the International was set up in February-March 1866. Its members were in touch with the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Geneva and applied for assistance to the General Council and to Marx and Engels personally. The most active members of the Section, including Klein and Moll, took part in the International's congresses. In the autumn of 1867, this Section initiated the establishment of a cooperative of workers engaged in the production of steel and iron goods; it played a major
part in the work of the Section (the Rules of the cooperative were drawn up by J. Ph. Becker).—260

331 In the summer of 1866, the Greek population of Crete rebelled against Turkish rule demanding that the island be incorporated into Greece. Turkish troops undertook harsh punitive measures against the rebels and the island's civilian population. However, supported by volunteers from many countries, the insurgents carried on their struggle.

The events in Crete provoked a fresh exacerbation of international contradictions in the Balkans. In November 1866 the Russian tsarist authorities suggested that the European powers should urge the Turkish Empire to hand Crete over to Greece. However, fearing that Russia would further consolidate its position in the region and that the national liberation movements of the peoples under the Sultan would mount, the Western states preferred Crete to remain under Turkish rule. Support for the Cretan insurgents was confined to a joint statement by Russia, France, Italy and Prussia on 29 October 1867. It advised the Turkish Government to refrain from bloodshed on the island. The conference convened by the European states in Paris in January 1869 to settle the Turkish-Greek conflict forced Greece to discontinue support for the uprising, thereby hastening its defeat. In 1869, the uprising was suppressed.—260

332 Marx's daughters Jenny and Eleanor visited the Lafargues in Paris on 26 March 1869. Jenny returned to London on 14 April, and Eleanor's visit lasted till 19 May 1869.—262, 269

333 A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 12 April 1869.—262, 264

334 Ludlow's review of Capital was not published. The only item about the work in the British bourgeois press appeared in January 1868 in the conservative weekly The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art. Despite open hostility to the author of Capital, the item noted 'the plausibility of his logic, the vigour of his rhetoric, and the charm with which he invests the driest problems of political economy' (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 529).—263

335 Marx is referring to a work by J. Janin La fin d'un monde et du neveu de Rameau, written in 1861; it was a sequel to Diderot’s novel Le neveu de Rameau, as reinterpreted by Janin.—263

336 Engels is probably referring to an article by J. M. Ludlow 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat' published in The Fortnightly Review on 1 April, and Ludlow's letter to Marx of 12 April 1869, a reply to Marx's letter of 10 April (see this volume, pp. 259-60).—264

337 This letter was written by Marx over Liebknecht's letter to him of 12 April 1869. Marx deciphered the names explaining to Engels the following passage from Liebknecht's letter: 'E. I had always defended against B.'—266

338 On 12 February 1867, at the elections to the North German Reichstag in Barmen-Elberfeld, Sophie von Hatzfeldt, who headed a small group of Lassalleans that had split away from the General Association of German Workers in 1867 (see Note 104), launched a campaign against Schweitzer. His candidature was opposed by that of Hillmann which the workers did not support: Hillmann received only 52 votes. However, Schweitzer, who received 4,668 votes, was not elected either.—268

339 At the meeting of the General Council held on 20 April 1869 Marx was instructed to draw up a protest on behalf of the General Council against the
massacre of the strikers in Seraing and Frameries (Belgium) in April 1869 (see Note 343).—270

An allusion to the origin of Paul Lafargue, who was born in Santiago de Cuba. His mother's father was a mulatto, and her mother was an American Indian.—271, 446

Marx's source of information was probably The Times of 24 April 1869, which featured a report 'New York, April 13' in the Telegraphic Despatches column stating that 'Mr. Clay (to Liberia) and Mr. Bassett (to Hayti) are the first two coloured diplomats appointed'.—271

Marx forwarded to Engels Alphonse Vandenhouten's letter to Marie Bernar, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, which dealt with the so-called Brussels Liberation Section (or the Revolutionary Committee of the International Association) founded by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois republicans in Brussels in April 1869. One of the section's leaders was a former police chief. Its provocative activities and calls for plunder and violence provided the Belgian police with an excuse for persecuting members of the International Association. The manifesto of this organisation, connected as it was with the French branch in London (see Note 72), was published in La Cigale, No. 16, 18 April 1869. It was discussed at the General Council meeting of 20 April 1869, which stated that 'there was a party at Brussels who would not conform to the policy of the Central Committee but desired to be affiliated as an independent branch. In case an application should be made to this effect the Council was asked not to comply till after the Congress.'—272

A reference to the bloody reprisals of the Belgian authorities against the strikers at the Cockerill Ironworks in Seraing and miners in Frameries in April 1869. These events were discussed at the General Council meetings of 20 and 27 April and 4 May. Marx was instructed (see Note 339) to draw up an address in English and French on behalf of the Council, and read it out on 4 May 1869, at a General Council meeting. It was decided to publish and distribute it (see K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres', present edition, Vol. 21). On his suggestion, it was also decided to launch a mass protest campaign and secure material relief for the victims.—275

The report of the General Council meeting of 4 May 1869 published in The Bee-Hive, No. 395, 8 May 1869, stated that the General Council had decided to translate the address 'The Belgian Massacres' into four languages to make it known throughout the world.—275

A reference to the letter of Louis Borhardt's daughter Malvine to Marx written on 19 April 1869. Her father had instructed her to apply to Marx for information on one M. Gromier, who had brought Borhardt letters of recommendation from Felix Pyat and Louis Blanc.—276

Marx quotes Eccarius' letter of 29 April 1869, informing Marx about the publication of his pamphlet Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's, Berlin, 1869. The work was written by Eccarius with Marx's substantial assistance and published for the first time in The Commonwealth newspaper in late 1866-early 1867.—276

A reference to the second edition (1869) of Marx's work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see Note 278).—276

A reference to a number of diplomatic documents published since the 1830s by David Urquhart, a British political figure and writer, and his works on foreign
policy. They appeared in a variety of publications edited by Urquhart, including The Portfolio magazine and the newspapers The Morning Advertiser and The Free Press, which in 1866 was renamed The Diplomatic Review, and also as separate books and pamphlets.—278

Marx and his daughter Jenny left for a visit to Ludwig Kugelmann in Germany around 10 September 1869 (see this volume, p. 353), and stayed in Hanover until 7 October. On the way back, they stopped over in Hamburg (8 and 9 October), where Marx had an appointment with Otto Meissner. On 11 October, Marx returned to London.—279, 312, 318, 337, 359, 551

A reference to the reprisals of the Belgian authorities against workers in Charleroi in the spring of 1868 and in Seraing and Frameries in April 1869 (see notes 24 and 343).—279

Marx wrote the ‘Address to the National Labour Union of the United States’ (see Note 146) in connection with the threat of war between Britain and the USA which arose in the spring of 1869, and read it on 11 May at the General Council meeting. The English text was published as a separate leaflet and also in The Bee-Hive, No. 396, 15 May 1869; the German version appeared in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 21, 22 May, and Der Vorbote, No. 8, August 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21).—279, 283

A reference to a single system of weights and measures introduced in Germany in 1868.—280

Marx and his youngest daughter Eleanor stayed with Engels in Manchester from 25 May to 14 June 1869. Eleanor’s visit probably lasted until early October.—286, 290, 291, 317, 337, 370, 466


Marx’s letter was addressed to London from Manchester, where he and his daughter Eleanor were staying with Engels between 25 May and 14 June 1869.—287

In May 1869, Peter Le Néve Foster, Secretary of the Society of Arts and Trades Board of Directors, sent out letters to a number of persons, including Marx, requesting their consent to be elected to the Society. Marx’s letter of 28 May 1869 was a reply to this proposal. On 30 June 1869, the Society’s general meeting considered 132 candidatures and took a vote, as a result of which Marx was elected a member. To be admitted, a person had to have three members, at least one being his personal acquaintance, to back his candidature. For Marx, this was Peter Lund Simmonds, a Dane residing in England, a well-known political writer and author of numerous works on botany and agriculture. Marx’s admittance to the Society of Arts and Trades signified recognition by British scientific quarters of his merits as a scholar and political writer.

The Society of Arts and Trades, which was founded in 1754, set itself the philanthropic and educational goal of ‘promoting the arts, trades and commerce’. Its social composition was varied: its managing bodies included both members of the aristocracy, patrons of the Society, and representatives of
a broad cross-section of bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals; among the members were also representatives of trade unions. In the 1860s, the Society’s membership was in excess of 4,000.

In 1858-54, as the mass strike movement began to grow, the Society tried to act as an intermediary between the workers and the manufacturers seeking to take the edge off the class struggle. Marx sharply criticised this position and even called the organisation the “Society of Arts and tricks” (see present edition, Vol. 12, p. 612).

Marx’s admission to the Society gave him greater access to scientific literature to be found in the Society’s library, including its extremely large collection of works by the 17th-19th century economists. Many of them he used when working on Capital. He was particularly interested in recent research in the field of economics and natural sciences, specifically, chemistry and agriculture, whose results were published in the Society’s journal. Marx used the materials of the journal for 1859, 1860, 1866 and 1872 in Volume One of Capital (the first and second editions) (see present edition, Vol. 35).—287, 297, 372

357 Written across Marx’s letter were the words which meant that Marx had signed a written commitment to observe the Rules and Regulations of the Society. In the bottom right corner, by Marx’s signature, his name and academic degree (Ph. D.) are written again in a more legible hand.—287

358 A reference to Austria’s defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866, which resolved the long-standing rivalry between the two states. Its outcome was the unification of Germany under Prussia.—289

359 J. B. Schweitzer stated at the sitting of the North German Reichstag on 17 May 1869: ‘When a red banner is hoisted in Paris over the Tuileries, Europe will go up in flames as it did at the time of the French bourgeoisie’s revolution, which opened up the way for European revolutions.’—289

360 Marx’s letter was written on the fourth page of Eleanor Marx’s letter to her sister Jenny. The letter was published in English for the first time in: Annali dell’Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, an I, Milano, 1958.—290

361 Between 27 March and 19 May 1869, Eleanor Marx was staying with the Lafargues in Paris, from where she went to Manchester with her father to visit Engels (see Note 355).—290

362 Edda—a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating from the 15th century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic Bishop Sveinsson—the so-called Elder Edda, and in a treatise on the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorri Sturluson (Younger Edda). The Eddas mirrored the state of Scandinavian society at the time of the disintegration of the tribal system and the migration of the peoples. They include plots and characters from Nordic folklore.—295

363 J. B. Schweitzer, President of the General Association of German Workers, and Fritz Mende, President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers which was under the influence of Sophie von Hatfeldt (see Note 338), published in Der Social-Demokrat, No. 70, 18 June 1869 an address ‘Wiederherstellung der Einheit der Lassalle’schen Partei’, urging the two rival organisations to unite on the basis of Lassalle’s Rules drawn up in 1863. The address enjoined them, in categorical form, to hold a vote on this issue within three days and to elect a president of the united Association. Playing on the
desire for unity voiced by the workers belonging to the two organisations Schweitzer succeeded in getting the more democratic forms of leadership evolved by the general congress in Barmen-Elberfeld in the spring of 1869 (see Note 311) abolished, in reorganising the Association along the principles proclaimed by Lassalle's Rules, in accordance with which the President was invested with dictatorial powers, and in getting himself re-elected as President of the united Association. Schweitzer's activities provoked indignation among the members of the Association and hastened the withdrawal from it of its more advanced elements.

Leaders of the opposition in the General Association of German Workers, Wilhelm Bracke, Julius Bremer, Samuel Spier and Theodor Yorck, who consulted Liebknecht and Bebel on 22 June 1869, addressed the Association's members in Magdeburg, urging them to convene a congress for the unification of all Social-Democratic workers in Germany. The address was published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 26, 26 June 1869, and as a separate leaflet. On 27 June 1869, the Union of German Workers' Associations officially supported the address, which was the first step in the practical preparations for the congress in Eisenach (see Note 373).—295, 300, 304

364 In a letter to Marx of 24 June 1869, Wilhelm Eichhoff wrote about the difficulty of selling his pamphlet Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation... (see Note 79), and his brother's inability, for financial reasons, to undertake the reprinting of Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany (see present edition, Vol. 10). The second edition of The Peasant War appeared in 1870 (see Note 302).—297, 299

365 In a letter to Engels of 2 July 1869, Marx's daughter Jenny gave an ironical account of a soirée at the Kensington Museum: 'What genius the English have for the inventing of melancholy pleasures! Fancy crowd of some 7000 mutes in full evening dress, wedged in so closely as to be unable either to move about or to sit down, for the chairs, and they were few and far between, a few imperturbable dowagers had taken by storm and stuck to throughout the evening. Of the works of art (the Queen has sacked all the museums of the people, in order to carry off their treasures to this aristocratic and favourite resorts of the "belated lamented"), it was next to impossible to get a glimpse.'—297

366 Marx is referring to a passage from Laurence Sterne's novel The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman (Paris, 1832, p. 20) saying that gravity 'was no better, but often worse, than what a French wit had long ago defined it,—viz. A mysterious carriage of the body, to cover the defects of the mind.'—297

367 On 23 June 1869 Marx took part in a mass trade union meeting in Exeter Hall in London held in support of the Bill for expanding the rights of trade unions.—298


369 On 30 June 1869, the contract signed by Engels with his partner Gottfried Ermen (see Note 158) expired. Since that time, Engels terminated his participation in the Manchester firm Ermen & Engels and devoted himself exclusively to writing, scientific research and party work.—299, 310, 312
On 29 June 1869, George Henry Moore, an Irish M. P., spoke in the House of Commons disclosing the atrocities perpetrated by the British authorities against the Fenian prisoners and demanded that conditions be improved for those Fenians who had been arrested at the time of the 1867 uprising and had no charge preferred against them. Replying to Moore’s speech, Henry Austin Bruce, the Home Secretary, hypocritically tried to refute the facts cited by Moore and vindicate the actions of the British Government. The other Irish M. P.s, who voiced the wish that the prisoners be treated in a more humane way, by and large justified the repressions against the Fenians. Moore’s proposal was voted down. Marx defined his attitude to this issue in his articles ‘The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners’ and ‘Record of a Speech on the Irish Question’. See also ‘Articles by Jenny Marx on the Irish Question’ (present edition, Vol. 21).—300

Starting from January 1869, Marx’s daughter Jenny gave lessons to the Monroe children. She stayed in Eastbourne with the Monroe family from 4 to 21 July 1869.—300, 327, 547

In a letter to Marx of 29 June Liebknecht explained his long silence by family matters and party work. He wrote: ‘The conflict with Schweitzer is very much there, and victory will soon be attained; 3/4 of the General Association of German Workers already support us, we are having a conference in Brunswick this coming Sunday, and a congress in August, to which you, Engels and Eccarius will be invited. You must attend. In case of extreme need, we’ll get hold of some money. You must show yourself to the German workers. Write to me straight away so that I can show your letter in Brunswick...

‘You must immediately send us the International’s membership cards. I’ve been waiting for them for several months. All German Social-Democrats are now becoming “international”, and we shall discuss the best forms of joining at our, probably Basle congress, to which Bebel and I are going.

‘You must adapt the ‘Communist Manifesto’ for the requirements of agitation. I never pay heed to enemies, but enemies and those who will become such are worthy of some attention.

‘Becker insists that we obey him, but I’ve told him quite definitely that we are maintaining direct contacts with the General Council.’

In another part of the letter Liebknecht explained in detail the considerable financial difficulties involved in the publication of the Demokratisches Wochenblatt and asked Marx to appeal to Engels for financial assistance.—303, 306.

A reference to the all-German congress of the Social-Democrats of Germany, Austria and Switzerland held in Eisenach on 7-9 August 1869. Taking part in it were 263 delegates representing over 150,000 workers; the congress founded an independent revolutionary party of the German proletariat which was called the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party. The congress adopted a programme which incorporated, word for word, the basic provisions of the International’s Rules. The draft Programme was published in the supplement to the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 31, 31 July 1869. It showed some influence of Lassalleanism but was mostly based on Marxist principles. The congress defined the status of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party as a section of the International. Since the Prussian Law on Associations banned all societies which had contacts with other organisations, especially those abroad, the congress decided that the party members should join the International as private persons. It also discussed the organisational principles of the party. The plan proposed by J. Ph. Becker (see Note 409) did not meet with support. August
Bebel, who made a report on the Programme and the organisational issue, emphasised the need to adopt Rules which would preclude a personal dictatorship. The Rules that were approved were drawn up along democratic lines.—303, 332, 335, 345, 544

374 A reference to the clash of miners with the police and troops near Mold, Denbighshire. The workers protested against the lowering of the wages and the atrocities of the mine manager. On 28 May 1869 a crowd of unarmed miners made an attempt to set free their arrested fellow-workers but they were fired on. Five people were killed and many wounded. The court acquitted the authorities and sentenced the 'rebels' to ten years' hard labour. Home Secretary Bruce declared in the House of Commons that the troops had a right to shoot at the crowd in self-defence without obtaining permission from the authorities.


375 The Riot Act, which was promulgated in 1715, banned all 'riotous assemblies' of more than 12 persons; in case of its violation, the authorities were obliged to read out a special warning and use force if the assembly did not disperse within an hour.—305

376 The Arms Act regarded everyone carrying arms without a permit as a violator of public law and order, liable to a court trial. Under George III, in the late 18th century, an act was promulgated which also banned learning the use of arms without prior official permission.—305

377 As a result of a vigorous campaign by the British trade unions for their legalisation, in the spring of 1869 the Royal Commission submitted to Parliament a Bill on the recognition of the unions' legal rights. The Trade Union's Act was passed in 1871.—305

378 The collection Agricultural Statistics, Ireland. Tables showing the estimated average produce of the crops for the year 1866, Dublin, 1867, was used by Marx when preparing the second edition of Capital's Volume One to supplement Part VII, 'The Accumulation of Capital', Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', Section 5, 'Illustration of the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation, f. Ireland'.—306

379 A reference to the Congress of the First International held in Basle on 6-11 September 1869. It was attended by 78 delegates from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain and North America. Marx was not present at the Congress but took an active part in preparing it. The General Council Minutes include his speeches dealing with individual items on the Congress's agenda: the agrarian question (6 July), the right of inheritance (20 July) and public education (10 and 17 August) (see present edition, Vol. 21).

The question of the right of inheritance was entered on the agenda, which was approved on 22 June 1869, at the suggestion of the Geneva Section headed by the Bakuninists. They proposed to annihilate the right of inheritance, believing this to be the only means of eliminating private property and social injustice.

At the General Council meeting of 3 August, Marx read out a Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance, prepared by him, which was approved and submitted to the Congress on behalf of the Council. However, at the Congress itself the question of the right of inheritance provoked a heated
debate. Despite the opposition of Liebknecht and De Paepe, Bakunin managed to win some of the delegates over to his side. No resolution concerning this matter was passed.

After discussing the land question for a second time (the first discussion of land ownership took place at the Brussels Congress [see Note 138]) the majority of the Basle Congress delegates voted for abolishing private property in land and converting it over into common property; the Congress also passed resolutions on the unification of trade unions at the national and international levels.

The Basle Congress was the scene of the first clash between supporters of Marx and Engels, and the followers of Bakunin's anarchist doctrine. The latter failed to assume leadership in the International Working Men's Association. The Basle Congress confirmed that the General Council was to remain in London.

In order to consolidate the unity and organisation of the International, the General Council was granted a right to expel from the International any section that did not comply with its Rules, on condition that the Federal Council and the Congress approved.—306, 322, 325, 335, 338, 351, 355, 364, 393, 405, 413, 463

380 A reference to Liebknecht's speech at the meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union of 31 May 1869, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie' and Bebel's article 'An Herrn Dr. Schweitzer in Berlin' published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 27, 3 July 1869. The end of Liebknecht's speech was published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 32, 7 August 1869 (supplement).—307

381 Marx used the alias A. Williams when staying in Paris between 6 and 12 July 1869.—309, 314, 315

382 This letter was first published in the original (English with German words and phrases) in the book: Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente, Hanover, 1971.—310

383 Replies by Engels to letters from Marx's daughter Jenny of 24 June and 2 July 1869. In the letter of 2 July, Jenny gave an ironic description of an aristocratic soirée at the Kensington Museum on 1 July, to which she and Marx were invited by the educational Society of Arts (see this volume, pp. 297-98 and Note 365).—310

384 Enclosed with the invitation to the Kensington Museum was a printed warning that said: 'The Council of the Society of Arts appeal with confidence to the members to assist in preventing the mobbing and following any Royal and distinguished persons who may attend the Conversazione of the Society on the 1st of July, and request them to assist in enabling such visitors to enjoy the privilege of walking about unmolested, and seeing the objects of art, like any private person.'—310

385 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx K., Engels F., Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1975.—312

386 Engels refers to the unification of the General Association of German Workers headed by Schweitzer and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers headed by Mende and acting under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt (see Note 363).—313

387 A reference to the reconstruction of Paris undertaken by G. E. Haussmann,
Prefect of the Seine Department, for the purpose of building new suburbs with broad streets and avenues. The reconstruction also aimed at preventing barricade fighting during uprisings.—316

388 The elections to the Corps législatif in May-June 1869 spelled considerable success to the anti-Bonapartist opposition despite the repressions of Napoleon III's government. At an extraordinary session in July 1869, 116 deputies belonging to the liberal opposition and Left Centre signed a statement on the need to form a responsible ministry and expand the rights of the Corps législatif. At the sittings of 5 and 8 July, deputy François Vincent Raspail exposed the blatant violations of the freedom of vote by Bonapartist authorities and accused the church of conducting election propaganda during services, and the police, of overstepping their powers at the time of preparations for the election campaign, when a massacre took place in Paris (see Annales du Sénat et du Corps législatif. Session extraordinaire du 28 juin au 6 septembre 1869, Paris, 1869, pp. 204-05). In his message of 12 July Napoleon III promised to expand the Corps' rights and appoint ministers from among deputies, but shirked the issue of the ministry's responsibility, stressing the inviolability of the emperor's power. On 13 July he postponed the session of the Corps législatif for an indefinite period, and on 17 July introduced into the government a number of persons who suited the big bourgeoisie and the clericals but who did not belong to the opposition.—316, 325

389 In a letter of 2 June 1869 Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Marx that Meissner had assured him that the first signatures of the proofs of Marx's work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (second edition) had already been sent to Marx and that the work would appear in two weeks' time.—318

390 In a letter of 6 July 1869, Ludwig Kugelmann suggested to Marx that after the negotiations with Guido Weiß, the editor of Die Zukunft, a short biography of Marx written by Engels for another publication should appear in that newspaper (see also Note 106).—318, 328, 333

391 On 11 July 1869, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsch addressed Marx, on Liebknecht's recommendation, as a member of the General Council, to render financial support to the Leipzig cigar-makers' strike.

Wilhelm Liebknecht also approached Marx with a similar request on 7 and 12 July.

In his letter of 14 July Wilhelm Eichhoff enclosed a variety of material about the working-class movement in Germany and informed Marx that he would probably be elected delegate to the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373).—322, 327

392 On 1 July 1869, the Geneva Central Committee of the German-language sections of the International Working Men's Association passed a resolution published in Der Vorbote in July 1869, which censured Schweitzer's dictatorial behaviour and welcomed the proposal to convene an all-German Social-Democratic Workers' Congress (see Note 373). In this connection, on 14 July, a piece entitled 'Schwindel' appeared in Der Social-Demokrat, whose author was most probably Fritz Mende. He accused Johann Philipp Becker as Chairman of the Geneva Central Committee, and the International, of meddling in the affairs of the General Association of German Workers.—322, 327

393 A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 11 December 1867, in which he explained the reasons for his cooperation with the German People's Party (see Note 38).—324
On 13 July 1869 Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Engels about his intention to ask Marx to prolong his stay in Hanover so that they could go to Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) for a cure together. While they were absent, Marx's daughter Jenny was to stay with Gertrud Kugelmann in Hanover.

On 17 July 1869, Kugelmann replied to Marx's letter of 15 July, in which he again asked Marx to go with him to Karlsbad in August. The reference is to an item published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 29, 17 July 1869, which stated: 'We can assure you further that the General Council of the International Working Men's Association shares our opinion of Herr von Schweitzer but at present considers it inexpedient to interfere, so as to fully preserve the independence of the German workers' movement. But if Herr von Schweitzer proves stupid enough to turn up at the forthcoming congress of the International, as he has stated he will do, he will simply be ordered to leave.'—324, 331

Engels is referring to the elections of the President of the united General Association of German Workers in late June 1869 (see Note 363). The official communication on the results of the elections signed by Mende and published in Der Social-Demokrat on 9 July stated that Schweitzer had been elected by an 'absolute majority' and 'stronger minority' vote. The latter meant that Mende voted for Schweitzer.—324

In early April 1814, after the troops of the anti-French coalition invaded Paris, Talleyrand prepared a convocation of the Senate which declared Napoleon I deposed. In June 1815, after Napoleon I's armies were defeated at Waterloo, the majority of the Chamber of Representatives demanded that he abdicate.—325

Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in: The Letters of Karl Marx, Selected and translated ... by Saul K. Padover, New Jersey, USA, 1979; Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence. 1844-1877. Edited by Fritz J. Raddatz. Boston, Toronto, 1981.—326, 329

Marx's letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht written around the beginning of July (earlier than 10 July), 1869, has not been found.—326

A reference to an item carried by the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 28, 10 July 1869, which stated that only 'full members of the International Working Men's Association would be admitted to the Basle Congress.'—326

Marx's letter to Liebknecht written around 17 July 1869, has not been found.—326

Marx's letter to Otto Meissner, probably written on 19 July 1869, has not been found.—327

As Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 17 July 1869 makes clear, the reference is to Bracke's intention to appeal to the General Council of the International for financing the propaganda campaign against Schweitzer in Germany.—327, 331

A reference to Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 22 July 1869.—328

Marx's reply to Liebknecht's letter of 22 July 1869 has not been found.—328

Marx is referring to the sections 'Arbeitsprozess und Verwerthungsprozess' and the 'Theilung der Arbeit und Manufaktur' of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital. Corresponding to them in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume are Chapters V and XII (see present edition,
Vol. 35). In the English edition of 1887 prepared by Engels, this material is to be found in Part III, Chapter VII, 'The Labour-Process and the Process of Producing Surplus-Value', and Part IV, Chapter XIV, 'Division of Labour and Manufacture'.—329

407 In connection with the intention of Karl Vogt, the German natural scientist, to go on a lecture tour of Germany in 1869, Engels suggested that, with help from Kugelmann, Marx's book *Herr Vogt* should be circulated in Berlin (see present edition, Vol. 17). Wilhelm Liebknecht possessed a number of copies. (See also this volume, Engels' letter to Marx of 29 January 1869 and Marx's letter to Engels of 29 March 1869.)—330

408 Marx used the book by Nassau William Senior mentioned here while preparing the second German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, which appeared in 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 35).—331

409 Johann Philipp Becker published, on behalf of the Central Committee of the German-language sections, an address to the Eisenach Congress, which was published by *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1869 (see Note 373). It contained a plan of a working-class organisation. Becker, who was under Bakunin's influence, refused to recognise the need for a proletarian political party. He regarded the trade unions as the only acceptable organisational form of workers' movement and sought to put the German Social-Democracy under the control of the Central Committee of the German-language sections. Marx, Engels and Bebel were sharply critical of this plan.—332, 335

410 A receipt written by Bernard, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, has come down to us: 'Received from Mr. Marx the sum of 25 thaler for the victims of Seraing and Borinage (Belgium). London, 22 July 1869. Bernard, Secretary for Belgium. twenty-five thaler.' Marx wrote on the receipt: '(This money was sent to me by Bebel in the name of the Leipzig workers. K.M.)' (See: *The General Council of the First International 1868-1870. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 443-44).—332

411 A reference to the General Council meeting of 20 July 1869, at which Marx made a speech on the right of inheritance as part of the preparations for the Basle Congress. A report of the meeting was printed by *The Bee-Hive*, No. 406, 24 July 1869, but was not accurate. Marx's speech, which has been preserved in its original form in the minutes taken by Eccarius, is reproduced in the present edition (see Vol. 21, p. 394).—334

412 A reference to the *National Reform League* set up in 1849 in London by Chartist leaders James (Brontëre) O'Brien, Reynolds, etc. The League's goal was to attain universal suffrage and introduce social reforms. In 1866, it joined the International and worked under the guidance of the General Council, having turned into a branch of the Reform League. The latter's leaders, Alfred Walton and George Milner, were members of the General Council and participants in a number of the International's congresses.

On Marx's stay in Paris, see Note 381.—334

413 *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1869, carried a report of the meeting of the Nuremberg Section of the International. At the meeting, which was convened to establish closer contacts among the Bavarian workers' organisations, representatives of 15 such organisations were present. Amongst others, the meeting passed a resolution on the campaign for 'direct popular legislation'. In a commentary to the resolution, Johann Philipp Becker proposed to submit it for discussion to the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373).—336
414 A reference to the letters of August Bebel of 30 July 1869, and Wilhelm Liebknecht, late July 1869. Bebel's letter was a reply to Marx's letter (not extant) of 27 July 1869 (see this volume, p. 332). Bebel and Liebknecht supported Marx's critical attitude to Becker's plan for a workers' organisation in Germany (see Note 409) and advocated its formation on the basis of the International's principles.—358, 339

415 A reference to the address to the German Social-Democrats 'An die deutschen Sozial-Demokraten' on the convocation of an all-German workers' congress in Eisenach with a view to founding an independent workers' party in Germany. The address appeared in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 29, 17 July 1869. It was signed by representatives of workers' societies of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Among the signatures of the members of the Central Committee of the German Workers' societies in Switzerland was that of petty-bourgeois democrat Amandus Goegg. This fact gave ground for an article featured by Der Social-Demokrat, No. 84, 21 July 1869, which identified the views of Liebknecht and his followers with those of Goegg.—339

416 A reference to the address of the Geneva Central Committee to the Spanish revolutionaries, 'Der Internationale Arbeiterbund von Genf an die Arbeiter Spaniens' issued on 21 October 1868. It was published as a separate leaflet in German and in French and in Der Vorbote, No. 12, December 1868.—340

417 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente, Hanover, 1971.—341

418 Engels stayed in Ostend and Engelskirchen with relatives from around 19 August to early September 1869.—342, 352, 357

419 Marx refers to Liebknecht's speech 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie' made at the meeting of the Berlin Democratic Labour Union of 31 May 1869 (see Note 380). Liebknecht said that August Brass, editor of the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung was willing to give Marx, Engels and himself space in his newspaper to popularise the ideas of socialism and communism, but that he had turned down this proposal.—344

420 On Marx's recommendation, Hermann Jung, member of the General Council, evidently attended the meeting of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners which discussed a nominee to the Basle Congress. On 17 August, Jung informed the General Council that the Society would probably send a representative to the Congress. This was the Society's General Secretary Robert Applegarth, who, however, carried only a General Council member's mandate.—346

421 Engels, Lizzy Burns and Eleanor Marx toured Ireland from 6 to 16 September 1869.—348, 351, 356

422 A reference to Dupont's statement at the General Council meeting of 17 August 1869, that the Paris bronze-workers had paid off their debt to the London trade unions (see Note 18).—350

423 Marx quotes Neumayer's letter to the General Council of 14 August 1869.—350

424 Zabicki made a report on the 1869 strike at woodworking factories and brickworks in Posen at the General Council meeting of 17 August 1869, at which Marx was present. Zabicki said that 'the building operatives of Posen
(Polish) had won their first strike; they had been assisted by the men of Berlin.'—350

425 Hiltrop's essay mentioned by Engels, 'Ueber die Reorganisation der Knappschaftsvereine', appeared in the Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus, nos. 4, 5 and 6, April, May and June, 1869. The magazine was edited by Ernst Engel. Engels examined the rules of the miners' guilds (guild funds) in the coalfields of Saxony on Marx's instruction, and in February 1869 prepared a report on this question for the General Council (see Note 281).—352

426 On 21 August 1869, Liebknecht reprinted Marx's biography in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 34. It was written by Engels and first appeared in Die Zukunft, No. 185, 11 August (see present edition, Vol. 21). When reprinting the material, Liebknecht omitted the following phrases (printed in italics): 'Everything he [Lassalle—Ed.] wrote was derived from elsewhere, not without some misunderstandings either; he had a forerunner and an intellectual superior, whose existence he kept a secret, of course, whilst he vulgarised his writings, and the name of that intellectual superior is Karl Marx.' By way of explanation, Liebknecht wrote to Marx on 17 August 1869, that he had abridged the text since it could 'offend' the Lassalleans if printed in full.—352

427 The item published by Liebknecht in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 35, 28 August 1869, read: 'It has been decided in Eisenach that alongside with the general party organ (Der Volkstaat, for the present, the Demokratisches Wochenblatt), there should be a press organ for Austria—Die Volkstimme, and for Switzerland, Felleisen.'—352

428 Engels refers to the lengthy discussion at the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373) around a name for the party, which involved, among others, the German petty-bourgeois democrat Rittinghausen. The name agreed upon was the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Sozial-demokratische Arbeiterpartei). A report of the Eisenach Congress was published in the Demokratisches Wochenblatt, No. 33, and supplements to nos. 33 and 34, 14 and 21 August 1869.—352

429 In the 1860s, in Prussia's Rhine Province, Baden and some other German lands, Catholic priests, including Ketteler, the Bishop of Mainz, launched a campaign for universal suffrage, laws protecting workers' rights, etc. In this way the Catholic clergy sought to prevent socialist ideas from taking hold of the German workers. On 6 September 1869, a congress of Catholic communities opened in Düsseldorf, which adopted a resolution 'To demand from all Christians of all estates that they take care of the working class and promote its economic and moral flourishing'.—354

430 A reference to the second edition of Marx's work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, which appeared in late July 1869. In reply to Marx's note, which is not available, Meissner wrote on 28 September 1869 that all copies of Marx's book have been sent off with the exception of the 25 he had.—354

431 Liebknecht's letter to Marx in which he asked for Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany for reprinting has not come down to us. There is Liebknecht's letter to Kugelmann of 20 September 1869, in which Liebknecht writes that he intends to reprint this work. On 20 December, Liebknecht wrote to Engels for permission to reprint the work and to ask for a short introduction to it. The second edition of The Peasant War in Germany appeared in Leipzig in October 1870.—354, 356
On 26 September 1869, Marx's second daughter Laura Lafargue turned twenty-four.—355

Marx quotes an old German song (c. 1200).—355

In July 1865, Liebknecht was expelled from the Prussian state by the Berlin police 'for political reasons'. In 1867, he was elected deputy to the North German Reichstag from Saxony and enjoyed a deputy's immunity. However, in September 1869, he was unable to visit Marx in Hanover, as the Prussian police had a right to arrest him during a break in the Reichstag work between 22 June 1869 and 14 February 1870. Marx originally planned a meeting with Liebknecht in Brunswick, and later in Hamburg. However, the meeting never took place.—356, 358

Marx is referring to Paul Lafargue's letter of 14 September 1869, in which the latter gives an account of the General Council meeting of 14 September, the first after the Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association.—356, 445

Ribbonmen—participants in an Irish peasant movement whose members were united in secret societies and wore a green ribbon as an emblem. The Ribbonmen movement, which emerged in late 18th century in Northern Ireland, was a form of popular resistance to the arbitrary rule of the English landlords and the forcible eviction of tenants from the land. The Ribbonmen attacked estates, organised attempts on the lives of hated landlords and managers. The activities of the Ribbonmen had a purely local, decentralised character; they had no common programme of action.—357, 549

Marx was conducting negotiations with Meissner in Hamburg on 8 and 9 October 1869.—357

Engels first conceived the idea of a book on the history of Ireland in the summer of 1869. He studied a vast selection of literary and historical sources: works of classical and medieval authors, annals, collections of ancient law codes, legislative acts and legal treatises, folklore, travellers' notes, numerous works on archaeology, history, economics, geography, geology, etc. Engels' bibliography, embracing over 150 titles, is selective and includes but a fraction of the sources he studied. Preparatory materials take up the bulk of 15 paginated notebooks of excerpts, as well as notes, fragments on separate sheets and newspaper clippings. Marx attached great importance to Engels' book and helped him all he could. The views of Marx and Engels on major problems of Irish history took shape in the course of joint discussions.

In May 1870, Engels began working on it.

Engels actually succeeded in finishing only the first chapter, 'Natural Conditions'. The second chapter, 'Old Ireland', is unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 21), while the two last chapters were not even begun. The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, which were soon to follow, made Engels concentrate on his work in the International and left him no time for the book.—357, 358

A report of this talk, which touched on the vital issues of the working-class movement, was published by J. H. W. Hamann, member of the delegation, cashier of the metalworkers' union, in Der Volksstaat on 27 November 1869. Marx spoke about the significance of trade unions as a school of socialism. He said that in trade unions, workers were getting ready to become socialists, since there they had an opportunity to watch the daily struggle between labour and capital.
He emphasised the importance of an independent printed organ for the working-class movement. 'It is a printed organ of trade unions,' said Marx, 'that can serve as a means of the workers' mutual communication; it is there that the "pros" and "contras" must be discussed. It is necessary to discuss the issue of wages in the different regions, and to collect, as far as this is possible, the opinions of workers in different trades. However, this printed organ must never become the property of a private individual. If we want it to fulfil its purpose, it must belong to a collective. It is probably unnecessary to dwell on the reasons for this attitude, they are so obvious that everyone can be expected to understand: if you wish to see your union flourish, this tenet must be accepted as one of the basic conditions.' The talk ended, wrote Hamann, 'with Marx stressing once more the need never to try to cling to individuals but bear in mind the cause, and draw conclusions only to promote it. "Be it Liebknecht, be it Dr. Schweitzer, or be it myself, always think about the cause, for the truth is not to be found outside it."' Unfortunately, while recording the conversation, Hamann seriously distorted some of Marx's remarks in the Lassallean spirit, specifically, on the issue of the relationship between the political party of the working class and the trade unions. (See *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin (W), 1986, Heft 1, S. 63-71).—358

440 On Marx's meeting with the delegation of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, see Note 447.—358

441 A reference to the French translation of Volume One of *Capital* made by Charles Keller, member of the Paris Section of the First International. Keller began the work in October 1869, and on 16 October sent Marx the translation of Chapter II of the first volume for corrections. Keller took part in the Paris Commune and emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat. The work remained unfinished. The translation of Volume One of *Capital* into French was made by Joseph Roy and published in Paris in 1872-75 in instalments, which were later brought together in a book (on the French translation of *Capital*, see also Note 309).—359, 378, 399, 450, 545

442 Chapter IV of Volume One of *Capital* (first German edition) corresponds to chapters IV, V and VI of the French edition. Marx feared that the chapter in its original form would not suit the French readers.—360

443 N. Flerovsky's book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia* (Н. Флеровский, Положение рабочего класса в России) was sent to Marx by Danielson on 30 September (12 October), 1869. Danielson expressed the hope that it would supply Marx with the necessary material for the subsequent parts of his classical work *Capital*. This work prompted Marx to take up Russian seriously. (For Marx's opinion of Flerovsky's book see this volume, pp. 390, 423, 424).—360, 362, 429

444 A reference to the atheistic congress (Anticoncilio) convened in Naples on 8 December 1869 by petty-bourgeois democrats who stood close to the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 271) as a gesture of opposition to the Catholic oecumenical council which was held in Vatican from 8 December 1869 to 20 October 1870, and adopted the dogma of the Pope's infallibility in the matters of faith. The atheistic congress was broken up by the Neapolitan authorities.—362

445 *Pale*—the name of an English medieval colony in Ireland established as a result of the seizure by the Anglo-Norman feudal lords of the island's south-eastern part in the 12th century. The colony, whose boundaries were fortified (hence
the name), served as the base for incessant wars against the population of the
free part of Ireland which ended in the 16th-17th centuries with the conquest of
the entire country.—363, 415

446 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: Marx K.,
Engels F., Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1979.—363, 365, 522

447 After the Basle Congress (see Note 379), members of the People's Party in
Germany (see Note 38) and the Felleisen newspaper, organ of the German
workers' unions in Switzerland, launched a campaign against the Congress
decisions to abolish private property in land as essentially communist ones.
Seeking to reconcile the People's Party and the petty-bourgeois supporters of
Felleisen with the decisions of the Basle Congress, Goegg, its editor-in-chief,
made a long statement in Der Volksstaat, No. 3, 9 October 1869, in which he
attempted to belittle the revolutionary importance of Congress decisions.
He declared that there was nothing communist about them. Marx is apparently
referring to this statement as 'Goeggiana'.

At that time, Liebknecht and Der Volksstaat, fearing that a break with the
petty-bourgeois democratic elements in the South-German states might occur,
refrained from a large-scale popularisation campaign of the Basle decisions to
convert the land into public property: Der Volksstaat repeatedly stated that
these decisions were applicable only in Britain, where large landed property
existed, and were unsuitable either for Germany or France, where small
peasant holdings predominated. Liebknecht believed that the party approval of
the Basle decisions would be premature and could have prompted the
proletarian supporters of the South-German People's Party to depart from the
Social-Democratic Workers' Party. This tactic met with disapproval on the part
of his associates and soon Liebknecht himself became convinced that it was
erroneous, and began actively to popularise Basle Congress decisions.

On 3 October 1869, at a meeting with Marx in Hanover (see Marx's letter
to Engels of 30 September 1869), members of the Central Committee Bonhorst,
Bracke and Spier discussed the possibility of implementing the Basle Congress
decisions and the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Germany with
respect to the peasantry. On 25 October Bonhorst wrote a letter to Marx
requesting him to give as clear an account of the matter as possible in order to use
it to organise a popularisation campaign among German peasants (see Note 453).
This letter from Bonhorst was forwarded by Marx to Engels.—363

448 Marx learned that Bakunin had the writings of A. A. Serno-Solovyevich, who
committed suicide on 16 August 1869, from L'Égalité, No. 37, 1 October 1869,
which carried an announcement requesting all persons in possession of
manuscripts, letters and other documents of the deceased to submit them for
the use of the newspaper, which was intending to publish his works and
compile a bibliography.—364, 366

449 Marx refers, specifically, to the article by Hermann Greulich 'Die Heulmaierei
gegen den Basler Kongress' published in Der Volksstaat, No. 5, 16 October
1869.—364

450 By 'the antiquated manner of 1789' Marx means the transfer to the peasants of
the land confiscated from the feudal lords (parcelling) at the time of the
French Revolution. Marx and Engels believed that this way of dealing with the
agrarian problem was unsuitable for the proletarian party, leading as it did to
the establishment of a petty-bourgeois peasant class and dooming the peasantry
to gradual impoverishment and ruin (see K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of

451 The *Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869 with the participation of the General Council. Its Executive Committee included more than ten General Council members. The League’s programme was drawn up by Eccarius on Marx’s instruction and edited by Marx (see Vol. 21, pp. 401-06). Along with general democratic demands, like the reform of the finance and tax system and of public education, it contained demands for the nationalisation of the land and the reduction of working hours, as well as the Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation.

Marx held that the League could play a role in revolutionising the English working class and could promote the establishment of an independent proletarian party in England. However, by the autumn of 1870, the influence of bourgeois elements had grown in the League and it gradually began to lose contact with the International.—364, 375, 377, 412

452 In the summer and autumn of 1869, a mass movement developed in Ireland for an amnesty of the Fenian prisoners (see Note 86).

In 1867, the Fenians were preparing an armed uprising; in September of that year, the British authorities managed to arrest the leaders of the Fenian movement and put them on trial. The Fenians were persecuted, their newspapers were closed down, and the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act suspended (see Note 486). The campaign for the defence of the convicted Fenians launched in England was supported by the General Council of the First International.

Numerous meetings presented petitions to the British Government demanding that the Irish revolutionaries be released, but Prime Minister Gladstone refused to meet these demands. On 24 October 1869, a mass demonstration in defence of the Fenians took place in London (for an account of the event, see this volume, pp. 546-47), after which the General Council resolved to address the British people in defence of the Fenians, and set up a special commission consisting of Marx, Lucraft, Jung and Eccarius. On Marx’s suggestion, the issue was expanded, and in November 1869 the General Council held a broad discussion on the attitude of the British Government to the Irish prisoners. Marx spoke twice (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-12), and wrote a ‘Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners’ (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 83, and this volume, p. 375), which was approved by the General Council on 30 November 1869.—365, 449, 546

453 In a letter to Marx of 25 October 1869 (see Note 447), Bonhorst wrote: ‘You should know better than anyone what the sore spot of the German peasant is. If we promise him to operate on that spot, he will be all for us. Thus, I believe, ... the mortgages may provide a wonderful opportunity. Just as raising the fertility of the soil. Insurance based on reciprocity. The ability to compete with the large estates. Schools. Everything must rest on the state principle.’—365

454 A reference to the destruction on 16 October 1869, by order of the Prussian military authorities and against court ruling, of the monument to the citizens of Celle (Hanover) who took part in the Langesalza (Thuringia) battle against the Prussians on 27 June 1806, at the time of the Austro-Prussian war, in which Hanover fought on the side of Austria. The Prussians had been defeated. War Minister Roon stated during the discussion of this issue in the Prussian Landtag: ‘Prussia is a military state, and the military authorities in Celle only
executed their inalienable supreme right' (see Der Volksstaat, No. 11, 6 November 1869).—366, 371

455 A reference to the issue of The Bee-Hive of 30 October 1869 (No. 420), which featured the editorial 'Ministers and the Fenian Prisoners'. It vindicated the policies pursued by Gladstone with regard to the Irish national liberation movement.—366

456 A strike of spinners in Bolton caused by reduction of wages by 5 per cent and the overall deterioration of the workers' conditions due to an industrial slump lasted from 29 October to 4 November 1869 and ended in defeat for the workers.—367

457 The reference is apparently to the article 'Unser Redakteur' published in Der Pionier, No. 42, 13 October 1869, which attacked Marx's Capital.—367

458 Liebknecht's inconsistent behaviour when popularising the decisions of the Basle Congress (see Note 447) was used by Schweitzer, who in a series of provocative articles in Der Social-Demokrat accused the Eisenachers of deceiving the workers, denouncing a socialist programme, and toeing the line of the People's Party (see Note 38). Bonhorst responded with an article 'Der famose Diktator und eine der Braunschweiger “Strophuppen” im Lichte der Baseler Beschlüsse', in which he made it clear that the Lassallean General Association of German Workers only paid lip service to socialist principles while in fact doing nothing to implement them. Schweitzer, Bonhorst wrote, will never manage to pass himself off as a champion of the rural proletariat's interests, for he enjoys the support of the Prussian Junkers. The attacks of the democratic press on the resolutions of the Basle Congress, he stated by way of conclusion, only serve to show where the dividing line lies between the Social-Democratic Party and its fellow-travellers in the People's Party. The article appeared in Der Volksstaat, Nos. 8 and 9, 27 and 30 October 1869.—367, 369.

459 Bonhorst was arrested in Magdeburg on 27 October 1869, on the charge of agitating against the Prussian Government, and was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment.—367

460 On 6 November 1869, a ceremony of the opening of Blackfriars Bridge and Holborn Viaduct was held in London. Queen Victoria was present.—367

461 Repealers—people campaigning for a repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801 imposed upon Ireland by the British Government after the suppression of the Irish uprising of 1798. The Union, which came into force on 1 January 1801, put an end to the autonomy of Ireland and abolished the Irish Parliament. One of the consequences of its introduction was the abolition of tariffs established by the Irish Parliament at the end of the 18th century to protect the rising Irish industry, and this led to its total decline. Since the 1820s, the movement for the repeal of the Union began to gain momentum in Ireland. However, its bourgeois liberal leadership (O'Connell and others) regarded the campaign only as a means to wrest insignificant concessions for the Irish bourgeoisie from the British Government. Under the impact of the mass movement, the liberals were forced to found the Repealer Association (1840), and they attempted to make it agree to a compromise with the British ruling classes.—368, 390, 398, 473

462 Arthur O'Connor, a prominent member of the Irish national liberation movement, was a leader of the secret revolutionary organisation, the United
Irishmen, whose goal was to establish an independent Irish republic. In May and June 1798, the members of the United Irishmen staged an uprising against the British rule. O'Connor and other leaders were arrested on the eve of the uprising. The uprising was brutally suppressed (see Note 461).—368, 398

Marx ironically likens Freiligrath to the manufacturer Classen-Kappelmann, member of the Cologne city council, who became a notorious figure in 1865. In July 1865 he took part in the preparation of a banquet for the Party of Progress members who were deputies of the Chamber of Representatives of the Prussian Landtag in opposition to the Prussian Government. The banquet was banned and Classen-Kappelmann, who feared arrest, left for Belgium. The guests arrived to find the premises closed and assembled at the Zoo. The assembly was dispersed by the police.—371

Marx refers to the circular letter to the French electors drawn up by Ledru-Rollin, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, who lived in London as an émigré up to 1870. Describing it as that of a pretender, Marx alludes to the fact that in the Presidential elections in France on 10 December 1848, Ledru-Rollin nominated himself as a representative of petty-bourgeois democrats. His letter, dated 7 November 1869, was published in *Le Réveil* on 10 November under the heading ‘Aux électeurs’.—371

The original of this letter is kept in the archives of the Greater London Library (Greater London Council).—372

Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a leader of the Irish national liberation movement, who was under arrest at the time, was elected to the House of Commons as member for Tipperary on 25 November 1869.

*An amnesty in Italy*—Engels means a partial amnesty announced in Italy in November 1869 covering individual categories of political offences, specifically, service misdemeanors in the National Guard.—373, 387, 420, 548

This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: *The Labour Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932; fragments of this letter were published in: Marx K., Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, London [1934], and Marx K., Engels F., *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1975.—375

The reference is to Marx's speeches on the policy of the British Government towards the Irish prisoners, which he made at the General Council meetings of 16 and 23 November 1869, and which were recorded by the Council's Secretary Eccarius in the Minute Book (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-12).—375

In a speech made on 7 October 1862 in Newcastle, Gladstone (then Finance Minister) greeted the Confederation of the Southern States in the person of its President Jefferson Davis, justifying the rebellion of the southern slaveowners against Lincoln's lawful government. The speech was published in *The Times*, No. 24372 on 9 October 1862. It was referred to at the General Council discussion mentioned above.—375

In a letter of 13 November 1869, Wilhelm Liebknecht requested Marx and Engels to write several scientific articles for *Der Volkstaat*. He also voiced his regret that they had failed to meet during Marx's stay in Germany (see Note 349).—376

Élisée Reclus, a French geographer and sociologist, member of the International Working Men's Association, was staying in London in July and August of 1869 and attended two meetings of the General Council.—377, 378
A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: The Labour Monthly, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932.—377

The amnesty in Russia issued on 25 May (6 June) 1868 extended to political prisoners sentenced before 1 January 1866, and a section of prisoners of foreign extraction who, according to Imperial Edict, were expelled from the country for good. Under the amnesty, a number of Poles sentenced to less than twenty years' imprisonment were able to return home.—377

The Guelphic conspiracy—a reference to the events that developed after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in Hanover, which lost its independence and was annexed by Prussia. The former King of Hanover, George V, who strove for the restoration of the Guelph dynasty, set up the so-called Guelph Legion in France in the spring of 1867. It comprised mostly émigrés from Hanover. On 8 April 1868, the Prussian legal bodies sentenced a number of officers who had taken part in its foundation to ten years' imprisonment. However, seeking to consolidate its position in Hanover, the Prussian Government announced an amnesty of the rank-and-file members early in May that year.—377

Engels is referring to the report 'Vom Rechte das mit uns geboren' read at the Berlin General Union for the Defence of Rights by Scheffer, champion of the idea of free religious communities. The purpose of such communities was to 'foster a higher degree of awareness in the people'. The report was published in Der Volksstaat, nos. 12 (supplement), 13 14 and 15; 10, 13, 17 and 20 November 1869.—382

An excerpt from this letter was published in English in: The Labour Monthly, Vol. 14, No. 12, London, 1932; in an abridged form, it was published in: Marx K., Engels F., Correspondence, 1846-1895, London [1934]. It was published in English in full for the first time in: Marx K., Engels F., Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1975.—383

Marx is referring to the General Council meeting of 23 November 1869, which continued the discussion of the policies of the British Government with respect to the Irish political prisoners (see notes 452 and 468).—386

Engels is referring to an armed uprising staged in the spring of 1867 by the Irish revolutionaries, the Fenians (see notes 86 and 452). The British authorities, who had been informed that preparations for an uprising were under way, easily suppressed the isolated outbursts. Many Fenian leaders were arrested and tried.—387

Chetham Library—the oldest library in Manchester, founded in 1653. Marx worked there together with Engels in 1845 during his first stay in England.—388, 402, 518

Breton Law, the general name of the Celtic common law code, took its name from the Brehons, judges in Celtic Ireland. The laws operated in Ireland until 1605, when they were repealed by the British Government. Their publication was started by the Brehon Law Commission set up by the British Government in 1852. The first three volumes of the Ancient Laws of Ireland appeared in 1865, 1869 and 1873 and made up the collection The Senchus Mor, or Great Old Law Book. The publication continued up to 1901.—388, 409, 442, 451, 509, 519

J. Davies, Historical Tracts, London, 1787. Engels sets forth the contents of two of Davies' tracts, 'A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury,
1607', and 'A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury concerning the State of Ireland, 1610'.—388

Engels is referring to the speech made by Napoleon III on 29 November 1869, at the opening of an extraordinary session of the French National Assembly (published on 30 November in the Journal des Débats and other French newspapers), and the speeches of Prévost-Paradol in Edinburgh during his tour of Britain in November 1869 (published in the British press and in a number of French papers, including the Journal des Débats on 16 and 18 November 1869).—388

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Irish Opinion. The Voice of Labour, No. 26, 25 May 1918, Dublin.—389

At the time of the English Revolution an uprising broke out in Ireland which resulted in the Catholic part of the island splitting with England. The uprising was suppressed in 1649-52. The 'pacification' of Ireland was executed with the utmost brutality and ended in the mass transfer of land to the new English landlords; this strengthened the landowner and bourgeois strata and paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.—391

A writ of Habeas Corpus—the name given in English judicial procedure to a document enjoining the appropriate authorities to present an arrested person before court on the demand of the persons interested to check the legitimacy of the arrest. Having considered the reasons for the arrest, the court either frees the arrested person, sends him back to prison or releases him on bail or guarantee. The procedure, laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1679, does not apply to persons accused of high treason and can be suspended by decision of Parliament. The British authorities frequently made use of this exception in Ireland.—391, 394, 419

At one of the sittings of the Prussian Landtag, Minister for the Interior Count von Eulenburg made a statement justifying the violations of the law by the Prussian military authorities in Celle (see Note 454).—391

This is Marx's reply to Kugelmann's request to give him the address of E. Reich, to whom Kugelmann was going to send Volume One of Capital. Reich's book Ueber die Entartung des Menschen, ihre Ursachen und Verhütung (Erlangen, 1868) was given by Kugelmann to Marx during the latter's stay in Germany in September and October 1869. The Introduction to the book is marked 'Gotha, 5. Mai 1868'.—391

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: The Labour Monthly, Vol. 15, No. 1, London, 1933.—392, 394, 396

Marx refers to the reports of the General Council meetings of 16 and 23 November 1869, at which he made a speech on the policies of the British Government with regard to the Irish prisoners (see present edition, Vol. 21). The reports were written for the press by two General Council members, Eccarius ('The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners', in: The Reynolds's Newspaper, nos. 1006 and 1008, 21 November and 5 December 1869) and Harris ('International Working Men's Association', in: The National Reformer, 28 November and 5 December 1869).

By Harris' 'currency panacea', Marx means his article 'Yours or Mine; or Short Chapters, Showing the True Basis of Property and the Causes of its Unequal Distribution' in: The National Reformer, 5 December 1869. The Reynolds's
Newspaper and The National Reformer were published on Saturday but were dated Sunday; that is why the Sunday 5 December issue of The National Reformer was sent by Marx to Engels on Saturday, 4 December.—392, 394

A reference to the second issue (‘the attitude of the British working class to the Irish question’) in the discussion on Ireland in the General Council (see this volume, pp. 371-72). Marx had proposed to open it on 7 December 1869, but was unable to attend on account of an illness. The General Council never took up the issue again. Marx expounded his views on the position of the British working class with regard to Ireland in his letter to Engels of 10 December 1869 (see this volume, p. 398) and in the circular letter ‘The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland’ (present edition, Vol. 21).—392

After the defeat of the 1867 armed uprising in Ireland (see Note 479), many Fenians were arrested and tried. On 18 September 1867 in Manchester, the Fenians made an armed attack on a prison van in an attempt to liberate Kelly and Deasy, two of their leaders. Five Irishmen captured on the spot were sentenced to death, which triggered off a wave of protests in Ireland and England. Members of the General Council also voiced their protest. Seeking to work out a coordinated tactic of the proletariat in the national question and to popularise the ideas of proletarian internationalism among English workers, Marx persuaded the General Council to hold a public discussion of the Irish question to which representatives of the Irish and English press were to be invited. The discussion began on 19 November, and on 20 November, at an extraordinary meeting, the General Council adopted the petition ‘The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men’s Association’ (see present edition, Vol. 21). This is the document that Marx mentions in a letter to Engels.—392.

Marx’s letter to Robert Applegarth of 1 December 1869 has not been found.—393

Marx is referring to Robert Applegarth’s letter to him of 2 December 1869:

‘Amalgamated Society
of Carpenters and Joiners, General Office.
113 Stamford Street,
Waterloo Road, S.E.
London, Dec 2d 1869

‘My dear Marx,
‘Your note is just to hand.
‘I have not replied to the enquiries—made as to whether I voted for Common property in Land and I don’t intend doing so till I hear from you.
‘I send you a copy of the question put to me.

‘“Was any resolution passed to which you were, or were not a party, against all private property in land?”
‘The above is the question and the first words of my reply will be.

‘“A resolution was passed declaring “That society has a right to abolish private property in land and to convert it into common property and that there was a necessity for doing so”. And for this resolution I gave my vote most cordially.”

‘I then want to say in a few words why Land ought to be made common property.

‘I would not have troubled you had I been asked the question only as reference to some opinion I had expressed apart from the International but as
my reply will be placed in the hands of those who would by one means or another
have to disgorge their ill gotten acres, if land was made common property and
as my vote was given at one of our Congresses I feel I ought to ask the advice
of those who understood the question thoroughly before I was born.
'I shall therefore wait till I hear from you.
'I am yours truly
'R. Applegarth'.—393, 395

Marx's letter to R. Applegarth of 3 December 1869, has not been found.—393

In a letter to Marx of 11 November 1869, Wilhelm Bracke noted that the
arrest of Leonard von Bonhorst had created additional difficulties for the
Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (see Note 459).
Bonhorst was Secretary of the Brunswick Party Committee.—393, 395

The demand for the repeal of the Union (see Note 461) had been the most
popular slogan in Ireland since the 1820s.—394

A reference to the letter from Klein and Moll to Engels of 3 December 1869.
They wrote about the financial difficulties encountered by the Solingen
cooperative for the production of steel and iron goods (see Note 330) and
requested Engels for assistance. Inscribed on the letter in Engels' hand is:
'Answered on 8 February 1870. Fifty thaler sent by registered mail, with the
interest to be added to the cooperative's reserve fund'.—395, 396, 420

On 30 November 1869, at a sitting of the Corps législatif, bourgeois
republican Jules Favre made an inquiry into illegal actions by the government,
including postponement of the Corps' assemblies and interference of the
authorities in the elections to the Corps in May and June 1869. Particularly
scandalous facts were revealed at the sitting of 7 December at which deputy
Durand's mandate was being confirmed. Minister for the Interior Forcade-
Laroquette spoke in defence of Durand. The proposal to hold an investigation
into the results of the vote on Durand's candidature was advanced by Jules
Favre. Liberal deputies who belonged to the oppositional parliamentary group
of French bourgeoisie, the so-called third party, did not support Jules Favre
and abstained from voting. Jules Favre's proposal was rejected by 135 votes to
86.—395

The toast to Marx and Engels as editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was
proposed by Karl Klein in May 1864 in Cologne on the occasion of the
anniversary celebration of the General Association of German Workers in the
presence of Ferdinand Lassalle.—397

Marx is referring to his contributions to the New-York Daily Tribune (in
1851-62). See, for instance, Marx's essays 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and
Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden'
published in the spring of 1853 in that newspaper (present edition, Vol. 11,
pp. 528-34).—398

Engels proposed to include the section 'Rebellion and Union. 1780-1801' into the
chapter 'English Rule' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 307). Marx's recommenda-
tion to Engels that he should write a separate chapter on the period from 1779 to
1800 for his book on Irish history (see Note 438) was based on his own research.
Marx prepared excerpts on Irish history from 1776 to 1801.—398

Marx is probably alluding to the presence of Empress Eugénie Montijo at a
session of the French Cabinet of Ministers of 9 December 1869, which pro-
voked deep indignation among the liberal and democratic opposition in Paris.—399

504 A fragment of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On the United States*, Moscow, 1979.—401

505 Engels probably means the English edition of the book by W. Camden *Britannia or Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdoms England, Scotland and Ireland and the Islands adjoining*, London, 1637. The book, originally written in Latin, was published in 1590 as one volume with another work by Camden, *Hiberniae et insularum Britanniae adiacentium descriptio*, which Engels ascribed, apparently erroneously, to Giraldus Cambrensis. In his further work on the history of Ireland (see Note 438), Engels used the publication (in Latin) *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Longmans, 1863. *Expugnatio* was included in Vol. V of this edition, which was published in 1867 (see Note 528), and also appeared in the English translation published by Bohn in London in 1863, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*.—402

506 Probably an error in the text; the first edition of Robert Kane's *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* appeared in 1844, and the second—in 1845 in Dublin. Engels probably refers to the latter.—402

507 Having failed to move to the forefront in the International's leadership at the Basle Congress (see Note 379), Bakunin altered his tactics and launched an open campaign against the General Council. His followers came to form the majority in *L'Égalité* weekly published in Switzerland, and as early as 6 November 1869, No. 42 carried an editorial 'Le Bulletin du Conseil Général', accusing the General Council of violating articles 2 and 3 of the Regulations on the publication of an information bulletin dealing with the conditions of workers in various countries. On 13 November, No. 43 published another article, 'L'Organisation de l'Internationale', which proposed the establishment of a federal council for England, allegedly to make it easier for the General Council to manage the more general affairs of the International. On 27 November, No. 45 featured an article 'Les Parties Politiques à Genève et l'Internationale', which suggested abstention from politics, and on 11 December, *L'Égalité* No. 47 lashed out against the Council's position on the Irish question in the editorial entitled 'Réflexions'. *Le Progrès* newspaper, which was published in Switzerland, assumed a similarly critical stand.

The question of *L'Égalité* and *Le Progrès* was discussed at the General Council for the first time at a meeting of 14 December 1869. On 1 January 1870, an extraordinary Council meeting approved a circular letter, drawn up by Marx, 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland', which was sent out to the International's sections (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84).—404, 411, 489, 492

508 A reference to a resolution of the Basle Congress adopted on 9 September 1869, on the procedure of settling conflicts between the International's sections. (See 'Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association', London [1869], p. 21.) It is included in the work of Marx and Engels *Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).—404, 480

509 Marx is referring to the Resolution of the Geneva Congress of the International on publishing a bulletin (in: *Rules and Administrative Regulations of

510 Marx is referring to the Central Committee of the German-language sections in Switzerland headed by J. Ph. Becker. Since November 1865, it was the organisational centre for the sections of German-language workers not only in Switzerland but in Germany, Austria and the countries where German workers were living in emigration.—405

511 On 5 January 1870, Marx was a member of the General Council delegation to the funeral of Robert Shaw, a house-painter and member of the General Council. The obituary Marx had written on the instruction of the Council was published in the Belgian newspaper L’Internationale, No. 53, 16 January 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 92).—406

512 The report to the Belgian Federal Council written by Marx as a temporary Corresponding Secretary for Belgium is not extant. It had been forwarded to De Paepe through Hins alongside a copy of the circular letter ‘The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland’ (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 84) and Robert Shaw’s obituary (see Note 511).—406, 411, 414

513 Engels left for Barmen to visit his mother in late December 1869, and returned to Manchester on 6 January, 1870.—407, 548

514 Apparently a reference to Ollivier’s liberal ministry’s assuming office in France on 2 January 1870. In Germany, this event was regarded as a step towards normalising relations between France and the North German Confederation.—407

515 Engels refers to Fritz Mende’s book Herr J. B. von Schweitzer und die Organisation des Lassalle’schen Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitervereins, Leipzig, 1869. Mende headed a small group of Lassalleans who had split off from the General Association of German Workers (see Note 104) under the influence of Sophie von Hatzfeldt and formed the Lassallean General Association of German Workers in 1867. In 1872, it virtually ceased to exist.—408

516 On 10 January 1870, Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte murdered Victor Noir, a reporter on the republican newspaper La Marseillaise, in his house. Noir visited Pierre Napoléon as a second of the Blanquist Pascal Grousset, also a La Marseillaise reporter, who had challenged the prince to a duel. The murder was committed a few days after the coming into office of Ollivier’s liberal ministry, which the liberal bourgeoisie expected to introduce a number of reforms. The murder of Noir provoked an outburst of indignation in democratic quarters and bolstered the republican movement in France.—409, 423, 553

517 Prévost-Paradol’s article was published on Monday, 17 January 1870, in the Journal des Débats.—409

518 A reference to the speech by John Bright, Minister of Trade in Gladstone’s liberal government, made at Birmingham on 11 January. It was published by The Times on 12 January 1870.—409

519 Marx read in Russian Herzen’s book Prison and Exile (London, 1854; published under the pen-name of Iskander) which belonged to Engels and contained his
marginal notes. On page 196 Marx wrote: ‘Finished 9 January 1870’. The copy is kept at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.—411

520 In a letter of 20 December 1869, Liebknecht asked Engels for permission to reprint his work *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482) in *Der Volksstaat*, and subsequently as a separate pamphlet. He also asked for a short preface to the work.

Liebknecht’s letter of 8 February 1870 shows that Engels had given his consent. The preface (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 93) and five chapters appeared in *Der Volksstaat* between 2 April and 25 June 1870; in October 1870 the work was published as a pamphlet.—411, 417, 425

521 *Land League*—a reference to the Land Tenure Reform Association founded in July 1869 on the initiative of John Stuart Mill. Its stated purpose was to restore the small peasantry by renting plots of land to the unemployed.—412

522 Marx intended to expound the issues of landed property and rent in the third book of Volume Two of *Capital*, but altered the original plan in the course of his work. The manuscript of the third book of *Capital* was written in 1864-65. After Volume One of *Capital* appeared in 1867, Marx did a great deal of work collecting new material about landed property in Belgium and a number of other European and American countries. However, it did not allow him to re-write the section on land rent. Later, Engels included the part on landed property into Volume Three of *Capital*. For details, see Engels’ preface to Volume Three of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).—412

523 De Paepe listed the works on landed property in Belgium in a letter to Marx of 1 February 1870.—412

524 A reference to Hins’ letter to Stepney of 21 January 1870, which was forwarded to Marx by Eccarius on 27 January 1870.—412, 424, 431

525 Even before the Romance Federal Council had received the circular letter ‘The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland’ (see Note 507), it managed to change the composition of the editorial board of *L’Égalité*. After the Bakuninists had withdrawn, the newspaper began to support the policy of the General Council. The report on the withdrawal of seven members from *L’Égalité* editorial board (‘Aux sections romands’) appeared in the newspaper on 8 January 1870, No. 2 and on 15 January the next issue (No. 3) carried a statement by the editors themselves. It was signed, among others, by J. Ph. Becker, who prior to April 1870 vacillated in his attitude to the Bakuninists. Soon, however, he went back on his decision to withdraw.—412, 430

526 The private letter from Perret to Jung mentioned here was dated 4 January 1870, like the official letter. The excerpt that follows has also been preserved as a copy made by Marx’s daughter Jenny. The last passage of the excerpt was copied by Marx.—413

527 Later, in his letter to Hermann Jung of 15 April 1870 Henri Perret gave a detailed account of the incident. James Guillaume’s father was secretary of the State Council in Neuchâtel, and it was he who signed Martinaud’s mandate.—413

528 In 1863, Volume III of Giraldo Cambrensis’ complete works was published (*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, voluminis I-VII, Londini, 1861-1877). Volumes I-IV were brought out by J. S. Brewer, and volumes V-VII—by James F. Dimock.
His works *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *Topographia Hibernica* were included in Volume V, which appeared in 1867. (See also this volume, p. 402.)—416

529 On 20 January 1870, at an electors' meeting in Berlin, bourgeois democrat Johann Jacoby, deputy of the Prussian Landtag, made a speech on the goals of the labour movement, in which he said, among other things: 'From the viewpoint of a future historian of culture, the emergence of the tinies workers' association will be of more value than the Battle of Sadowa'. On 23 January, having received a report of the meeting, Kugelmann wrote to Jacoby: 'Why, making references to Aristotle, de Maistre, Owen, von Gentz and John Stuart Mill do you ignore the name of Karl Marx, a researcher compared to whom all the above-mentioned, with the exception of Aristotle, are mere pygmies, a thinker who can by right be called the brain of the 19th century; whose teaching you have not only failed "to develop further" but the other way round, ... his epoch-making works, specifically, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital*, have provided you with the most significant material.' On 24 January, Jacoby wrote to Kugelmann acknowledging Marx's indisputable merits; still he tried to justify himself, saying that his popular exposition required no specific references. These letters of Kugelmann's and Jacobi's were forwarded by Marx to Engels.—417

530 The first attempt to translate Marx's book *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* into French was made by Keller in December 1869, who interrupted his work on the French translation of *Capital* (see Note 441). Keller's work remained unfinished. On the first publication of the book in French see Note 303.—419

531 Engels is referring to the German translation of the work by P. Lilienfeld *Land und Freedom* (Лиленфельд, Земля и свобoda), which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1868. The translation, 'Land und Freiheit', was published in: J. Eckardt, *Russlands ländische Zustände seit Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft*, Leipzig, 1870.—419, 426

532 A reference to the revolutionary events that took place in Elberfeld in May 1849. The city Committee of Public Safety appointed Engels supervisor of all works to build defensive works and barricades, and commander of the artillery. Local bourgeoisie, who feared that Engels' authority might become too great, demanded that the Committee issued an order for his arrest. The Solingen workers, with whom Engels had arrived in Elberfeld, and also the workers of Elberfeld were outraged by the bourgeoisie's behaviour and resolutely rose to his defence. Unwilling to be the cause of a split in the insurgents' camp, Engels left Elberfeld for Cologne on 15 May. He gave a detailed account of these events in his report 'Elberfeld' to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 300, 17 May 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 447-49), and in his work 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 159-71).—420

533 A reference to the arrest of Rochefort on 7 February 1870, in La Villette, a workers' suburb of Paris, for his article about Victor Noir's murder (see Note 516) published by *La Marseillaise*, 12 January 1870.

White smocks was a name for French police agents. In June 1869, the Police Prefecture of Paris made an attempt to provoke a spontaneous outburst among the workers using the 'white smocks' who staged manifestations, built barricades, sang the *Marseillaise*, etc. Engels expressed his apprehensions that similar provocations would be staged after Rochefort's arrest.—422, 427
Excerpts from this letter were first published in English in: Marx K., Engels F., Correspondence. 1846-1895, London [1934]; and in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence. 1844-1877 edited by Fritz J. Raddatz, translated from the German by Ewald Oser, Boston, Toronto, 1981.—422

Probably a reference to the book by P. Lanfrey, Histoire de Napoléon I, Tomes I-IV, Paris, 1867-1870. Excerpts from Chapter VII, Volume IV, 'Le Guet-apens de Bayonne', were printed in La Cloche, Nos. 44-46, 1-3 February 1870.—423, 426

A reference to Perret’s letter to Jung of 4 January 1870. It was quoted by Marx in his letter to De Paepe, 24 January 1870 (see this volume, p. 413).—424, 426

Marx is referring to an item that appeared in La Marseillaise on 2 February 1870, and was inspired by Blind. It dealt with the fact that in 1849, Blind was unlawfully arrested in France and put into prison, although as an official representative of the revolutionary Baden government he enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The item contained a demand for an amnesty for Blind as an alleged former member of the German National Assembly and a diplomatic representative of the Frankfurt Parliament. In actual fact, Karl Blind and Jacob Friedrich Schütz (Blind wrote Schurz, since that name was better known belonging as it did to a Brigadier General of the Northern States of America, subsequently the American Secretary for Home Affairs) had never been members of the National Assembly. Schütz had been sent to Paris as a chargé d’affaires of the Palatinate to establish diplomatic relations with France, buy munitions, and recruit commanding officers.

On the German National Assembly, see Note 256.—425

Engels is referring to Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter of 8 February 1870. To explain why he did not know about the publication of the second edition of Marx’s The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 99-197), Liebknecht wrote that Otto Meissner had not informed either Der Volksstaat or Die Zukunft about this, and as he put it, ‘a week ago, I did not know for sure if the book had appeared’.—426, 428

A reference to the article by Alfred Naquet featured by La Marseillaise, No. 43, on 30 January 1870: ‘La Révolution et la science. De la fabrication du coton-poudre et de son application, soit comme poudre de guerre, soit comme poudre de mine’.—426

A reference to Bouverie’s speech in the House of Commons on 10 February 1870, in connection with the proposal of the government to deprive O’Donovan Rossa of the right to attend its sessions (see Note 466). His speech was published by The Times on 11 February 1870, in a report on the session.—429

Marx is referring to a group of Russian political refugees from among the young intellectuals, followers of the noted Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. In the spring of 1870, they founded the Russian Section of the First International in Geneva. A substantial contribution to its organisation had been made by A. A. Serno-Solovyevich, a member of the International, who died in 1869. On 12 March 1870, the Committee of the Section sent the General Council its Programme, Rules, and a letter to Marx requesting him to be their representative at the General Council. The programme of the Russian Section defined its objectives as follows: ‘1. To popularise the ideas and principles of the International Association in Russia by
every possible rational means, whose special character and mode of influence stem from the very position of the country. 2. To promote the establishment of international sections among Russian workers. 3. To help establish stable, mutual contacts between the working classes of Russia and Western Europe, including assistance to each other in order to more successfully attain their common goal, emancipation.' This document, and the official reply of the General Council written by Marx, 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to Committee Members of the Russian Section in Geneva' (see present edition, Vol. 21) were published by the press organ of the Russian Section, Narodnoye Dyelo (People's Cause), No. 1, 15 April 1870.

At its meeting of 22 March 1870, the General Council admitted the Russian Section to the International, and Marx agreed to represent it at the General Council. The Section rendered Marx and Engels substantial assistance in countering the Bakuninists' attempts to split the International. Members of the Russian Section, including Nikolai Utin, Anton Trusov, Yekaterina Barteneva, Victor Bartenev, Yelena Dmitriyeva, and Anna Korvin-Krukovskaya, took an active part in the Swiss and international working class movement. The Section made an attempt to establish contacts with the revolutionary movement in Russia. Its work was terminated in 1872.—430, 462, 492

542 Marx apparently means the January 1870 issue of Der Vorbote, edited by J. Ph. Becker, which featured materials describing the activities of the International, specifically, the fourth article in the series Der vierte Kongress der internationalen Arbeiterassociationen in Basel written in the spirit of the policies pursued by the General Council.

On Bakunin's statements in L'Égalité, see Note 507.—431

543 A reference to the events connected with the decision of the French National Assembly to withdraw Rochefort's deputy's mandate for his appeal to rise against the Empire after the murder of Victor Noir, reporter from La Marseillaise, by Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte (see notes 516 and 553). Flourens was an organiser of meetings and assemblies for the defence of Rochefort. One of such meetings was to be held on 7 February 1870, on the premises of La Marseillaise editorial offices, but Rochefort was arrested when entering the room. The initiative passed to Flourens, who immediately announced that the government had been overthrown, and declared uninterrupted revolution. Assisted by those present, he arrested the police commissary present at the meeting, led the people out into the street, and they made for Belleville. Sixty people actually got there. Flourens hoped to use the assistance of a number of junior officers to seize arms at the Prince Eugene's barracks and the Belleville Theatre, where rifles were kept. However, Flourens' plan fell through. The liaison men failed in their task and workers did not come to the assistance, and in the end only Flourens and one young man remained at the barricade, leaving it late at night. By morning, it was taken by soldiers.—431

544 Engels is referring to the Irish Land Bill, which was discussed in the British Parliament in the first half of 1870. Submitted by Gladstone on 15 February 1870 for the British Government on the pretext of assisting Irish tenants, it contained so many provisos and restrictions that it actually left the basis of big landownership by the English landlords in Ireland intact. It also preserved their right to raise rents and to drive tenants off the land, stipulating only that the landlords pay compensation to the tenants for land improvement, and instituting a definite judicial procedure for this. The Land Act was passed in
August 1870. The landlords sabotaged the implementation of the Act in every way and found loopholes in it. The Act greatly promoted the concentration of farms in Ireland into big estates and the ruination of small Irish tenants.—432, 437, 456

545 A reference to the separate *Peaces of Basle* of 1795 signed by the French Republic on the one hand, and Prussia and Spain on the other. The signing of these treaties isolated Britain and Austria and led to the disintegration of the first anti-French coalition which had included Britain, Austria, Spain and Prussia.—432

546 Marx touched on these issues in a number of his works. See, for instance, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Chapter 1 (present edition, Vol. 29); *The Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58*, § 1 ‘Production’ (present edition, Vol. 28); also in Volume One of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 35, Part I, Chapter One).—434

547 The theory that the Russians are descendants of the Mongols was advanced by Franciszek Duchinski in his works published in 1854-61, specifically *Les origines slaves. Pologne et Ruthénie*, Paris, 1861. H. Martin expounded this theory in his work *La Russie et l'Europe*, Paris, 1866, which was translated into German by Kinkel in 1869.—435

548 Under the treaty of 30 March 1867, Russia's territories in North America (Alaska) passed over to the USA on payment of $7,200,000 (11 million roubles by contemporary exchange rate).—435

549 A reference to Bakunin's *Confession* to Tsar Nicholas I written in 1851 during his imprisonment at the Peter and Paul Fortress. Bakunin acknowledged his errors and characterised his revolutionary activities as 'political madness'. Marx communicated to Engels some data from the article published by *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, No. 4, 6 January 1870.—437

550 On 8 March 1870, using its right of an arbiter in conflicts between the International's sections (see Note 508), the General Council examined the Sub-Committee's report and ruled on the conflict that had emerged in Lyons between the old Lyons Section represented by Schettel and other persons who stood close to Left-wing republicans, and the group headed by the Bakuninst Albert Richard. The General Council found the accusations groundless, and approved Richard's appointment as Corresponding Secretary of the International Working Men's Association. The statement made by the General Council stressed the need to be careful and avoid personal animosities fraught with conflict, and to concentrate all the strength and all the energy for the speedy triumph of the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—437, 480

551 In February 1870, three candidates stood for Parliament in Southwark: Beresford (Conservative Party), Odger (a workers' candidate), and Waterloo (Liberal Party). They received 4,686, 4,382 and 2,966 votes respectively.—437

552 This is a reply to Collet’s letter of 26 January 1870. C. D. Collet had asked for details of the Russian railway loan. Collet sent this letter by Marx on to Urquhart with his own postscript. At its first publication in the first Russian edition of Marx's and Engels' *Works*, Urquhart was mistakenly named as the addressee. The letter first appeared in English in: *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, Leeds, 1967, No. 14, pp. 16-17.—438
The Russian Railway Loan bonds worth £12 mln were released for sale by Lionel Nathan Rothschild in Paris on 27 January 1870. This was reported, specifically, by Maskovskie Vedomosti, No. 11, 27(15) January 1870.—438

This letter was written by Marx on the back of Borkheim's letter to him of 19 February 1870. Borkheim informed Marx about his intention to translate Flerovsky's book (Н. Флеровский, Положение рабочего класса в России) into English and requested Marx to write a preface to it.—440

A reference to Peter Imandt's letter to Marx of 18 February 1870, in which he asked for Marx's advice concerning the Prussian Government's demand, lodged through the Consul of the North German Confederation, that he pay the fees for the course of lectures on theology he attended at Bonn University in 1844-45. Before replying to Imandt, Marx consulted Engels. (For Marx's reply to Peter Imandt, see this volume, pp. 443-44.)—440, 443

On 21 February, Marx forwarded to L'Internationale certain material disclosing the cruel treatment of the members of the Irish national liberation movement by the British authorities. Marx expected that De Paepe would use this material for an article. However, the editorial board decided to print Marx's sketch verbatim dividing it into two instalments, which appeared on 27 February and 6 March, nos. 59 and 60 (see K. Marx, 'The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners', present edition, Vol. 21). On the publication of this material see also this volume, p. 453.—440

Engels quotes articles from Napoleon I's Code civil passed in 1804 and introduced also in the West and South-West German territories conquered by France. The Code continued to operate in the Rhine Province after its annexation by Prussia. Article 2265 quoted by Engels reads in full: 'Those who acquire real estate in good faith (bona fides) through honest work and on legal grounds, are acquiring property by virtue of the expiry of the ten years' statute of limitations if the owner is residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the court of appeal in which the property is located, and twenty years limitations, if he is residing outside this territory.'—441

Engels refers to Favre's speech made on 21 February 1870 at a session of the Corps législatif and featured by the Journal des Débats on 22 February 1870.—442

The reference is to the death of the Lafargues' daughter born on 1 January 1870. She died at the end of February.—444

See Note 556.—444

A. Talandier's article 'L'Irlande et le catholicisme', spearheaded against the Irish national liberation movement appeared in La Marseillaise, No. 58, 16 February 1870; a synopsis of the article featured by The Daily News appeared in La Marseillaise, No. 60, 18 February 1870. A. Talandier's obituary Nécrologie. Alexandre Hertzen, originally carried by the Paris newspaper Democratie, was reprinted by the Brussels' L'Internationale, No. 56, 6 February 1870.—445

A reference to the series of eight articles on the Irish question written by Marx's daughter Jenny and published in La Marseillaise between 1 March and 24 April 1870, under the pen-name of J. Williams (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 414-41). The third article was written by Jenny in collaboration with her father. In subject-matter they have a connection with Marx's essay 'The English
On 15 February 1870, the House of Representatives of US Congress passed a resolution obliging the President to submit to it the information on the cases of American citizens kept in British prisons on the charge of involvement with the Fenians.— 445

The soirée at the place of the French petty-bourgeois socialist Moïlin at which the plans for social reform were discussed, was described by Lafargue in his letter to Marx of January 1870.— 449

Fenians—see Note 86.

Head Centre, head of the secret Fenian organisation within the structure of the Fenian brotherhood.— 449

The column 'Irishman in Paris' (The Irishman, No. 36, 5 March 1870) featured a report from Paris, which praised highly Jenny Marx's first article on the Irish question published by La Marseillaise. Jenny's article was published under the pen-name J. Williams; Marx also used this alias in some of his letters for considerations of secrecy, but his initial was A. That is why Engels writes that he 'could not explain the Christian name'.— 451

A reference to the second edition of Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany (see Note 520).— 452

A letter about his mother's sickness, who was taken ill on Wednesday, 2 March, was posted by Hermann Engels on 5 March, and received by Frederick Engels on 8 March 1870 (see this volume, pp. 452-53). Hermann asked Frederick to come over and wrote that he had sent a telegram. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of Hermann's letter to Emil Blank which contained the details.— 452

In his article, Marx made use of the material on the death of Michael Terbert provided by The Irishman, No. 34, 19 February 1870 (see Note 556).— 453

Huxley's first public lecture 'The Forefathers and Forerunners of the English People' was delivered in Manchester on 9 January 1870. A detailed account of the lecture, headed 'Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology', was published in the Manchester Examiner & Times on 12 January 1870.— 454

An express issue of La Marseillaise (No. 79, 9 March 1870) carried letters of prominent members in the republican and the national liberation movements in France, Spain and other countries who in their time had been kept or were still in prison. Among others, the newspaper featured letters from Rochefort, Raul Rigo, O'Donovan Rossa, and a posthumous letter from Victor Noir. The headline opening O'Donovan Rossa's letter read: 'Letter of the Citizen O'Donovan Rossa, Fenian deputy to the British Parliament, condemned to the galleys and held at the Newgate Prison'.— 454

Engels informs Marx about Friedrich Moll's letter of 28 February 1870 and of Klein's letter of the same date. Their authors thanked Engels for the 50 thaler he had sent to the Solingen production cooperative (see this volume, pp. 415-17). This is what Klein told Engels about the incident with Schapper: during Schapper's and Engels' stay in Sollingen in 1849, Schapper said to Engels once: 'Brother Engels, why do you argue with these dogs wearing kid gloves, take out your sword and cut off their heads'. Further on, Klein told the story of how Engels, as a young man, once paid his workers' wages 'on the basis of the communist principle'.— 456
A reference to the series of articles on the Irish question written by Jenny Marx (see Note 562). In this letter, Engels refers to the publication of the second article in *La Marseillaise* on 9 March 1870, which reproduced O'Donovan Rossa's letter about the harsh treatment of political prisoners in English prisons (O'Donovan Rossa was arrested in 1865). On 10 March, this letter was reprinted by *The Times* (on the publication of O'Donovan Rossa's letter, see also this volume, pp. 454-55).—457

*The Daily News* of 16 March 1870 carried an anonymous article officially initiated by the Home Office headed by Bruce. It made an attempt to deny the facts cited in O'Donovan Rossa's letter, but recognised that Rossa 'has been put in irons'.—457

Engels quotes the evidence given by a prisoner published in: *Things not Generally Known, Concerning England's Treatment of Political Prisoners*, Dublin, 1869.—457

*Shamrock*—the national emblem of Ireland, usually represented as a clover leaf, which symbolises the Holy Trinity in the Christian Church. The Irish pin the emblem on their hats on 17 March, the birthday of St. Patrick, who is traditionally considered Ireland's patron saint.—458

This letter was written on a form stamped: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.; the letter carries an oval stamp 'International Working Men's Central Council London'.—458, 504, 511

Marx's letter to R. Pigott of 19 March 1870 has not been found.—458

A. Talandier's article 'La Marseillaise et la presse anglaise' appeared in *La Marseillaise*, No. 85, 15 March, and dated 14 March 1870; it contained a review of the articles carried by *The Times* on 10 March and *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily News* on 11 March 1870.—459

Marx refers to the General Council meeting of 15 March 1870. He had not attended the Council meetings since 11 January because of illness.—459

A programme of the Paris society of proletarians-positivists was read at the General Council meeting of 15 March 1870. It stressed that the society members 'aim at social regeneration without God or King and hope to bring it about by the propagation of the positivist doctrine'. When discussing their admittance to the International, Marx stated that 'their rules were too exclusive and contrary to the General Rules of the Association'. Marx and Mottershead spoke out 'against admitting them as positivists'. On Milner's suggestion, a decision was reached to instruct Dupont as Corresponding Secretary for France to try and make the proletarians-positivists aware of the discrepancies in their programme.

*Comtism* (positivism), a trend in bourgeois philosophy and sociology founded by Auguste Comte which opposes both speculative idealism and materialism; it recognises the practical results achieved by science but rejects its philosophical materialist conclusions from the position of agnosticism. Comtism reduces all scientific cognition, including that in history and sociology (the latter term has been coined by Comte) to empirical knowledge. Social development is considered from a biological angle. According to Comte, capitalism is the highest stage of social development, and attempts at its revolutionary change are supposed to be futile. Comte believed that the road
to social harmony lies through 'new religion', a cult of an abstract higher being.—460

582 Engels' letter to Marx posted on 21 March 1870 has not been found.—460

583 After three of Jenny Marx's articles on the treatment of the Irish political prisoners in English prisons were published in *La Marseillaise* (see present edition, Vol. 21), the Irish M.P. George Henry Moore demanded, on 17 March 1870, that the Government launch a 'full and free' public inquiry into the matter. Under pressure from public opinion, Gladstone was forced, when replying to Moore, to agree to such an inquiry, but made a significant stipulation as to the character of the commission, stating that he 'shall be responsible for the manner in which the inquiry is conducted'. Thus Gladstone secured the right to appoint not a Parliamentary but a Royal commission which would not be accountable to Parliament. Moore's inquiry and Gladstone's reply were published in *The Times* on 18 March; on 19 March, in the column 'Treatment of Political Prisoners' and under the heading 'Probable Inquiry', *The Irishman* featured the item (mentioned by Engels) which, contrary to what Gladstone had stated, said that a Parliamentary commission was to be appointed.—461

584 In 1844, to please the Austrian Government, J. R. G. Graham, the British Home Secretary (1841-1846), ordered the postal department to submit letters of the Italian revolutionary refugees to the police for inspection.—462

585 Marx is referring to two of Becker's letters: the one to Jung of 12 March, in which Becker explains his behaviour in the conflict between the General Council and *L'Égalité* (see notes 507 and 525), and to Marx of 13 March 1870.—463

586 *La Marseillaise*, Nos. 72 and 73, 2 and 3 March, carried the obituary of Herzen written by Bakunin in a letter form in which Bakunin called Herzen his friend and fellow-countryman and said that his death 'was a tremendous loss to his friends, to the cause of Russian emancipation and ... to that of all mankind'. He wrote that he had been closely connected with Herzen for 30 years and that Herzen, Ogarev and himself had always had a common goal. The obituary was reprinted in full in Nos. 10, 11 and 12 of *Le Progrès* on 5, 12 and 19 March 1870.—463, 492

587 A reference to the money sent to Herzen in 1858 by the Russian landowner P. A. Bakhmetev for propaganda purposes (the so-called Bakhmetev Fund). Marx learned about this from J. Ph. Becker's letter of 13 March 1870. In 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogarev, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogarev sent to Nechayev. After Herzen's death in 1870, Nechayev received the other part from Ogarev.—463, 492

588 A reference to the evidence for the defence in the murder case of the journalist Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Napoléon Bonaparte (see Note 516). At the trial, which took place in March 1870, it was alleged that Noir slapped Pierre Bonaparte on the face.—463

589 When publishing this letter in the book *Der Braunschweiger Ausschuss der socialdemokratischen Arbeiter-Partei in Lötzen und vor dem Gericht*, Brunswick, 1872, Bracke pointed out that the letter was written on a form stamped: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.'.—464
Acting on the decisions of the Eisenach Congress (see Note 373), the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany urged Party members to join the International Working Men's Association as private persons, since to establish the organisational links between the two bodies, it was necessary to circumvent the Law on Associations operating in Prussia. In a Committee letter of 17 March 1870, Wilhelm Bracke noted that Johann Georg Eccarius had long been commissioned with obtaining 3,000 International membership cards which could have been distributed in the Party. On receiving the letter, Marx immediately forwarded the requested membership cards to Leonhard von Bonhorst as the Committee Secretary.—464

A reference to Bonhorst's letter to Marx of 21 February 1870 and Bonhorst's letter to Borkheim of 17 March 1870, which Borkheim forwarded to Marx on 21 March. Bonhorst also wrote to Engels about the financial predicament of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (a letter of 17 March 1870).—464

This letter is reproduced from a copy made in an unidentified handwriting. It begins with the written stamp of the General Council: 'General Council of the International Working Men's Association, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.'—464

The Coercion Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Gladstone on 17 March 1870, and passed by it. Aimed against the national liberation movement, the Bill provided for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland and the introduction of extraordinary powers for the English authorities in the struggle against the Irish revolutionaries.

Mentioning Clanricarde, Marx refers to his speech of 21 March 1870, during the discussion of the Bill in the House of Lords. Clanricarde accused Gladstone's government of leniency towards Ireland and demanded a harsher policy to restore 'social order' there.—466

This phrase is a reply to Kugelmann, who had requested Marx in a letter of 21 March 1870, to let him know whether Jenny Marx had Goethe's Works; Kugelmann wanted to give her a birthday present.—466

Marx is apparently referring to a story about a boy which he had told on a visit to the Kugelmanns. The boy used to complain: 'O that I should be learning French instead of Latin!' (see Mohr und General. Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels, Berlin, 1982, pp. 278-79). Gertrud Kugelmann used this phrase in a letter to the Marx family of 21 March 1870.—467

Omladina (i.e., the Association of Serb Youth), a political organisation of Serb liberal bourgeoisie which existed in 1866-72 in the town of Novi Sad which used to belong to Austria-Hungary. Its stated goal was promotion of culture and education, but it really campaigned for political unification of all Serb territories. The democratic wing headed by S. Marković opposed the liberal trend prevailing in the Omladina, which tended to ignore the class aspect of this issue. The organisation was disbanded because of internal strife.

Burschenschaften—German student organisations which at the time of the liberation war against Napoleonic France championed Germany's unification. Alongside with progressive ideas, the Burschenschaften advocated nationalism.—468

This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: The Labour Monthly, Vol. 15, No. 1, London, 1933.—470
Due to a serious illness, in the winter of 1869-70 Marx was able to attend only three General Council meetings (14 December, 4 January and 15 March). On 29 March, on Luhr's suggestion, the General Council passed a resolution 'expressing the sympathy of the Council with Cit. Marx on account of his continued illness'. The resolution was communicated to Marx by Eccarius on 4 April 1870.—471

A reference to Friedrich Lessner's letter to Marx of 6 April 1870, which dealt with the motion, introduced by Hales at the General Council meeting, to appoint a finance commission.—471

Marx mentions the letter of 26 March 1870 addressed by Sigfrid Meyer to Eccarius as General Secretary of the International, but forwarded by the author to Marx with permission to dispose of it as he saw fit.—471

In the address 'L'Union des Travailleurs allemands de New-York aux ouvriers de Paris' published by La Marseillaise, No. 103, 2 April 1870, F. Carl and F. Jubit welcomed the revolutionary actions of the Paris workers. They described them as front-rank fighters for freedom and equality on the road to social revolution.—472

Between 22 February and 28 May 1870, the North German Reichstag held a debate on the criminal code. On 1 March, the Reichstag voted for the abolition of capital punishment; on 15 March, the liberals suggested that for political prisoners, hard labour should be replaced by imprisonment, but whenever a political crime had been committed for dishonest reasons, penal servitude should be retained. This motion, which gave the government an opportunity to put political prisoners in convict prisons, was passed by the Reichstag. The debate on the criminal code ended on 25 May 1870, with capital punishment restored on the insistence of the government on 23 May.—477

In a letter to Engels of 5 April 1870, Liebknecht wrote about his plan to go to Berlin and try and found a cheap daily newspaper there. In the same letter, he spoke highly of Engels' preface to the second edition of The Peasant War in Germany (present edition, Vol. 21), and wrote that the views expounded by Engels coincided with his own. He also intended to publish his report on the land question in Germany in connection with the decisions of the Basle Congress to abolish private property on land (see notes 447 and 458).—477

A reference to Sigismund Borkheim's letter to Marx of 8 April 1870, in which he quoted Liebknecht who complained in a letter to Borkheim that Marx disliked him.—478, 482

Pfänder was elected member of the General Council on 1 November 1864, and remained one until 1867. On 18 January 1870, Pfänder was again elected to the General Council, but did not take an active part in its work until 12 April 1870.—478

After L'Égalité editorial board had been reorganised (see notes 507 and 525), the Bakunists, attempting to retain their lost positions, secured a formal majority of votes at a regular congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on 4-6 April 1870. The congress discussed the attitude of the working class towards the political struggle. In contrast to the Geneva sections, the Bakunists advocated abstention from political struggle referring to the French text of the Rules (see Marx's work 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland', present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 89-90). On Bakunin's insistence, the congress began its proceedings with the admission of
the newly-formed sections to the Federation. A sharp controversy arose over the admission of the section named 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy—Central Section' founded by Bakunin in Geneva in June 1869 which, in fact, exercised leadership in the secret International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and the Chaux-de-Fonds pro-Bakunin section. Utin, one of the leaders of the Russian Section in Geneva, exposed Bakunin's schismatic activities. A split occurred; the Geneva delegates and other General Council supporters continued their work independently. An announcement about the Chaux-de-Fonds split mentioned by Marx was published in *L'Egalité*, No. 15, 9 April 1870.

The Bakuninists had assumed the name of the Romance Congress, elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Thus two Federal Committees appeared in Romance Switzerland, in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Bakuninists started publication of a newspaper *La Solidarité*, under the editorship of James Guillaume, first in Neuchâtel (11 April 1870-12 May 1871), and then in Geneva. In fact it was the continuation of *Le Progrès*. In early April 1870, representatives of the Romance Federal Committee and supporters of the Alliance sent the General Council detailed reports on the congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds and requested that it pass a decision concerning the split. On 12 April, the Council instructed Jung to collect additional material, and, having received exhaustive information in April and May, on 28 June 1870 it passed a resolution proposed by Marx which confirmed the powers of the old Federal Committee. The Bakuninist Federal Committee was instructed to assume another title (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 136).—480, 493

A reference to the famine that struck Ireland in 1845-47. It was caused by the potato crop failure and the large-scale exports of other foodstuffs from the country. According to the data of 1851, between 1841 and 1851, the famine and eviction of small tenants from land (the clearing of estates) resulted in the death of over a million people and emigration of another million.—480

Marx is referring to the section on Ireland in Chapter VI of the first German edition of *Capital* in 1867 (pp. 688-99), which in the first English edition (1887) corresponded to Part VII, 'The Accumulation of Capital', Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', Section 5. 'Illustrations of the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation. I. Ireland' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—481

Freeholders—a group of small landowners in England. They paid the landlord an insignificant fixed rent and had the right to dispose freely of their plots. They enjoyed low property qualifications of 40 shillings (£2) (annual income). In 1829, this figure was raised five times over, and 40-shilling freeholders lost the right to vote. In the 1830s-40s, more and more freeholders were rapidly ruined, their lands passing into the hands of landlords who leased them to big farmers, capitalist tenants.—481, 484

A reference to the congress of German natural scientists, researchers and medical men held in Hanover on 18-23 September 1865. At one of the sessions, Schulze made an attempt to disprove Darwin's theory.—482

Under the Poor Law that had existed in England since the 16th century, each parish levied a tax for the benefit of the poor; parishioners unable to provide for themselves and their families received aid through poor relief funds. In 1834, a new Poor Law was passed in England that recognised only one form of help, placing the poor into workhouses under a prison-like regime which the people nicknamed 'poor men's Bastilles'.—484
Engels is referring to preparations for the so-called plebiscite which Napoleon III hoped to use to consolidate his somewhat shaky position. On 20 April 1870, the government made public a new constitution which was a compromise between the authoritarian and the parliamentary systems. It was followed by a decree on 23 April, which proposed that the French people use the plebiscite to approve or reject the following: 'The People approves the liberal reforms effected in the Constitution since 1860 by the Emperor, with the cooperation of the great bodies of the State, and ratifies the Senatus-Consultus of the 20th April 1870.' The issue was worded in such a way that a positive answer to it would sound like an approval of the overall political structure of the Second Empire. As a result of a plebiscite held on 8 May 1870, about 3.5 million citizens in fact opposed the Empire (1,894,681 abstained, and 1,577,939 voted against). A large share of the votes against the Empire belonged to the French army; in Paris alone, 46,000 servicemen gave a negative answer.—484, 508, 513, 514

Engels uses the term 'gouvernement direct par le peuple' meaning the so-called direct popular legislation, referendums on the various issues of the internal affairs and policies of the Swiss cantons (see Note 276). Thus, on 6 February 1870, the canton of Ticino held a referendum on the changes in the cantonal constitution (administrative division, representation in the cantonal council, etc). On 20 February, the canton of Zurich held referendums on the tax bill, etc.—485

The excerpt from this letter from the words 'I am now forced...' to the end was published in: The Letters of Karl Marx. Selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, New Jersey, USA, 1979. According to the editors, Marx wrote it to Paul and Laura Lafargue.—485

Paul-Laurent—the pen-name of Paul Lafargue, made up of his own name and that of his wife Laura.—485, 489

On Marx's suggestion, on 12 April 1870, the General Council granted the credentials of the International's correspondent in France to Henri Verlet.—485

The first French edition of the International's Rules, 'Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire', was published by the French Section of the International set up in Paris in 1864 by the workers Tolain, Fribourg and others, who had Proudhonist sympathies. The translation, which appeared in early January 1865, contained a number of distortions and errors. (See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 89-90.)

In November 1866, after the Geneva Congress, which approved the Provisional Rules, Marx and Lafargue published a verified translation of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association and the Administrative Regulations, but that edition was not widely distributed in France, since it was almost entirely confiscated by the French police.

On 18 April, replying to a proposal by Marx, Lafargue wrote that it was impossible to publish the Rules in La Libre pensée, since the newspaper was registered as a purely literary publication (see this volume, p. 557). However, Lafargue managed to get the verified translation of the Rules published, and it appeared in Paris after 20 April 1870. The translation had been checked by Lafargue. Against a background of mounting police reprisals in France, it became necessary to expedite the publication of the Rules and Lafargue had no chance to send the manuscript to Marx for review. In June 1870, Lafargue's

618 Marx is referring to H. Verlet’s article 'Force et matière' published in *La Libre pensée*, No. 13, 16 April 1870. The author spoke highly of Büchner's book *Kraft und Stoff*.— 486

619 Marx sent Engels Perret’s letter to Jung of 15 April 1870, in which Perret described in detail the split that occurred at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 606) and the Bakuninists’ intrigues in the Swiss sections of the International.— 488

620 On 7 April 1870, the Federal Committee newly established by the Bakunists (at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress; see Note 606), which had its headquarters at Chaux-de-Fonds, directed a letter to the General Council requesting it to settle the conflict between itself and the Romance Federal Council. The letter, which was signed by the Federal Committee Secretary F. Robert, also informed the General Council about the establishment of a new *La Solidarité* newspaper by the Bakunists.— 488

621 Laura and Paul Lafargue’s letters of 18 April (see this volume, pp. 556-57) and after 20 April 1870, informed Marx about the foundation, in Paris, of the Federal Council of the International Working Men’s Association (see Note 644). Lafargue believed that for expediency’s sake, he should not become a member of the newly established Council but should be a representative of the London General Council at the Paris Federation. He asked Marx to discuss granting him these powers at the next meeting. This was done by the General Council on 17 May 1870.— 489

622 Replying to Marx’s letter before 4 May 1870, Laura Lafargue stated that Marx’s warning about Paul Robin’s splitting activities had been communicated to Leo Frankel.— 489

623 A reference to the resolutions proposed by Bakunin at the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom held in Berne in 1868 in connection with the discussion of the League’s draft programme. Bakunin spoke several times in defence of his proposals. His speeches, as well as his and his followers’ announcement about their withdrawal from the League, were published in Herzen’s *Kolokol*, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868.— 489

624 The demand to abolish the right of inheritance was put forward by Saint-Simon’s followers (Enfantin, Bazard, Rodrigues, Buchez, etc.) who, in the late 1820s, set out to popularise and develop Saint-Simon’s doctrine. In 1830, a book was published in Paris which, based as it was on Bazard’s lectures, expressed the views of Saint-Simon’s followers on the right of inheritance: *Doctrine de Saint-Simon Exposition. Première année*. 1829, Paris, 1830, pp. 143-69.— 490

625 A reference to the General Council entering the question of the right of inheritance on the Basle Congress agenda (see Note 379). A major preliminary discussion on the issue was held at the General Council in the summer of 1869. On 3 August the Council approved Marx’s ‘Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance’ (see present edition, Vol. 21). Marx’s report was read at the Congress by Eccarius on 11 September 1869.— 492

626 A reference to *Kolokol*, the Russian revolutionary democratic newspaper edited by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev. It was published in Russian in
1857-67, and in French with Russian supplements in 1868-70, in London up to 1865 and later in Geneva. After Herzen's death in 1870, an attempt to keep up the newspaper was made by Sergei Nechayev, who was in close contact with Bakunin. This is probably what Marx means. Six issues appeared in April-May 1870.—492, 508, 516

627 Marx refers to Laura Lafargue's letter of 18 April 1870. Calling her Laurent, Marx hints at Paul-Laurent, the pen-name of Paul Lafargue (see Note 615; see also this volume, p. 557).—493, 555

628 Engels is referring to a speech at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 606) by François Dupleix, who accused Bakunin's followers of atheism and alleged that the workers were unwilling to have the question of their faith discussed.—495

On 16 and 20 April 1870, Liebknecht published in *Der Volkstaat*, nos. 31 and 32, Bakunin's article 'Briefe über die revolutionäre Bewegung in Russland. I.'—496, 499, 519

630 Marx is referring to the lectures on ethnology read by Flourens at the Collège de France in the early 1860s and published in 1863 as a book: G. Flourens, *Histoire de l'homme. Cours d'histoire naturelle des corps organisés au Collège de France*, Paris, 1863.—497

On 12 April 1870, the General Council instructed Marx and Dupont to draw up a protest, on behalf of the International, concerning the harsh verdict brought in against the participants in the March strike at Eugène Schneider's metal works in Creuzot. However, the large-scale police reprisals against members of the International which began in France in late April forced the General Council to revise its plans and replace the protest with a leaflet, written by Marx, 'Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 127).—497

632 On 3 May 1870, Bracke and Bonhorst requested Engels' permission to publish his letter to Bracke of 28 April in *Der Volkstaat*, organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, saying that it was of general interest and importance to Party members. Engels was to write to them before 10 May if he did not agree. On 14 May, an excerpt from Engels' letter was published in *Der Volkstaat*. The editors of the present edition do not possess the original letter.—498

633 On 17 March 1870, Leonhard von Bonhorst, Secretary of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, sent Engels a cashier's report for 1869, in which he wrote about the poor state of the Party's finances.—498

634 On 17 March 1870, Bonhorst as Secretary of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party Committee wrote to Marx and Engels that the workers forming the basis of the party were too passive. He also stated, 'since our party is, amongst other things, the youngest of those that have entered the social and political arena, it is probably also lacking in strength.'—499

635 Engels' letter to Borkheim, written later than 28 April 1870, has not been found.—499, 507

636 The Commission for the Publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland was set up by the British Government in 1852 (see Note 481).—501, 519, 520

A reference to the first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels, which appeared in Geneva in 1869 in Bakunin's
translation. The book was printed at the Kolokol printshop. The inadequacies of Bakunin's translation, which in places somewhat distorted the meaning of this major programme document of the proletarian party, were corrected in Plekhanov's translation, which was published in Geneva in 1882.—502

638 A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 27 April 1870.—503

639 Marx and his daughter Eleanor went on a visit to Engels in Manchester on 23 May 1870 and stayed there until about 23 June 1870.—504, 520, 529

640 On 3 May 1870, the French Section in London (see Note 72) gave a banquet for Flourens, who had fled from France under threat of arrest. An account of the banquet was forwarded to France, Germany and some other countries by Reuter and Havas-Bullier agencies and published, specifically, in the Journal des Débats on 5 May. It stated that the banquet was chaired by 'M. Le Lubez, président de la Société Internationale', when Le Lubez had in fact been expelled from the International for slander back in 1866. On 10 May 1870, the General Council approved Marx's 'Draft Resolution of the General Council on the "French Federal Section in London"', in which it resolutely dissociated itself from the provocative activities of the French Section (see present edition, Vol. 21).—504

641 Société du dix Décembre (Society of December 10), a Bonapartist organisation established in 1849 and consisting, for the most part, of déclassé elements. A detailed account of the Society can be found in Marx's work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 149-51, 186, 193-96).—504, 523

642 In view of the preparations for the plebiscite to be held in France (see Note 612), commencing in late April 1870, arrests of socialists began throughout the country. They were charged with belonging to the International Working Men's Association, as well as with 'complicity' in the plot against Napoleon III (the so-called Blois trial), which was in fact staged by the Prefect of the Paris Police Pietri. On 5 May 1870, the Journal officiel made public the verdict of guilty passed by the Procurator General Grandperret, who charged a number of persons, including Flourens, with complicity in the fictitious plot. On the same day, La Gaulois alleged that Flourens, who was at that time in England, had been persecuted by the British police and thus forced to go into hiding.—505, 522, 558

643 After an attempt on the life of Napoleon III made by the Italian revolutionary Orsini, in February 1858, Palmerston introduced in the House of Commons the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, under which émigrés and natives were to be severely punished for participation in political plots. The Bill was introduced under the pretext of threats by the French Government, which accused England of granting asylum to political refugees. Under pressure from a mass protest movement, the Bill was voted down by the House of Commons and Palmerston was obliged to resign.—505

644 The Paris Federation of the International Working Men's Association was founded on 18 April 1870, at a general meeting of the International's sections in Paris under the chairmanship of Louis Eugène Varlin. The meeting, which attracted 1,200-1,300 participants, adopted the Rules of the Federation (see this volume, pp. 555-56). However, the police reprisals and arrests of the International's members which began in France late in April 1870 in connection with preparations for the plebiscite (see Note 612) disrupted the activities of the Federation.—506, 555
Marx refers to the programme article of Kolokol's new editorial board 'To the Russian Public from the Editors' published in No. 1, 2 April 1870.—507

A reference to Sigismund Borkheim's letter to Marx of 3 May 1870, in which he thanked Marx for sending him Charles Lever's novel Harry Lorrequer.—506

On 2 April 1870, Der Volksstaat, edited by Liebknecht, began the publication of Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany. A serious blunder was made by the editorial board when printing Chapter II: on 4 May, the newspaper featured the end of this chapter, while the preceding page had been left out and appeared only on 7 May with the editorial board's note: 'The excerpt contained in today's issue was to have appeared before the part published in the last issue. This vexing error was caused by the absence of our type-setter who is responsible for imposing the issue (this type-setter is away on an agitation tour).'

Engels is referring to Liebknecht's footnote on Hegel that appeared in Der Volksstaat on 30 April 1870.—509, 513

Marx gives Engels an account of Liebknecht's letter of 7 May 1870, in which Liebknecht invited Engels, through Marx, to the Stuttgart Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party scheduled for 4-7 June 1870.—511, 513, 519

This letter, written after 7 May 1870, has not been found.—511, 519

A reference to a suggestion by Bebel and Liebknecht that the annual congress of the International Working Men's Association should be held in 1870 in Germany, either in Mainz or Mannheim. Liebknecht wrote to Marx about this on 7 May 1870. On 9 May, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party sent the General Council an official proposal to hold the congress in Germany.—511, 515

A reference to the following books: R. O' Flaherty, Ogygia: seu, Rerum Hiberniarum Chronologia. In tres partes. Londini, 1685; Rerum Hiberniarum Scriptores Veteres, Tomes I-IV, Buckingham, 1814-1826, ed. Ch. O'Conor; J. Ware, Inquiries concerning Ireland and its Antiquities, Dublin, 1705; J. Ware, Two Books of the Writers of Ireland, Dublin, 1704.—516, 517

The Annales Ultorientes were compiled by various chroniclers between the 15th and 17th centuries and described events beginning from the mid-fifth century; they were published by Ch. O'Conor in the fourth volume of his collection Rerum Hiberniarum Scriptores Veteres (Ancient Annalists of Ireland).

Annales IV Magistrorum were compiled in 1632-36 in the Donegal Monastery by four monks. The first part of the Annales was published in the third volume of Ch. O'Conor's collection; in full, they were put out by J. O'Donovan, together with an English translation, in 1856; Annales Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest Period to the Year 1616.—517

Engels' letter to Liebknecht, written around 15 May 1870, is not extant.—519

In the first publication of this letter in: MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931, and in: Marx and Engels, Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIV, Moscow, 1931, this letter was erroneously dated 16 March 1870.—519

Marx forwards to Engels Liebknecht's letter of 11 May 1870, in which the latter explained the errors, including the footnote on Hegel, made when publishing Engels' work The Peasant War in Germany (see Note 647) in Der Volksstaat.
Liebknecht promised to put in a statement to the effect that the notes had been supplied by the editorial board and not Engels. He considered it unnecessary to publish Engels' official statement (see this volume, pp. 508-09).—519

656 On 16 March 1870, Der Volksstaat, No. 22, carried Borkheim's article 'Ein Brief Netschajeffs' (in German, with a Russian translation made by Borkheim himself). The article was signed 'Der Autor der Russischen Briefe in der Berliner Zukunft'. Russian Briefe was the name of Borkheim's articles about Russia featured by Die Zukunft in 1869-70 (see Note 274). On 14 May the editorial board of Der Volksstaat published the opening passages of Nechayev's reply, which is what Marx is writing about to Engels.—519, 521

657 Engels visited Marx in London on his way to Germany late in December 1869.—521

658 Marx sent Engels an anonymous article 'Das Treiben der deutschen Kommunisten' from the American newspaper Der Pionier of 27 April 1870. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper, which was published in New York by German petty-bourgeois democratic émigrés, was Karl Heinzen. The author of the article, who was obviously concerned about the successes of the newly-founded Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and its newspaper Der Volksstaat, made libellous statements about Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and Eccarius, contrasting communists and the 'German revolutionary democracy'. Specifically, with reference to Lassalle, the article stated that in 1849 he had made all the necessary preparations for an uprising in Cologne but that Marx, who had promised to do the same in Düsseldorf and certain other localities, had failed to do so thus letting Lassalle down.

In this letter, Marx refers to Heinzen as Heineke, a character in the German song of the same name, which is a folk parody of the so-called grobian literature of the 16th century. Marx thus nicknamed Heinzen for the first time in 1847 in his work Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality, in which he likened Heinzen's journalism to specimens of this brand of literature (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 312-40).—522, 524

659 A reference to Jenny Marx's letter to Manchester of 30 May 1870.—524

660 The address of Engels' house, in which he spent his last years in Manchester and where Marx and his daughter Eleanor stayed in May-June 1870, was 86 Mornington St.—525

661 This is Marx's reply to Le Lubez' letter of 11 June, in which he asked whether Marx was the author of the item 'Aus England' carried by Der Volksstaat on 11 May 1870. It exposed the provocative activities of the so-called French Section in London and especially its action on behalf of the International at the banquet for Flourens given in London on 3 May 1870 (see Note 640).—526

662 A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 13 June 1870, in which he inquired what sort of flat to rent for Marx in Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary).—527

663 A reference to Otto Meissner's letter to Marx of 25 June 1870, in which he informed Marx that he was planning to make the final payment for the first edition of Volume One of Capital in August 1870.—527, 529

664 This phrase can be found in the preface to the second edition of Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse. Zum Gebrauch seiner Vorlesungen von Georg Wilhelm Hegel, 2 Ausg. Heidelberg, Osswald, 1827, S. XVI: 'Lessing said in his time that Spinoza is treated as a dead dog.' Hegel referred to the talk between Lessing and Jacobi that took place on 7 June 1780, in the course
of which Lessing said: 'The people are still referring to Spinoza as a dead dog.' See: F. H. Jacobi, Werke, Bd. IV, Abt. I, Leipzig, 1819, S. 68.—528

665 In early July 1870, Lafargue wrote in a letter to Marx that he would be visited by a young Russian revolutionary, one Hermann Lopatin, to whom he had given Marx's address and a letter of introduction. Marx and Lopatin met on 2 July 1870. Describing his meeting with Marx, Lopatin wrote: '...I was afraid to run out of subjects for discussion with this luminary, and then I was secretly puzzled—what language except that of signs could I use to communicate with him? All my fears proved groundless on both of my visits (of which the last lasted for ten hours), the conversation did not stop for a minute.' Lopatin visited Marx for a second time on 3 July same year.—530

666 This excerpt from Marx's letter was quoted by Lopatin in a letter to Lavrov of 6 July 1870. First, Lopatin gave a short exposition of Marx's letter: 'Today, I received from him (Marx) a new issue of the Narodnoye Dvelo (People's Cause) and a very nice note with the latest news about the court trial of our Paris comrades (the reference is to the third trial of the International's members in France; see Note 667—Ed.). He concluded by asking if I should like him to find me a clerk's job at some London office.'—535

667 A reference is to the third trial of the members of the Paris Federation of the International arrested by the French police on the eve of the plebiscite (see notes 612 and 642). The trial was held between 22 June and 5 July 1870. The prosecution failed to bring in the charge of conspiracy; the defendants were charged not with complicity in the fictitious plot, but with being members of the International.—537

668 Marx enclosed with this letter the text of the 'Confidential Communication to All Sections' and the 'Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International', which was to open in Mainz on 5 September 1870. Both documents were written in French. They are to be found in Vol. 21 of the present edition.

On the top of the first page is the International's round seal with the inscription: 'International Working Men's Association. Central Council London'.—537

669 Engels' 'Confession' is a joking reply to the questionnaire compiled by Marx's eldest daughter Jenny. It is published in this volume from the handwritten text preserved in her album. This was a favourite parlour game in England and Germany at the time (see Marx's 'Confession', Vol. 42 of the present edition).—541

670 Reineke de Vos (Reynard the Fox)—a popular character of the medieval epic poems about animals, a satire of feudal society. The first literary version appeared in 1498 in Lübeck under the title of Reynke de Vos. Goethe's Reineke Fuchs is the most popular embodiment of the epic.—541

671 Ruge's letter to Steinthal of 25 January 1869 was forwarded to Marx on 4 February by W. Strohn with whom Steinthal was friendly. Marx let Engels, Borkheim and Kugelmann read it. He sent it to the latter on 11 February (see this volume, p. 213).—542

672 Around 10 September, 1869, Marx and his daughter Jenny left for Belgium and Germany. They visited Bruges, Liège, Aachen, Cologne, Siegburg (where they called on Dietzgen), Bonn, Mainz (where they spent a day with the German socialist Paul Stumpf) and Wiesbaden. Marx and Jenny arrived in Hanover around 18 September 1869 (see this volume, p. 353 and Note 349).—543
Eccarius' report on the first meetings of the Basle Congress (see Note 379) published in The Times of 15 September 1869, quoted in full the speech made by the American delegate Andrew Cameron.—543

A reference to Lessner's letters to Marx which gave a detailed account of the Basle Congress. Lessner sent five letters in all (6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 September 1869). Of Liebknecht's letters dealing with the Congress, the one of 7 September is extant.—544

In a report made at the Basle Congress meeting of 7 September 1869, Liebknecht touched on the question of his disagreement with Schweitzer and criticised Lassalle's views.—544

A reference to Chapter III ‘Die Production des absoluten Mehrwerts' of the first German edition of Volume One of Capital. Corresponding to it in the second and subsequent German editions of this volume and in the first (1887) English edition is the entire Section Three (see present edition, Vol. 35).—545

Eleanor Marx toured Ireland with Engels and his wife Lizzy Burns from 6 to 23 September 1869.—546

A reference to the Act of Disestablishment of the Church passed by Gladstone in Ireland in 1869.—549

The Orangemen—members of the Orange Society (Order), a Protestant terrorist organisation founded in 1795 and employed by the authorities, Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the 1689-91 Irish uprising for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The Order had a particularly powerful influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, with its predominantly Protestant population.—549

Ordeal or Dei iudicum, an ordeal by red-hot iron, boiling water, etc., used in the Middle Ages to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused.—550

Rochefort's position, who sought to avert unnecessary bloodshed on the day of Noir's funeral, was criticised in the ‘Politische Uebersicht' column, Der Volksstaat, No. 7, 22 January 1870. Rochefort was described as 'a vacillating man, lacking principles', 'a frondeur', not a revolutionary.—553

Jenny Marx quotes the editorial written by P. Granier de Cassagnac for Le Pays, 15 January 1870.—553

A reference to the strike by over 10,000 workers at Schneider's engineering and metal works in Creuzot in the second half of January 1870. The strike began in protest against the dismissal of the members of the delegation which was to negotiate with the management about transferring the pensions fund to the workers. After government troops had been sent to Creuzot, the strike took on a political character. The Bonapartist government managed to suppress it by making mass arrests. One leader of the strike was Adolphe Alphonse Assi, a mechanic. The progress of the strike was described by Der Volksstaat, No. 8, 26 January 1870 in the 'Politishe Uebersicht' column.—553

Jenny Marx quotes A. Guérout's article 'Les Grèves' published in L'Opinion Nationale newspaper on 28 January 1870.—554

A reference to Marx's 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association' read at the Basle Congress meeting on 7 September 1869. Lafargue paraphrases the following
passage: 'But the workmen on the Continent ... begin ... to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk' (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 77).—555

686 Mutuellistes—in the 1860s, the name given to the right wing of the Proudhonists who were members of the French sections of the International.—555

687 A reference to the document in which the Paris Federation of the International's sections defined its tactics with respect to the plebiscite scheduled for 8 May 1870 (see Note 612). The leadership of the International's sections in France recommended that the voters should abstain or cast their ballots blank.

Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières à tous les travailleurs français was published in La Marseillaise, No. 125, 24 April 1870 and issued in Paris as a leaflet at the same time.—556

688 A reference to the address of the so-called London French Section on the question of the plebiscite, 'Adresse aux citoyens français', which appeared in La Marseillaise, No. 116, 15 April 1870. In connection with this and other documents of this organisation, which illegally used the name of the International, on 10 May the General Council approved Marx's statement which stressed that the Section had 'ceased ... to have any connection whatever with the General Council in London or any Branch of that Association on the continent' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 131).—556

689 Lafargue is replying to Marx's advice to avoid any distinctive names except territorial designations when setting up new sections of the International (see this volume, p. 485). Later, the London Conference of the International held on 17-23 September 1871, granted this recommendation, which was spearheaded against sectarianism, the status of a clause in the Rules (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-24).—556

690 The note quoted by Lafargue appeared in La Libre pensée, No. 13, 16 April 1870. It puns on the pen-name of Villemessant, well known reactionary journalist, and the French expression 'vil me sens' (I am feeling low). 'Paris-faillite' (Bankrupt Paris) is a dig at the gutter police sheet Paris-Journal.—557

691 The Irishman, No. 40, 2 April 1870 published excerpts from Jenny Marx's second article on the Irish question. The sixth article, 'Agrarian Outrages in Ireland', was published in full in The Irishman, No. 45, 7 May 1870.

On Jenny Marx's articles on the Irish question, see Note 562.—559

692 A reference to a collection of Irish songs Erins-Harfe, Irländische Volksmelodien nach Thomas Moore, with the lyrics, Irish Melodies, written by Thomas Moore. The collection was prepared and published in Hanover in 1870 by the singer Joseph Rissé, whom Marx and Jenny met in 1867 during a visit to the Kugelmanns. Engels' note mentioned in this letter probably was not used in the preface.—563

693 The letter was written two days before the Franco-Prussian war, which began on 19 July 1870. Jenny, who was misled by the Bonapartist press, was unable to give a sound assessment of the French public's mood on the eve of the war. The chauvinistic demonstrations were organised in Paris and the provinces by the government, which made use of police agents and déclassé elements. Paul Lafargue wrote to Marx in July 1870 that in Paris, 'the police were obliged to feign enthusiasm so as to make it credible'.—563
NAME INDEX

A

Abercorn, James Hamilton, Duke of (1811-1885)—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1866-68 and 1874-76).—374

Acollas, Émile (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician; socialist radical.—371

Adams.—361

Albany, Robert Stewart, Duke of (c. 1340-1420)—younger brother of King Robert III of Scotland; ruler of Scotland (1389-99 and 1402-20).—226

Albert Edward (1841-1910)—son of Queen Victoria; Edward VII, King of England (1901-10).—324, 432

Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse (1823-1888)—Austrian general, took part in the Italian war of 1859; commanded an allied army corps during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.—64

Alexeiev—see Bartenev, Viktor Ivanovich

Allen—Marx’s family doctor.—45, 50, 51, 425, 428, 550, 551

Altmeyer, Jean Jacques (1804-1877)—Belgian historian.—9

Angerstein, Wilhelm—Austrian journalist and writer, editor-in-chief of the Vienna Allgemeine Volkszeitung.—238

Annabella Drummond of Stobhall (c. 1350-1402)—Queen of Scotland, wife of Robert III.—226

Applegarth, Robert (1833-1925)—a trade union leader, cabinet-maker; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; subsequently left the working-class movement.—198, 251, 253, 346, 386, 393, 395, 497

Ariosto, Lodovico (1474-1533)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—541

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—158, 173

Arneth, Alfred von (1819-1897)—Austrian historian.—442

Assi, Adolphe Alphonse (1841-1886)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; member of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune.—553, 554

Avrial, Augustin Germain (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; organ-
ised the trade union of mechanics; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the First International.—556

Aycard, M.—Paris banker.—7

Badinguet—see Napoleon III

Bakunin (Bakounine, Bakunine), Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; later an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International.—121, 142, 153, 154, 190, 193, 198, 200, 202, 208, 218, 222, 223, 235, 237, 240, 327, 332, 335, 362-63, 364, 404, 405, 411, 413, 414, 424, 428, 430, 431, 436, 441, 462, 468, 479, 480, 488, 489-94, 499, 502, 506, 508, 511, 516, 518, 523, 530, 531

Bakunina, Antonina Xaveriyevna (née Kvyatkovskaya) (c. 1840-1887)—Mikhail Bakunin’s wife.—193

Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850)—French realist writer.—85, 189

Bancet, Jean Baptiste François Désiré (1822-1871)—French lawyer and politician; bourgeois radical; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); exiled from France after the coup d’état of 2 December 1851; member of the Corps législatif from 1869.—546, 553

Bangya, János (1817-1868)—Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; after its defeat, Kossuth’s emissary abroad and at the same time secret police agent; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey, acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus (1855-58).—58

Bara, Jules (1835-1900)—Belgian statesman, Liberal, Minister of Justice (1865-70, 1878-84).—43

Baring, Thomas (1799-1873)—financier, head of a banking house in London, Conservative M.P.—438

Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon (1791-1873)—French lawyer and politician; leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; headed the monarchist coalition ministry (December 1848-October 1849); withdrew from political activities after the dismissal of the ministry in November 1849.—216

Barry, Charles Robert (b. 1834)—Irish lawyer; Public Prosecutor in Dublin (1859-65); M.P.; Solicitor-General (1869-70) and Attorney-General (1870-71) for Ireland.—162

Bartels, Marie (d. 1869)—Engels’ niece, daughter of his sister Marie and Karl Emil Blank.—212

Bartels, Robert—Marie Bartels’ husband.—212

Bartenev, Viktor Ivanovich (pseudonyms Alexeyev, Netov) (1838-1918)—Russian army officer; emigrated to Switzerland in 1867; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists; member of the Russian Section Committee of the International in Geneva; vigorously opposed the Bakuninist splitting activities.—193

Bassot—trustee of A. Frank’s (Paris publisher) inheritance.—138, 150

Bastiat, Frédéric (1801-1850)—French economist and politician; preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society.—65, 66, 68

Baudin, Jean Baptiste Alphonse Victor (1801-1851)—French politician, physician; Republican; deputy to the Legislative Assembly; was killed on the barricades in the faubourg of Saint-Antoine on 3 December 1851.—159, 188, 191

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882)—German philosopher; Young Hegelian; author
of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—123, 343

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German philosopher and journalist; Young Hegelian; brother and associate of Bruno Bauer; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London Neue Zeit in 1859; Prussian official after the amnesty of 1861.—15

Bazley, Thomas (1797-1885)—English manufacturer and politician, Free Trader, Liberal; a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; Chairman of Manchester Chamber of Commerce (1845-59), M.P.—157, 163, 254, 257

Beales, Edmond (1803-1881)—British lawyer, radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; supported the Northerners during the Civil War in the USA; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—166

Beaury, Camille (born c. 1848)—French non-commissioned officer.—505

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; President of the Union of German Workers’ Associations from 1867; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party; opposed the Lassalleans; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; prominent figure in the Second International.—75, 108, 210, 249, 250, 253, 255, 274, 276, 304, 306, 307, 313, 332, 338, 349, 511

Beck, Karl Isidor (1817-1879)—Austrian poet; representative of ‘true socialism’ in the mid-1840s.—373

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); abandoned the working-class movement after 1884.—87, 89, 92, 112, 250, 252, 255

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary; participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution; organised sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London (1865) Conference and all the congresses of the International; editor of Der Vorbote (1866-71); member of the Provisional Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (October 1868); under the influence of Marx and Engels, broke with the Bakunists; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 81, 94, 102, 142, 172, 190, 191, 199, 202, 203, 208-09, 218, 238, 240, 254, 266, 304, 323, 332, 336, 340, 350, 396, 405, 430, 463, 491, 494, 502

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, radical, positivist philosopher; professor at London University; Chairman of the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin’s Hall (28 September 1864); defended the International and the Paris Commune in the English press in 1870-71; Marx’s friend.—36, 50, 73, 74, 81, 84, 138, 141, 208, 211, 217, 226, 230, 244, 246, 262, 271, 293, 298, 299, 341, 400, 537

Bentinck, William Cavendish, Lord (1774-1839)—British general and statesman; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France; Governor of Madras (1803-07), Governor-General of India (1827-35).—477

Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph (1813-1869)—German historian and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated in 1850.—238
Bernard, Marie—Belgian house-painter; member of the General Council of the International (September 1868-1869); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (September 1868-November 1869).—272, 275

Bernard, Simon François (Bernard le Clubiste) (1817-1862)—French politician, republican; refugee in England in the 1850s; in 1858 was accused by the French government of complicity in Orsini's attempt on Napoleon III's life, acquitted by the British court.—505, 559

Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich (pseudonym Flerovsky, N.) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist, democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.—362, 390, 423, 426, 429-31, 433, 440, 441, 450, 462, 480, 487, 508, 531, 545

Besson, Alexandre—French worker, mechanic; refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium; a leader of the French Section in London; joined Félix Pyat's group.—139

Beta (pen name of Bettziech), Johann Heinrich (1813-1876)—German journalist, democrat; refugee in London, follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—74

Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury (1800-1873)—British lawyer and liberal statesman; Attorney-General (1856-59 and 1860-61) and Lord Chancellor (1861-63).—219, 506

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899)—Prussian army officer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland; member of the Zurich local section of the International; professor of pedagogics.—366

Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian statesman; opposed the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia and supported the independ-
Blank, Marie (1824-1901)—Frederick Engels' sister; from 1845 Karl Emil Blank's wife.—212

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution; sentenced to imprisonment several times.—113, 174, 217, 290, 244, 288, 290, 316, 442, 449

Bleichröder, Gerson von (1822-1893)—head of a big bank in Berlin; Bismarck's private banker and unofficial adviser.—438

Blind, Frederike (née Ettlinger)—Karl Blind's wife.—43, 205

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat; participated in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal in the 1860s.—16, 43, 62-64, 74, 101, 425, 525

Bohn—bookseller.—442

Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de (1646-1714)—French economist, precursor of the Physiocrats; father of French classical political economy.—429

Bonnarte—see Napoleon III

Bonaparte, Pierre Napoléon (1815-1881)—cousin of Napoleon III; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—317, 409, 466

Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; adopted the name of Jérôme after the death of his elder brother (1847); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; went by the name of Plon-Plon and the Red Prince.—138, 188, 512

Bonar—banker.—438

Bonhoist, Leonhard von (b. 1840)—German Social-Democrat, technician; Secretary of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; subsequently abandoned politics.—358, 363, 364-65, 367, 394, 428, 464, 499, 500

Boon, Martin James—British mechanic; prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—364

Borchardt, Louis—German physician, acquaintance of Engels in Manchester.—20, 164, 168, 267, 268, 275

Borkheim—Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim's wife.—430, 496

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.—5, 9, 36, 38, 55, 71-72, 81, 86, 88, 99, 103, 104, 106, 108, 119-21, 126, 142, 151, 153-55, 162, 178, 181, 186, 189, 190, 202, 206, 215, 219, 222, 223, 244, 254, 266, 275, 279, 336, 363, 371, 376, 405, 410, 427, 430, 436, 437, 440, 441, 464, 478, 482, 496, 499, 507, 509, 512, 519, 531, 556

Borutztau, Karl (d. 1873)—German physician and journalist, Lassallean; later member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, contributed to the newspaper Volksstaat.—71, 72

Bouverie, Edward Pleydell (1818-1889)—British statesman, Whig; member of the House of Commons; Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1855); President of the Poor-Law Board (1855-58); was in opposition to the Gladstone government (late 1860s-early 1870s).—429
Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (Eisenachers); opposed the Lassalleans; was close to Marx and Engels.—327, 328, 331, 358, 393, 395, 396, 428, 464, 498, 500, 515, 520, 522

Bradaugh, Charles (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, radical; editor of the weekly The National Reformer.—162, 217, 388

Bramwell, George William Wilshere, Baron (1808-1892)—English lawyer.—26

Brass, August (1818-1876)—German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland; follower of Bismarck from the 1860s; National Liberal; publisher of the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.—344

Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931)—German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.—253

Brewer, John Sherren (1810-1879)—English historian and philologist, professor at King’s College, London.—416

Bright, Jacob (1821-1899)—English politician, Liberal M.P.—136, 157, 163

Bright, John (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—168, 176, 305, 409, 429, 431, 458, 544

Bronner, Eduard—German physician, democrat; deputy to the Baden Constituent Assembly (1849); emigrated to England; follower of Karl Blind.—64

Brouë, Charlotte (pseudonym Currer Bell)—English writer.—292

Brooks—banker.—265

Brooks, Milna—daughter of the above.—265

Brophy, Charles—an author of the book A Residence in Bulgaria: or Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey, published in London in 1869.—346

Brosset, François—Swiss fitter; member of the International; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—300, 305, 308, 451, 455, 457, 459, 460, 504

Bruhin, Caspar Aloys (b. 1824)—Swiss journalist and politician; prosecutor of canton Baselland from 1864; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—480.

Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron von, from 1871 Count (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; envoy (1840-54, 1858-60), then Ambassador (1860-74) to London.—260, 264

Brutus, Lucius Junius (6th cent. B.C.)—according to legend, founder of the Roman Republic, Roman Consul (509 B.C.); condemned his own sons to death for having conspired against the Republic.—63, 244

Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian socialist.—105, 133, 260

Büchner, Ludwig (1824-1899)—German philosopher and naturalist; vulgar materialist, liberal; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) and participant in the congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867).—28, 131, 158, 162, 167, 168, 173, 206, 210, 486, 528
Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, Orleanist; participated in the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, commander-in-chief of the army in the Alps (1848-49); deputy to the Legislative Assembly.—159

Burke, Richard (d. 1870)—Fenian; officer of the North American army; an organiser of the 1867 uprising in Ireland; arrested in 1867, died in prison.—26


Burns, Mary Ellen ("Pumps") (born c. 1861)—niece of Engels' wife.—80, 147, 205, 207, 308, 311, 341, 514, 535

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician; Liberal M.P.; defended Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—361, 393

C

Cabanis, Pierre Jean Georges (1757-1808)—French physician and philosopher.—159, 173

Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman.—558

Camden, William (1551-1623)—English antiquary and historian.—402

Cameron, Andrew—prominent figure in the American working-class movement; editor of the newspaper Workingman's Advocate (Chicago); represented the US National Labour Union at the Basle Congress of the First International (1869).—543

Camperio, Philipp (1810-1882)—Swiss statesman, Italian by birth; lawyer; member of the Grand Council (1847-70); President of the State Council of Geneva and head of the Department of Justice and Police (1868).—11

Camphausen, Ludolf (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).—395

Cannon, John—American military writer.—402

Cardwell, Edward Cardwell, Viscount (1813-1886)—British statesman; Peelite, later Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55); Chief Secretary for Ireland (1859-61); Secretary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary for War (1868-74).—113

Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—American economist; advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—59, 369, 374, 378-87, 545

Carl, F.—member of the German workers' association in New York.—472

Carpkile, Thomas (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—482

Carter, James—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; hairdresser; member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-67) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67), participant in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—106

Cassagnac—see Granier de Cassagnac, Paul Adolphe Marie Prosper
Castille, Charles Hippolyte (1820-1886)—French writer, publicist; republican at the beginning of his career; Bonapartist during the Second Empire; author of several works on the history of France.—232, 242, 244, 246

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769-1822)—British Tory statesman; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801); Secretary for War and for the Colonies (1805-06 and 1807-22) and Foreign Secretary (1812-22).—368, 429

Catiline, Lucius Sergius Catilina (c. 108-62 B.C.)—Roman politician and conspirator against the aristocratic republic.—217

Cavaignac, Louis Eugène (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution War Minister of France (from May 1848); played a leading role in suppressing the June 1848 uprising; head of the executive power (from June to December 1848).—495

Cawley—M.P. from Salford, elected in the autumn of 1868; Conservative.—163

Charles I (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49); executed during the English Revolution.—517

Charles the Great (Charlemagne) (742-814)—King of the Franks from 768 and Holy Roman Emperor (800-814).—156

Charras, Jean Baptiste Adolphe (1810-1865)—French military expert, politician, moderate republican; took part in suppressing the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies under the Second Republic (1848-51), opposed Louis Bonaparte; banished from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.—138

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; one of the precursors of Russian Social-Democracy.—531

Cherval, Julien (real name Joseph Crämer)—Prussian policeman, spy for Prussia and France at the same time in Paris; gained entry into the Communist League and headed a Paris community of the separatist Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the French police; acted as a spy and agent-provocateur under the name of Nugent in Switzerland in 1853 and 1854.—283

Choray—M.P. from Salford, elected in the autumn of 1868, Conservative.—163

Chorley—Lydia Burns' friend.—147

Chorlton—Austro-Hungarian army officer; was prosecuted in 1868 on a charge of poisoning his wife.—34

Chorley—M.P. from Salford, elected in the autumn of 1868, Conservative.—163

Chorlton—Lydia Burns' friend.—147

Clanricarde, Ulick John, de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of (1802-1874)—British politician and diplomat, Whig; Ambassador to St. Petersburg (1838-41).—466, 468, 493

Clasen-Kappelmann, Johann (c. 1817-1879)—Cologne manufacturer; town councillor in Cologne; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s.—371

Clement, Knut Jungbohn (1810-1873)—German historian and linguist, professor at Kiel University.—459

Clossmann, A. von (d. 1871)—German army officer; petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; later emigrated to Switzerland; Swiss correspondent
of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.—238

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); took part in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; member of the International; was close to the Bakuninists; in the spring of 1870 acted as the General Council's correspondent in the USA; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Belgium after its suppression.—472

Cobbett, William (c. 1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer; from 1802 published Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.—368, 429

Coenen, Philippe—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoemaker; secretary of the Antwerp newspaper Werker; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; subsequently a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—464

Collet, Collet Dobson—English radical journalist and public figure; editor and publisher of the Urquhartist Free Press (1859-65) and Diplomatic Review (from 1866).—159, 165, 168, 264, 296, 346, 438, 468

Combault, Amédée, Benjamin Alexandre (c. 1837-d. after 1884)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, jeweller; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), founder of a Paris section of the International in 1870; prosecuted during the third trial of the First International in France; member of the Paris Commune; subsequently emigrated to London.—556

Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist, founder of positivism.—242

Congreve, Richard (1818-1899)—English positivist philosopher; journalist; follower of Comte.—261, 293

Coningsby, Robert—prominent figure in the British democratic movement, journalist.—195

Conneau, Henri (1803-1877)—French doctor, personal physician and favourite of Napoleon III.—495

Coppel, Carl—banker in Hanover.—3

Costello, Augustin—Fenian, American army officer; came to Ireland in 1867 to take part in the uprising; was arrested and sentenced to twelve years of penal servitude; released on 25 February 1869.—224

Cremer, Sir William Randall (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; member of the London Trades Council, carpenter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; subsequently Liberal M.P.; Nobel peace prize winner (1903); was knighted in 1907.—178

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—217, 363, 376, 391, 398, 416

Curran, John Philpot (1750-1817)—Irish politician and judge, radical; member of the Irish Parliament; defended leaders of the United Irishmen rev-
volutionary society at state trials.—398, 401

_Currer Bell_—see Brontë, Charlotte

_D_

Dakyns—English geologist; member of the International from 1869; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—242, 291-93, 423, 426, 454, 459, 525

Daniels, Roland (1819-1855)—German physician; member of the Communist League and of its Cologne Central Authority from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne communist trial (1852); friend of Marx and Engels.—35

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pseudonym Nikolai—on) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatín and N. N. Lubavin), II and III of Marx's _Capital_; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years.—120, 123, 211

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist; founded the theory of natural selection.—141, 162, 206, 217, 423, 482, 527

Davenport, Samuel Th.—treasurer of the Society of Arts and Trades.—372

Davies—doctor at a London hospital.—550

Davis, Edward (1756-1831)—English clergyman, author of works on the ancient Celts.—515

Davis, Sir John (1569-1626)—English statesman, lawyer, Attorney-General for Ireland (1609-19), author of several works on the history of Ireland, supporter of the English colonisation of Ireland.—388, 398, 401, 483, 501

Davis, Thomas Osborne (1814-1845)—Irish democrat, historian and poet; a Young Ireland leader.—398

_Davisson, A. N._—Secretary of the Schiller Institute in Manchester.—118

Defoe, Daniel (c. 1660-1731)—English journalist and novelist.—344

Delescluze, Louis Charles (1809-1871)—French revolutionary, journalist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, founder, editor and publisher of _Le Réveil_ (1868-71), member of the Paris Commune of 1871.—195, 232

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—270, 271, 399, 458, 526, 547

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 Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers’ Party (1885).—9, 43, 198, 243-44, 405, 411-15, 424, 440, 453

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—263, 265

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leather-worker; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; champion of Marxism; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1884.—31, 54, 65, 70, 120, 121, 126, 149, 152, 154, 173, 249, 353, 357

Dixon—managing director of a Liverpool bank.—113
Dönniges, Helene von (1845-1911)—
dughter of Friedrich Wilhelm Dönniges; wife of Janko von Racowița. —88

Drengler.—285

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German journalist; first 'true socialist', then member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; follower of Marx and Engels; subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—443

Drury—member of the French Section of the International in London; emigrated to the USA in 1867.—97, 177

Duchinski, Franciszek (1817-1893)—
Polish historian and ethnographer; emigrated to Paris after the 1830-31 uprising; author of several works on the history and ethnography of Poland and the Eastern Slavs.—435

Duffy, James (1809-1871)—Irish publisher.—374, 398

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921)—
German eclectic philosopher; his philosophical views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; also concerned himself with the problems of political economy, law, and natural science; lecturer at Berlin University from 1863 to 1877.—59, 73, 344, 528

Duncker, Franz (1822-1888)—German publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—130, 210, 276

Dupont—Eugène Dupont's wife.—481

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—
prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses, London Conference (1871) of the International; associate of Marx and Engels; became a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—45, 78, 91, 101, 106, 148, 204, 216, 218, 262, 268, 271, 284, 350, 406, 481, 487, 489, 529, 532, 534, 535, 536

Dürst.—194

E

Ebergenyi, Julie, Baroness von—
Hungarian aristocrat; was prosecuted in 1868 on a charge of poisoning Gustav Chorinsky's wife.—34

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—
prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx till 1872; in the spring of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—75, 91, 93, 94, 96-98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 109, 115, 147, 148, 184, 221, 228, 240, 262, 275, 276, 284, 304, 364, 377, 392, 414, 442, 471, 503, 543

Eck, Johann (Maier) (1486-1543)—
German theologian; one of the main opponents of the Reformation in
Germany; opposed Luther many times.—249

Edwards, Edward Watkin—an official assignee in the Court of Bankruptcy.—208

Eichhoff, Albert—book-seller and publisher, Wilhelm Karl Eichhoff's brother.—211, 237, 238, 261, 264, 266, 277, 282, 322, 356

Eichhoff, Wilhelm Karl (1833-1895)—German socialist; 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 International from 1868; one of its first historians; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party from 1869.—11, 36, 37, 50, 55, 78, 80, 100, 116, 118, 120, 140, 151, 152, 153, 162, 223, 230, 239, 273-74, 277, 282, 297-99, 531

Einhorn—see Horn, Eduard (Ignácz)

Eliot, George (pen name of Mary Ann Evans) (1819-1880)—English woman novelist.—292, 423

Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich (1835-1908)—took part in the Russian students' revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; emigrated to Geneva in 1865, founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper Narodnoye Ddelo (People's Cause) was published; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—193

Emma—see Engels, Emma

Engel, Ernst (1821-1896)—German statistician; director of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—253, 352

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia (née van Haur) (1797-1873)—Frederick Engels' mother.—34, 88, 90, 93, 194, 195, 281, 300, 302, 317-20, 336, 348, 452, 453, 548

Engels, Emma (née Croon) (1834-1916)—wife of Frederick Engels' brother Hermann Engels.—195, 282, 322

Engels, Friedrich (1796-1860)—Frederick Engels' father.—456

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother.—194, 280, 318, 319, 320, 322

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother.—195, 322, 352, 452-53

Ensor, George (1769-1843)—Irish journalist; opposed Anglo-Irish Union; in his works exposed the colonial policy of the British ruling classes; criticised Malthusianism.—368, 375

Ermén, Anton Gottfried (1807-1886)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermén & Engels.—36, 140, 280, 301, 302


Ermén, Heinrich (Henry) Eduard (1833-1913)—a partner in the firm of Ermén Brothers; nephew of Gottfried Ermen; manager of Bridgewater Mill at Pendlebury.—32-33

Ermén, Johanna Emilie Julie (née Sartorius)—Anton Ermen's wife.—302

Ermén, Peter (Pitt) Albertus Ermén (1800-1889)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermén & Engels.—281, 321

Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba (1826-1920)—Empress of France, Napoleon III's wife.—399

Euelenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count von (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—391, 395

Ewald, Georg Heinrich August (1803-1875)—German orientalist; Bible scholar.—408
F
Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de (1810-1892)—French general.—36
Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and clerical; in 1848 initiated the closure of the national workshops and organised the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Education (1849).—232
Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German economist and journalist, Young Hegelian; advocate of Free Trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; member of the Party of Progress; National Liberal from 1866.—55, 56, 62, 65, 68, 86, 142
Favre, 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; inspired the struggle against the International.—232, 442, 553
Fechner, Gustav Theodor (1801-1887)—German physicist and philosopher.—528
Fehrenbach—photographer in London.—231, 278
Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—152, 154, 354
Firdousi (Firdauisi or Firdusi) (pen name of Abul Kasim Mansur) (c. 940-1020 or 1030)—Persian and Tadjik poet.—336
Flavigny de, Marie, comtesse d'Agoult—see Stern, Daniel
Flerovsky, N.—see Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich
Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-1866)—French politician and journalist, democrat; an editor of the newspaper La Réforme; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government.—76
Flourens, Gustave (1838-1871)—French revolutionary and naturalist, follower of Blanqui; advocate of Marxism; member of the Paris Commune; was brutally killed by the Versaillaise in April 1871.—419, 423, 431, 442, 481, 488, 493, 497, 504-06, 559
Flourens, Pierre Jean Marie (1794-1867)—French physiologist and physician; member of the Paris Academy of Sciences from 1828 and its secretary from 1833; Peer of France (1846-48); Gustave Flourens' father.—423, 559
Forcade-Laroquette, Jean Louis Victor Adolphe de (1820-1874)—French statesman, Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1860-61), Minister of the Interior (1868-69).—395
Foster, John Leslie (c. 1780-1842)—Irish lawyer, Tory.—113, 215, 219-21
Foster, Peter Le Neve (1809-1879)—Secretary of the Board of the Society of Arts and Trades.—287
Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante (1759-1820)—prominent figure in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire; Minister of Police (1799-1810); notorious for his unscrupulousness.—225
Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—512
Fourlong, J.—487
Fowler—judge in Manchester.—265
Fox—Peter Fox's mother.—285
Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox) (d. 1869)—journalist; prominent figure in 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 at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); correspondent of the General Council for the press from 1865; General Secretary of the Council in September-November 1866; Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); an editor of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—14, 75, 106, 285

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-66); Emperor of Austria-Hungary (1867-1916).—289

Frank, A.—Paris publisher.—138, 150

Frankel, Leo (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—479, 483, 537, 557

Frankel—banker.—382

Frankland, Sir Edward (1825-1899)—English organic chemist; fellow of the Royal Society from 1853, professor.—33, 52

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—30

Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876)—German revolutionary poet; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; member of the Communist League (1848-52); during his emigration in London (1851-68) abandoned revolutionary struggle.—4, 7, 34, 53, 57, 74, 142, 323, 371, 373, 391

Freund, Wilhelm Alexander (1833-1918)—German physician; lecturer.—180, 184

Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolas Karl (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III (1888).—503

Fritzche, Friedrich Wilhelm (1825-1905)—tobacco-maker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers; Lassallean; joined Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German Reichstag (1868-71); emigrated to the USA in 1881.—322, 323, 327

Fuad Pasha, Mhemmed (1815-1869)—Turkish statesman, repeatedly held the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister in the 1850s and 1860s.—260

Funke.—194

G

Gallwey.—456

Gambetta, Léon (1838-1882)—French statesman and lawyer, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—188, 546, 555

Ganilh, Charles (1758-1836)—French economist and politician, epicone of mercantilism.—67

Gans.—560

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in South America in the 1830s and 1840s and in Italy in 1848-49; headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s.—218

Garnier, Germain, marquis (1754-1821)—French economist and political, monarchist; epicone of Physiocrats; translator and critic of A. Smith.—67

Gaudissart—see Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig

George IV (1762-1830)—Prince Regent (1811-20); King of Great Britain and Ireland (1820-30).—506
George V—(1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-66).—19, 209

Gerlach, Karl Heinrich Eduard Friedrich von—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident in Cologne (1839-44).—76

Gibson, Thomas Milner (1806-1884)—British politician and statesman, Free Trader, then Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65, 1865-66).—163

Gimborn, T. von—manufacturer from Emmerich.—201, 209

Giraldus Cambrensis (Sylvester Gerald de Barry) (c. 1146-c. 1220)—English medieval writer; took part in the military expedition to Ireland in 1185; author of several works on Ireland.—402, 416, 442

Girardin, Émile de (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of La Presse (1836-66, with intervals), La Liberté (1866-70), lacked principles in politics; moderate Republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—216

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal party in the latter half of the 19th century; Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—3, 10, 92, 157, 163, 168, 227, 305, 366, 373, 375, 386, 387, 390, 432, 437, 445, 454, 456, 461, 475

Gobineau, Joseph Arthur, comte de (1816-1882)—French reactionary sociologist, diplomat and writer; a founder of the racialist theory.—446

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated from Germany after the defeat of the revolution; took part in pacifist activities of the League of Peace and Freedom; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—11, 172, 339, 353, 363, 364, 366

Goegg, Marie (b. 1826)—chairman of the International Women's Association.—131, 184

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—295, 331, 466, 541

Goldstücker, Theodor (1821-1872)—German Sanskrit scholar; professor at London University from 1852.—64

Gounod, Charles François (1818-1893)—French composer.—292

Graglia, François—member of the Committee of the Geneva Section of the First International; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—8

Graham, Sir James Robert George of Netherby (1792-1861)—British statesman, a Whig at the beginning of his career and later a Peelite; Home Secretary in Peel's Cabinet (1841-46); First Lord of the Admiralty (1830-34 and 1852-55).—462

Grandperret, Michel Étienne Anthelme Théodore (1818-1890)—French politician, Bonapartist; Prosecutor-General in Paris from 1867.—505, 508

Granier de Cassagnac, Paul Adolphe Marie Prosper (1843-1904)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist; editor-in-chief of Le Pays.—174, 553

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; member of the Republican Party; took part in the US Civil War (1861-65); Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army from March 1864; War Secretary (1867-68), US President (1869-77).—271, 402

Grattan, Henry (1746-1820)—Irish politician, lawyer; leader of the moderate Liberal opposition to the British government in the Irish Parliament (1775-1800), M.P. from 1805.—398

Green, Alexander Henry (1832-1896)—English geologist; carried on geologi-
cal explorations in Devonshire and Yorkshire (1861-74).—292

Griesheim, Adolf von (1820-1894)—German manufacturer; partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels, husband of Elise, Frederick Engels’ sister.—169, 280

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.—156, 186

Gromier, M.—French journalist, contributor to The Glowworm in the 1860s.—267, 275

Grosselin, Jacques (1835-1892)—Swiss watch-maker; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

Guéroult, Adolphe (1810-1872)—French journalist and politician, Bonapartist; editor-in-chief of L’Opinion Nationale (1859-71).—554

Guguste.—558

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, follower of Bakunin; member of the International; participant in the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers Le Progrès, La Solidarité and the Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—413, 479, 480, 492, 493

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman; virtually directed French home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the views of the financial bourgeoisie.—123

Gumpert—Eduard Gumpert’s wife.—210, 293

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—6, 20, 43, 50, 51, 74, 119, 156, 168, 205, 206, 210, 242, 245, 267, 269, 293, 340, 349, 408, 479, 482, 487, 503, 521, 524, 525, 551

Gurney—a director of an English banking firm Overend, Gurney and Company.—208, 305, 548

Gustavus II Adolphus (1594-1632)—King of Sweden (1611-32) and general.—344

H

Habsburgs (or Hapsburgs)—a dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals); Spanish kings (1516-1700), Austrian emperors (1804-67) and Austro-Hungarian emperors (1867-1918).—288

Haeckel, Ernst (1834-1919)—German biologist, Darwinist; adherent of materialism in natural science, atheist; one of the founders and ideologists of ‘social Darwinism’.—162

Hagen, Theodor (1823-1871)—Communist League member in Hamburg; took part in publishing and distributing the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.—353

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872; expelled from the International by General Council’s decision of 30 May 1873.—376

Hammacher, Dr.—deputy to the North German Reichstag (1869), National Liberal.—230
Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels; a leader of the Left-wing Chartists (the 1840s); emigrated to the USA in 1863, where he served in the Secretary’s Office in the Massachusetts State House; member of the International; returned to Great Britain in 1888.—276, 286

Harris, George—prominent figure in the English labour movement; follower of the Chartist O’Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—376, 392, 397

Harrison, Frederic (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian; radical; positivist; took part in the democratic movement of the 1860s.—262

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers (1871-75), a chairman of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (1875-76); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78 and 1879-88).—230, 276

Hatzfeld(t), Sophie, Countess von (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Lassalle.—276, 304, 322, 326, 408, 522, 524

Haussmann, Georges Eugène, baron (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; took part in the coup d’état of 2 December 1851; prefect of the department of the Seine (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—316

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—31, 39, 123, 155, 263, 276, 482, 509, 511, 520, 528

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—249, 371, 489

Heinemann—Prussian police agent in England; from 1869, editor-in-chief of the German weekly Hermann.—178, 266, 268, 276, 436

Heinzen, Karl Peter (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, then to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA where he became editor-in-chief of Der Pionier (1854-79).—285, 367, 371, 445, 522, 524

Held, Adolf (1844-1880)—German economist; representative of the historical school in political economy; armchair socialist; lecturer (1867), then professor in Bonn.—213, 527

Heng, Fritz—Swiss engraver; follower of Bakunin; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413

Henry, Mitchel (1826-1910)—Irish politician, Liberal; participated in the Home Rule movement till the 1880s.—92, 163

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary, democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical Polyarnaya Zvezda (Polar Star) and the newspaper Kolokol (The Bell).—200, 411, 424, 426, 445, 463, 468, 492, 508, 518

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical journalist; a representative of ‘true socialism’ in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League, after its split supported the sectarian group of Willich-Schapper; Lassallean in the 1860s; member of the International; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International.—79, 100, 102, 359, 442

Hewitt, James, 1st Viscount Lifford (1709-1789)—Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1768.—374
Heydemann.— 543
Higham.—529
Hillmann, Hugo—German democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London after the defeat of the revolution; member of the General Association of German Workers; in 1869 joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—268
Hins, Eugène (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist, subsequently Bakuninist; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—412, 414, 415, 424, 430, 431
Hirsch, Carl (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean, later member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; contributor to the Demokratisches Wochenblatt from 1868; Paris correspondent of the German Social-Democratic newspapers after 1872.—248, 250, 434
Hirsch, Max (1832-1905)—German economist, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Franz Duncker, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, that existed until 1933.—121, 136, 276
Hoares—family of bankers in London. —136
Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—217
Hohenzollern—see Frederick William IV
Holyoake, George Jacob (1817-1906)—English journalist; associated with the Owenites and the Chartists in the 1830s and 1840s; subsequently leader of the co-operative movement, reformist.—217, 376, 378
Holsenauer, W.—employee in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—169
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—115, 136, 171, 216, 435, 437, 447
Horn, Eduard (Ignác) (real name Einhorn) (1825-1875)—Hungarian economist and journalist, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; refugee in Paris from 1855; contributor to L'Association and other French magazines in the 1860s; returned to Hungary in 1869.—7, 11, 158
Howel Dda ('the Good') (d. 950)—King and lawmaker of the ancient Wales.—515
Hudson, George (1800-1871)—English capitalist, big railway owner.—352
Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer.—489
Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm (born c. 1817)—German tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—407
Huleck—member of the General Council of the International (1868); member of the French Section in London; after its split (1868) came out against the General Council.—178
Humbert, Albert (1835-1886)—French writer and caricaturist; member of La Marseillaise editorial board in 1870.—507, 509
Hume, David (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and economist.—183
Hume, Robert William—American petty-bourgeois radical; leader of the National Labour Union; member of the International and correspondent of the General Council.—472
Humphrey de Trafford—English landlord.—381
Hunter, Henry Julian—English physician; author of reports on the workers' dire living conditions.—196
Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895)—English naturalist; close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of
his teaching.—183, 242, 261, 293, 454, 482

I

Imandt, Peter (b. 1824)—German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; emigrated to London in 1852; supported Marx and Engels.—440, 443

Isabella II (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68); overthrown by the 1868-74 revolution; fled to France on 30 September 1868.—108, 114, 115, 119, 137

Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich (d. 1869)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; took part in the student movement of the 1860s and the Nechayev organisation; murdered by Nechayev.—530

Jaclard, Charles Victor (1843-1900)—French journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; active in the Paris Commune; following the suppression of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France and continued to take part in the socialist movement.—9, 480

Jacoby, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical journalist and politician; a Left-wing leader in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1862); founder of Die Zukunft (1867); joined Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—371, 417, 418, 435, 552

Jäger, Gustav (1832-1916)—German zoologist; follower of Charles Darwin; author of several works on natural sciences.—162

Jaeger.—266

Jakub Beg, Mohammed (1820-1877)—ruler of Kashgar (1865-77).—373

James I (1394-1437)—King of Scotland from 1424.—226

James I (1566-1625)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-25).—388

Janin, Jules Gabriel (1804-1874)—French writer, critic and journalist.—263

Jenny (Jennychen)—see Marx, Jenny

Jessup, William J.—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York, a leader of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the USA.—58, 96, 147, 149

Johannard, Jules (1843-1888)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69 and 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International in St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune; Blanquist; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—78, 485

Johnson, Reverdy (1796-1876)—American lawyer and statesman; Attorney-General (1849-50); member of the Democratic Party (conservative wing); Minister to Great Britain (1868-69).—195

Johnston, James Finlay Weir (1796-1855)—English agricultural chemist.—384

Jones—librarian in the British Museum Library.—518

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; proletarian poet and journalist, leader of the Left-wing Chartist; friend of Marx and Engels; took part in the work of the International in the 1860s.—26, 71,
Jones, Lloyd (1811-1886)—active in the British co-operative movement, Owenite, journalist; fustian-cutter by profession.—100, 251, 253, 262

Juárez, Benito Pablo (1806-1872)—Mexican statesman; fighter for national independence of the country; leader of the Liberal Party during the Civil War (1858-60) and intervention in Mexico (1861-67), President of Mexico (1858-72).—16

Jubitz, F.—member of the German workers' association in New York.—472

Juch, Hermann—German democratic journalist, refugee in London; editor of the Hermann (from July 1859) and publisher of the Deutsche Post (from December 1869).—266, 444

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.—201

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watch-maker; 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 (1872), later joined the reformists of the British trade unions.—45, 78, 95, 98, 139, 160-61, 198, 203, 218, 220, 271, 346, 406, 413, 424, 463, 480, 537

Jung, Thesmar.—201

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis) (c. A.D. 60-died after 127)—Roman satirical poet.—228, 444

K

Kalisch—teacher of German in Manchester.—118

Kampfmeyer—secondhand bookseller in London.—282

Kane, Anna—cousin of Lizzy and Mary Burns.—534

Kane, Sir Robert John (1810-1890)—Irish scientist; professor of chemistry and physics; also studied the economy of Ireland.—402

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—276

Kapp, Friedrich (1824-1884)—German lawyer, historian and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—354

Karl Theodor Maximilian August (1795-1875)—Bavarian prince, Field Marshal; during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the South German states that were Austria's allies.—64

Kathov, Mikhail Nikiforovich (1818-1887)—Russian reactionary journalist; editor of Moskovskiiye Vedomosti (1850-55 and 1863-87).—436, 440, 441

Kaulbach, Wilhelm von (1805-1874)—German painter.—558

Keil, Ernst (1816-1878)—German journalist; publisher and bookseller, democrat; founder of the weekly Die Gartenlaube.—73, 77, 144

Keller, Charles (1843-1913)—French socialist; member of the International; translated into French part of Volume I of Marx's Capital in 1869-70; participant in the Paris Commune (1871); after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland.—359, 399, 450, 546
Kertbény, Károly Marie (real name Benkert) (1824-1882)— Hungarian writer, liberal; was in contact with the participants in the 1848-49 revolution.—73, 77, 144

Kessler—deputy to the North German Reichstag in 1869, district president.—230

Kettieler, Wilhelm Emanuel, Baron von (1811-1877)—German ecclesiastic, Roman Catholic, bishop of Mainz (from 1850).—354

King, P. St.—bookseller in London.—306

Kinkel, Gottfried (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic journalist; participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced to life imprisonment by the Prussian court; in 1850 escaped and emigrated to England; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees; opposed Marx and Engels.—74, 142, 435

Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von (1802-1884)—German lawyer and philosopher, radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848, later member of the Party of Progress; author of several works on philosophy and law.—258

Klein, Johann Jacob (c. 1818-c. 1896)—Cologne physician; member of the Communist League; defendant in the Cologne Communist trial (1852); acquitted by the jury; in the early 1860s took part in the German working-class movement.—408

Klein, Karl Wilhelm—German worker, took part in the Elberfeld and Solingen uprisings of 1849; member of the Communist League; refugee in the USA from 1852; participant in the German working-class movement in the 1860s-70s; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses.—397, 420-21

Klemm, Friedrich Gustav (1802-1867)—German historian, author of several works on the history of culture.—328

Knowles.—181, 206

Knowles, George—manufacturer in Bolton.—281

Knowles, John—manufacturer in Bolton.—281

Knox, Alexander Andrew (1818-1891)—English journalist, contributor to The Times (1846-60); police magistrate, member of a commission which reported to Parliament in 1867 on the treatment of political prisoners in British prisons.—224, 457, 459

Kock, Charles Paul de (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist.—159

Kolb, Georg Friedrich (1808-1884)—German politician, democratic journalist and statistician.—485

Korklow—doctor to Marx’s children in London; Irish by birth.—49, 51-52, 57

Korvin-Krukovskaya (Jaclard), Anna Vasilyevna (1843-1887)—Russian revolutionary; member of the Russian Section of the International; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); Charles Victor Jaclard’s wife.—480

Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—263

Kugelmann, Franziska (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann’s daughter.—4, 13, 48, 70, 175, 214, 233, 279, 318, 337, 359, 391, 436, 467, 544, 554, 560, 564

Kugelmann, Gertrud (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann’s wife.—3, 12, 13, 57, 131, 175, 184, 214, 233, 279, 318, 327, 337, 359, 389, 391, 456, 466, 528, 544, 552, 554, 558, 563

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)—German physician; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague
Kyllmann.—251

L

Ladendorf, August—German democrat, a leader of the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland in the 1860s, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867) and the Inaugural Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869).—366


Lafargue, François (1806-1870)—Paul Lafargue's father.—10, 287, 290, 309, 314-15, 316, 327, 486

Lafargue, Gustave—French journalist, contributed to the reactionary gutter press.—557


Lafargue, Virginie (b. 1803)—Paul Lafargue's mother.—309

Lalor, John (1814-1856)—British journalist and economist.—38

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).—158, 173, 525, 527-28

Langley, J. Baxter—English radical journalist.—166

Lausdowne, Henry Charles Keith Petty Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of (1845-1927)—British statesman, Liberal, held several ministerial posts from the 1870s.—456

Laplace, Pierre Simon (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist.—246

La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de (1613-1680)—French moralist writer.—297-98
Lasker, Eduard (1829-1884)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag, member of the Party of Progress till 1866, later a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party in Germany.—38

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49), founder and first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64), an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—87-90, 92, 105, 120, 132-34, 162, 188, 213, 250, 259, 261, 263, 323, 326, 328, 331, 336, 352, 365, 367, 369, 397, 420, 459, 524, 544

Lassassie, F. de—French refugee in London, hairdresser, member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), member of the French Section in London, where he supported the General Council’s policy; took part in the London Conference (1865).—78

Laura—see Lafargue, Laura

Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—412

Lavergne, Louis Gabriel Léonce Guilhaud de (1809-1880)—French economist, author of a number of works on agricultural economics.—374

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (June 1867 to 1872) and of the Manchester Section of the International (1872).—43, 184

Law, John (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20).—7

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; returned to France in 1870.—195, 216, 232, 371, 373

Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870)—American general, took part in the war against Mexico (1846-48); during the Civil War commanded the Southern Army in Virginia (1862-65), Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Army (February-April 1865).—402

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von (1646-1716)—German philosopher and mathematician.—512, 513, 558

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 at St. Martin’s Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference (1865), expelled from the Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—139, 526

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—German writer.—528, 541

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.—83, 93, 98, 101, 102, 120, 122, 127, 161, 166, 203, 252, 284, 290, 465, 471, 478, 544

Lever, Charles James (1806-1872)—Irish novelist.—507, 509

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of The Daily Telegraph.—101, 454

Lichfield, Thomas George Anson, Earl of (b. 1825)—British Liberal politician.—393

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German chemist.—51

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, carpenter, member of the Communist League, the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—184

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth (1807-1882)—American poet, translator and literary critic.—275

Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870), translated into Russian Volume I of Marx's Capital, friend of Marx and Engels.—530-31, 533, 535

Louis XIV (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—429, 434, 512

Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III


Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist, contributor to The Times, Whig and later Liberal, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74).—176

Luby—Thomas Clarke Luby's wife.—562

Luby, Thomas Clarke (1821-1901)—Irish revolutionary, Fenian, journalist, contributor to The Irish People; sentenced to twenty years of penal...
servitude in 1865, was released in 1871 and emigrated to the USA where he worked as a journalist.—399, 563

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of the British trade unions; furniture-maker, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin’s Hall (28 September 1864), member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, opposed the Paris Commune, refused to sign the General Council’s address *The Civil War in France* (1871) and left the International.—245, 248, 376, 386

Ludlow, John Malcolm Forbes (1821-1911)—participant in the British cooperative movement, lawyer and journalist, Christian socialist.—259, 260, 261, 262-64

Ludwig III (1806-1877)—Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (1848-77).—16, 141, 209

Lupus—see Wolff, Wilhelm

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, prominent figure of the Reformation; founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—249, 271, 434

M

Macleod, Henry Dunning (1821-1902)—Scottish economist, engaged mainly in credit problems.—38

Maddison—Marx’s doctor.—417

Maguires, the—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—484

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—270, 381

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848 to November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—124

Marie, Alexandre Thomas (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican, Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government (1848); later Minister of Justice in Cavaignac’s government.—292

Marryat, Frederick (1792-1848)—British naval officer and writer.—507

Martin, Bon Louis Henri (1810-1883)—French historian and politician, republican, joined the International in 1865.—435

Martinau—former French abbot, then compositor, anarchist, member of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—413


Marx, Henriette (née Pressburg) (1787-1863)—Karl Marx’s mother.—25


Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx’s eldest daughter, journalist, took part in the international working-class movement.—15, 19, 30, 45, 47-51,

Marx, Laura—see Lafargue, Laura

Massol, Marie Alexandre (1805-1875)—French journalist, utopian socialist; Proudhon's friend; editor-in-chief of *La Morale indépendante* (1865-70).—79

Mayer.—155

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.—325, 343, 364

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 International was founded in 1864 tried to bring it under his influence.—240


Mende, Fritz (d. 1879)—member of the General Association of German Workers; President of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded by Hatzfeldt (1869-72), deputy to the North German Reichstag (1869).—276, 322, 408

Mendelssohn, Moses (1799-1786)—German deist philosopher.—528

Menke—Theodor Heinrich Menke's wife.—545

Menke, Theodor Heinrich—German statistician, Ludwig Kugelmann's friend, member of the International.—397, 407, 427, 456, 465

Merriman, J. J.—member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867).—139

Meyen (Mayen), Eduard (1812-1870)—German journalist, Young Hegelian, after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to England, later National Liberal.—479

Meyer, Carl Joseph (1796-1856)—German industrialist, journalist and publisher, founded the Bibliographical Institute which put out several editions of the Encyclopaedic Dictionary named after him (1826).—144

Meyer, Gustav—manufacturer in Bielefeld, Ludwig Kugelmann's acquaintance.—13

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; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—97, 354

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; emigrated to the USA in 1866, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—58-59, 96-98, 148-49, 177, 184, 354, 471-76
Michaelis, Otto (1826-1890)—German economist and journalist; member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies from 1861; a publisher of the journal Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte; National Liberal (from 1867); deputy to the North German Reichstag.—59

Michel, Louis Chrysostome (1798-1853)—French lawyer and politician, petty-bourgeois republican; counsel for the defence at several trials against republicans during the July monarchy, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), belonged to the Montagne Party.—188

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—166, 263, 293

Milner, George—prominent figure in the British working-class movement, Irish by birth, follower of James O’Brien; member of the National Reform League, of the Land and Labour League, and of the General Council of the International (1868-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872 to 1873), fought the reformist wing in the Council.—376, 386

Milton, John (1608-1674)—English poet.—348

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist League up to 1852; a leader of the National Liberals (Right wing) from 1867, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; deputy to the North German Reichstag and later German Reichstag.—142, 255, 376

Mitchel, John (1815-1875)—Irish revolutionary democrat, Left-wing leader of the Young Ireland group; deported to a penal colony for taking part in the preparation of an uprising in 1848; escaped in 1853 and emigrated to the USA; fought on the side of the Southerners during the US Civil War (1861-65), author of The History of Ireland.—445

Moelmud, Dufnwal (second half of the 5th cent.-first half of the 6th cent.)—semi-legendary legislator of ancient Britain.—515

Moliin, Jules Antoine (Tony) (1832-1871)—French physician and journalist, petty-bourgeois socialist; took part in the Paris Commune (1871), shot by the Versaillese.—225, 230, 242, 244, 449

Moll, Friedrich Wilhelm (c. 1835-1871)—Solingen worker, member of the General Association of German Workers, emigrated to the USA (1864), a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York, member of the International after his return to Germany, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—420-21, 456, 465

Moll, Joseph (1813-1849)—German watch-maker, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, was killed in the battle of the Murg.—456, 465

Mollin, Gabriel—French gilder, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—459

Monroe—physician, Scottish by birth; Marx's daughter Jenny gave lessons to his children.—171, 300, 357, 423, 429

Monroe—wife of Dr Monroe.—171, 300, 327, 330, 357

Mont(h)eil, Amans Alexis (1769-1850)—French historian.—423, 429

Montijo—see Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba

Moore, George Henry (1811-1870)—Irish politician and leader of the tenant-right movement, M.P. (1847-
57, 1868-70), defended the imprisoned Irish Fenians.—461


Moore, Thomas (1779-1852)—Irish poet, author of Irish Melodies glorifying the struggle of the Irish people for independence.—341

Morley, John, Viscount (1838-1923)—English journalist and statesman, Liberal; editor-in-chief of The Fortnightly Review (1867-82).—73, 81, 84, 99

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886)—English industrialist and politician, Liberal, M.P. (1865, 1868-85), owner of The Bee-Hive Newspaper (1869).—394, 396, 397, 497

Moses—see Hess, Moses

Mottershead, Thomas (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver, member of the General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); opposed Marx’s line in the General Council and the British Federal Council, expelled from the International by decision of the General Council on 30 May 1873.—386, 392, 459, 497

Müller, Friedrich Max (1823-1900)—British philologist specialising in Indian studies; German by birth.—64

Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf (1774-1829)—German writer and literary critic.—231

Mundella, Anthony John (1825-1897)—British statesman and manufacturer, M.P. (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—393

Murat, André Pierre (1833-1893)—French mechanic, Proudhonist, member of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to several International’s congresses, prosecuted at the first (1868) and third (1870) trials against the International in Paris.—294

Murphy (called O’Leary)—Irish Fenian, was arrested for agitation among the royal army soldiers in Ireland in 1864, sentenced to ten years’ penal servitude.—165

Nagle.—57

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—325, 391, 423, 463


Nechayev, Sergei Gennadievich (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, intriguer and troublemaker, took part in the student movement in St. Petersburg (1868-69), founded a secret society, Narodnaya Rasprava (People’s Judgment) (1869); in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government; died in Peter and Paul Fortress, St. Petersburg.—519, 521, 530, 533

Neffitzer, Auguste (1820-1876)—French journalist, contributor to La Presse, editor-in-chief of Le Temps.—526

Neumayr, Ludwig—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869), editor of the Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt.—350
Newton, Sir Isaac (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—246

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—436

Niebuhr, Barthold Georg (1776-1831)—German historian, author of a number of works on the history of antiquity.—42

Niebuhr, Carsten (1733-1815)—Danish traveller and orientalist; Barthold Georg Niebuhr’s father.—42

Noir, Victor (1848-1870)—French journalist, republican, contributed to La Marseillaise; murdered by Prince Pierre Bonaparte on 10 January 1870.—419, 423, 553

Oberwinder, Heinrich (1846-1914)—prominent figure in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassallean in the early 1860s, later sided with Eisenachers, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869), editor of the Volksstimme and Volkswille, withdrew from the working-class movement in the late 1870s.—229, 233, 234, 238, 254

Oborski, Ludwik (1787-1873)—Polish colonel; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; 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.—495

O’Brien, James (literary pseudonym Bronterre) (1802-1864)—British journalist, Chartist leader, editor of The Poor Man’s Guardian (1830s); author of several social reform projects, founder of the National Reform League (1849).—334, 376

O’Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement.—399

O’Connell, Morgan (1804-1885)—Irish politician, opposed abolition of the Anglo-Irish Union (1801). Daniel O’Connell’s son.—394

O’Connor, Arthur (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; a leader of the United Irishmen Society and editor-in-chief of its organ, The Press (1797-98); arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising; emigrated to France in 1803.—368

O’Conor, Charles (1764-1828)—Irish priest and collector of antiquities, translator and editor of Irish chronicles.—516, 517

Odger, George (1820-1877)—a 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 at St. Martin’s Hall (28 September 1864); 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; opposed revolutionary tactics.—3, 43, 114, 128, 198, 251, 253, 386-88, 392, 395, 404, 437, 445, 497

O’Donnells, the—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—483

O’Donovan, John (1809-1861)—Irish philologist and historian, member of the government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws (from 1852).—517, 518

O’Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement, publisher of The Irish People
(1863-65), was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1865, amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—162, 373, 386, 389, 391, 429, 445, 451, 454, 455, 457, 458, 476, 518, 530, 532, 548-49, 562, 563

O'Donovan Rossa, Mary J.—Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's wife; organised collection of funds for the families of the Irish political prisoners in 1865-66; author of an appeal to Irish women published in The Workman's Advocate on 6 January 1866 by the General Council's decision.—458

Offenbach, Jacques (1819-1880) — French composer.—507

O'Flaherty, Roderic (1629-1718) — Irish historian.—516

Ogarev, Nikolai Platonovich (1813-1877)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, poet, friend and associate of Alexander Herzen.—516, 518

Ollivier, Émile (1825-1913)—French politician and statesman, bourgeois republican, deputy to the Corps législatif (from 1857); was close to the Bonapartists in the late 1860s; head of government (January-August 1870) and Minister of Justice and Cult.—409, 411, 422, 451

O'Neill, the—ancient Irish aristocratic family.—483

Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard (1819-1880)—German democratic politician, economist and journalist; an editor of the Berlin newspaper Die Reform (1848); refugee (1849-50), subsequently National Liberal.—85

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.—57

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.—57, 505

O'Shea, William Henry (1840-1905)—Irish public figure, defended the imprisoned Fenians in 1869.—375

Overend—a director of an English banking firm, Overend, Gurney and Company.—305, 548

Owen, Sir Richard (1804-1892)—English zoologist and paleontologist, was the first to describe archaeopteryx, a primitive reptile-like bird.—162, 509

P

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory, from 1830 Whig; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—64, 161, 243, 261, 278, 390, 505, 506, 559

Parker, Sarah—Frederick Engels' housekeeper.—156, 204

Parsons, William, 3rd Earl of Rosse (1800-1867)—British astronomer, published a pamphlet on relationship between landowners and tenants in Ireland (1867).—374

Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850)—British statesman; moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—113, 159, 166

Pelletan, Pierre Clément Eugène (1813-1884)—French journalist and politician, bourgeois republican, deputy to the Corps législatif; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—232, 546, 553

Pelletier, Claude (1816-1881)—French democrat, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; emigrated to the USA; the International's
correspondent for the French-language Section in America.—147, 148

Perret, Henri—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement; engraver, a leader of the International in Switzerland, General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73), member of the Égalité editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; broke with the Bakuninists in 1869, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—203, 240, 364, 404, 413, 424, 426, 488

Perron, Charles Eugène (1837-1919)—a leader in the Swiss working-class movement; enamel painter, then cartographer; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; follower of Bakunin; member of the Central Bureau and of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; an editor of L'Égalité (1869) and La Solidarité; subsequently left the working-class movement.—413

Persigny, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, comte (1808-1872)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851; Minister of the Interior (1852-54, 1860-63), Ambassador to Britain (1855-58, 1859-60).—495

Petrie, George (1789-1866)—Irish scholar, archaeologist, member of the Irish Royal Academy; author of works on ancient Irish architecture; member of the government commission on the translation and publication of ancient Irish laws (from 1852).—410

Petty, Sir William (1623-1687)—English economist and statistician, founder of the classical school of bourgeois political economy in Britain.—224, 388, 402

Pfänder, Karl (1818-1876)—a leader in the German and international working-class movement; artist; refugee in London from 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Central Authority of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (1864-67 and 1870-72), friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—478, 509

Philips, August (d. 1895)—Karl Marx's cousin, lawyer in Amsterdam.—72, 85

Philips, Karl—Karl Marx's cousin, merchant in Aachen.—85, 354

Philipses, the—Dutch maternal relatives of Karl Marx.—72, 85, 95, 244, 354

Pietri, Joseph Marie (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Police in Paris (1866-70).—504, 508

Pigott, Richard (1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of The Irishman (1865-79), supported Fenians, sided with the British government in the 1880s.—392-93, 399, 458, 460, 497, 500, 532, 537, 562

Pigres of Halicarnassus—according to ancient legend author of Batrachomyomachia (Battle of the Frogs and Mice).—174

Pitt, William (1759-1806)—British statesman, a Tory leader, Prime Minister (1783-1801, 1804-06).—398

Planck, Gottlieb (1824-1910)—German lawyer and politician, National Liberal, member of the North German Reichstag and the Prussian Chamber of Deputies from 1867.—242, 250

Plan-Plon—see Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul

Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich (c. 1843-1905)—Russian democratic publisher, printed books mainly on social
questions, was close to Narodniki, published the first Russian edition of Volume I of Marx's *Capital* (1872).—130, 429

**Pollock, George D.**—British army doctor; member of the commission, which in 1867 submitted to Parliament a report on treatment of political prisoners in English convict prisons.—224, 457, 459

**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, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper.*—3, 114, 375, 377, 395

**Prendergast, John Patrick** (1808-1893)—Irish historian, Liberal, author of works on the history of Ireland.—374, 388, 401, 403, 409, 415

**Prévost-Paradol, Lucien Anatole** (1829-1870)—French journalist and liberal politician.—388, 409

**Probert, William** (1790-1870)—British clergyman, specialist on ancient Welsh laws and customs.—515

**Proudhon, Pierre Joseph** (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—101, 130, 225, 260, 383, 429

**Raspail, François Vincent** (1794-1878)—French naturalist and writer; socialist, sympathised with the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; after the revolution of 1848 was imprisoned, then lived in exile in Belgium; returned to France in 1863; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1869).—316, 317, 369, 553

**Real, W.**—78

**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).—9, 28, 79, 377, 378

Reich, Eduard (1836-1919)—German physician, author of works on public hygiene and sanitation.—391

Rémy, Théodore—Swiss teacher, Secretary of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; follower of Bakunin; member of the Geneva Section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—332

Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von (1816-1899)—German-born founder of the British news agency.—505

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—69, 224, 263, 378-81, 383, 385

Richard, Albert (1846-1918)—French journalist, a founder of the Lyons Section of the International, follower of Bakunin, member of the secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy; took part in the Lyons uprising in September 1870.—414, 437, 492

Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de (1585-1642)—French statesman; Cardinal; Chief Minister to Louis XIII.—344

Ris, F.—194

Rissé, Joseph (b. 1843)—singer in Hanover, composed and published a collection of Irish folk songs (1870).—532, 562, 563

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890)—German democratic journalist, contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); member of the Cologne Democratic Society, of the International, later (till 1884) of the German Social-Democratic Party.—352

Robert III (c. 1340-1406)—King of Scotland (1390-1406).—226

Robert, Fritz (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, editor of La Solidarité.—488

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794)—Jacobin leader in the French Revolution, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—259, 260

Robin, Paul (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869), member of the General Council (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—413, 489, 492, 506

Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Lucay (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal La Lanterne (1868-69) and the newspaper La Marseillaise (1869-70); after the revolution of 4 September 1870, a member of the Government of National Defence; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—199, 422, 427, 445, 451, 553

Roesgen, Charles—employee of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—80, 84, 119, 238, 302, 325, 333, 349, 469, 533

Roesgen von Floss, Philipp von—Dutch journalist, member of the working-class movement, mechanical engineer.—463, 464, 468, 469

Rogeard, Auguste Louis (1820-1896)—French democratic journalist, a founder and editor of La Rive gauche (1864); in 1865, persecuted for an anti-Bonapartist pamphlet, emigrated to Belgium and then to Germany; a leader of the Paris Commune (1871).—507

Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von (1805-1879)—Prussian statesman and military leader; field marshal-general from 1873, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71); carried out reorganisation of the Prussian army.—376
Rosse, 3rd Earl of—see Parsons, William, 3rd Earl of Rosse

Rothsay, Duke of—see Stewart, David, Duke of Rothsay

Rothschild, Karl, Baron von (1820-1886)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Frankfurt am Main, member of the Customs Parliament, deputy to the North German and later German Reichstags.—20

Rothschild, Lionel Nathan, Baron (1808-1879)—head of the Rothschild banking house in London; Whig, M.P. from 1858; finance agent of the Russian government for twenty years.—438

Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von (1775-1840)—German historian and liberal politician.—511

Royer, Clémence Auguste (1830-1902)—French writer, author of works on philosophy and political economy.—217

Rückert, Friedrich (1788-1866)—German romantic poet and translator of oriental poetry.—196

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in Britain (the 1850s); National Liberal after 1866.—64, 123, 213, 354, 417, 495, 542-43

Rüstkow, Friedrich Wilhelm (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; refugee in Switzerland; Chief of Garibaldi's staff in 1860; Lassalle's friend.—88

Sadler, Michael Thomas (1780-1835)—English economist and politician, philanthropist, sided with the Tory party.—362

Saint-Clair, S. G. B.—an author of the book A Residence in Bulgaria: or Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey published in London in 1869.—345

Saint-Paul, Wilhelm (c. 1815-1852)—Prussian army officer, then an official in the Ministry of the Interior; censor of the Rheinische Zeitung in 1848.—76

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—490

Samelson, Adolf (1817-1888)—German oculist, liberal, refugee in Manchester from 1857, member of the Schiller Institute's board.—541

Sawaszkiewicz, Leopold—Polish refugee, member of the Permanent Committee of the London section of Polish democrats in the early 1850s.—438

Schack, Adolf Friedrich, Count von (1815-1894)—German writer, historian of literature and art, orientalist, translator of the Arab classics.—336

Schapper—Karl Schapper's wife.—496

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 of 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.—456, 478, 487, 488, 496, 499, 501-03, 507, 509

Schédo-Ferroti, D. K. (real name Firks, Fyodor Ivanovich), Baron (1812-1872)—Russian liberal journalist, author of works on agrarian question in Russia.—154, 434

Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849);
then emigrated to France, member of the International.—9, 25, 28, 138, 178, 179, 218, 316, 359, 443

Schloßel, Friedrich Wilhelm (1800-1870)—Silesian manufacturer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—110

Schmalz, Theodor Anton Heinrich (1760-1831)—German lawyer and economist.—66

Schnake (Schuake), Friedrich (b. 1822)—German journalist, a ‘true socialist’ (the mid-1840s), took part in the 1848-49 revolution.—54, 56, 70

Schneider, Eugène (1805-1875)—French industrialist, owner of iron and steel plants in Creuzot.—554

Schneider II, Karl—German lawyer, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, counsel for the defence of Marx and Engels at the trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung on 7 February 1849; counsel for the defence at Cologne Communist trial (1852).—267

Schorlemmer, Carl (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, professor in Manchester, member of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 12, 33, 35-37, 57, 92, 118, 143, 239, 243, 249, 277, 291, 296, 312, 349, 375, 378, 426, 460, 487, 502, 507, 525

Schramm, Conrad (c. 1822-1858)—German revolutionary, member of the Communist League, emigrated to London in 1849; responsible editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue; sided with Marx’s supporters during the split of the Communist League; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—35

Schtal, Theodor.—55

Schulze, Franz Eilhard—Hegelian.—482

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist; liberal politician, advocated unification of Germany under Prussia’s supremacy; a founder of the National Association and leader of the Party of Progress; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—116, 133, 276, 459

Schunk—co-owner of a trade firm in Manchester.—321

Schütz, Jakob 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 the USA.—425

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.—8, 11, 26, 28, 30, 38, 58, 69, 73-76, 88-90, 105, 107-12, 115-18, 120, 125-28, 131-36, 138, 140, 142, 166, 172, 175, 176, 230, 231, 234, 249, 253-57, 259, 262, 264, 268, 274, 276, 289, 296, 299, 304, 306, 307, 313, 326-28, 330, 331, 339, 364, 367, 369, 382, 404, 405, 408, 417, 418, 428, 479, 511, 520, 544

Schröder.—87, 88

Seiler.—291

Seiler, Sebastian (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee (1846), member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, later refugee in London and the USA.—88

Senior, Edward—Nassau William Senior’s brother.—484

Senior, Nassau William (1790-1864)—English economist, vulgarised Ricardo’s theory, opposed shortening the working day.—331, 357, 484
Serno-Solovyevich, Alexander Alexandrovich (1838-1869)—Russian revolutionary of the early 1860s, refugee from 1862, member of the Geneva Section of the International (from 1867).—172, 177, 186, 189, 202, 363, 376

Serraillier, Auguste (b. 1840)—a prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune (1871), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872); supporter of Marx.—430, 529, 533, 535

Seume, Johann Gottfried (1763-1810)—German writer and poet.—7, 9

Seward, William Henry (1801-1872)—American politician and statesman; a leader of the Right wing of the Republican Party, US State Secretary (1861-69).—195

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English playwright and poet.—216, 466, 507, 541, 545

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—a leader of the British working-class movement, house-painter, attended the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall (28 September 1864), 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.—96, 496

Shee—partner of a German publisher in Brussels, Carl Georg Vogler, and owner of a bookshop.—138

Siebel, Carl (1836-1868)—German poet, helped to propagate works by Marx and Engels, including Volume I of Capital; a distant relative of Engels.—5, 8, 28, 34, 35, 74

Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher, moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the Corps législatif.—232, 546

Slack—London correspondent of The New-York Daily Tribune.—544

Slade, Sir Adolphus (1804-1877)—English naval officer, later admiral, served in Turkey (1849-66).—139

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—25, 39, 45, 46, 67

Smith, Goldwin (1823-1910)—British historian, economist and journalist, Liberal, supported England's colonial policy in Ireland, moved to the USA (1868) and then to Canada (1871).—374, 388

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 working-class movement.—102, 479

Sorge, Friedrich Adolf (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA (1852), organised the International's sections there, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74), active propagandist of Marxism, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—58, 59, 97, 149, 471-72

Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903)—British positivist philosopher and sociologist.—38

Speyer, Carl (b. 1845)—carpenter, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1860s, member of the International and its General Council (from 1870)
in London and then in the USA.—166

Spier, Samuel (1838-1903)—German Social-Democrat, teacher; member of the General Association of German Workers (from 1867) and the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (from 1869), member of the Brunswick Section of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—358

Spinoza (Baruch or Benedictus) de (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—528

Spurgeon, Charles Haddon (1834-1892)—well-known English Baptist preacher.—541

Steinthal—clergyman in Manchester, Unitarian, an acquaintance of Engels.—118

Steinthal—owner of the Manchester trading firm where Georg Weerth worked from 1852 to 1856.—118, 542-43

Steinthal—wife of the above.—543

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—active participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Reform League, 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 to the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council.—95, 160, 213, 217, 220, 412, 424, 430, 472-73

Stern, Daniel (real name Flavigny de, Marie, comtesse d’Agoult) (1805-1876)—French authoress and journalist.—217

Sterne, Laurence (1713-1768)—English writer.—297

Steuart, Sir James, afterwards Denham (1712-1780)—British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—39

Stewart, David, Duke of Rothesay (c. 1378-1402)—son of King Robert III of Scotland, Lieutenant of Scotland (1399-1402).—226

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), organised the prosecution in the Cologne Communist trial (1852) and acted as main witness, chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—36, 221, 266, 268, 276, 307, 461, 525

Stirling, James Hutchinson (1820-1909)—Scottish philosopher, propagated Hegel’s philosophy in England.—39, 481

Strohn, Eugen (d. 1868)—Wilhelm Strohn’s brother.—190, 191

Strohn, Wilhelm—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford.—109, 112, 142, 147, 213, 256, 403, 454

Stroussberg, Bethel Henry (1823-1884)—big German railway contractor and industrialist.—352

Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870)—German democratic journalist, a key figure in the Baden uprisings in April and September 1848 and the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—4, 110, 175

Stumpf, Paul (c. 1826-1913)—participant in the German working-class movement, mechanic; member of the German Workers’ Society in Brussels (1847), of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867), member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party in Germany.—354

Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla) (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (88 B.C.), dictator (82-79 B.C.).—35
Swift, Jonathan (1667-1745)—Irish satirist.—512, 513
Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, National Liberal from 1867.—432, 437, 442
Sylvis, William (1828-1869)—A member of the American working-class movement, a founder of the International Ironmoulders’ Union (1859), its President (1863-69), took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners, a founder of the National Labour Union of the United States (1866) and its President (1868-69), favoured affiliation to the International.—58, 351

Taine, Hippolite Adolphe (1828-1893)—French philosoper, specialist in aesthetics, writer, historian; moderate liberal till the 1870s.—9
Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist, took part in the 1848 revolution in France; emigrated to London after the coup d’état of 1851, member of the General Council of the International (1864).—445, 459, 476, 497
Tenge, Therese (née Bolongaro-Crevenna) (born c. 1833)—wife of Westphalian landowner in Tenge-Ritberg; Hanover acquaintance of Kugelmann’s family.—233

Tennyson, Alfred, 1st Baron (1809-1892)—English poet.—275
Ténot, Pierre Paul Eugène (1839-1890)—French journalist, republican.—157, 168, 178, 188, 191, 195, 205, 252, 244
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) (c. 190-159 B.C.)—Roman playwright.—174, 268
Thesmar.—267

Tiers, 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; suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—292

Thiou, Eugène—Committee’s member of the French Section in London, which was expelled from the International in 1868.—143

Tholuck, Friedrich August Gottreu (1799-1877)—German Protestant theologian, Pietist.—196

Thompson, John (1802-1891)—American publisher and banker.—438

Thornton, William Thomas (1813-1880)—British economist, follower of John Stuart Mill.—158, 264, 293

Tibaldi, Paolo (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, Garibaldian and Communist (1871).—497

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris Section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; went over to the side of the Versailles during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International in 1871; subsequently a senator.—95, 102, 556

Tone, Theobald Wolfe (1763-1798)—Irish revolutionary, democrat, leader of the United Irishmen society, an organiser of the 1798 uprising in Ireland.—374

Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy.—39

Trautchen—see Kugelmann, Gertrud

Trench, William Stewart (1808-1872)—Irish land agent, author of books on agriculture.—356, 357, 456
Tridon, Edme Marie Gustave (1841-1871)—French politician and journalist, Blanquist, member of the International, deputy to the National Assembly (1871), Communard (1871), emigrated to Belgium after the defeat of the Commune.—175, 225, 233, 308

Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman, Physiocrat, Controller-General of Finance (1774-76).—39

Tussy—see Marx, Eleanor

U

Ulricks, Karl Heinrich—German lawyer.—295, 403

Urguhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turkophile; went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M. P. (1847-52), founder and editor of The Free Press (1855-65) and The Diplomatic Review (1866-77).—31, 159, 165, 261, 275, 278, 345, 433

Utin (Utine, Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement; in 1863 emigrated to England and then to Switzerland, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International, member of the Narodnaya Dvizhnost editorial board (1868-70), an editor of L'Égalité (1870-71), opposed Bakunin and his supporters, delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871), withdrew from the revolutionary movement in the mid-1870s.—480, 493, 499

V

Vallancey, Charles (1721-1812)—Irish historian, published documents on the history of ancient Ireland.—518

Vámbéry, Ármin (1832-1913)—Hungarian orientalist and traveller; travelled in Central Asia in the early 1860s; author of works on the history and culture of the Middle East and Central Asia.—373

Vandenhousten, Alphonse—prominent in the Belgian working-class movement, house-painter, a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, secretary for maintaining contacts with abroad and correspondent from several towns in Charleroi coal basin.—43, 272

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, Communard; shot by the Versailles at the end of May 1871.—294, 556

Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de (1633-1707)—French marshal, military engineer, criticised French system of taxation.—429

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician; liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—19, 34, 367

Verlet, Henri (real name Place)—French journalist, Blanquist, member of the International.—485, 556

Vermont, Auguste Jean Marie (1841-1871)—French journalist, Proudhonist, editor of Le Courrier français (1866-67), Communard (1871).—216, 233, 244, 553

Vézinier, 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 in
1866 and from the International in 1868; Communist (1872).—43, 45, 60, 78, 91, 102, 174, 218

Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—367, 368

Vidal.—203

Vieweg, F.—Paris publisher.—138, 141, 150, 217

Villemessant, Jean Hippolyte Auguste Carrier de (1812-1879)—French journalist, monarchist, publisher of Le Figaro (1854), flirted with Bonapartists during the Second Empire.—553, 557

Virchow, Rudolf (1821-1902)—German naturalist and politician, founder of cellular pathology, opponent of Darwinism; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress.—12, 13

Vivanti, Anne—London acquaintance of Marx's daughter Jenny.—466

Vivenot, Alfred von (1836-1874)—Austrian historian, author of works on the history and foreign policy of Austria.—442

Vogler, Carl Georg (born c. 1820)—German publisher and bookseller in Brussels.—137, 217

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; opposed Lassallean leaders of the General Association of German Workers, member of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1867, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; Corresponding Secretary of the General Council (1868-69); supporter of Marx and Engels.—97, 98, 147-49, 184, 471-76

Vogt, Gustav (1829-1901)—Swiss lawyer, German by birth, pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom; editor of Les États-Unis d'Europe (1867-70); Karl Vogt's brother.—161

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Wing) in 1848-49; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated in 1849; later received subsidies from Napoleon III; slandered Marx and Engels.—11, 100, 103, 106, 113, 118, 119, 142, 159, 173, 179, 185, 189, 208, 210, 231, 248, 250, 353, 434

Voltaire (pen name of François Marie Arouet) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—131

W

Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb (1784-1866)—German historian, professor in Leipzig, author of works on antiquity and history of Europe.—515, 516

Waehry, Pierre—journeyman tailor, member of the Égalité editorial board, opposed Bakuninists.—413

Wagener, Hermann (1815-1889)—German conservative journalist and politician, editor of the Neue Preußische Zeitung (1848-54); Privy Counsellor of Bismarck's government (1866-73); champion of Prussian 'state socialism'.—255, 343

Wagner, Adolph (1835-1917)—German economist, armchair socialist.—527

Wakefield, Edward (1774-1854)—English statistician and agronomist.—361, 362, 367, 374, 387, 388, 442, 477, 483

Walesrode, Ludwig Reinhold (pseudonym Emil Wagner) (1810-1889)—German democratic journalist, published almanac Demokratische Studien (1860-61).—373

Ward, James Clifton (1843-1880)—English geologist, conducted geologi-
cal explorations in Yorkshire (1865-69).—292

Ware, Sir James (1594-1666)—Irish historian and statesman, Auditor-General of Ireland (1632-49, 1660-66); author of works on the history of Ireland.—516, 517

Waterlow, Sydney Hudley (1822-1906)—British Liberal politician.—437

Watts, John (1818-1887)—English journalist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; later Liberal.—182, 275

Weber, Josef Valentin (1814-1895)—German watch-maker, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848); in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and then to London; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—151, 155, 159, 174

Weber, Wilhelm—German watch-maker; Lassallean; refugee in New York (after 1864); President of the General Association of German Workers in New York (1866); Josef Valentin Weber's son.—522

Weerth, 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.—35, 118, 389, 502, 547

Weher, J. G.—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; an acquaintance of Engels.—221

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).—333, 369, 428, 479

Welcker, Karl Theodor (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal writer.—511

Werner, Ernst—bookbinder in Leipzig, participant in the German working-class movement.—350

Werner, Johann Peter—German lawyer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848), belonged to the Left Centre.—253

West, Charles (1816-1898)—English physician, specialised in pediatrics.—353, 355

Westbury—see Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury

Weston, John (1816-1898)—English physician, specialist in pediatrics.—353, 355

Westbury—see Bethell, Richard, 1st Lord Westbury

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; editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung (1849-50); emigrated to the USA after the defeat of the revolution, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners; helped to propagate ideas and documents of the International in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—35, 97, 142, 502

Wehner, J. G.—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; an acquaintance of Engels.—221

Whaley, J. C.—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, President of the National Labour Union (1867).—58

Wigand, Otto (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig which printed works by radical writers.—276, 297

William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Em-
peror of Germany (1871-88).—19, 104

Williams, J.—see Marx Jenny

Willich, August (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, resigned from the army on account of his political views; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the US Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Northerners.—495

Wilhelm, Wilhelmchen—see Liebknecht Wilhelm

Winterbottom.—150

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1849 and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—34, 35, 77, 210, 211, 312, 502

Y

Yor(c)k, Theodor (1830-1875)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, carpenter, Lassallean; in 1869 left the General Association of German Workers and helped to organise the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its Secretary in 1871-74.—242, 250

Young, Arthur (1741-1820)—English economist and writer on agriculture, supporter of the quantity theory of money.—361, 362, 388

Z

Zabicki, Antoni (c. 1810-1871)—a leader of the Polish national liberation movement; composer; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 a refugee in England; from 1863 published Glos Wolny—newspaper of the Polish democratic refugees; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71); Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—347, 350

Zhukovski, Nikolai Ivanovich (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist, a refugee in Switzerland from 1862; member of the committee of the League of Peace and Freedom; a leader of the secret Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—193

Zitschke—one of Marx's creditors in London.—285

Zweifel—Prussian official, Chief Public Prosecutor at Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—124

INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Caliban—character in Shakespeare's The Tempest; half-man, half-monster.—10

Clare Vair de Vair—title character in Alfred Tennyson's poem; a heartless and arrogant aristocrat.—275

Crispinus—character in Juvenal's Satire 4.—228

Eve (Bib.).—379, 382

Excelsior—title character in Longfellow's poem.—275

Falstaff, Sir John—character in Shakespeare's tragedy King Henry IV and his comedy The Merry Wives of Windsor; a fat, sly braggart and jester.—216, 507
Holt, Felix—character in George Eliot's novel *Felix Holt, the Radical.*—292, 423


Gudrun (Kudrun)—heroine of German epic and German medieval poem *Gudrun* (13th cent.).—295

Heineke—title character in a German folk song, parody on the so-called grobian literature (16th cent.). Heinzen's nickname.—522

Helen (Gr. Myth.)—daughter of Zeus and Leda, famous for her beauty.—88

Jacob (Bib.)—traditional ancestor of the people of Israel.—86

John Bull—title character in John Arbuthnot's political satire *The History of John Bull* (1712); the name is used to personify England and Englishmen—217, 225, 373, 392, 398, 429, 547, 562

Joseph (Bib.)—son of Jacob, sold by his brothers as a slave in Egypt where he became the Pharaoh's favourite because of his wisdom and beauty; his whole family moved to Egypt.—86

Kobes I—title character of a satirical poem by Heine, a philistine; also nickname of Jakob Venedey (Kobes means Jakob in a dialect spoken in Cologne where Venedey was born).—34

Mentor—character in *Odyssey,* adviser of Telemachus, Odysseus' son; an experienced and prudent adviser.—112

Neptune (Neptunus) (Rom. Myth.)—god of the sea.—512

Oerindur—character in A.G.A. Muller's drama *Die Schuld.*—231

Pater José (Frater José)—a character in Heine's satirical poem *Disputation;* a fanatical Christian monk.—249

Rabbi Juda—a character in Heine's satirical poem *Disputation;* a fanatical rabbi.—249

Rameau—character in Diderot's *Le Neveu de Rameau.*—263, 265

Robinson Crusoe—title character of Daniel Defoe's novel (1719). The name was later used to denote an individual isolated from society.—379

Sigurd—hero of the Scandinavian epic *Edda, Völsunga Saga;* brave, mighty and noble warrior.—295

Venus (Rom. Myth.)—goddess of love and beauty.—512
INDEX OF QUOTED AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Marx, Karl

Address to the National Labour Union of the United States. London, 1869 (present edition, Vol. 21).—279, 283
—In: The Bee-Hive, No. 396, May 15, 1869 (in the column ‘The International Working Men’s Association’).—279, 283

—Die Belgischen Metzgeleien. An die Arbeiter von Europa und der Vereinigten Staaten! In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 21, 22. Mai 1869.—275


Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850 (present edition, Vol. 10)


Confidential Communication (present edition, Vol. 21)
—Konfidentielle Mitteilung.—494, 470, 511

Confidential Communication to All Sections (present edition, Vol. 21)
—Communication confidentielle aux différentes sections.—538

Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations (present edition, Vol. 21). In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 42, 17. Oktober 1868.—121, 136

Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law. Introduction (present edition, Vol. 3)

A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (present edition, Vol. 29)
—Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Erstes Heft. Berlin, 1859.—124, 130, 210, 435


—Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Conseil-Général). In: La Marseillaise, No. 145, 14 mai 1870.—520
—Conseil Général de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs. In: L’Internationale, No. 70, 15 mai 1870.—520
—The International Working Men's Association. In: The Penny Bee-Hive, No. 418, May 14, 1870.—520

—The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners. In: Reynolds's Newspaper, November 21, 1869.—386, 390, 392
—In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 17, 27. November 1869.—390

Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress (present edition, Vol. 21)
— (From our Special Correspondent.) Brussels, Sept. 10. In: The Daily News, September 12, 1868.—97, 98

— [Grundriss e der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf) 1857-58].—434

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (present edition, Vol. 11).—333, 399

The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners (present edition, Vol. 21)
— Le Gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers fénians. In: L’Internationale, Nos. 59, 60; 27 février, 6 mars 1870.—440, 444, 449, 451, 453, 455, 475

The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men’s Association (present edition, Vol. 21)
— A. M. G. Hardy, secrétaire d’Etat de Sa Majesté. In: Le Courrier français, No. 163, 24 novembre 1867.—392


— International Working Men’s Congress. In: The Times, No. 26225, September 9, 1868.—93, 95, 96, 101

The French Crédit Mobilier (present edition, Vol. 15)
— In: New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 4735, 4737 and 4751; June 21, 24 and July 11, 1856; No. 5128, September 26, 1857.—7

The General Council of the International Working Men’s Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (present edition, Vol. 21)
— Le Conseil Général de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs au Bureau Central de l’Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste.—236-37, 240, 491

The General Council of the International Working Men’s Association to Committee Members of the Russian Section in Geneva (present edition, Vol. 21)
— Главный Сове́т Международного Товарищества Рабочих. Членамъ Комитета Русской секции в Женевѣ. In: Народное Дѣло, № 1, 15 апреля 1870.—462-63
The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland (present edition, Vol. 21)

Herr Vogt (present edition, Vol. 17)

How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866 Procured a Loan of Six Millions for Russia (present edition, Vol. 21). In: The Diplomatic Review, 2 December 1868.—166

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)

The International Working Men’s Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (present edition, Vol. 21)
—L’Association Internationale des Travailleurs et l’Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste.—190, 198, 201, 202, 219, 491

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, 1853
—I. Palmerston; II. Palmerston and Russia; III. A Chapter of Modern History; IV. England and Russia. In: New-York Daily Tribune, Nos. 3902, 3916, 3930 and 3973, October 19, November 4, 21, 1853; January 11, 1854
—Palmerston. In: Die Reform, Nr. 72, 73, 74, 77, 78; 2., 3., 4., 8., 9. November 1853
—Palmerston and Russia, 1 ed. London, E. Tucker [1853] (Political Fly-Sheets, No. 1); 2 ed. London, 1854

My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat (present edition, Vol. 20)
—Mein Plagiat an F. Bastiat.—66

On the Jewish Question (present edition, Vol. 3)

On Proudhon (present edition, Vol. 20)
—Ueber P. J. Proudhon. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 16, 17, 18; 1., 3., 5. Februar 1865.—135
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

politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des
Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867.—259-60

Ausgabe. Hamburg, 1869.—297, 318, 330

Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International (present edition, Vol. 21)
—Programme. In: The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working
Men's Association. London, 1870.—537

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.—125
—In: Congrès ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement
provisoire. Paris, [1864].—486

[Record of Marx's Speech on The Bee-Hive. From the Minutes of the General
Council Meeting of April 26, 1870] (present edition, Vol. 21).—497

[Record of Marx's Speech on the Policy of the British Government with Respect
to the Irish Prisoners. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of
November 16, 1869] (present edition, Vol. 21).—375-76, 390
—The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners. In: Reynolds's
Newspaper, No. 1006, November 21, 1869.—386, 392
Reformer, November 28, 1869.—392, 394

[Record of Marx's Speeches on the Policy of the British Government with Respect
to the Irish Prisoners. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of
November 23 and 30, 1869] (present edition, Vol. 21)
—The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners. In: Reynolds's
Newspaper, No. 1007, November 28, 1869.—390
Reformer, December 5, 1869.—390

[Record of Marx's Speech on the Right to Inheritance. From the Minutes of the
General Council Meeting of July 20, 1869] (present edition, Vol. 21). In: The
Bee-Hive, No. 406, July 24, 1869, in the column 'The International Working
Men's Association'.—354

Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's
Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September,
1869. London, [1869].—414, 492
—Beschluß des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation bezüglich des 'Bee-Hive'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 38, 11. Mai 1870.—400, 497, 503

—Communication du Conseil général de Londres de l'Association Internationale. In: La Liberté, No. 55, 12 juillet 1868.—60
—Communiqué. In: La Cigale, No. 29, 19 juillet 1868.—60, 174

[Resolution on Changing the Place of the International's Congress in 1868] (present edition, Vol. 21). In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 347, June 6, 1868 (in the column 'The International Working Men's Association').—43, 44

Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (present edition, Vol. 11)
—Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln. Basel, 1853.—124, 229
—[Boston, 1853].—124

Speech on the Question of Free Trade. Delivered to the Democratic Association of Brussels at Its Public Meeting of January 9, 1848 (present edition, Vol. 6)
—Discours sur la question du libre échange, prononcé à l'Association Démocratique de Bruxelles, dans la séance publique du 9 janvier 1848 [Bruxelles, 1848].—124

Statement to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (present edition, Vol. 21)
—Herrn C. Speyer, Sekretär des Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereins.—166

To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers (present edition, Vol. 21)

Engels, Frederick

The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources (present edition, Vol. 4)

Democratic Pan-Slavism (present edition, Vol. 8)

The History of Ireland (present edition, Vol. 21).—357, 358, 399, 402, 500, 524, 548

Karl Marx (present edition, Vol. 21).—74, 76, 77, 81
—Karl Marx. In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 185, 2. August 1869; Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 34, 21. August 1869, Beilage.—144, 318, 325, 328, 333
[A Letter to W. Bracke, 28 April 1870] (this volume). In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 39, 14. Mai 1870.—520, 521

*Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs* (present edition, Vol. 21).—532, 533, 563


*The Peasant War in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 10)
—Der deutsche Bauernkrieg. In: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Nr. 5-6, 1850.—228, 229, 234, 237

—Vorbemerkung. In: *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*. Leipzig, 1870.—419

*The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (present edition, Vol. 20)
—Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei. Hamburg, 1865.—89, 111, 112, 234, 237

—Bericht über die Knappshaftvereine der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken Sachsens. In: *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nr. 33, 17. März 1869; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nr. 12, 20. März 1869 (Beiblatt); *Die Zukunft*, Nr. 67, 68; 20., 21. März 1869.—220, 221, 244, 250

*Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for the 'Beobachter'* (present edition, Vol. 20)

—Karl Marx on Capital.—5, 7, 90, 35, 37-40, 44, 45, 50, 52-54, 70, 73, 74, 81, 84, 138, 140-41, 217

Review of Volume One of ‘Capital’ for the ‘Zukunft’ (present edition, Vol. 20)
—Karl Marx, das Kapital. Erster Band. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867, 784 Seiten. 8° In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 254, 30. Oktober 1867, Beilage.—60

Synopsis of Volume One of ‘Capital’ by Karl Marx (present edition, Vol. 20)

To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute (present edition, Vol. 21)
—An das Direktorium der Schiller-Anstalt.—100

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick

The First Trial of the ‘Neue Rheinische Zeitung’. The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (present edition, Vol. 8)

The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company (present edition, Vol. 4)
—Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Consorten. Frankfurt am Main, 1845.—123

Manifesto of the Communist Party (present edition, Vol. 6)
—Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. London, 1848.—124, 262, 267, 300, 303, 304
—Манифест Коммунистической партии. [Geneva, 1869].—502

WORKS BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS

Affaire de la souscription Baudin. Troisième édition. Paris, 1868.—188, 191
Aycard, N. Histoire du Crédit mobilier. 1852-1867. [Paris.] 1867.—7

Бакунинъ, М. Исповедь. In: Московскія вѣдомості, № 4, 6 января 1870.—437, 441
—Редакторъмъ «Колокола». In: Колоколь, № 2, 9 апреля 1870.—516
—Русскимъ, полякскимъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ. In: Колоколь, №№ 122-123, 15 февраля 1862 (supplement).—221, 222
Bakounine, [M.] Discours de Bakounine au deuxième congrès de la paix, à Berne. In: Kolokol (La Cloche), No. 14-15, 1 décembre 1868.—200, 489
—Hertzen. In: La Marseillaise, Nos. 72, 73; 2, 3 mars 1870; Le Progrès, Nos. 10, 11, 12; 5, 12, 19 mars 1870.—463, 592, 593

—Briefe über die revolutionäre Bewegung in Russland. I. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 31, 32; 16., 20. April 1870.—496, 499, 519

Balzac, Honoré de. Le curé de village.—189
—L'Illustre Gaudissart.—85

Bara, J. [Speech in the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1868.] In: La Voix de l'avenir, No. 23, 7 juin 1868; La Liberté, No. 47, 17 mai 1868.—43

Bastiat, F. Harmonies économiques. Paris, 1850.—65

Batrachomyomachia.—174

Bebel, A. [Speech in the North German Diet on March 18, 1869.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 67, 20. März 1869.—255
—An Herrn Dr. Schweitzer in Berlin. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 27, 3. Juli 1869.—307

Becker, B. Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's. Schleiz, 1868.—87, 89, 92, 112, 250, 252, 285

—Mahnref. An unsere Bundesgenossen und die Arbeiter und Arbeitervereine aller Länder. Signed by the members of the Central Committee of the group of the German-language sections. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 10, Oktober 1869.—392
—Rundschreiben des Zentralkomitees der Sektionsgruppe deutscher Sprache an die Sektionen und mitgenössischen Gesellschaften. Signed by the members of the Central Committee. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 11, November 1868.—392
—(anonym.) Was wir wollen und sollen. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 1, Januar 1866.—102
—Programm der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 31-33, 1., 8., 15. August 1868, Beilagen.—102


Bible
The New Testament
Luke.—148
Matthew.—307
2 Samuel.—408


Blanc, J. J. [Correspondence on the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association.] In: L'Opinion nationale, 10 septembre 1868.—107

Boethius, H. The History and Chronicles of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1536.—225-27, 230


Bonhorst. Der famose Diktator und eine der Braunschweiger 'Strohpuppen' im Lichte der Baseler Beschlüsse. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 8, 9, 27., 30. Oktober 1869.—367

—XI. Ein russischer penny-a-liner. In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 44, 45, 47 (Beilage), 58; 22., 23., 25. Februar, 10. März 1870.—206, 436
—Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 5, 6, 17, 20; 1., 8. Februar; 25. April; 16. Mai 1868 (the first two articles are signed with the initials S. B.).—142

Boruttau, C. Gedanken über Gewissens-Freiheit. Königsberg, 1867.—71, 72

Bright, J. [Speech at the meeting in Birmingham on January 11, 1870.] In: The Times, January 12, 1870.—409


Büchner, L. Kraft und Stoff. 10. vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig, 1869. First edition was issued in Frankfurt am Main in 1855.—486

Butt, I. The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford. Dublin, 1867.—361, 374


—Britannia or Chorographical Description of the most Flourishing Kingdoms England, Scotland and Ireland and the Islands Adjoining. London, 1637.—402

Cannon, J. History of Grant's Campaign for the Capture of Richmond (1864-1865). London, 1869.—402

— *Principles of Social Science*. In three volumes. Philadelphia, 1868-1869.—369-70, 374, 398-407, 545

Carl, F., Jubitz, F. *L'Union des travailleurs allemands de New-York aux ouvriers de Paris*. In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 103, 2 avril 1870.—472

Castille, H. *Les Massacres de juin 1848. D'après des documents historiques*. Paris, 1869.—232, 242, 244, 246


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.—459

Cluseret, G. P. *Aux travailleurs américains*. In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 103, 2 avril 1870.—472

Cobbett, W. *To the Boroughmongers. On Castlereagh's Cutting his Throat, and on Their Own Probable Fate*. In: *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, Vol. 43, No. 8, August 24, 1822.—429


— *The Speeches of the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran*, second edition, Dublin, 1855.—401

*Cyclopaedia Americana*—see *The New American Cyclopaedia*

Dante, A. *La Divina commedia*.—201


— *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London, 1859.—206

— *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*. In two volumes. London, 1868.—141

Davies, E. *Celtic Researches, on the Origin, Traditions and Language, of the Ancient Britons; with Some Introductory Sketches, on Primitive Society*. London, 1804.—515


[Defoe, D.] *Memoirs of a Cavalier or a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England from the Year 1632, to the Year 1648*. London, [1720].—344


—(anon.) *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit*. Dargestellt von einem Handarbeiter. Eine abermalige Kritik der reinen und praktischen Vernunft. Hamburg, 1869.—120, 121, 126, 150, 152-54, 173, 249


Dupont, E. [Speech at the final sitting of the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men’s Association on September 13, 1868.] In: The Daily News, September 15, 1868.—101

Eccarius, J. G. Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill’s. Berlin, 1869.—276

—(anon.) The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners. In: Reynolds’s Newspaper, Nos. 1006, 1008, November 21 and December 5, 1869.—386, 392, 437

—(anon.) The International Working Men’s Congress. (From a Correspondent.) In: The Times, Nos. 26225, 26227, 26229, 26230, 26232; September 9, 11, 14, 15 and 17, 1868.—93, 97-98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 543

—(anon.) The International Working Men’s Congress. (From a Correspondent.) In: The Times, No. 26543, September 15, 1869.—99, 543-44


Edda—295

Edwards, E. W. [Speech as a witness at the Overend, Gurney and Co. trial on January 23, 1869.] In: The Times, No. 26343, January 25, 1869.—208


—[Speech at the sitting of the Democratic Workers’ Association in Berlin on October 15, 1868.] In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 43, 24. Oktober 1868.—151

Eliot, G. Felix Holt, the Radical.—292, 423, 459


Favre, J. [Speech in the Corps législatif on February 21, 1870.] In: Journal des Débats, 22 février 1870.—442

Der Feldzug der preussischen Main-Armee im Sommer 1866. Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1867.—64, 283

Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland. Redigirt von der kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstaben. Berlin, 1867.—283

Ferdinand Flocon to Marx in Brussels. March 1, 1848 (present edition, Vol. 6).—76, 124

Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


Flourens, G. Histoire de l'homme. Cours d'histoire naturelle des corps organisés au Collège de France. Paris, 1863.—559

Fonvielle, A. de. Une Dénonciation. In: La Marseillaise, No. 139, 8 mai 1870.—511

Fonvielle, U. de. L'amnistie, cette concession tardive.... In: La Marseillaise, No. 46, 2 février 1870.—425


Fourlong, J. The Irish Roman Catholic Bishops on the Land Question. In: Manchester Examiner and Times, March 30, 1870.—487

Frankel, L. Ein belauschtes Zwiegespräch. VIII. In: Volkswille, Nr. 10, 2. April 1870.—479, 483

Freiligrath, F. An Joseph Weydemeyer, I-II. In: Die Revolution, Nr. II, 1852.—142
—Banditenbegräbnis.—323
—Piratenromanze.—323


Gaumont, Ch. La Grève à Genève. In: Le Peuple, 29-30 mars 1869.—253

The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, Commonly Called O'Dowda's Country. With a translation and notes... by John O'Donovan. Dublin, 1844.—518


—Propagation of the Gospel.—445
—[Speech in the House of Commons on February 15, 1870.] In: The Times, February 16, 1870 (in the column 'Land Tenure (Ireland)'); The Manchester Daily Examiner and Times, February 17, 1870.—432, 437
—[Speech in the House of Commons on March 3, 1870.] In: The Times, March 4, 1870.—445, 454

Gobineau, J. A. Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines. Tomes I-IV. Paris, 1853-1855.—446

Goegg, A. Erklärung. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 3, 9. Oktober 1869.—363
Goethe, J. W. von. Egmont.—331
— Faust.—292
— Götz von Berlichingen.—331
— Hermann und Dorothea.—295
— Reineke Fuchs.—541

Granier de Cassagnac, P. [The Leader]. In: Le Pays, 15 janvier 1870.—419, 553
Greulich, H. Die Heulmaierei gegen den Basler Kongress. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 5, 16. Oktober 1869.—364
Guérout, A. Les grèves. In: L'Opinion national, 28 janvier 1870.—554

Harris, G. E. International Working Men's Association. In: The National Reformer, November 28 and December 5, 1869.—392, 394, 397-98, 401
— Yours or Mine; or short chapters, showing the true basis of property and the causes of its unequal distribution. In: The National Reformer, December 5, 1869.—392
Heine, H. Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum.—371
— Disputation (Romanzero).—249
— Lutetia.—489
Held, A. Die ländlichen Darlehenskassenvereine in der Rheinprovinz und ihre Beziehungen zur Arbeiterfrage. Jena, 1869.—527
Herzen, A. Lettre à N. Ogareff. In: Kolokol (La Cloche), Nos. 14-15, 1 décembre 1868.—200
[Герцен, А. И.] Тюрьма и ссылка. Из записок Искандера. Лондон, 1854.—411, 424, 426
Heß, M. [Speech at the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association on September 11, 1868.] In: The Times, No. 26230, September 15, 1868.—99, 102
— (anon.) 'Die Woche, welche...'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 15, 19. Februar 1870 (in the column 'Aus Frankreich').—422
Hewitt, J. Ireland, and the Irish Church. London, 1842.—374
— Thoughts on the Present State of Ireland. London, 1849.—374
— A Plea for Irish Landlords. Dublin, 1867.—374
Hiltrop. Ueber die Reorganisation der Knappschaftsvereine. In: Zeitschrift des Königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus, Nr. 4-6, April, Mai, Juni 1869.—352
Hobbes, Th. Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil. London, 1651.—217
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). De Arte Poetica.—216
— Epistolae.—115, 136,
— Satirarum.—171, 435, 437
Horn, I. E. Frankreichs Finanzlage. Pest, Wien, Leipzig, 1868.—7, 11

Hugo, V. Napoléon le Petit. Londres, 1852.—255

Humbert, A. Le Plébiscite de boquillon. Paris, [1870].—507, 509

Huxley, T. H. The Forefathers and Forerunners of the English People. In: The Manchester Examiner and Times, January 12, 1870 (in the article 'Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology').—454

Jacoby, J. [Speech at the sitting of electors in Berlin on January 20, 1870.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 18, 22. Januar 1869.—417, 418

Jäger, G. Zoologische Briefe. I. Lieferung. Wien, 1864.—162

[Jerusalem.] La Dictature universelle. In: L'International, 3 août 1869.—342


Juárez, B. P. Mexico, 9 mars 1868. In: Le Courrier français, 21 avril 1868.—16, 18


Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis). Satirarum.—228

Kane, R. The Industrial Resources of Ireland. 2nd ed. Dublin, 1845. The first edition came out in 1844.—402

—Über die Unsterblichkeit. Ein philosophischer Versuch. Berlin, 1865.—258

Klemm, G. Die Werkzeuge und Waffen, ihre Entstehung und Ausbildung. Sondershausen, 1858.—328-29

Kock, Paul de. L'amant de la lune.—159


Lafargue, Paul-Laurent. Le Roman d'une Conspiration par A. Ranc. In: La Libre pensée, No. 13, 16 avril 1870.—486

Lanfrey, P. Le Guet-apens de Bayonne. Histoire de Napoléon I. Tome IV. In: La Cloche, Nos. 44-46; 1-3 février 1870.—423, 426

Lange, F. A. Die Arbeiterfrage. Ihre Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft. 2. umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Winterthur, 1870. The first edition came out in 1865.—525, 527

—Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig vom 1. März. Zürich, 1863.—90


Lever, Ch. Harry Lorequer.—453, 509

Leßner, F. [Speech at the sitting of the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men’s Association on using machinery under capitalism of September 9, 1868.] In: The Times, No. 26229, September 14, 1868; The Daily News, September 11, 1868.—97-99

Liebknecht, W. Erklärung. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 8, 20. Februar 1869.—230, 405

Лененфельд,] Земля и воля. С.-Петербург, 1868.—55, 154, 430, 434

Livius, Titus. Rerum Romanorum ab Urbe condita libri.—85

Longfellow, H. W. Excelsior.—278


Marryat, F. Peter Simple.—507

Marseillaise (French revolutionary song).—546

Martin, H. La Russie et l’Europe. Paris, 1866.—435

—In: The Echo, No. 391, March 11, 1870.—454
—In: The Irishman, Nos. 40, 45, April 2, May 7, 1870.—559

—Herr J. B. von Schweitzer und die Organisation des Lassalle’schen Allg. deutschen Arbeitervereins. Leipzig, 1869.—408
Mende, F., Schweitzer, J. Wiederherstellung der Einheit der Lassalle'schen Partei. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 70, 18. Juni 1869.—295


Miquel, J. [Speech in the Reichstag on March 18, 1869.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 67, 20. März 1869.—255

Moilin, T. La liquidation sociale. Paris, 1869.—242, 244


Moore, Thomas. Irish Melodies. Paris, 1821.—341

Müllner, A. Die Schuld.—321

Napoléon III. [Speech at the opening of the Extraordinary Session of the French National Assembly on November 29, 1869.] In: Journal des Débats, 30 novembre 1869.—389

Naquet, A. La révolution et la science. De la fabrication du coton-poudre et de son application, soit comme poudre de guerre, soit comme poudre de mine. In: La Marseillaise, No. 43, 30 janvier 1870.—426


Nechayev, [S. G.] [To the editors of Der Volksstaat.] In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 39, 14. Mai 1870 (in the column 'Netschajeff an den Volksstaat').—519, 521

O'Donovan, J. A Grammar of the Irish Language. Dublin, 1845.—513

O'Donovan Rossa. Letter from the Member for Tipperary. In: The Irishman, No. 32, February 5, 1870.—445, 454, 458, 476
—In: La Marseillaise, No. 79, 9 mars 1870.—445, 454, 455, 458, 476
—In: The Echo, No. 391, March 11, 1870.—454

O'Flaherty, R. Ogygiâ: seu, rerum hibernarum chronologia. In tres partes. Londini, 1685.—516, 517

Ovid. Remedia amoris.—29

Parsons, W. A Few Words on the Relation of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, and in Other Parts of the United Kingdom. London, 1867.—373

Petrie, G. The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion. In: The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XX. Dublin, 1845.—409

Petty, W. The Political Anatomy of Ireland. London, 1691.—402
—Political Survey of Ireland. London, 1719.—402

—[Speeches in Edinburgh in November 1869.] In: Journal des Débats, 16, 18 novembre 1869.—388

Proudhon, P. J. Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère. Tomes I-II. Paris, 1846.—383

Pyat, F. Lettre aux étudians. Londres, 1866.—62
—[Speech at the meeting in Cleveland Hall in London on June 29, 1868.] In: La Cigale, No. 29, 19 juillet 1868.—62

Quételet, A. Du système social et de lois, qui le régissent. Paris, 1848.—232

Ranc, A. Le Roman d'une conspiration. Paris, 1869.—361, 486

Raspail, F. [Speech at the sitting of the Corps législatif on July 5 and 8, 1869.] In: Annales du sénat et du corps législatif. Paris, 1869.—316-17

La Régence de Decembrostein. Paris, 1869.—368, 371

Reich, E. Ueber die Entartung des Menschen. Ihre Ursachen und Verhütung. Erlangen, 1868.—392


Rogeard, A. Le plébiscite impérial. Paris, 1870.—507


Rule Britannia (British national anthem).—247

Sadler, M. Th. Ireland; Its Evils, and Their Remedies: being a refutation of the errors of the emigration committee and others, touching that country. 2nd ed. London, 1829.—362

Sawaszkiewicz, L. L. Tableau de l'influence de la Pologne sur les destinées de la Révolution française et de l'Empire. Troisième édition. Paris, 1848.—438

Schäfer, G. S. Vom Rechte das mit uns geboren. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 12 (Beilage), 13-15; 10., 13., 17., 20. November 1869.—382


Schmalz, [Th.] Staatswirthschaftslehre in Briefen an einen deutschen Erbprinzen. Theile I-II. Berlin, 1818.—66
—Economie politique, ouvrage traduit de l'allemand... Tomes I-II. Paris, 1826.—67

Schorlemmer, C. *Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series C_nH_{2n+2}*. In: *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868.—33, 57


— [Speech in the North German Diet on March 17, 1869.] In: *Die Zukunft*, Nr. 66, 19. März 1869.—256


Senior, N. W. *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland*. In two volumes. 2nd ed. London, 1868.—331, 357


Seume, J. G. *Der Wilde*.—7, 9

Shakespeare, W. *Julius Caesar*.—244

— *King Henry IV*.—216, 507

— *Macbeth*.—546

*Silva de romances viejos*. Publicada por Jacobo Grimm. Vienna, 1831.—156

Slade, A. *Turkey and the Crimean War: a narrative of historical events*. London, 1867.—139


Smith, G. *Irish History and Irish Character*. Oxford and London, 1861.—374, 388

St. Clair, S. G. B. and Brophy, Ch. A. *A Residence in Bulgaria: or Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey*. London, 1869.—345


Sterne, L. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Paris, 1832.—297

Steuart, J. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. In two volumes. London, 1767.—39


Struve, G. und Rasch, G. *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution*. Berlin, 1867.—5


Sybel, H. *Oestreich und Deutschland im Revolutionskrieg. Ergänzungsheft zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit 1789 bis 1795*. Düsseldorf, 1868.—432-33

— *Polens Untergang und der Revolutionskrieg*. In: *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 23. München, 1870.—433, 442
Talandier, A. Alexandre Hertzen. In: *L'Internationale*, No. 56, 6 février 1870 (in the column 'Nécrologie').—445
— *L'Irlande et le catholicisme*. In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 58, 16 février 1870.—445, 459, 476
— *La Marseillaise et la presse anglaise*. In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 85, 15 mars 1870.—459

Tennyson, Alfred Lord. *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*.—275


Terence (Publius Terentius Afer). *Andria*.—174

Tholuck, F. A. *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*. Berlin, 1825.—196

— *On Labour; its wrongful claims and rightful dues; its actual present and possible future*. London, 1869.—264, 293


The *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, Commonly Called O'Kelly's Country*. With a translation and notes ... by John O'Donovan. Dublin, 1843.—518

Tridon, G. *La Commune révolutionnaire de Paris*. In: *La Cigale*, No. 29, 19 juillet 1868.—175
— *Gironde et Girondins. La Gironde en 1869 et en 1793*. [Paris,] 1869.—233, 308


Ulrichs, K. H. *'Argonauticus'. Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers*. Leipzig, 1869.—295, 403


Vauban, S. *Projet d'une dîme royale*. In: *Economistes financiers du XVIII-e siècle*. Paris, 1843.—429

Venedey, J. *Irland*. Theile I-II. Leipzig, 1844.—467
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

Verlet, H. Force et matière. In: La Libre pensée, No. 13, 16 avril 1870.—485
Vermorel, A. Les Hommes de 1848. Troisième édition. Paris, 1869.—216, 233, 244
V[ésinier], P. Bulletin du travailleur. In: La Cigale, No. 25, 21 juin 1868.—45
Virchow, R. Die Cellularpathologie in ihre Begründung auf physiologische und pathologische Gewebelehre. Berlin, 1858.—13
Vogt, G. Monsieur, le bureau du Comité central permanent de la Ligue... Bern, le 22 sept. 1868.—161

Wachsmuth, W. Europäische Sittengeschichte vom Ursprünge volkstümlicher Gestaltungen bis auf unsere Zeit. Zweiter Theil. Leipzig, 1833. This five-part work was published from 1831 to 1839.—515, 516
Wagener, H. [Speech in the North German Diet on March 17, 1869.] In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 66, 19. März 1869.—255
Wagner, A. Die A bschaffung des privaten Grundeigenthums. Leipzig, 1870.—527
Wakefield, E. An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political. In two volumes. London, 1812.—361, 362, 367, 374, 388, 442, 477, 483
Ware, J. Inquiries Concerning Ireland, and Its Antiquities. Dublin, 1705. The first two editions came out in Latin in London in 1654 and 1658.—516, 517
—Two Books of the Writers of Ireland. Dublin, 1704. In: Ware, J. Inquiries Concerning Ireland, and Its Antiquities. Dublin, 1705.—516, 517
Watts, J. The Facts of the Cotton Famine. London, Manchester, 1866.—181
—Trade Societies and Strikes: their good and evil influence on the members of trades unions, and on society at large. Machinery. Co-operative societies. Manchester, 1865.—278

Young, A. A tour in Ireland; with general observations on the present state of that kingdom: made the year 1776, 1777, and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779. Volumes I-II. London, 1780.—361, 360, 388

DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN’S ASSOCIATION a

The Geneva Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1866)

a Documents written by Marx and Engels see in the section ‘Works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels’.
The Lausanne Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1867)
*Procès-verbaux du congrès de l’Association Internationale des travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867. Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.—223*

[Resolution of the Lausanne Congress on the obligation of sections to make contributions.] In: *Procès-verbaux du..., p. 37.—258*

The Brussels Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1868)

[Resolution on war proposed by the German delegates at the Brussels Congress.] In: *Troisième Congrès de... Supplément au journal Le Peuple belge, 22 septembre 1868.—In: The Times, No. 26232, September 17, 1868.—94, 101-02
—In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 10, Oktober 1868.—94

[Resolution of the Brussels Congress on land property.] In: *Troisième Congrès de... Supplément au journal Le Peuple belge, 24 septembre 1868.—101*

[Resolution on Marx’s *Capital* proposed by the German delegates at the Brussels Congress.] In: *The Times, No. 26230, September 15, 1868.—99, 101*

[Resolution of the Brussels Congress on the League of Peace and Freedom.] In: *Troisième Congrès de... Supplément au journal Le Peuple belge, 18 septembre 1868.—202*

[Resolution of the Brussels Congress on the obligation of sections to make contributions.] In: *Troisième Congrès de... Supplément au journal Le Peuple belge, 24 septembre 1868.—258*

[Resolution of the Brussels Congress on the consequences of using machinery.] In: *Troisième Congrès de... Supplément au journal Le Peuple belge, 14 septembre 1868.—98, 221*

The Basle Congress of the International Working Men’s Association (1869)

[Resolution of the Basle Congress on land property.] In: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress..., p. 26.—364, 365, 369, 393*

[Resolution of the Basle Congress on settling the conflicts between the Association’s sections.] In: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress..., p. 21.—314, 480*

À Monsieur Bara, ministre de la justice. Signed by the members of the Board and Federal Council of the Brussels section. In: *La Tribune du peuple, No. 5, 24 mai 1868.—43*

Aux sections romandes. Signed on behalf of the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland by Guétaz, Chairman, and A. Perret, General Secretary. In: *L’Égalité, No. 2, 8 janvier 1870.—430*
**Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature** 727


[Leßner, F.] *Appeal to the German Workers in London* (present edition, Vol. 21)


*Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l’Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières à tous les travailleurs français.* In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 125, 24 avril 1870.—556


*Первая Русская секция. Программа.* In: *Народное Дело*, № 1, 15 апреля 1870.—430

*Règlements.* In: *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et règlements.* Londres, 1866.—125, 135, 236, 557


*Rundschreiben des Zentralkomite’s der Sektionsgruppe deutscher Sprache an die Sektionen und mitgenössischen Gesellschaften.* Genf, den 12. November 1868. In: *Der Vorbote*, Nr. 11, November 1868.—396

*Statuts pour la Fédération des Sections Romandes adoptés par le Congrès Romand, tenu à Genève... les 2, 3 et 4 janvier 1869.*—495
DOCUMENTS

Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year Ended December 31, 1861. In: The Economist, Vol. XX, No. 966, March 1, 1862 (Supplement).—189


Adresse an die Demokraten Spaniens. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 44, 31. Oktober 1868, Beilage.—151

Adresse au peuple et au Congrès des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Signed by F. Pyat, Weber and others. In: La Cigale, No. 45, 8 novembre 1868; L'Espiggle, No. 45, 8 novembre 1868.—155

Adresse aux citoyens français. Londres, le 11 avril 1870 (signed: J. Barbernt). In: La Marseillaise, No. 116, 15 avril 1870 (in the column: Association internationale des travailleurs, branche française).—556

Adresse de l'Association internationale des femmes, à l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Biéne, le 1er Sept. 1868.—131

Agricultural statistics, Ireland. General abstracts showing the acreage under the several crops, and the number of live stock, in each county and province for the year 1867. Dublin, 1867.—140

Agricultural statistics, Ireland. Tables showing the estimated average produce of the crops for the year 1866. Dublin, 1867.—306

Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiter-Congreß. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 114, 115, 116, 117; 30. September, 2., 4., 7. Oktober 1868 (with supplements to these Nos).—306

The Ancient Laws of Cambria: containing the institutional triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud, the laws of Howel the Good, triadical commentaries, code of education, and the hunting laws of Wales. Translated from the Welsh by W. Probert. London, 1823.—515-16

Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; comprising laws supposed to be enacted by Howell the Good, the anomalous laws. Volumes I-II. 1841.—534


An die deutschen Sozial-Demokraten. Signed by the former members of the General Association of German Workers, Lassallean General Association of German Workers, German section of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva, Central Committee of the German Workers' unions in Switzerland, Union of German Workers' Associations and others. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 29, 17. Juli 1869.—339


Annales IV Magistrorum. Ex ipso O'Clerji Autographo in Bibliotheca Stowense. Nunc
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions in the Year 1861. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London, 1862.—188

An die Vorstands-Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins. Signed by W. Real. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 90, 2. August 1868.—78

Ein Circular der Herren Fabrikanten Funcke und Hück in Hagen.—26, 28

Correspondence, 1839-1841, relative to the affairs of the East, and the conflict between Egypt and Turkey. 4 Parts.—264


Gewerbeordnung für den Norddeutschen Bund. 1869.—28, 255, 274

The Irish Land Bill. 1870.—434, 437, 456

Jahresbericht der Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen.—26, 28


Leabhar na g-Ceart, or the Book of rights... With translation and notes, by John O'Donovan. Dublin, 1847.—518

Monsieur, le bureau du Comité central permanent de la Ligue.... Bern, le 22 sept. 1868. [Confidential Address of the Bureau of the Permanent Central Committee of the League of Peace and Freedom].—161

Mustersatzung für die einzelnen Arbeiterschaften. In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 118, 9. Oktober 1868, Beilage.—129


Pour paraître le 24 février [1869]. La Renaissance, Journal politique hebdomadaire.—218, 220, 225


Protest [of the South German federalists and seven members of the North German Diet of May 7, 1868]. In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 20, 16. Mai 1868.—38


Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors. Agricultural Holdings in Ireland. Returns 1870.—480

Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors. Landlord and Tenant Right in Ireland 1870.—480

Reports from Poor Law Inspectors on the Wages of Agricultural Labourers in Ireland. Dublin, 1870.—480, 481

Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 1 July 1858.—113

Report of Commission on Bombay Bank, 1869.—306

Report of Committee of H.o. Commons of July, 1843 on results of the allotment system etc.—306

Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores [veteres]. Tomes I-IV. Buckinghamiae, 1814-1826. Editit C. O'Conor.—516, 517

[Resolution of the Hamburg general congress of the General Association of German Workers on Volume One of Marx's Capital.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 101, 30. August 1868, Beilage.—98

[Resolution of the Hamburg general congress of the General Association of German Workers on the attitude to working-class movement in different countries.] In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 102, 2. September 1868.—117

[Resolution of the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations on their joining the International Working Men's Association and adopting its programme.] In: Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 37, 12. September 1868.—114, 118


Statistical Abstract for the U. Kingdom, No. 16. London, 1868.—306


Things not Generally Known, Concerning England's Treatment of Political Prisoners. Dublin, 1869.—457, 459

ANONYMOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS PUBLISHED IN PERIODIC EDITIONS

Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 55, 24. Februar 1869, Beilage: ♦♦ Genf, 21. Febr. (in the column 'Neueste Posten').—238
—Nr. 63, 4. März 1869: ♦♦ Genf, 28. Febr. (in the column 'Schweiz').—238

The Bee-Hive, No. 364, October 3, 1868: The International Working Men's Association.—148-49
—No. 420, October 30, 1869: Ministers and the Fenian Prisoners.—366
—No. 422, November 13, 1869: [Report on the marriage ceremony of Duke of Abercorn's daughters].—374


La Cigale, No. 16, 18 avril 1869: Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Formation d'une nouvelle section à Bruxelles.—272, 273

The Daily News, September 8-12, 1868: The Congress of the International Association of Workmen. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, sept. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.—93, 99
—September 11, 1868: The International Working Men's Congress. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, sept. 9.—97, 98
—No. 7445, March 11, 1870.—459
—March 16, 1870: [On O'Donovan Rossa's letter].—458

The Daily Telegraph, No. 4598, March 11, 1870.—459

Demokratisches Wochenblatt, Nr. 14, 4. April 1868: Auswanderung und Bürgerrecht.—5
—Nr. 15, 11. April 1868: Politische Übersicht.—15, 19
—Nr. 16, 18. April 1868: Politische Übersicht.—15
—Nr. 37, 12. September 1868: Der fünfte Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine zu Nürnberg (5.-7. September).—99
—Nr. 40, 3. Oktober 1868: Politische Übersicht.—141
—Nr. 41, 10. Oktober 1868: Der Staat und die soziale Frage.—136, 149, 175
—Nr. 42, 17. Oktober 1868, Beilage: Ein Hannoveraner...—141
—Nr. 14, 3. April 1869: Politische Übersicht.—255
—Nr. 28, 10. Juli 1869: 'Vom Londoner Generalrath...':—326
—Nr. 29, 17. Juli 1869: An die deutschen Sozial-Demokraten.—339
—Nr. 29, 17. Juli 1869: Man schreibt uns...—325, 326, 331
—Nr. 29, 17. Juli, Beilage: Was Bürger drüben können und hüben könnten.—325
—Nr. 35, 28. August 1869: 'In Eisenach ist angeordnet worden...'.—353

The Diplomatic Review, April 7, 1869: The 'Eastern Question' Closed. Summary from the Blue-Books.—260
—Le Ministre Grec à Londres à son Gouvernement. 29 décembre 1868 [extrait].—260

The Economist, Vol. XXIV, No. 1181, April 14, 1866: A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War.—179, 182, 186
—Vol. XXIV, No. 1210, November 3, 1866: The 'Law' of Demand and Supply.—158

L'Égalité, No. 37, 1 octobre 1869.—364
—No. 39, 16 octobre 1869: Nouvelles de l'étranger. France. Lyon, le 1er octobre 1869, Paris, le 21 vendémiaire, an 78 (12 octobre 1869).—364
—No. 47, 11 décembre 1869: Réflexions.—404, 424
—No. 15, 9 avril 1870: Nouvelles du congrès.—479

L'Emancipation belge, No. 254, 10 septembre 1868: leader.—107

L'Éspiègle, No. 27, 5 juillet 1868: [Adresse aux Parisiens par le Comité central d'action de Paris du 24 juin 1868] (in the column 'Documents historiques').—62
The Evening Star, September 15, 1868: The International Congress of Workmen.—101

Le Figaro, No. 285, 11 octobre 1868: Chronique de Paris.—158

Gazette médicale de Paris, 11 janvier 1868: Traitement arsénial de la phthisie pulmonaire.—3


L'International, 22 avril 1869: Berlin (In the column 'Dernières nouvelles').—277

The Irishman, December 4, 1869; Great Excitement (From the Belfast papers).—399
——No. 34, February 19, 1870: Inquest at Spike Island-Condemnation of the Prison Treatment.—453
——No. 36, March 5, 1870: Schrove-Tuesday-Procession of the Bœufs-Gras—The Carnival Dying out—Conscripts 'Under the Influence'—The 'Marseillaise' Coming Round to Reason—A London Irishman's Letter to the Reds-Ollivier Holding his Ground (In the column 'Irishman in Paris').—451
——No. 37, March 12: 'The Marseillaise, Paris “irreconcilable” organ...' (In the column 'Current Notes').—455
——No. 38, March 19, 1870: Probable Inquiry (In the column 'Treatment of Political Prisoners').—460
——No. 40, April 2, 1870: Rochefort’s 'Marseillaise' and the Fenian Prisoners.—559

Journal de Bruxelles, Nos. 252, 254-260; 8, 10-16 septembre 1868: [Reports on the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association].—107

Kölner Zeitung, Nr. 284, 12. Oktober 1868: Essen, 8. Okt.; Gladbach, 10. Okt. (In the column 'Vermischte Nachrichten').—136
——Nr. 122, 3. Mai 1870: Die Tiefsee-Untersuchungen.—509

Колонка, № 1, 2 апреля 1870: К руссковой пабликов оть редакциум.—506

La Libre pensée, No. 13, 16 avril 1870: 'Dans notre dernier numéro...'.—556-57


Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper, March 21, 1869: International Labour Laws.—249

Manchester Daily Examiner and Times, March 17, 1870; leader.—457

La Marseillaise, No. 60, 18 février 1870: Le Daily-News donne à la presse libérable française...—445
——No. 79, 9 mars 1870: Lettre d'O'Donovan Rossa.—454

The Morning Advertiser, September 16, 1868: London, Wednesday. September 16.—101

The Morning Herald, November 18, 1868; leader.—165

Московская ведомость, № 207, 23 сентября 1869: Бомбардирование корейской крепости выпуклой лодкой «Соболь».—371
——№ 4, 6 января 1870: Москва, 5 января.—436, 440, 441
The Observer, November 28, 1869.—391

Der Pionier, Nr. 42, 13. Oktober 1869: Unser Redakteur.—367
—Nr. 17, 27. April 1870: Das Treiben der deutschen Kommunisten.—528, 529

Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 949, October 18, 1868: Look before You Leap, and Beware of Traitors.—166

Der Social-Demokrat, Nr. 100-102; 28., 30. August, 2. September 1868: Die Generalversammlung des Allg. deutsch. Arbeiter-Vereins.—105
—Nr. 104, 6. September 1868: Der Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Congreß. II—105
—Nr. 112, 113; 25., 27. September 1868.—116, 120
—Nr. 114-117 (mit Beilagen zu diesen Nummern), 30. September, 2., 4., 7. Oktober, 1868: Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiter-Congreß.—140
—Nr. 118, 9. Oktober, 1868, Beilage.—127
—Nr. 24, 24. Februar 1869: [Report on Schweitzer's refusal to admit the General Council as an Arbiter in the conflict between Schweitzer and the General Association of German Workers, on the one hand, and Liebknecht and Bebel with their workers' unions, on the other].—405
—Nr. 81, 14. Juli 1869: Schwindel (presumably written by Fritz Mende).—322, 327
—Nr. 93, 94, 95; 10., 13., 15. August 1869: Der Congreß zu Eisenach.—349
—Nr. 117, 6 Oktober 1869: [Announcement of the second edition of Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte] (in the column 'Literarisches').—428
—Nr. 123, 124, 126; 20., 22., 27. Oktober 1869: Der Baseler Beschluss wegen des Grundeigenthums.—367, 369
—Nr. 132, 10. November 1869: Aus Leipzig geht uns folgendes Telegramm zu... (signed: Petzoldt).—382
—Nr. 133, 12. November 1869: (Wir constatieren)... (in the column 'Vermischtes').—382

The Standard, September 16, 1868: leader.—101
—May 5 and 6, 1870: [Articles on the First International].—504

The Times, No. 26096, April 11, 1868: Switzerland, Geneva, April 10.—8
—No. 26225, September 9, 1868: leader.—93, 96-97
—No. 26396, March 27, 1869: The Demonstration in Trafalgar-Square.—248
—November 22, 23 and 25, 1869: [Articles marked 'From Our Own Correspondent' in the column 'Ireland'], (leaders).—387
—December 1, 1869: From Our Correspondent. Dublin, November 30 (in the column 'Ireland').—399
—January 24, 1870: The Great Strike in France.—554
—No. 26694, March 10, 1870: The Fenian Convict O'Donovan Rossa.—458
—March 16, 1870: The Fenian Convict O'Donovan Rossa.—458

Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

*Der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals. Hamburg, Otto Meissner. 1867* (in the column 'Bücherschau').—54, 56, 59, 65, 68

*Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 11, 6. November 1869: *Politische Uebersicht*.—366
—Nr. 7, 22. Januar 1870: *Politische Uebersicht*.—553
—Nr. 8, 26. Januar 1870: *Politische Uebersicht*.—553
—Nr. 17, 26. Februar 1870: *Hamburg*.—445
—Nr. 27, 2. April 1870: *Anfrage*.—485
—Nr. 35, 30. April 1870: [Editorial Comment on F. Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany*].—508, 511, 519

*Der Vorbote*, Nr. 11, November 1868: *Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation*.—199, 200
—Nr. 12, Dezember 1868: *Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel*.—199, 200, 203
—Nr. 12, Dezember 1868: *Der Internationale Arbeiterbund von Genf an die Arbeiter Spaniens*. (The address was also published as a leaflet in German and French).—340
—Nr. 1, Januar 1869.—208
—Nr. 1, Januar 1869: [Report on the money raised for the striking Basle workers].—209
—Nr. 7, Juli 1869: [Report from Basle] (in the column 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation').—335
—Nr. 7, Juli 1869: [Report from Nuremberg] (in the column 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation').—336
—Nr. 1, Januar 1870.—431
—Nr. 4, April 1870: *Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation*.—502

—Nr. 292, 298; 25., 29. Juli 1868: *Oekonomische Briefe*.—78
—Nr. 32, 35, 37, 40, 47; 7., 11., 13., 17., 25. Februar 1869: *Die Gewerksgenossenschaften*.—230, 239
—Nr. 61, 13. März 1869: 'In Bezug auf das Vereins und Versammlungs-Gesetz ist vom Obertribunal folgender Rechtsgrundsatz angenommen worden...' (in the column 'Berlin, 12. März').—258
—Nr. 79, 6. April 1869: *Barmen, 31. März*. (Die Generalversammlung des allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitervereins).—264
INDEX OF PERIODICALS

Allgemeine Augsburger—see Allgemeine Zeitung

Allgemeine Volkszeitung—an Austrian newspaper published in Vienna under the editorship of Wilhelm Angerstein from March 1868; organ of workers' societies, voiced socialist ideas.—239

Allgemeine Zeitung—a German conservative daily founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882.—61, 121, 228-29, 238, 373, 444

Die Arbeiter-Union—a German-language newspaper published under various titles in New York from June 1868 to October 1870, a weekly organ of the US National Workers' Association from October 1868.—471

L'Atelier, organe spécial de la classe laborieuse, rédigé par des ouvriers exclusivement—a monthly of the French artisans and workers who were influenced by the ideas of Christian socialism; published in Paris from 1840 to 1850.—260

Augsburger, Augsburgerin—see Allgemeine Zeitung

The Bee-Hive Newspaper—a trade-unionist weekly published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 to April 1870 it printed documents of the International; because of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on its editorial board, the General Council of the International broke with it in April 1870.—58, 148, 161, 223, 285, 335, 336, 366, 374, 375, 394, 399, 400, 405, 417-18, 497, 503

Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; in the 1860s, organ of petty-bourgeois democracy.—58

Die Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung für Handel, Schifffahrt und Politik—a German daily published in Hamburg from 1805.—58

Börsenzeitung—see Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt

Centralblatt—see Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland

Le Charivari—a French republican satirical paper published in Paris from 1832 to 1934; ridiculed the régime of the July monarchy and in 1848 supported Cavaignac's dictatorship.—63
La Cigale—a weekly published in Brussels from December 1867 to July 1869, organ of the Belgian sections of the First International.—45, 62, 78, 174, 218-19, 272, 273

Citizen Newspaper—a paper which L. Jones intended to publish in 1869 together with R. Applegarth and G. Odger; it was planned as a joint organ of the trade-unionist and co-operative movement. The project was never fulfilled.—251, 253

Cloche—see Копоис

La Cloche—an organ of the liberal-republican opposition; a weekly from August 1868 to December 1869, a daily from December 1869 to 1872; appeared in Paris, criticised the Second Empire, in 1871 supported the Versailles.—199-201, 254, 426, 468, 492, 553

Cobbe's Weekly Political Register—a radical periodical published in London from 1802 to 1835 under different titles.—368, 429

The Commonwealth—a weekly of the Central, and from late 1866 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-unionist leaders on the board, the paper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—58, 97, 262

Le Constitutionnel—a daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1870; from 1819 it appeared as Le Constitutionnel, journal du commerce, politique et littéraire; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the moderate Orleanists, during the 1848 revolution those of the monarchist bourgeoisie (Thiers' party) and, after the coup d'état of 1851, of the Bonapartists.—162

La Coopération. Journal du progrès social—a bimonthly newspaper published in Paris from September 1866 to June 1868; organ of the workers' co-operative societies which were under the influence of the republicans.—79

Le Courrier français—a weekly (from June 1867 a daily) of the Left republicans published in Paris from 1861 to 1868; was virtually an organ of the International in France from May 1866.—16, 18

Daheim—a weekly illustrated literary magazine of the Christian conservative trend; founded in Leipzig in 1864.—144

The Daily News—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London from 1846 to 1930.—93, 95, 97-99, 221, 264, 444-45, 455, 457, 459, 508

The Daily Telegraph—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily published in London under this title from 1855 to 1937.—454-55, 459

Democrat—a newspaper published at Carlisle.—157

Democratic News—a weekly published in London in 1870.—417, 418, 503

Demokratische Korrespondenz—a weekly newspaper; appeared as a lithographic edition in Stuttgart in 1867-70, organ of the German People's Party.—325

Demokratisches Wochenblatt—a German workers' newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869; was edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress in 1869 it was declared Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party and renamed Der Volksstaat.—5,
11, 15, 38, 99, 102, 114, 136, 142, 149, 151, 153, 160-61, 172, 175, 177, 209, 220, 223, 228, 234, 236-37, 239, 244, 267, 307, 313, 325, 326, 343, 352

**Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher**—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—123

**Le Diable à quatre**—a bourgeois-republican weekly magazine published in Paris in 1868-70; opposed the Second Empire.—199-201

**Didaskalia. Blätter für Geist, Gemüt und Publizität**—a daily supplement to *Frankfurter Journal*, appeared from 1823 to 1903.—394

**The Diplomatic Review**—a foreign policy journal published under this title as a continuation of *The Free Press* from June 1866 to 1877 (till July 1870 a monthly, then a quarterly); its publisher was David Urquhart.—166, 260, 275

**The Echo**—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1905.—454, 520

**Economist**—see *The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*

**The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper**—a weekly published in London since 1843, mouthpiece of the big industrial bourgeoisie.—158, 179, 186, 189

**L'Égalité**—a French-language Swiss daily published in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872, organ of the Romance Federation of the International, from 1869 to January 1870 it was virtually controlled by the Bakuninists.—186, 364, 404, 405, 412-13, 424, 430-31, 479-80, 487, 488, 492, 500-01, 506

**L'Eguaglianza. Giornale degli operai**—an Italian weekly of the Naples Section of the International; published from November 1869 to January 1870; was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—404

**Elberfelder Zeitung**—a daily published under this title from 1834 to 1904; in the 1860s voiced liberal views.—28-29, 54, 56, 61, 70

**L'Émancipation belge**—a daily organ of the clerical-Catholic circles founded in Brussels in 1830.—107

**Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniss der Gegenwart**—a monthly popular science journal published in Hildburghausen in 1865-71.—61

**L'Espiole. Journal satirique, politique, artistique et littéraire**—a satirical weekly of the anti-Bonapartist and anti-clerical trend; it appeared in Brussels from 1864 to 1869. The newspaper published material on the activity of the International.—62

**Essener Zeitung**—a bourgeois daily published under this title in 1860-83.—36

**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 till 1919; the paper was published in different languages and at different intervals.—160-61

**The Evening Star**—an evening edition of *The Morning Star*, a daily published in London by the Free Traders from 1856 to 1869.—101

**Examiner and Times**—see *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times*
La Federacion—a Spanish-language newspaper which appeared in Barcelona from August 1869 to November 1873, weekly organ of the Barcelona Section and, later, of the Federal Council of the International in Barcelona.—350, 404, 497

Felleisen—a weekly magazine published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874 by the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland; joined the International in August 1868.—352, 366

Le Figaro—a conservative daily published in Paris since 1854; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—158, 426, 553, 557

The Flag of Ireland—a weekly organ of the Fenians published by Pigott in Dublin in 1866-79.—497, 500

The Fortnightly Review—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently it became liberal in character; under this title it was published in London till 1934.—6, 30, 33-35, 97, 39, 50, 70, 73, 81, 84, 141, 158, 230, 242, 255, 259, 261-63. 293

Frankfurter Börsenzeitung—see Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a daily democratic paper published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—58

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.—346

Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt—a literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903 and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.—74, 76, 77, 144

Le Gaulois—a conservative monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1867 to 1929.—399, 505

Gazette médicale de Paris—a French medical weekly, appeared in 1830-1916.—3

The Glowworm—an evening newspaper published in London in 1865-69, from 21 December 1868 appeared under the title Glowworm and Evening News.—275-76

Guardian—see The Manchester Guardian

Hamburger Börsenzeitung—see Die Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung für Handel, Schifffahrt und Politik

Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London—a weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published in London from 1859.—57, 266, 268, 276, 436, 444

Het Volk—a Dutch newspaper, its trial issue was published in Rotterdam in March 1870; apparently the publication was not continued.—462, 464

Hildburghauser Ergänzungsläuter—see Ergänzungsläuter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart

Historische Zeitschrift—a historical liberal magazine founded by the German historian Heinrich von Sybel in Munich in 1859, appeared until 1864.—433

L'International—a French-language daily published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French government.—276-77, 342, 504

L'Internationale—a weekly newspaper published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873, organ of the Belgian sections of the First International.—445, 449, 451, 453, 455, 520
The Irish People—a weekly published in Dublin from 1863 to 1865, the main organ of the Fenians; was banned by the British government.—399

The Irishman—a weekly published from 1858 to 1885, first in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of the Fenians.—271, 392-94, 399, 445, 451, 453-55, 461, 497, 520, 559, 562

Journal de Bruxelles—a conservative newspaper, mouthpiece of Catholic circles, published from 1820.—107

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944; organ of the government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution; after the 1851 coup d'état, organ of the moderate Orleanist opposition.—101

Journal officiel—see Journal officiel de l'Empire français

Journal officiel de l'Empire français—an official organ of the Bonapartist government instead of Le Moniteur universel; published in Paris from January 1, 1869.—505

Kladderadatsch—an illustrated satirical weekly of liberal trend published in Berlin from 1848.—507

Kolokol—a Russian-language revolutionary-democratic newspaper published by A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev in London (from 1 July 1857 to 1865) and then in Geneva (until 1867). In 1868-69 it appeared in Geneva in French under the title Kolokol (La Cloche). Revue du développement social, politique et littéraire en Russie.—200, 492, 518

Kolokol. Орган русского освобождения, основанный А. И. Герценом—a magazine published by S. Nechayev and N. Ogarev in Geneva from 2 April to 9 May 1870.—506, 508, 516

Kölner Zeitung—see Kölnische Zeitung

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.—61, 125, 136, 191, 255, 509

Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen—a daily published in Berlin from 1785; also called Vossische Zeitung after its owner, Christian Friedrich Voss.—61

Kreuz-Zeitung—see Neue Preußische Zeitung

La Lanterne—a radical republican weekly published by Henri Rochefort from 1 June 1868 in Paris and, after it was banned by the Bonapartist authorities, in Brussels (from August 1868 to November 1869), opposed the Second Empire.—87, 138, 224, 254, 426, 468

La Libre pensée—a weekly founded by the Blanquists Tridon, Flourens, Rigault and Verlet; Paul Lafargue was one of its active contributors; it was published in Paris from January to July 1870; harshly criticised the Second Empire.—486, 557

Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland—a weekly containing scientific information, reviews, and critiques published in Leipzig in 1850-1944.—65, 68

Lloyd's Paper—see Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper

Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper—a liberal weekly founded in 1842, it was published under this title from 1843 to 1918.—249
Londoner Deutsche Post—a weekly published by E. Juch from January to September 1870.—444

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.—437, 487

The Manchester Guardian—a daily founded in Manchester in 1821; organ of the Free Traders, and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of the Liberal Party.—191, 457-58


The Money Market Review—a weekly on trade and finance published under this title in London in 1860-95.—206

La Morale indépendante—a philosophical weekly on questions of morality published by Marie Alexandre Massol in Paris from 1865 to 1870.—79

The Morning Advertiser—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934, it was a mouthpiece of the radical bourgeoisie in the 1850s.—101, 226

The Morning Herald—a conservative daily published in London from 1780 to 1869.—165

Московские Ведомости (Moskovskye Vedomosti—Moscow Recorder)—a paper published from 1756 to 1917, in the 1850s it became reactionary in character.—371, 436, 440

La Nain jaune—a literary and art magazine published in Paris from 1814 to 1869 with considerable intervals; in 1867 a political organ of the liberal opposition, in 1868 took the Bonapartist stand.—18

Народное Дело (La cause du peuple)—a magazine (newspaper from April 1870) published in 1868-70 in Geneva by a group of Russian revolutionary refugees; the first issue was prepared by Bakunin, then in October 1868 the editors, Nikolai Utin among them, broke with Bakunin and openly criticised his views; from April 1870 it became an organ of the Russian section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of the General Council.—462

The National Reformer—a weekly organ of the radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—392, 394, 397, 548-49

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939, 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'.—61, 191

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.—121, 124, 153, 154, 407, 420
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.—228, 237, 241, 242, 267

Neues Wiener Tagblatt—an Austrian liberal paper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945.—15

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.—7, 124, 398, 544

El Obrero—a Spanish weekly newspaper published in Palma (Majorca) from 1870 to 1871. It was banned by the government in January 1871 but continued to appear under the name La Revolucion social.—497, 498

The Observer—an English conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—391, 508

L'Opinion nationale—a daily published in Paris from 1859 to 1874.—107, 511-12, 554

The Pall Mall Gazette—a conservative daily which appeared in London from 1865 to 1921.—543

Paris-faillite—see Paris-Journal

Paris-Journal—a reactionary daily published in Paris from 1868 to 1874; was connected with the police.—557

Le Pays, Journal de l'Empire—a daily founded in Paris in 1849; during the Second Empire (1852-70) was a semi-official newspaper of Napoleon III's government.—419, 455, 553

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.—157

Père Duchèsne—see Le vrai Père Duchèsne

Le Peuple—a Bonapartist daily published in Paris from October 1868 to September 1870; from February 1869 it appeared under the title Le Peuple français.—254

Le Peuple. Journal de la République démocratique et sociale—a socio-reformist newspaper published in Paris from 1848 to 1850; from April 1848 it appeared under the title Le Représentant de Peuple; from September 1848 to 13 June 1849, under the title Le Peuple; from 1 October 1849 to 14 May 1850 under the title La Voix du peuple, and from 15 June to 13 October 1850, under the title Le Peuple de 1850. Its editor was Proudhon.—217

Der Pionier—a weekly published in New York (1854-58), then in Boston (1859-79); organ of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees; its editor-in-chief was K. Heinzen.—285, 367

Political Register—see Cobbett's Weekly Political Register

Post—see Londoner Deutsche Post

Le Progrès—a Bakuninist newspaper which opposed the General Council of the International; it was published in French in Le Locle under the editorship of James Guillaume from December 1868 to April 1870.—404, 413, 479-80, 492


The Queen's Messenger—a political and literary conservative weekly published in London from January to July 1869.—466, 468, 493

Le Rappel—a Left-republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; it was published from 1869 to 1929, harshly criticised the Second Empire.—369, 553

La Réforme—a weekly organ of the bourgeois republicans published in Paris in 1869; it was a continuation of the magazine L'Association (Paris-Brussels, 1865-66) and the newspaper La Coopération (Paris, 1866-68).—369, 553

La Réforme—a French political weekly newspaper, was planned to be published in 1869 by the Blanquists and the republicans with the active participation of Paul Lafargue. Because of the lack of money it never came out.—287

Le Réveil—a weekly and, from May 1869 onwards, a daily newspaper of the Left republicans published in Paris under the editorship of Charles Delescluse between July 1868 and January 1871.—195, 224, 232, 369, 556

Die Revolution—a communist German-language journal published in New York in 1852 by Joseph Weydemeyer. On January 6 and 13 two weekly issues appeared, in May and June two ‘non-periodic’ issues appeared.—142

Revue, Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue

Reynold's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence—a radical weekly published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; was close to the working-class movement.—386, 392, 437, 503, 549-50

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a daily founded by the Rhenish bourgeois opposition and published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843. Marx contributed to it in April 1842. In October of the same year, he became one of its editors, which gave the newspaper a revolutionary-democratic character.—123

Санкт-Петербургская Ведомості (St. Petersburg Gazette)—a Russian daily, an official government organ, published under this title in 1728-1914.—499

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939.—232

Der Social-Demokrat—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published under this title 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 its editorial board.—13, 61, 69, 78, 105, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, 127, 132, 138, 140, 210, 221, 230, 242, 244, 261, 264, 307, 322, 324, 339, 349, 375, 383, 544

The Social Economist. Industrial Partnerships' Record and Co-operative Review—a monthly magazine, organ of the co-operative societies. It was founded in Manchester in 1867, under this title appeared in London from March 1868 to September 1869.—217
The Solicitor's Journal and Weekly Reporter—a liberal juridical journal, under this title published in London from 1857 to 1927.—387

La Solidaridad—an organ of the Madrid sections of the International; appeared in Madrid from January 1870, was banned by the government in January 1871.—497

La Solidarité—a Bakuninist weekly newspaper published in French in Neuchâtel (from April to September 1870) and in Geneva (from March to May 1871).—488, 493, 501-02

The Spectator—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—262

Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg—a government daily published in Stuttgart from 1849 with a weekly supplement, Gewerbeblatt aus Württemberg.—58, 70

Staatsbürger-Zeitung—a daily published in Berlin from 1863; in 1865-71, during the editorship of F.W.A. Held, was the organ of the radical democrats, supported the workers and craftsmen.—116

Staatszeitung—see Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg

The Standard—a conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—101, 504, 508

Star—see The Evening Star

Telegraph—see The Daily Telegraph

Le Temps—a daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—526

The Times—a daily published in London since 1785.—8, 91, 93, 96-102, 109, 158, 195, 208, 221, 226, 248, 373, 387-88, 409, 432, 437, 459, 487, 543-44, 554

Le Travail—a weekly newspaper of the Paris sections of the International published from 3 October to 12 December 1869.—404

Tribune—see New-York Daily Tribune

Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte—a liberal economic journal published in Berlin from 1863 to 1893.—56, 61

Der Volkstaat—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice and, from July 1873, three times a week.—367, 369, 375, 378, 382, 390, 418, 426, 428, 442, 445, 452, 477, 485, 519-21, 526, 533

Volksstimme—a newspaper of the Austrian Social-Democrats published in Vienna from April to December 1869; supported the General Council of the International.—229, 233, 254

Volkswille—a workers' newspaper; appeared in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874.—479, 487

Der Vorbote—a monthly of the German-language 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 Marx and the General Council by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—199, 200, 203, 208, 210, 332, 335, 352, 396, 430-31, 502

Vossische Zeitung—see Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrtten Sachen
Le vrai Père Duchèsne—a French workers’ newspaper published under the editorship of Eugène Vermersch; after the defeat of the Paris Commune opposed the First International.—399

De Werker—a Flemish-language newspaper published in Antwerp from 1868; in 1868-71 a weekly of the Flemish section of the International, subsequently a daily of the Flemish and later of the Belgian socialist workers’ parties (till 1914).—254, 468, 502

Weser-Zeitung—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—121, 444


Wiener Blatt—see Neues Wiener Tagblatt

Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt—an Austrian liberal newspaper published from 1869.—350

Wiener Tagblatt—see Neues Wiener Tagblatt

Wochenblatt—see Demokratisches Wochenblatt

Zeitschrift des königlich preussischen statistischen Bureaus—a Prussian official statistical monthly published in Berlin from 1860 to 1905.—352

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Abstraction, abstract and concrete—16, 24, 25
Adventurism (political)—335, 426-27, 489, 491
Agricultural workers—156, 399, 480, 538
Agriculture—67, 128, 353-57, 365, 380-86, 393, 483, 538
See also Development; Nationalisation of land
Aim and means—235-36, 490
Anti-colonial struggle—390, 394, 398, 475-76
See also Ireland
Aristocracy, nobility, English—4, 361, 390, 473-74, 484
Aristocracy, nobility, French—131
Army
—of the Italian states—344
—Prussian—288
—French—104, 344, 554
See also Military science; War(s)
Atheism—289, 495
Austria—288-89, 432-33, 437
See also Austro-Prussian war, 1866
Austro-Prussian war, 1866—140, 288
Autonomy, national—390

B

Bakuninism, Bakuninists
—as a variety of petty-bourgeois socialism—236, 336, 364, 426-27, 516
—as an anarchist trend—364
—sectarian character—489, 493
—general characteristics of Bakuninists' theoretical views—191-93, 235-36, 238, 364, 406, 415, 424, 426-27, 489-91, 493, 507, 516
—negation of the political struggle of the proletariat—490-91, 493, 494, 516
—on revolution and revolutionaries—490
—and national question—336, 507, 516
—hostile attitude to scientific communism—364, 390
—disorganising activity in the working-class movement—240, 332-33, 335, 364, 404-05, 413-14, 424, 426-27, 430-31, 479-80, 488, 506-07; see also International Alliance of Socialist Democracy
—blocs with reformists—404-05
—adventurism and voluntarism of the Bakuninists' tactics—336, 426-27, 489, 491
—in Belgium—424, 430-31
—in France—235, 240, 404, 424, 437, 480, 489, 491-93, 506
—and German working-class movement—404, 405, 511
—in Russia—200, 363, 492-93, 506-08, 516, 518
—and Nechayevism—530-31
—in Spain—235, 240, 404, 424, 426-27, 502
See also Adventurism (political); International Working Men’s Association (First International)

Banks—7, 11, 113, 159-60, 223
Belgium—45, 279, 353
Bill of exchange—160, 238
Bourgeoisie—163, 343, 394, 474, 484
Bourgeoisie, English—163, 474
Bourgeoisie, German—343
Bourgeois political economy—15, 41, 128, 378-81, 383
See also Abstraction, abstract and concrete; Malthusianism; Mercantile system; Physiocrats; Ricardianism; Smith, Adam, theory of; Vulgar bourgeois political economy

Capital
—general formula of capital and its contradictions—39
—antithesis of capital and wage-labour—252
—and process of circulation—19
—its historically transient character—490
—and landed property—412
—accumulation of—141
—circulating—21, 22, 31, 32, 36
—fixed—21, 22, 24-25, 33
—variable—21, 22, 25
—constant—17-18, 21
—confusion of money and capital in bourgeois political economy—39, 46
—confusion of income and capital in bourgeois political economy—25
—harmony of capital and labour preached by bourgeois economists—236, 385
—criticism of bourgeois theories of the origin of capital—264
See also Commercial (merchant) capital; Exploitation of labour power by capital

‘Capital’ by K. Marx

—its method—21, 37, 68-69, 527-28
—dialectics in it—37, 210, 527-28, 543
See also Marxist political economy

‘Capital’, Volume One
—subject of its research—39, 68-70, 328-29
—Engels on its contents and significance—156
—distribution of and propaganda—5, 9, 11-12, 33, 34-35, 37-40, 52-54, 70, 73, 74, 81, 84, 98-99, 102-03, 123, 130, 138, 141
—distribution of among workers—13, 58-59, 69, 73, 75, 97-98, 103, 184, 213-14
—its significance for the working class—130
—first Russian edition—121, 123-26, 130, 149
—authorised French edition—243, 276, 359, 397, 445
—second German edition—36, 99, 527, 528, 529
—English edition—97

‘Capital’, Volume Two
—its history—119, 123, 233, 234, 528
—subject of its research—21, 28

‘Capital’, Volume Three
—its history—119, 123, 232, 234, 445
—subject of its research—16-18, 21-25, 30, 59, 160, 412, 528

‘Capital’, Volume Four
—subject of its research—77
Capitalist—23, 24, 352, 385, 397, 474
Capitalist mode of production—382
—Marx and Engels on its analysis—542
See also Society, bourgeois

Categories—21, 22, 68, 175

Catholicism—4, 354
See also Religion

Cattle-breeding—474, 484

Causality—17, 24, 183, 191

Celts
—gens, community—512, 515-18
Chartism, Chartist movement—133, 394
Chemistry—33, 57, 162, 243
China—181, 395
Church—4, 165
Civilization—385
Class(es)—25, 69, 236, 252, 490
See also Bourgeoisie; Class struggle; Peasants (farmers); Petty bourgeoisie; Working Class
Class struggle—236, 252, 394, 447, 490-91, 538
See also Class(es); Economic struggle of workers; Political struggle; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working-class movement
Clergy, the—246, 354
Colonies, colonial policy—363, 385, 398, 445
See also Anti-colonial struggle: India; Ireland
Commercial (merchant) capital—24
See also Merchants
Commodity, commodity production—68-69
Commune, Russian—55, 154, 434-35
Communism—4, 68, 236, 365, 393, 475, 490, 588, 542
See also Revolution, proletarian, socialist
Communism in France—260
See also Socialism, socialists in France
Communists, communist movement—485
Community—154, 385-86, 434-35
Competition—23-24, 202, 474
Consciousness—69, 485
Conspiracy—506
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; Fenians, Fenianism
Contradictions—68-69, 129, 236
Co-operation, co-operative movement—543
—productive and consumers’ co-operatives of workers in bourgeois society—395-96
—criticism of the views of state assistance to workers’ co-operative societies in bourgeois society as a means of its transformation—277-78
See also International Working Men’s Association (First International)—and co-operative movement
Corruption—357, 409
Court, judicial system—531
See also Right
Credit—25, 32, 39, 94, 160, 397
See also Banks
Crete—260
Customs Union (Germany, 1834-71)—20, 280-81

D

Darwinism—141, 162, 173, 206, 217, 423, 482, 527
Denmark—394
Development—21, 22, 24, 69, 121, 386, 449
Dialectics
—laws of—30
—dialectical method—37, 528
—idealistic, speculative—29
—antithesis of materialist and idealist dialectics—29, 528
—in Marx’s Capital—37, 528, 542
—Marx’s intention to write Dialectics—29
—Hegelian—29, 482, 528
—Dietzgen’s—121, 152
—miscellaneous—313, 516
See also Abstraction, abstract and concrete; Causality; Development; Essence and phenomenon; Hegel, Hegelianism; Method
Differential rent—380-82, 384-86
Distribution—19, 23-25, 68

E

Economic categories—69
See also Categories
Economic crises—113, 181, 186-87, 277, 296
Economic laws—21-24, 68-69, 527
See also Law(s); Law of tendency of the rate of profit to fall; Law of value
Economic struggle of workers—538
See also Co-operation, co-operative movement; Factory legislation; Strikes, strike movement; Trade(s)-unions, trade-union movement
Economy and politics—136, 175, 490
Emigration—80-81, 343-44, 474
—bourgeois-democratic, petty-bourgeois—390
—from Ireland to England—474-75
—Chinese—343-44
---German in England after defeat of the 1848-49 revolution---178
---German in England from mid-1850s---64
---Russian---429-30
---French---62-63, 102, 143

Engels, Frederick
---main biographical information---252, 299, 541
---in 1845---518
---during the 1848-49 revolution---420
---his studies in languages---230, 247, 362-63, 410

See also Communists, communist movement; Marxist political economy; Natural science; Party, proletarian; Russia; Working-class movement

England (Great Britain)---143, 224, 278, 305, 308, 387-88, 392, 393, 403, 432, 475, 549
---cotton crisis ("cotton famine") in the early 1860s---179, 181-82, 186-87
---industrial and trade monopoly---447, 475
---cotton trade---395
---Irish landlords---363, 484
---trade with Asia (India, China)---179, 395
---crises of 1857-58 and 1866-67---113, 181
---oligarchic character of government---390, 474
---political parties of ruling classes (general characteristics)---163
---radicals---252
---Habeas Corpus Act---391, 394
---law on workers' coalitions of 1824---554
---Poor Laws---484
---electoral reform of 1867---163-64
---working-class movement---see Chartism, Chartist movement; Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)
---prerequisites and prospects of social revolution---390-91, 449, 473-75
---Established (Anglican) Church and religion---4, 163
---colonial policy in Ireland---4, 357, 363, 376, 390, 432, 437, 456, 473-74, 549; see also Irish question, the
---fanning up by the bourgeoisie of the antagonism between the English and Irish workers---165, 474
---counter-revolutionary character of its foreign policy---447
---and Russia in the second half of the 19th century---391
---and US Civil War---181, 182, 187

English bourgeois revolution of the 17th century---363, 391, 398

Enlightenment (18th century)---379
Essence and phenomenon---21, 23-25, 68

Europe
---prospects of revolution---313, 429
Exploitation of labour power by capital---23
Expropriation---277, 343-44, 542

F

Factory, factory system---382
See also Machines (machine production)

Factory legislation---8, 352

Farmers---128, 383, 386, 399, 480-81
See also Lease, tenant

Female labour---156, 184

Fenians, Fenianism
---character and specific features of the movement---399
---conspiratorial tactics of struggle---387
---persecution and reprisals of Fenians by the British government---548-49
---campaign of amnesty to convicted Fenians, character of the campaign---224, 546-47

Feudalism---364
See also Community; Landed property; Serfdom

Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism---152-55, 354

Fourierism, Fourierists---512
France—159, 325, 428-29
—coup d'état of December 2, 1851
(the 18th Brumaire of Louis
Bonaparte)—232
—home situation, home policy—104-06, 162, 164-65, 229-30, 294, 316-
17, 325, 373, 391, 395, 409, 411,
419, 423, 442, 506-08, 512-14,
522-23, 554
—the press—3, 199, 427
—working class—204, 387, 427,
553-54
—aggravation of class contradic-
tions—232-33, 317, 391, 419, 423,
442, 522-23, 553-54
—growth of opposition moods in
society—159, 162, 199-201, 316-17
—growth of opposition moods in the
army—554
—plebiscite of 8 May, 1870—523
—impending revolution—162, 164-
65, 287, 373
French Revolution of the 18th century—
364

G

General Association of German Workers
—general characteristics—88-90, 98,
105, 109-11, 115, 125-29, 132-35,
140, 242, 255, 304, 306-07, 322-24,
326, 358, 421
—sectarian character—105, 108-11,
115, 118, 126-28, 140, 304, 313,
323, 404-05
—anti-democratic principle of its or-
ganisation—115-18, 134-35, 255
—demoralisation of its members—
323, 331, 336
—attitude of its leaders to the Bismarck
government and feudal reaction—177,
307, 323
—revolutionary opposition in it—
231, 252-53, 264, 299, 304, 397,
421
—and International Working Men's
Association—75, 116, 249, 321-23,
326, 331, 405, 511-12
—congress in Hamburg (1868)—75,
89-90, 105, 108, 115-17, 133, 154
—congress in Barmen-Elberfeld
(1869)—253, 255, 259, 264, 323
—General German Workers' Con-
gress in Berlin (1868)—105, 108,
112, 116, 126, 132-34
See also German Social-Democracy;
Lassalleanism, Lassalleans
General rate of profit—23-24
Geology—242, 369, 383
—study by Marx and Engels of
goology—84
German People's Party (from 1865)—20,
102, 231, 242, 257, 299, 304, 307-08,
313, 324, 326, 364, 428, 479
German philosophy—121, 152-55, 159,
173, 249, 486, 512, 527-28
See also Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism;
Hegel, Hegelianism
German Social-Democracy
—its name—352
—conditions for the formation of the
Social-Democratic workers' party—
313-14
—Congress in Eisenach (1869), pro-
gramme—332, 335, 339, 345, 350,
352, 544
—and International Working Men's
Association—332, 335, 339, 345, 350,
365, 464, 470, 499, 511, 517, 544
—struggle against Lassalleanism—
339, 345, 367, 369, 382, 405, 428,
511, 521, 544
—participation in the election strug-
gle—499, 500
—parliamentary activity—289, 343,
500
—and peasantry and agrarian ques-
tion—364, 365
See also General Association of German
Workers; International Working Men's
Association in Germany; Union of Ger-
man Workers' Associations
German Workers' Educational Society in
London (1840-1918)—40, 132, 166
Germany
—Germans—115
—survivals of feudalism and their
elimination—364; see also Revolu-
tion of 1848-49 in Germany
—industry—26-29
—railways—28-29
—speculation—29, 276
—agriculture and agrarian rela-
tions—364, 365
—foreign trade—26-29
—bureaucracy, officialdom—134
—clergy—356
—political system—289
—factory legislation—343, 352
—bourgeois liberalism of the 1860s—395
—democrats, democratic movement—339
—prospects of revolution in the end of the 1860s—126, 364, 429
—and Russia—289
See also Emigration; Prussia; Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; Working-class movement in Germany

Greece—258
Greek philosophy—173

H

Hegel, Hegelianism
—Hegel's philosophy—123, 482, 509
—Hegel's dialectics—31, 482, 528
—Phänomenologie des Geistes—263
—and religion—482
—Prussian state—509
—Hegelians—246, 482
—and Marxism—31, 123-24, 527-28
—miscellaneous—39, 155, 276

Historiography—188, 195, 233, 244, 374, 388, 409, 415, 432-33, 438, 441-42
—formation and development of Marxist historiography—80

I

Idealism—490
See also Abstraction, abstract and concrete; Dialectics; German philosophy; Hegel, Hegelianism; Speculative philosophy

India—179, 181

Industrial reserve army—481
See also Paukerism

International Alliance of Socialist Democracy—190-93, 198, 201-02, 218, 235-37, 413-14, 424, 489-94
See also Bakuninism, Bakunists; International Working Men’s Association (First International); International Working Men’s Association; Congresses and conferences
— and statistical surveys of the condition of the working class—405, 538
— and co-operative movement—396-97, 538
— and agrarian question, peasantry and agricultural proletariat—364, 375, 393, 538
— and national question—390-91, 398, 449, 473-76
— struggle against Bonapartism—523
— struggle for independent stand of proletariat in foreign policy, against wars of conquest—94, 101-02, 279, 283
— struggle against Mazzinists and Mazzinism—240
— struggle against Proudhonists and Proudhonism—94, 95, 100-02, 218
— struggle against Lassalleans and Lassalleanism—75, 112, 115-18, 125, 127-28, 131-35, 172, 249, 304, 313, 322-23, 326, 331, 511
— struggle against reformation—3, 161, 253, 385-88, 392-93, 404, 437, 497
— and women’s question—131, 184
— and religion—495
— and organisational principles of the Association (general characteristics)—145, 236, 332, 404-05, 459, 464
— Rules and Regulations—134, 256, 332, 464
— Subcommittee, Executive Committee—143, 350, 404, 412, 437, 471
— local sections, federations, federal councils, national organisations—332, 405
— membership—459
— funds—91-92, 327, 341, 405, 464, 465
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary pro tem for Belgium—405, 406, 411-14, 431, 441, 444
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany—58-59, 75-76, 97-98, 112, 116-18, 124-28, 149, 218, 239, 249, 258, 304, 313, 322-23, 332, 464, 470
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for the Netherlands—462-65
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Russia—430, 462, 468, 480, 493
— Marx as Corresponding Secretary for German-language sections in the USA—58-59, 96-97, 145, 148-49, 471-76
— its press—392-93, 399, 404-05, 417-18, 497
— and the bourgeois press—36, 96, 504, 558
— and ruling classes, and police persecution—43, 62, 505, 508, 558-59
See also International Working Men’s Association. Congresses and conferences; International Working Men’s Association (in different countries)
International Working Men’s Association. Congresses and conferences
— functions and tasks of general congresses—236
— Geneva Congress (1866)—95, 125, 221, 538
— Lausanne Congress (1867)—95, 258
— Brussels Congress (1868)—43, 91-102, 106-07, 113, 131, 174, 202, 221, 258, 326, 404
— Basle Congress (1869)—304, 324, 338, 340, 346, 355, 364, 369, 393,
399, 405, 414, 459, 492, 543
—Mainz Congress (1870)—511, 513, 515, 517, 523, 537, 538
International Working Men’s Association in Austria—75, 350
International Working Men’s Association in Belgium—43, 62, 101, 198, 273, 405, 411-14, 424, 430, 444, 538
International Working Men’s Association in France—62, 91, 94, 95, 100-02, 294, 342, 414, 437, 444, 486, 489-90, 497, 504-05, 506, 524, 525, 536-37, 553-54
International Working Men’s Association in Italy—91, 350
International Working Men’s Association in the Netherlands—462-65
International Working Men’s Association in Russia—462, 468
International Working Men’s Association in Spain—350, 497
International Working Men’s Association in the USA—58, 61, 96-97, 145, 148-49, 276, 377, 472
Inventions—481
Ireland—357, 363, 394, 409
—natural conditions—483
—common property, clans—388, 398, 483
—before British conquest in the 12th cent.—410
—ancient laws—409, 416, 509-16
—British conquest—361, 398, 409, 415
—and English bourgeois revolution (17th cent.)—363, 391, 398
—Anglo-Irish Union of 1801—390, 398, 473
—as British colony and citadel of British landlordism—4, 363, 375, 386, 390, 473-74
—system of landlordism in Ireland—4, 357, 363, 390, 473-74, 484
—its administration by British ruling classes, their methods—357, 363, 391
—agrarian (tenant) relations—128, 353-57, 388, 480-81, 484
—agrarian revolution in mid-19th century, concentration of leaseholding, eviction of tenants from land—474, 481, 484
—agrarian legislation of the British government for Ireland, its class character—432, 437, 456
—and prospect of radical solution of agrarian question—4, 390, 473-74
—trade—357, 474
—relative overpopulation—356
—mass emigration as a result of colonial oppression—473-75, 480-81
—and class struggle—394, 398, 399
—interconnection between national liberation and economic struggle (the land question as social basis of the national question)—4, 390, 474
—uprising of the United Irishmen (1798)—368, 398-99
—liberal-bourgeois national movement—371, 392, 394-95, 399, 549
—Irish deputies in the British Parliament—300, 297, 391
—Orange camp—549
—and English state Church, persecution of Catholics—4, 165
—religious antagonism, its social character—4, 549
—Catholic Church, clergy—399, 549
—separation of Church from the State—549
—Ulster—4, 484
See also Fenians, Fenianism; Irish question, the; Peasants (farmers); Working class, Irish; Working-class movement in Ireland
Irish question, the—4, 363, 390, 398, 447, 473-76
See also *International Working Men's Association (First International)*

**Italy**—91

**L**

**Labour**—45, 68, 329, 352

See also *Exploitation of labour power by capital; Female labour; Productivity of labour (productive power); Working day*

**Land and Labour League (England, 1869)**—364, 375, 412

**Landed property**

—the free circulation of land as a condition of its concentration and centralisation in the hands of capitalists—409, 412

—severing of the ties of a landowner with land under capitalism—385

—and price of land—32, 380-81, 386

—concentration of—474

—and mortgage—365

—ownership of land in India—434-35

—ownership in a Celt commune—388, 483; see also *Primaev Germanic communal system*

—feudal—364, 434

—of Church—4

—and usury—481

—expropriation of communal and peasant landownership as a prerequisite of capitalist mode of production—277

—elimination and limitation of feudal landownership as a result of bourgeois revolution—412, 484

—peasant—365

—historical necessity of the abolition of private property on land—393

—nationalisation of land as a demand of working class and its party—364, 365, 528

—abolition of private landownership as a result of proletarian revolution—364, 490

See also *Feudalism; Landowner; Lease, tenant; Parcelling of land; Rent*

**Landowner**—25, 381, 385, 473-74

**Land Tenure Reform Association (England, 1869)**—412

**Language**

—English—230, 247

—Danish—253

—Dutch—247

—Frisian—247, 257

—Irish—410, 501, 514, 517-18

—Russian—186, 362-63

—Maloross—186

**Lassalleanism, Lassalleans**—118, 132-35, 259-60, 336

—Lassalle and his role in the German working-class movement—87-88, 132-35, 259-60, 331, 522, 524

—criticism of Lassalle's theoretical views—188, 213, 259-60, 261, 263, 352

—criticism of theoretical statements of Lassalleans after his death—72, 75, 89-90, 98, 105-06, 112, 115-17, 119-20, 127-28, 131, 133-35, 274, 328, 367, 369

—dogmatic and sectarian nature of movement—105-06, 108-12, 115-16, 118, 125, 127-28, 133-35, 140, 304, 315, 323

—and demand of universal suffrage—133

—demand of state credit for productive associations—105, 133, 260, 328

—the 'iron law of wages'—544

—the thesis on 'one single reactionary mass'—140

—stance towards the Prussian government and feudal reaction—133, 308, 323

—on class struggle and ways of gaining political power by the working class—188


—and working-class movement—133, 255

—criticism of Lassalle's personality cult—88, 115, 135, 420

See also *General Association of German Workers; German Social-Democracy; International Working Men's Association (First International); Union of German Workers' Associations*
Law of conservation and transformation of energy—246
Law of tendency of the rate of profit to fall
—its interpretation by Marx and its definition—24
Law of value—24, 68-69
Law(s)
—of nature—67
—of biology—217, 527
—of society as natural laws—67
—of population, criticism of Malthus' law of population—527
—of history—191, 527
See also Economic laws
League of Peace and Freedom (1867)—202, 489
Lease, tenant—128, 365, 386, 456, 480-81, 484
See also Expropriation; Ireland
Literature
—style of—186
—English—292, 297, 344, 466, 507, 509, 512, 541, 546
—French—131, 174, 189, 263, 265, 297-98, 509
—German—263, 295, 331, 466, 489, 528, 541
—Old Norse—295
—Persian—336
—Spanish—156
See also Poetry

M

Machiavellianism—463
Machines (machine production)—31-33
—and growth of the industrial reserve army—480-81
See also Inventions
Malthusianism—217, 383, 527
Marxist political economy (general characteristics)—21-25, 39, 68-69
See also 'Capital' by K. Marx; 'Capital', Volume One; 'Capital', Volume Two; 'Capital', Volume Three; 'Capital', Volume Four
Marx, Karl
—biographical information—123-25
—Engels on Marx's role in the international working-class movement—81
—before 1844—123
—during the 1848-49 revolution—76, 124; see also Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany—1849-63—124-25
—in the First International (1864-70)—7-8, 16, 40, 75-76, 78, 89-90, 124-25, 127-28, 130, 154, 166, 189, 211, 214, 225, 243, 262-63, 297, 359-60, 445-49, 460, 528; see also International Working Men's Association (First International)
See also 'Capital' by K. Marx; Communism; German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marxist political economy; Party, proletarian; Russia: Working-class movement
Materialism—183, 246
See also Dialectics; Feuerbach, Feuerbachianism; Greek philosophy
Mazzinism, Mazzinists—240
Medicine—314
Mercantile system—67
Merchants—19, 24
See also Commercial (merchant) capital
Method
—dialectical—37, 528
—in Capital by Marx—21, 37, 68-69, 210, 527-28
See also Dialectics
Military science
—study by Marx and Engels of the military history and military-theoretical problems—283, 402-05
Money
—as a measure of value—16-18
—its conversion into capital—32, 33, 39
—and wages—16-18
—on its analysis in Marx's A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy—210
—on its analysis in Marx's Capital—39
—bourgeois theories on the origin and essence of money—39, 224, 385
See also Bill of exchange
Monopolies
—monopolisation of land—24, 381
—in branches of industry—28
See also England (Great Britain)
Music—292, 507
See also Opera
N

Napoleonic wars—437
Nation—429
   See also Nationality; National question
Nationalisation of land—364, 365, 393, 538
Nationality—332, 390-91, 429, 434
National Labour Union of the United States (1866)—97, 148, 184, 279, 283, 351
National Liberals (Germany, from 1866)—230, 477
National movement—390, 394, 398-99, 475
   See also Fenians, Fenianism; Irish question, the
   See also Anti-colonial struggle; Colonies, colonial policy; International Working Men’s Association (First International); Irish question, the; National movement; Polish question, the; Working-class movement
National Reform League (England, from 1849)—334
Natural science—13, 174, 183, 246, 369
   —Marx’s and Engels’ studies in natural science—13
   See also Chemistry; Geology
Nature
   —natural laws and society—68
Necessity and chance—232
Needs—68
North German Confederation (1867-71)—288

O

Obrok—see Peasant services
Omladina (political organisation of the Serbian Liberal bourgeoisie, 1866-72)—468
Opera—292
Orangeism (in Ireland)—549

P

Pan-Slavism—219, 336
Parcelling of land—412, 484
   See also Peasants (farmers)
Parliament
   —use of bourgeois parliament by representatives of the working class—128, 289, 343, 499
   See also Corruption; Parliament, British; Suffrage
Parliament, British—161
   See also England (Great Britain)
Party of Progress in Germany (1861-1884)—252
Party, proletarian—103, 134, 289, 313, 343, 354, 364-65, 498
   See also Communists, communist movement
Pestipism—434, 481
Peasant services
   —the obrok (rent) to the landowner—434
Peasants (farmers)—156, 364, 365, 394
   —English—481, 484
   —French—434
   —German—365; see also Germany
   —Irish, tenant movements in Ireland—128, 394, 549; see also Emigration; Ireland
   —Russian, peasant movements in Russia—154, 429, 434-35; see also Commune, Russian; Russia
   —Swiss—209-10
Petty bourgeoisie—114, 490
   See also Peasants (farmers)
Petty bourgeoisie, English—114
Philosophy—123-24, 173
   See also Dialectics; German philosophy; Greek philosophy; Idealism; Materialism
Physiocrats—39, 67
Physiology—263-64
Poetry
   —Dutch—295
   —German—323, 373
   —Spanish—156
   See also Literature
Polish question, the—437-38, 442
Political economy—36, 68-69, 128
   See also Bourgeois political economy; Economic categories; Economic laws; Marxist political economy; Ricardianism; Smith, Adam, theory of
Political struggle—136, 175, 490-91, 538
   See also Working-class movement
Poor Laws—484
Population—381, 527
   See also Emigration; Industrial reserve army; Malthusianism
Positivism (Comtism)—242, 244, 246, 261, 293, 459-60
Previous, forecast
—forecast of economic crises—186-87, 296
—forecasts by Marx and Engels of different social, political, and historical phenomena and events—161
—prevision of inevitable war conflicts between capitalist powers, of nature and consequences of wars—36
—forecasts about development of revolutionary movement and revolution—233, 429-30, 450
—Marxist methodology of scientific prevision of communist society—68-69
Price
—influence of fluctuations of on monetary circulation—16-18
—and wage(s)—480-81
—influence of the price of raw materials on the rate of profit—23
—price of production—24
—corn prices—385
—cotton price—181, 254, 395
—bourgeois economists on price-formation—25, 45-46
Price (value) of land—32, 380-81, 386
Primaeval Germanic communal system—154, 385-86, 434-35
Private property—343-44, 364, 393, 490, 542
Production costs—21-22, 24, 382
Productive power—24
Productivity of labour (productive power)—17-18
Profit
—analysis and study of—21-25
—in classical bourgeois political economy—45-46, 385
—apologetic interpretation of by bourgeois political economy—23-25
See also Rate of profit; Rent; Surplus value
Progress—184
See also Development
Protestantism—4
See also Church
Proudhonism, Proudhonists—94, 95, 100-02, 133, 186, 216, 225, 233, 364, 429
Prussia
—power of the military, militarism—366
—the police—221
—and French Revolution and Napoleonic wars—432-33, 437
—in 1850s-70s—30, 288-90
—finances, budget, taxes—395
—political system—133, 289
—legislation—140, 397
—and Austria—288-89, 432-33, 437-38
—and Germany—125, 288-89, 377
—and Poland, Poland's oppression by—437-38
—and Russia—327, 433, 438
—and Spain—109, 131
See also Army—Prussian; German Social-Democracy; Germany; Working-class movement in Germany

R
Radicals—435
Railways—29, 438
Rate of profit—16-18, 21-23, 30-31, 383, 385
See also Profit
Rate of surplus value—16-18, 22-23, 28-29
See also Exploitation of labour power by capital
Reality—68, 69, 128, 236
Reformism, struggle with—3, 253, 336
See also International Working Men's Association (First International); Lassalleanism, Lassalleans; Proudhonism, Proudhonists
Reform League (England, 1865)—161, 244-45
Religion—4, 133, 246
See also Atheism; Catholicism; Church; Clergy, the; Protestantism
Rent
—and law of value—24
—and conditions of its formation—370, 378-86
—as a form of additional profit—25
—as economic form of realisation of private property on land—24, 381
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as a form of landowners' income—381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methods of calculation—128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical character—383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and differences in the location and fertility between land tracts—378-83, 385-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and improvements in agriculture—128, 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and interest on capital invested in land—128, 380, 383, 386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and price of production—24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and its influence on value and prices of agricultural products—385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as a subject of study by Marx—24, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Proudhonist theory—383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in theories of various vulgar economists—25, 128, 370, 378-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Differential rent; Landed property; Nationalisation of land; Price (value) of land; Ricardianism; Smith, Adam, theory of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproduction—381-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—on its study in Capital—21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican movement—444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution—429, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany—289, 420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution of 1848-49 in Italian states—109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution, proletarian, socialist—364, 474, 475, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Communism; International solidarity of workers; Revolution, social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution, social—4, 450, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardianism—69, 224, 263, 370, 378-81, 383, 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right—490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Court, judicial system; Serfdom; Suffrage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia (Russian Empire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—reform of 1861 (its causes and character)—426, 429-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—after 1861—426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—development of capitalism—56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—railways, railway construction—261, 438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—agrarian relations, agriculture—426, 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—foreign trade—375, 439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—finances—438-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—internal and foreign loans—261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—the students, youth—430, 499-500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—science, literature, culture—423-24, 429-30, 450, 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—revolutionary and radical thinking in the 19th century—423-24, 430, 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—Marx and Engels about Chernyshevsky—531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—beginning of dissemination of Marxism—121, 126, 130, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—persecution of revolutionary movement by tsarism, political trials—480, 531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—development of revolutionary situation—429-30, 433, 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—international significance of the Russian revolution—450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—study of Russian by Marx and Engels—362-63, 389-90, 410, 450, 528, 551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—Marx and Engels on their study of Russian literature on economic and social relations in Russia—55, 154, 389-90, 419, 423-24, 426, 429-30, 434, 450, 527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—links of Marx and Engels with Russian revolutionaries—154, 172, 186, 189, 190, 202, 362-64, 462, 468, 528, 530-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—links of Marx and Engels with Russian personalities in science and culture—120, 121, 123-25, 130, 360, 362, 389-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—foreign policy and diplomacy before the 19th century—433, 436, 438, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—foreign policy and diplomacy in 1850s-60s—64, 261, 435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—and Asia—373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—and Austria—433, 438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—and Prussia—433, 438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S

Saint-Simonism, Saint-Simonists—260, 490

Schiller Institute, the (Manchester)—46, 64, 100, 118

Science—36, 68-69, 128, 213-14, 236

See also Natural science; Philosophy; Political economy

Secret societies—134
Sectarianism—105, 112, 115-16, 133-34, 313, 485, 489-90
See also Bakuninism, Bakunists; Lassalleanism, Lassalleans
Serfdom—434
See also Feudalism
Smith, Adam, theory of—25, 45-46
Socialism in Germany (theories and trends)—213
Socialism, socialists in France—233, 428-29
See also Proudhonism, Proudhonists; Saint-Simonism, Saint-Simonists
Socialism (theories and trends)—105, 132-33, 260, 383
Socialist movement in France—232-33, 546
See also International Working Men's Association in France; Proudhonism, Proudhonists; Saint-Simonism, Saint-Simonists; Socialism, socialists in France; Working-class movement in France
Société du dix Décembre—504, 523
Society—24-25, 136, 149, 175, 217, 527
Society, bourgeois—24-25, 217, 383
See also Capitalist mode of production; Civilisation; Corruption; Exploitation of labour power by capital; Pauperism; Productive power; State, the Society of Arts and Trades (England)—287, 297, 372
Sources, historical—390, 398
Spain—187, 240
—fifth Spanish revolution (1868-74)—108, 109, 113, 115, 119, 131, 137
—and France—109, 131
—and Prussia—108, 109, 115, 119, 131
Speculation (econ.)—7, 11, 388
Speculative philosophy—123
State, the—4, 133, 154, 175, 424, 491
Statistics—179, 181-82, 186-87, 189, 277, 480-81, 484-85
Stock Exchange—7
Strikes, strike movement—275-76
—as a form of proletarian class struggle—350
See also International Working Men's Association (First International); Working-class movement
 Suffrage—133, 499
Surplus value—elaboration of the theory by Marx—21-25
—natural basis of—385
—interpretation of it by vulgar bourgeois economists—385, 483
See also Rate of surplus value; Rent; Ricardianism; Profit
Switzerland—209, 336, 343, 484-85

T
Tartars—429
Taxes, taxation—154, 429, 434
Theory and practice—24, 36, 160, 210, 235-36
Trade(s) unions (coalitions) in Germany—115-17, 125, 134, 140, 335
Trade(s) unions in Britain—260
—repeal of the Combination Laws (1824)—554
—and political struggle of workers—403
—graft of reformist trade-union leaders by the bourgeoisie—256, 595
—the London Trades' Council—114, 135
—and International Working Men's Association—403
See also Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)
Trade(s) unions, trade-union movement—115-16, 134-35, 260
See also Economic struggle of workers; International Working Men's Association (First International); Trade(s) unions (coalitions) in Germany; Trade(s) unions in Britain
'True' Socialism—262

U
Union of German Workers' Associations
—the Nuremberg Congress (1868)—73, 75, 91, 102, 110-11, 115, 118, 249, 304
—participation in elections, Parliamentary activities—230, 255, 274, 315
—and International Working Men's Association—75-76, 91, 102, 110-11, 115-17, 135, 172, 230, 249,
259, 260, 304, 307-08, 313, 326, 331, 332, 335, 405
—United States of America—
—territory, population—384
—immigration, its role—225-26, 384, 386
—agriculture, farming, landownership, agrarian relations—181, 186-87, 384, 386
—foreign policy—435
—and Britain—225-26, 435
—and Russia—435

Urquhartism, Urquhartites—159, 165-66, 345
US Civil War, 1861-65—225
Usury, usurers—481
See also Landed property

V

Value
—at its determination—65, 68-69
—at its analysis and study—68
—at its form—39
—and price of production—24
—in theories of vulgar bourgeois political economy—65-68, 525
—developing of as a revenue by bourgeois political economy—25, 45-46

See also Commodity; Law of value; Money; Price; Ricardianism; Smith, Adam, theory of

Vulgar bourgeois political economy—17, 23-25, 39, 65-69, 128, 158, 224, 235-36, 371, 379-86
See also Malthusianism

W

Wage(s)—21
—as a form of variable capital—21, 22
—as a component part of production costs—21-22
—as workers' income—25
—and means of subsistence—480-81
—and working day—8, 257, 278, 352
—and cases of its reduction—202, 257, 278, 344, 474
—workers' struggle for its increase—202, 274, 278, 491
—and price of commodity—481
—and money—17-18
—and rate of surplus value—16-17
—and rate of profit—16-17
—and capitalist competition and foreign trade—202
—and economic crises—278
—and competition among workers—344
—influence of emigration and immigration on its level—344, 474, 480-81
—on its analysis in Marx' works—21-22, 25
—in Adam Smith's theory—45-46
—criticism of its bourgeois definitions—17, 26, 45-46
—criticism of Lassalle's 'iron law of wages'—544
—criticism of its vulgar understanding—17, 25, 26, 479, 490-91

War(s)—416
—war danger in the 1860s—288-89
See also Army; Austro-Prussian war, 1866; Military science; Napoleonic wars; US Civil War, 1861-65; Wars of the First French Republic

Wars of the First French Republic (late 18th-early 19th cent.)—433, 437
Women's question and women's movement—20, 184
See also Female labour

Worker—25, 274
See also Agricultural workers; Exploitation of labour power by capital; Labour; Wage(s); Working class; Working day
Working class—94, 235-36, 364, 394, 398, 444, 474-76
See also Agricultural workers; Class struggle; International solidarity of workers; Party, proletarian; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Science; Worker; Working-class movement

Working class, Czech—152
Working class in Austria—152
See also Working-class and socialist movement in Austria.
Working class in England—3-4, 156, 163-65, 390-91, 398, 444, 449, 474-76
See also Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)

Working class in France—204, 289, 427, 523, 524, 553-54
See also Working-class movement in France

Working class in Germany—115-16, 289
See also Working-class movement in Germany

Working class in Spain—240

Working class in Switzerland—193
See also Working-class and socialist movement in Switzerland

Working class, Irish—399, 480-81, 484
See also Working-class movement in Ireland

Working-class movement
—general characteristics, its tasks—89, 115-16, 133-34, 235-36, 336, 352, 426-27
—its aims—235-36
—trade(s) unions as a school of class struggle for workers—115-17, 260
—necessity to combine workers' economic and political struggle—538
—and revolutionary theories—235, 485
—ideological struggle within it—132-35, 235-36
—internationalism as its inherent feature—89, 289
—importance of struggle for suffrage and parliamentary activities of representatives of the working class—499, 500
—and struggle against national oppression—3-4, 375-76, 390-91, 394, 398, 444, 474-76
—until 1848—427

See also Chartism, Chartist movement; Class struggle; International solidarity of workers; International Working Men's Association (First International); Party, proletarian; Strikes, strike movement; Trade(s) unions, trade-union movement; Women's question and women's movement; Working class

Working-class and socialist movement in Austria—75, 152

Working-class and socialist movement in Polish lands—350

Working-class and socialist movement in Switzerland—209-10, 240, 335
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; International Working Men's Association (First International)

Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)—3-4, 163, 336, 391, 437, 554
—struggle for political rights (for electoral reform)—20
—temporary victory of reformism, its causes—3-4, 395, 497
—strike movement—257, 277-78, 554
See also Chartism, Chartist movement; International Working Men's Association in England; Land and Labour League; Reform League; Trade(s) unions in Britain

Working-class movement in France—203-04, 342-43, 396, 524, 553-54
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; International Working Men's Association (First International); Socialist movement in France

See also General Association of German Workers; German Social-Democracy; International Working Men's Association in Germany; Trade(s) unions (coalitions) in Germany; Union of German Workers' Associations; Working class in Germany

Working-class movement in Ireland—396

Working day
—and wages—8, 257-58, 277-78, 352
See also Female labour

World market
—and competition—203-04, 475
—monopoly of England on the world market—447, 475